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교육학석사학위논문

**A Study on Teachers' Attrition in Primary Schools
in Yeka, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia**

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2015년 2월

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이 논문을 교육학석사 학위논문으로 제출함

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ABSTRACT

A Study on Teachers' Attrition in a Primary School in Ethiopia

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Ethiopia made an attempt at educational reform in 1994, so it prepared a foundation for the realization of universal, high quality education. In an attempt to realize two purposes, the educational reform in 1994 included inducements such as a curriculum change in teacher training schools to address the supply and demand for high quality teachers and the development of a promotion structure based on a wage increase system. In spite of these inducements, the supply of teachers in Ethiopia is still a significant problem, and the fact that high quality teachers change jobs has become a serious social problem. Therefore, this study aims to analyze why Ethiopian teachers want to change jobs. Furthermore, the study aims to discuss the characteristics of teachers engaged in long-service.

This study concludes that the promotion structure of Ethiopian teachers and the low-salaried structure have an influence on teachers' decisions to change jobs. First, an ambiguous promotion structure is associated with teachers

deciding to change jobs. At present, teachers are enlisted according to the customs of a particular political party; in the past, appointed teachers were members of a cabinet, so promotion was determined based on their political activity and political affiliation. Thus, the promotion structure was based on personal connections and political tendency not on ability, which caused competent teachers to change jobs. Second, an increase in the work related to politics based on the promotion structure also influences a teacher's decision to change jobs. That is, an increase in the work, such as the suggestion of joining a party, the inspection of party activity, and the political conflict resolution of the community and school, not only results in an increase in the work fatigability of a manager but also a decrease in teacher morale. Therefore, general teachers regard principals and vice-principals not as objects of envy but as political agitators. Third, it is difficult to form a democratic culture in the teaching profession due to the correlation between education and politics. An undemocratic school culture obstructs consultation and democratic discussion between teachers. In an environment that suppresses free expression and the freedom of activity, teachers that choose to change jobs do so in order to leave an undemocratic organizational culture. Fourth, a wage increase that is obtained by way of a promotion is not as attractive as a wage increase based on a promotion system table in which the wage increase rate is poor due to the imposition of excessive utility bills and contributions; sometimes, the wage increase is not high

enough to maintain the basic standard of living. In addition, a sharply lower wage level in comparison to the wages earned at other jobs causes teachers to change jobs.

In this study, first, a model for changing jobs for Ethiopian elementary school teachers was suggested. Promotion structure and wage structure were suggested as the main factors of changing jobs and a decrease in the quality of teachers was the side effect caused by changing jobs. Second, the study divided and interpreted the inner and external characteristics of a long-service teacher and a teacher who changes jobs. The external characteristics of a long-service teacher are personal repulsion about defection and an active use of the promotion structure based on joining a party. The inner characteristic of a long-service teacher is the pursuit of joy in the teaching profession. The external characteristics of a teacher who changes jobs are repulsion about political activity and dissatisfaction with the low wage structure and the work burden, while the inner characteristic of a teacher who changes jobs is the use of tools for changing jobs in the teaching profession.

The qualitative improvement of education in developing countries is now a serious issue, globally, and teachers play an important role in offering high quality education. Therefore, a supply and demand program for high quality teachers and policies for the man-power development of teachers has been developed. However, preventing the loss of high quality teachers is more urgent

than addressing the supply and man-power development of teachers, so a policy approach is needed that focuses on the field and recognizes and addresses the risk elements that exist in an incomplete educational system rather than merely suggesting theoretical policies.

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Keywords: Ethiopian teacher, Attrition, Retention, Career Ladder System, Salary, Quality of Education

Student Number: 2011-23685

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background and Statement of the Problem

This study analyzed the reasons that contribute to the attrition of Yeka Sub-city primary public school teachers in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. This research will provide differentiated attrition factors compared to developed countries.

A shortage of qualified teachers in elementary and secondary schools is a critical global issue. Despite the differences in politics, economics, society, history, or culture, all civilized societies seem to face a similar challenge of how to meet the demand for qualified teachers. Demands for teachers vary depending on the country's educational aspirations, influenced by diverse factors such as the number of schools in the area, age, educational policy, and sometimes political or religious aspects: it is very difficult to categorize these demanding factors.

One reason for the shortage of qualified teachers is teacher attrition. According to the 2002 Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) report, teacher attrition rates range between 2% and 14% per year in OECD countries, with the lowest rate in Korea (2%) and the highest

in the US (13.6%).¹ The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) (2007) stated that the rate of attrition of public school teachers rose from 5.6% in 1988–1989 to 8.4% in 2004–2005 in the US.² This is a global phenomenon, and the situation in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) is much worse. World Bank (2007) conducted a study regarding teacher attrition in Gambia, Kenya, Lesotho, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia in 2007 and reported that the average rate of attrition in these countries was 4%. While World Bank (2010) depicts the attrition rate to range from 2% (Eritrea) to 10% (Lesotho at the secondary level), the reason Eritrea recorded the lowest attrition rate is because the government banned teacher retirement and attrition. Therefore, the range of teacher attrition varies by factors such as expansion of school policy, economic situations (e.g., alternative job opportunities), deployment policies, career development, and school management skills.

In order to solve the problem, new qualified teachers have been required to fill the gap. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Institute for Statistics (UIS, 2010) states that 7.2 million new teachers are needed globally between 2008 and 2015 to fill the vacancy caused by attrition. Assuming that the average annual national attrition rate is 5%, 3.6 million teachers are needed, and an additional 1.9 million are

¹ Retrieved from <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED503819.pdf>

² Retrieved from <http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2007/2007307.pdf>

necessary to reach universal primary education (UPE). In SSA countries, two million teachers are needed in order to sustain these educational conditions and to meet UPE, while in North America and Western Europe, countries only require one million teachers to replace the current teachers.

Reinforcing capacity building, developing performance, and evaluating educational policies have been consistently emphasized in the global arena. Particularly, the policy regarding the recruitment and development of qualified teachers has been recognized as the most prioritized step to improve the quality of education in a country. For example, pre-service training duration was changed from 2.6 years to 3.8 years for primary teachers and 2.9 years to 4.1 years for secondary teachers in commonwealth countries (Keeve & Jansen, 2010). Teacher recruitment is being conducted under government recruiting systems instead of shifting the responsibility to schools.

Ethiopia is one of the countries with the least resources worldwide; it is defined as “[a] fragile and conflict affected situation”³ and is facing an acute shortage of qualified teachers. The government of Ethiopia⁴ is trying to secure a

³ In this thesis, “fragile and conflict affected situation” connotes low-income countries that cannot support an education system. Especially, SSA could be a classic example of a “fragile and conflict affected situation.” This implies the inadequate supply of an educational policy and budget.

⁴ With a population of over 80 million, Ethiopia is the second most populous country in SSA, even though Ethiopia’s economy has been growing at an average rate of 7% in recent years. (Retrieved from www.oecd.org/dev/publications/africanoutlook). The country remains one of the world’s poorest. With a low human development index of 0.383, Ethiopia is ranked 174 out of 187 countries in the United Nations Development Programme’s (UNDP) “Human Development Report of 2011” (UNDP, 2011). The average gross national income (GNI) per capita is only USD

firm cornerstone for the future of the country by developing its economy, politics, and education, and it has not been neglecting its efforts to reform its education policies from 1994. Through the Educational Sector Develop Plan (ESDP) I-IV, a five-year national plan for education, school fees were abolished and the quality of education was improved through the appointment of certified teachers. According to the “Education Sector Strategy” published in 1994 by the Ministry of Education (MoE) in Ethiopia, one of the major objectives was “To improve the quality of training, professional competence and [the] career structure of teachers and other professionals.”

With such efforts at a national level, 61% of the primary school teaching force met the national minimum standards in 2011–2012, whereas this was only 38.4% in 2009–2010. The improvement was more noticeable for the second cycle (grades 5–8) of qualified teachers, at 90.8% in 2011–2012. The total number of primary school teachers has also increased dramatically from 253,629 in 2007–2008 to 321,894 in 2011–2012 (MoE, 2012). Amongst these positive changes, there are some drawbacks as well. There are no statistics or reports at the national level that are related to teacher attrition and turnover; however, Fenot (2005, p. 78) noted that nearly two-thirds of teachers (64.7%) have tentative or definite plans to leave the profession. Fifty percent of these indicated

\$971, which is far below the average value for SSA countries (USD \$1,966) (UNDP, 2011). The purchasing power of rural households remains weak, with almost 40% of the rural population living in poverty. About 29% of the population lives in extreme poverty, with an income of less than one dollar per capita per day (US Agency for International Development (USAID), 2012).

that they will continue teaching until they get another job and 14.2% stated they definitely plan to leave teaching. Less than 23.3% intend to remain in the profession until retirement out of 278 primary teachers in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Why do teachers leave their jobs? Finding the factors that influence attrition is complicated because the phenomenon has multiple aspects in economic, social, political personal, and school arenas. While it is difficult to determine the causality of attrition, understanding economic and social factors such as “the supply and demand of teachers” will give clues about the phenomenon of the attrition of qualified teachers. Teacher quality and supply and demand are correlated. Guarino et al. (2006) stated that the issue of teacher quality is integrally related to the interplay of supply and demand. Economic labor market theory also suggests that the willingness of individuals to obtain the necessary qualifications as teachers depends on the desirability of the teaching profession compared to alternate opportunities. If overall compensation, including salary, benefits, working conditions, and social respect toward teachers, is more attractive compared to other occupations, teachers’ qualifications will be more rigorous and administrators may adjust the standards of teacher quality according to where teachers are in short supply.

Therefore, not only less-developed countries but also developed countries maintain high compensation salaries, benefits, working conditions, and social respect compared to other professions, all of which are critical to prevent

qualified teacher attrition. Furthermore, teachers' ill health also has become a significant factor affecting teacher attrition in SSA countries like Malawi and Uganda (cited in D. Macdonald, 1999). In other words, keeping teachers healthy and happy is important in preventing teacher attrition.

There is another factor that affects teacher attrition. In countries that have experienced or are experiencing political crises such as Albania, Ghana, or Yemen, teachers tend to quit their teaching positions. They prefer to start their own businesses or even leave the country in order to seek better working conditions and quality of life (Chapman, 1994). Political crises also have effects on teacher positions and the promotion system. A report from the Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) in Ghana noted that "Decisions appear to be made arbitrarily, rather than on the basis of a fair and transparent appraisal system, and teachers lack awareness of any appeals procedure to allow them to dispute the decisions. The feeling was expressed that, at times, 'teachers suffer as a result of politics' within posting issues" (VOS, 2007, p. 22). Promotion processes, which are perceived to be unfair, further reduce the attractiveness of the profession. Given that teachers' career ladder to higher positions is linked to an increased salary and a greater opportunity to speak out when making decisions in school, granting fair promotion opportunities to teachers is important in terms of democracy in school and preserving economic stability for teachers.

Few researchers have studied the politics affecting teachers' lives in SSA.

“Teacher Identity in Africa: The Case of the Republic of Benin” (Welmond, 1999) analyzed the relationship between “teacher identity” and “unstable politics” using “teacher corps formation.” This paper stated that the role of “teacher corps” in different political movements had changed; consequently, this different formation affected teacher identity and mobility (teacher mobility was recognized as the result of changing teacher identity). This research provided a broad perspective of teacher corps and politics in Benin by conducting qualitative research; however, it did not state school factors such as the decision-making process, the career ladder system, or salary. VOS (2007) researched the political issues in teacher attrition, as mentioned above. This report briefly touched upon the phenomenon using short interviews with teachers; however, it did not mention how and why politics affect teacher attrition.

In this research, several predictive factors that contribute to the attrition rate of public primary school teachers were analyzed in the SSA context, focusing on the Ethiopian case. In other words, factors that affect attrition were dealt with via political and economic aspects, especially how career ladder systems for teachers are affected by external influences. Here are the main questions that the study tries to answer:

- (1) What variables do teachers recognize as contributing to their decision to remain in or leave positions?

- (2) How are teachers' opinions about career ladder systems related to attrition and retention in Ethiopia?
- (3) How are teachers' opinions about salary related to attrition and retention in Ethiopia?

1.2 Significance of the Study

The significance of this study can be found in several aspects. This study will enhance the understanding of Ethiopian teachers' attrition and retention in the aspects of politics, society, and economics. It investigates teachers' attrition and retention from the career ladder perspective, i.e. whether the promotion system affects teacher attrition and retention. The fact that salary is the main reason for teachers' leaving or staying at a school will provide other perspectives on turnover and retention.

Based on reviews of English Anglo-Saxon literature related to teacher attrition and retention, this study suggests steadily increasing salary, implementing supplementary teacher development programs, and improving teaching environments. However, this study found that the career ladder system is the main reason why qualified teachers leave the education field.

Education is the convergence of politics and economics in a society, and teacher recruitment and development are affected by these factors. Without

understanding these factors, we could easily fall into a fragmented fallacy; therefore, this study tries to shed light on teachers in SSA, especially in Ethiopia, by scrutinizing politics, economics, and education.

This study will aid policymakers, educational experts, and field experts in comprehending teachers' lives by focusing on their attrition and retention. Knowing the context of teachers wanting to leave or stay in a school will be very helpful in establishing, implementing, and understanding education policies in SSA, especially regarding teachers.

1.3 Limitations and Delimitations

There are certain limitations in this study regarding its design and methods. First of all, the number of questionnaires turned in is relatively small. The sample was selected with simple random sampling. There were approximately 300 schoolteachers at five schools, and the number of adequate samples is approximately 150. However, even though 200 questionnaires were distributed to 200 teachers in five schools, only 73 questionnaires were collected, and seven questionnaires were ruled out because of errors.

The reasons that such a small number of questionnaires were returned are as follows: 1) teachers missed the class in which the questionnaires were distributed, 2) they were reluctant to answer the questionnaire because they had

doubts regarding the researcher's purpose, and 3) language problems (the questionnaire was written in English). Therefore, this study is not representative of Ethiopian teachers and Yeka Sub-city as a whole; however, this study tried to contribute to addressing teachers' opinions related to their attrition and retention.

There is also a geographical limitation. This study focused on Yeka Sub-city in Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia. Yeka is one of 10 sub-cities⁵ and includes 115 primary schools with 60,622 students and 2,243 teachers. However, this study only surveyed five primary schools and their teachers. It was not possible to conduct research on other sub-cities due to time and budget limitations; therefore, the researcher tried to identify teachers' opinions regarding attrition and retention by interviewing stakeholders in various levels of the education field, for instance, interviews with government officials, school supervisors from Woreda,⁶ and educational experts.

Since this study adopts a qualitative approach with only a small sample number, it may be difficult to generalize the findings to a larger population. Other stakeholders or teachers who were not sampled in this study may have different understandings or opinions. In order to increase the validity of the study, the researcher tried to include various data resources and archival resources.

⁵ Addis Ketema, Akaki-Kaliti, Arada, Bole, Gullelie, Kirkos, Kolfe-Keranio, Lideta, Nefas Silk-Lafto, and Yeka.

⁶ Woreda are the third-level administrative divisions of Ethiopia, which is the smallest unit of local government in Ethiopia (Retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Districts_of_Ethiopia).

Chapter2: Literature Review

This study focused on the persistence and attrition factors related to Ethiopian primary school teachers. To analyze the topic from this point of view, it is necessary to explore the overarching theories of rational choice and teacher turnover and to review literature on teacher attrition and retention. While a significant number of studies address attrition factors, few studies address the issues of teachers in SSA. Research on teacher attrition provided the groundwork and structure of this thesis. In order to investigate teacher persistence, one needs to understand teacher attrition. In other words, when researching the factors of why some teachers remain in the teaching field, it is critical to understand the reasons why teachers leave their positions in Ethiopia as well.

2.1 Terminology

What is teacher turnover? Answering this question requires a description of what is known about teacher mobility and a clear definition of how the terms turnover, mobility, attrition, and retention are used in the literature. Macdonald (1999), in his review of the research literature on teacher attrition, stated the following: “It can be argued that understanding the extent and nature of teacher

attrition is clouded by definitional and methodological problems” (Macdonald, 1999, p. 836). Macdonald (1999) used the term “wastage” to explain retention, attrition, and turnover: “Wastage can be considered as the number of teachers who leave full-time teaching in pre-school, primary, and secondary education because of death, retirement, resignation, dismissal, temporary withdrawals, and resignation within education” (Macdonald, 1999, p. 836). Billingsley (2004) defined retention as “teacher[s] who remained . . . teaching at the same school [in the] previous year” (p. 40). Attrition was defined as leaving teaching altogether (i.e., these teachers are “leavers”). The effect of teachers who transfer to another school or district but stay in teaching is usually categorized as teacher mobility (i.e., “mover”), and the “movers” and “leavers” are defined as “teacher turnover” (Ericson, 2007, p. 8). Therefore, “teacher turnover” refers to those teachers who move to other schools or leave teaching altogether. “Teacher retention” refers to teachers who remain in their current positions from one year to the next. This dissertation will use “teacher turnover,” “teacher retention,” and “teacher attrition.” However, the term “teacher turnover” will be used to mean moving from public school to private school or from the primary level to upper levels.

Some trends regarding teacher attrition and retention are as follows: 1) deterioration of teachers’ social status, 2) high attrition rate in the first two to five years, 3) insufficiency of lateral and upward mobility within the teaching profession, 4) required higher teacher accountability, and 5) burnout in

educational reform and modification (Ternes, 2001). Ternes (2001) also organized K–12 teacher attrition and retention patterns and factors into three categories: 1) education and training factors, 2) institutional and organizational factors, and 3) personal and social factors (p. 13).

2.2 Education and Training Factors

Education and training factors could influence teacher attrition, retention, and mobility. Andrews and Schwab (1995) found that graduates from extended (five-year) programs stayed in teaching significantly longer than four-year program graduates. In SSA, however, extended programs could play a role in the career ladder or encourage teachers to move to upper levels in schools (i.e., move to secondary or upper secondary school). Another concern with extended programs in SSA is that teachers who have two- or three-year degrees tend to participate in extended programs unrelated to education but that are required in the job market.

Teachers' education levels also influence attrition and retention rates. Oaklander (1969) stated that there exists a direct relationship between higher levels of education and increased teacher career mobility among veteran teachers. There is widespread evidence that those younger teachers who are university graduates are more likely to move out of teaching than their counterparts who

only have certificates (cited in D. Macdonald, p. 1999). Instructors who surpass the norm often experience heightened conflict with principals and other administrators, resulting in a less satisfying work situation and an increased possibility to consider mobility or attrition.

Trainee teachers' experiences affect attrition and retention. Gaede (1978) reported that teachers often discover they were not as well prepared as they thought and that they face unforeseen chasms in their professional abilities. This premature frustration may discourage teachers from fully pursuing their careers.

2.3 Institutional and Organizational Factors

Institutional and organizational factors affecting teacher attrition, retention, and mobility involve numerous variables, including professional integration and leadership, salaries, job and career satisfaction, and social integration (Ternes, 2001, p. 15). Nias (1996) emphasized the importance of collegial and collaborative culture in teacher burnout prevention. Professional integration and leadership factors play an important role in teacher persistence. In the Ethiopian case, Fenot's (2005) study showed that teachers were generally satisfied with their relationship with their colleagues; however, there was some conflict among teachers depending on their levels of education. The first cycle of teachers who had no qualifications or just a certificate tended to be excluded

when decision-making occurred. A specific example would be conflict between a young principal that lacks teaching experience but acquired a master's degree or joined a major political party in Ethiopia and older school head-teachers. Following Fenot's (2005, p. 82) study, teachers were also generally mixed in their sentiments about the supervision and support they received from their head teachers, with 54.5% indicating they were satisfied or very satisfied and 45.5% reporting they were dissatisfied or very dissatisfied. Chapman Hutcheson (1982) concluded that the greater a teacher's involvement in the professional aspect of his or her career, the more likely the teacher will remain employed. The importance of purposeful participation in decision-making, teacher empowerment, and democratic leadership are underlying factors in teacher retention. Fenot (2005, p. 81) reported that in his research, 74.4% of teachers in primary school in Addis Ababa were generally dissatisfied with their participation in decisions and policies that affected their work.

A second institutional factor in teacher attrition involves teacher salaries. Studies in the early and mid-1960s in America implied that low salary was a primary cause of teacher attrition. In that era, salaries appeared to be more important to men than women, possibly because teaching salaries at that time were below the median salary for men but above the median salary for woman (Blaser, 1965; Thorndike & Hagen, 1960 cited in Ternes, 2001). Teachers' salaries form the biggest proportion of education spending in African countries

(UNESCO, 1998b). Teachers' pay often accounts for up to 80% of education spending (Lewin & Caillods, 2001). Governments face a dilemma: raising salaries is a powerful way to attract more and better-qualified teachers, whereas low pay may result in poorly qualified and disinterested teachers, reducing the quality and impact of the education system (World Bank, 2007). The International Labor Organization (ILO) (1991, p. 98) argued that low salaries "may be the root cause of brain drain" in some less developed countries where salaries are too low to support a family and teachers feel it necessary to take a second job. Where teacher salaries have been eroded, this has often pushed teachers into second jobs or private tutoring (World Bank, 2007). Furthermore, Botswana has had some success via a method it calls "pay day," which improves banking services and has teachers collect their salaries from their banks (Gottelmann-Duret & Hogan, 1996).

Many teachers felt that support from schools and the government was missing, especially regarding challenges and experiences in the classroom. For example, monitoring beginning teachers in an induction stage could ensure that their teaching and classroom management abilities in the first years of teaching are successful (Halliday, 1999). Also, Chapman (1994) suggested that administrators may be able to positively affect teacher retention by influencing the quality and condition of a new teacher's first experience.

The relationships between teachers and students are one of the reasons

behind teacher retention. Across a variety of contexts, many teachers reported that student misbehavior and the added responsibilities for teachers associated with dealing with social and family difficulties unduly stresses teachers (Delors, 1996; Kushman, 1992; Mercer & Evans, 1991; Neave, 1992; Willett & Singer, 1991 cited in D. Macdonald, 1999). Champbel et al. (1991) concluded that teachers felt serene when relationships with their pupils, co-workers, and parents were good. In other words, strained environments could affect teacher attrition (cited in Ternes, 2001).

2.4 Personal and Social Factors

Personal, social, and exterior influences also affect teacher attrition and retention, including gender, race, age, initial commitment to teaching, socioeconomic status, family, friends, and the media.

The lower the socioeconomic class of a teacher's parents, the more likely he or she is to remain in teaching. Bloland and Selby (1980) found that the socioeconomic status of a teacher's parents affected teacher attrition and retention. In other words, low socioeconomic status families regard teaching as a respectable occupation, while higher socioeconomic status families regard teaching as a step downward.

A person's initial commitment to teaching has also been associated with

persistence. Chapman (1994) found that during university training, a student's commitment to teaching was significantly and positively related to his or her subsequent persistence in teaching.

In regard to teacher persistence issues, age and gender are the factors that cross over socioeconomic status and boundaries. Bobbitt et al. (1994) found a U-shaped relationship for male and female teachers regarding both age and experience. During their earlier years (20's and 30's), female teachers were significantly more likely to leave their jobs than males of the same age. Older male teachers were significantly more likely to leave their positions with each passing year than older females.

The racial composition of individual schools also influences the career retention and stability of teachers at those schools. Teachers who are racially different from their principal leave teaching at a significantly higher rate than teachers who are not racially different (Bridge, Cunningham, & Forsbach, 1978 cited in Chapman, 1983). Similarly, teachers who are racially different from the majority of their students leave at a higher rate than teachers who are not racially different.

Relationships outside the confines of work and school also influence teacher retention. These factors are often interrelated and affect other attrition and retention determinants. For example, teachers who stay in the profession are more oriented toward the recognition and approval of family members and

trusted friends than those who have left teaching (Chapman & Hutcheson, 1982).

2.5 Ethiopian Context

The first research about teacher attrition in Ethiopia was called “Brain Drain in the Elementary School: Why Teachers Leave the Profession” by Aklilu (1967). The research stated that social position and low salary were the main factors that made teachers leave schools. Related to Ethiopian teachers’ attrition and retention, there are a few researches directly linked to the topic (G. Tsadik, 2001; Olango & Semela, 2000). Further, some research has indirectly studied Ethiopian teachers (Ayalew, 2006; Bekalo & Welfold, 2010; Haile, 1999; P. Bennell et al., 2007; ICAI, 2012; World Bank, 2004). Ayalew (1991) found that elementary and secondary teachers in Addis Ababa have low motivation because of poor teaching environments, low status, and insufficient salaries. VSO (2009) found many teachers who spoke positively about their profession and actively engaged with the wider issues about the quality of education provision in Ethiopia. The issues raised by the research were many, but the most significant and most frequently mentioned causes of low morale were 1) inadequate salaries, 2) low respect for and low status of teachers, and 3) poor management and leadership.

Job satisfaction studies in Ethiopia have been carried out in recent years. Fenot (2005) and Gedefaw (2012) conducted such studies in Addis Ababa. They showed that teachers' job satisfaction is most closely related to those aspects that are intrinsic to the task of teaching, namely, teacher efficacy and development. Especially, Gedefaw's (2012) study included 300 secondary school teachers and 10 interview participants in Addis Ababa. The results indicated that the teachers were significantly dissatisfied with their work. Salary and benefits emerged as the primary dissatisfying aspects of all the work factors. Other causes of dissatisfaction were related to poor fringe benefits and opportunities for promotion, the management style of the principals, the lack of decision-making opportunities for the teachers, lack of opportunity to develop personally, and the poor relationships teachers had with principals and parents.

Chapter 3: Research Methods

3.1 Research Design

In order to investigate the research questions, the researcher gathered data from two sources: quantitative data to address the first research question and qualitative interview data to address the second and third research questions.

The research utilized a mixed-method research design to study the variables that teachers consider when deciding to remain in or leave their teaching positions. The primary strength of using a mixed-method design is that words and interviews can be used to add meaning to statistical data, and inversely, statistical data can add meaning to individuals' words and interviews (Johnson & Christensen, 2004).

The purpose of this research is to analyze the factors affecting teachers' attrition and retention in Ethiopia. To explain the figure below, first, individual interviews were conducted. Individual interviews provided an excellent opportunity to ask questions and interact with teachers in order to genuinely understand the process of how these decisions are made. Second, the questionnaire survey was examined in regard to three groups: education and training factors, institutional and organizational factors, and personal and social

factors. In other words, this study tries to show how differences in these factors related to teachers' attrition and retention in a school using a cross tabulation analysis process. Archival research was also considered.

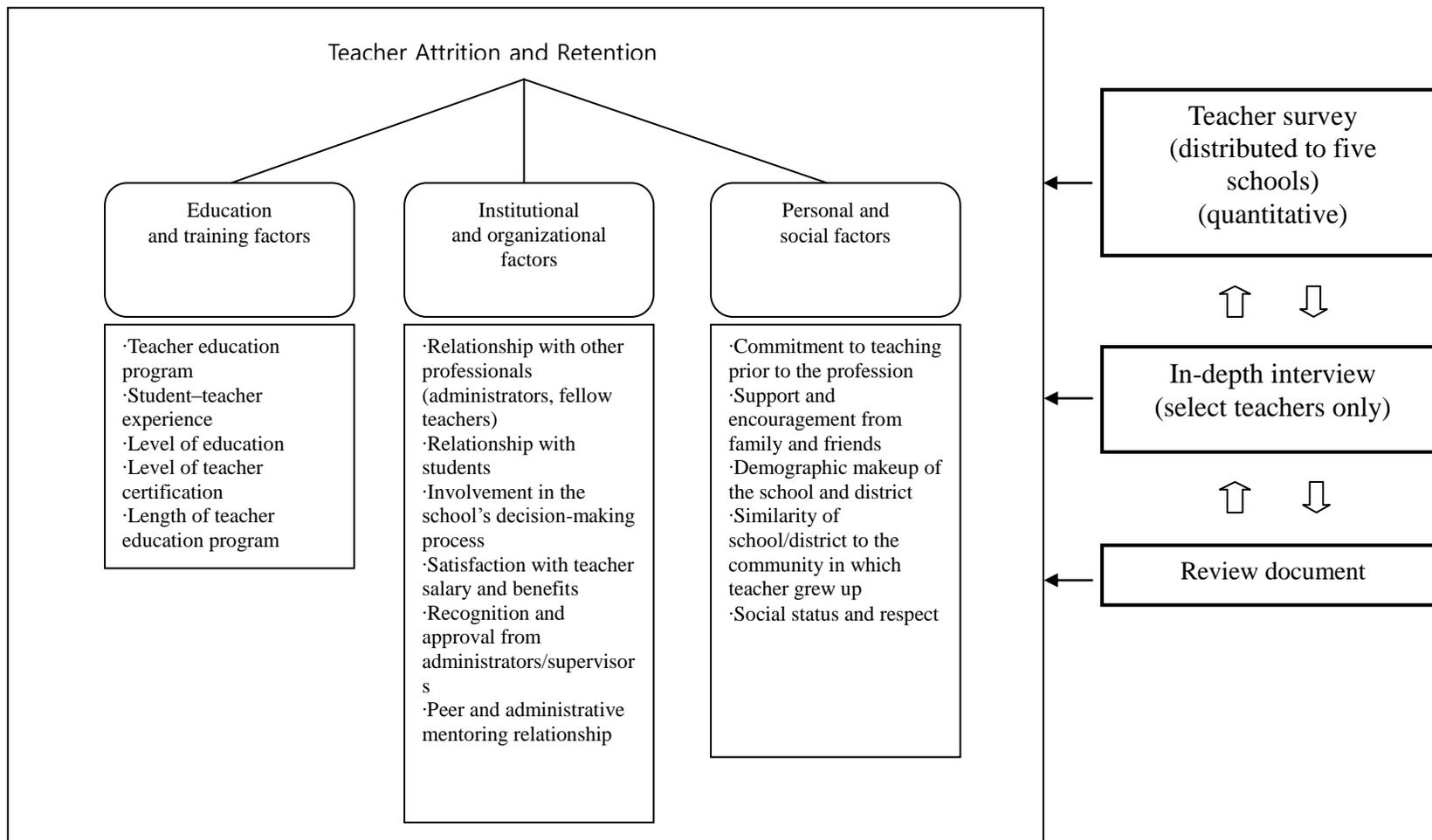


Figure 1. Research Design Framework.

3.2 Individual Interview

The first source of information comes from the individual interviews with key informants at different levels of the education system. At the national level, the researcher interviewed education ministry officials, institute of curriculum development officials, and educational faculty of Addis Ababa University and Kotebe College.

The Ethiopian education system is organized into two levels. First, there are eleven regions, each with a departmental directorate that serves as the representative of the Ministry of Education. Second, there are circumscriptions with immediate oversight responsibilities for schools at the district level (Woreda level). There are approximately 12 circumscriptions in each department, each headed by an inspector that has both administrative and supervisory responsibilities over the teachers and schools in his or her district. Each circumscription includes between 75 and 150 primary schools.

The researcher chose one circumscription as the location for this study. This circumscription was chosen because this is representative of different sorts of conditions that exist for teachers in Ethiopia, particularly the urban context and the researcher's prior familiarity with this particular location. The circumscription was located in Addis Ababa, which is the most populous and the most prosperous city in the country. The researcher chose one circumscription in

the capital city of Ethiopia: Yeka district, No. 5 section.

At both the departmental and circumscription levels, the researcher interviewed key education ministry officials as well as the vice president of the Addis Ababa Education Bureau. At the department level, the researcher was able to interview the directors.

Within the circumscription, the researcher chose five schools, and in each establishment, the researcher interviewed the school directors and select teachers. The researcher also interviewed representatives of the local parents association and local dignitaries. The researcher chose the schools that were close to the circumscription offices and had significant characteristics (relatively poor). The most substantive base data used for the findings presented here comes from face-to-face interviews with individuals. Tables 3–6 below present the attributes of the interviewees.

One reason the researcher chose these five schools for this research is because of the researcher's personal experience working in the Yeka district where these five schools are located. From 2008 through 2010, the researcher was the mathematics teacher at a primary school in Yeka. The researcher's responsibilities included working on teacher program design, curriculum development, and evaluating teaching performances. Since then, the researcher has returned to Ethiopia on several occasions as an advisor to the African Future Foundation Ethiopia Branch, a non-government organization in Korea. The

researcher has consequently developed an intimate knowledge of the Ethiopian education system; its key issues; and its political, social, and cultural histories and realities. Over the years, the researcher has also established close ties with key national educational actors and teachers who provided many sources of information. This intimate knowledge and these personal ties obviously contributed to the choice of Ethiopia and the Yeka district as the site for this research. The researcher's unique position provided certain insights into the self-identity of teachers that could not have been attained in other ways.

The interview protocol is designed to reflect this study's research questions. The semi-structured interview, designed as a series of open-ended questions, aimed to answer the research questions. The researcher brought interview guidelines but let the interview go on under the interviewees' control as much as possible. The semi-structured interview was helpful in eliciting teachers' perspectives, opinions, attitudes, and experiences. These interviews were a major resource in this study for understanding Ethiopian teachers' reasons for attrition and retention (see Table 1).

Table 1

Interviewees

Individual Interviews	Male	Female	Total
<u>School</u>			
Principal	4	1	5
Vice principal	3	2	5
Teacher	20	5	25
Parent	2	4	6
Subtotal	29	12	41
<u>Circumscription (Woreda)</u>			
Director	1		1
Inspector	1	1	2
Subtotal	2	1	3
<u>Government official</u>			
Education official (central ministry)	1	0	1
Institute of Curriculum Development	1	0	1
Educational Bureau	2	0	2
Subtotal	4	0	4
<u>Experts</u>			
Addis Ababa University	4	0	4
Kotebe College	1	0	1
Subtotal	5	0	5
TOTAL INTERVIEWS			53

3.3 Questionnaire Survey

A questionnaire survey was conducted to complement the interviews because they could be only administered to a limited number of people. It was also done in order to gain a more general and simplified perception of the participants. With the consent of the personnel in charge of each school, simplified questionnaires were distributed to the sampled schools. The answers to these questionnaires provided a general understanding of teachers' perceptions and thinking toward attrition and retention.

The questionnaire was distributed among 200 teachers in five schools. Then, the researcher collected 66 responses, excluding an undependable 34 sheets that had repetitions, response errors, or non-checking (blank answers). Questions were designed using a Likert-type scale where "0" meant no influence at all on teacher attrition and retention and "5" meant a strong influence on attrition and retention. Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 18.0 is used to analyze the data.

3.3.1 Making of the Questionnaire

The purpose of the questionnaire is to collect data to analyze the following types of factors: education and training factors, institutional and organizational factors, and personal and social factors. The questionnaire items were created based on Ternes' (2011) study. After drafting the questionnaire, fifteen Ethiopian teachers corrected it. The questionnaire is presented in Table 2.

Table 2

Questionnaire Configuration

Division	Content	Number of Questions
Education and training factors	1) Adequacy of teacher education program	4
	2) Student–teacher experience	
Institutional and organizational factors	3) Level of education	7
	4) Length of teacher education	
	1) Relationship with other professionals	
	2) Relationship with students	
Personal and social factors	3) Involvement in school’s decision-making process	5
	4) Satisfaction with salary and benefits	
	5) Satisfaction with career ladder system	
	6) Recognition and support from administrators	
	7) Peer and administrative mentoring relationships	
Personal data	1) Commitment to teaching	11
	2) Support and encouragement from family	
	3) Demographic makeup	
Personal data	4) Similarity of school/district to the community	11
	5) Social status and respect	
	1) Gender	
	2) Age	
	3) Highest degree attained	
	4) Total teaching service	
	5) Teaching service in the school	
	6) Current teaching position	
7) Grade level taught		
8) Subject taught		
Personal data	9) In-service programs	11
	10) Extension program	
Personal data	11) Main reason for becoming a teacher	11
TOTAL		27

3.3.2 Characteristics of the Samples

The features of the samples are described by gender, age, highest degree attained, total time in teaching, teaching service in the school, current teaching position, grade level taught, subject taught, in-service programs, extension programs, and the main reason for becoming a teacher (see Table 3).

Table 3

Descriptions of the Teachers in the Study

Distribution	Number	Percent (%)
<u>Gender</u>		
Male	43	65.2
Female	23	34.8
Subtotal	66	100.0
<u>Age</u>		
10's	2	3.0
20's	37	56.1
30's	18	27.3
40's	6	9.1
50's and above	3	4.5
Subtotal	66	100.0
<u>Highest Degree Attained</u>		
Bachelor's	22	33.3
Diploma	41	62.1
Certificate	3	4.5
Subtotal	66	100.0
<u>Total Teaching Position</u>		
1-4 years	19	28.8
5-10 years	28	42.4
More than 10 years	19	28.0
Subtotal	66	100.0
<u>Teaching Service in This School</u>		
1-4 years	44	66.7

5–10 years	16	24.2
More than 10 years	6	9.1
Subtotal	66	100.0
<u>Current Teaching Position</u>		
Beginner	6	9.1
Junior teacher	17	25.8
Teacher	22	33.3
Senior teacher	7	10.6
Associate lead teacher	5	7.6
Lead teacher	2	3.0
Head teacher	4	6.1
Vice principal	2	3.0
Principal	1	1.5
Subtotal	66	100.0
<u>Grade Level Taught</u>		
First cycle (1–4)	16	24.2
Second cycle (5–8)	46	69.7
Special needs education	4	6.1
Subtotal	66	100.0
<u>Subject</u>		
English	12	18.2
Mathematics	13	19.7
Aesthetics	4	6.1
General science	14	21.2
Social science	8	12.1
Amharic	9	13.6
Special needs education	5	7.6
Physical education	1	1.5
Subtotal	66	100.0

<u>In-Service Programs</u>		
Yes	40	60.6
No	26	39.4
Subtotal	66	100.0
<u>Extension Programs</u>		
Yes	26	39.4
No	40	60.6
Subtotal	66	100.0
<u>Main Reason for Becoming a Teacher</u>		
Teaching is right for me	14	21.2
I enjoy teaching	12	18.2
Teachers are much needed in this country	9	13.6
I want to dedicate myself to education	6	9.1
Teaching is a stable job	0	0
Teaching is quite a good job to make money	1	1.5
Teaching as a stepping stone	22	33.3
Other	2	3.0
Subtotal	66	100.0
TOTAL QUSTIONNAIRES ANSWERED		66

3.4 Archival Research

Much information regarding teacher attrition and retention is obtained through the analysis of government documents and reports generated by donors and lending institutions. In addition, Ethiopia has national pedagogical research institutes that possess an array of reports, evaluations, and theses on national, regional, and local educational issues. The researcher also examined press reports of educational events. This last source of information has been most useful for learning of more recent developments in the education sector, since political liberalization has allowed greater press freedom but newspapers are not usually a good source of academic research, as they are journalistic and sensational rather than academic and objective.

Chapter 4: Findings

4.1 Teachers and Teaching in Ethiopia

Welmond (1999) stated that education is an aggregation of politics, economy, society, and culture. Education could be the critical tool for nation building by translating or infusing the legitimacy of the nation. Especially, teachers are the critical medium to deliver nations' ideas or make people citizens. Therefore, teachers face two roles: teaching and transmission. Welmond (1999, p. 23) pointed out that "teachers are the main key that can make the evolution of the education sector and the country's political economy at the same time." Teachers are also critical tools for maintaining legitimacy; therefore, nations continue to attempt to use teachers as "political tacticians."

These phenomena affect teachers' social mobility. According to Abernethy (1969), legislators, party leaders, ministers, and even presidents in Africa were lawyers and teachers during the decolonization period. Dove (1986) stated that fifteen of the first presidents in Africa were teachers (cited in Welmond, 1999).

Ethiopia has had three systems of political governance: the Haile Selassie period (1941–1970) and the Imperial Regime; the Dark Regime (1974–

1991), which was a socialist/communist regime; and the current government (1991–Present). Simply, the Imperial Regime is called “the golden age of education” and the Dark Regime is known as the “dark age of education.”

Teachers deployed during the Imperial Regime recalled it in a positive light. Teachers were elite and managed by government politicians, political readers, and high up administrators, in other words, teachers had “credentials.” A third grade teacher with 35 years of experience describes the phenomenon in the following way:

[During the] Haile Selassie period, teachers were so respected from others. Because teachers came from elite and different fields. So, teachers were at the same time politicians . . . [In the] Mengistu Regime, teachers were also politicians. . . . Our current Prime Minister, Haile Mariam, was a teacher.

Tekleselassie (2005, p. 619) also pointed out that “traditionally, teaching has been among the most respected professions in Ethiopia. The prestige of the profession in the past was attached to several favorable conditions: teachers were chosen from a pool of dedicated and able candidates, the duration of the training was relatively long, and upon graduation, teachers were paid a salary comparable and competitive to that of other civil servants.”

A dramatic increase in enrollment on the one hand and low government priority for the education system on the other has shifted the status of the teaching profession since the 1980s. Furthermore, the expansion of student enrollment caused increased demand in the employment of teachers who not only had a lower level of training but also saw teaching as the last resort the job market could offer (Tekleselassie, 2005). Therefore, teachers in African countries have weak credentials for entry into politics and higher positions in government administrations. As a consequence, the possibilities that teachers have to either enter politics or seek other positions in the administration have diminished. However, such opportunities are still an important part of teachers' options for choosing the teaching profession and professional retention.

4.2 Career Ladder System

4.2.1 Classification of the Career Ladder System

Based on their qualifications and the grade level they are assigned to teach, teachers are sorted into four major groups: kindergarten and lower primary teachers, upper primary teachers, lower secondary school teachers, and upper secondary and technical school teachers. Incorporated within these four levels are six career ladders/stages, which describe the required profile and the salary to which teachers are entitled. These career ladders include beginning teacher,

junior teacher, teacher, senior teacher, associate lead teacher, and lead teacher.

Rigorous performance evaluations are critical criteria for all of the stages in the career ladder system. The following major requirements are commonly applicable at all stages in ascertaining a teacher's eligibility for promotion (Tekleselassie, 2005, p. 621) (for detailed information on the evaluations sheets, please refer to Appendix 1):

- Effectiveness in teaching (as evaluated by students, principals, and colleagues)
- Diligence in improving one's profession and willingness to share experience with others (as evaluated by colleagues, parents, students, and principals)
- Ability to evaluate the curricular materials at the school level and to adopt them to local needs (as determined by colleagues', principals', and students' evaluations)
- Ability to give support and to evaluate students' behavioral changes (as determined by parents', colleagues', principals', and students' evaluations)
- Relationship and cooperation with the school community and parents (as determined by parents' and principals' evaluations)

4.2.2 Problems with Career Ladder System

The career ladder policy adopted in 1994 could affect teacher attrition. Table 4 shows how teachers consider the career ladder system as a critical element of teacher attrition. The percentage of teachers who answered “yes” that chose “4” and “5” is 28.8% and 21.2%, respectively. The null hypothesis of the test, that there are no differences among intention of attrition (yes or no), is dismissed. In other words, stark differences exist among respondents as to whether the career ladder system affects intention of attrition ($\chi^2 = 27.39$, $p < .001$).

Table 4

Results of Cross Tabulation Analysis on Attrition and Career Ladder System

Effect on Attrition Related to the Career Ladder System							
	1	2	3	4	5	Total	χ^2
Intention of	9	5	0	4	6	18	
Attrition	(13.6)	(7.6)	(0.0)	(6.1)	(9.1)	(36.4)	27.39***
(No) ⁷							(.000)

⁷ The dependent variable in this research is “turnover intention.” The question of turnover intention is composed of four answers: 1) “I plan to stay in teaching until I retire,” 2) “I plan to stay in teaching unless I have the opportunity to get another job,” 3) “I definitely plan to leave the teaching profession,” and 4) “I am not sure what my plans are.” The researcher classified the answers into two categories: intention of retention and intention of attrition. Answers one and four are intention of retention, and answers two and three are intention of attrition.

Intention of Attrition (Yes)	0 (0.0)	2 (3.0)	7 (10.6)	19 (28.8)	14 (21.2)	42 (63.6)	
Total	9 (13.6)	7 (10.6)	7 (10.6)	22 (34.8)	15 (30.3)	66 (100.0)	

*** p < .001, ** p < .01, * p < .05

Why do Ethiopian teachers consider the career ladder system to be the main factor affecting teacher attrition? One reason could be bureaucratic hurdles and oversight structures.

Tekleselassie (2005, p. 625) stated that “One major problem is that the outcome of a teacher’s performance evaluation (at the school) is subject to further scrutiny by the district, zone and regional educational bureaus.” In other words, the district office and upper echelons oversee the outcome of the evaluation and examine its implementation. Especially, one-party politics come into the evaluation and examination process. One-party politics and district offices are both the generators of the policy as well as the watchdogs of its execution.

Therefore, the career ladder system is seriously affected by party politics. Joining the right political party will guarantee promotion. Political tendency not only influences social mobility but also affects career mobility within an organization. Sometimes, age and career experience are somewhat useless when

it comes to promotion. A principal with three years of experience and a vice principal with four years of experience describe the process of being promoted in the following way:

Q: Even though you are around 32 years old, how did you come to be a principal?

A: The government chose me. The government [considered] my results—only my results at Teacher Training College (TTC) and my political activity. When I joined the Woreda, the Woreda education officers collected us and choose a teacher [to choose the] principal (laughs). And finally, the teacher selected me to be a principal, and [the] other teachers agreed. When they looked [at] my results, they were good. The results were 3.8, [or] something like that. So they agreed and they gave [me a] chance as principal. . . . After three months, I became [a] good principal (laughs). But I don't want to judge myself as a good one. But the Woreda said to me [that I am] good because I was a good servant to [the] community and the Woreda. (A quote from a principal with three years of experience)

Q: How did you come to be a vice principal at Addis Brihan School?

A: The Woreda recommended me as a principal and they wrote a letter

to [the] sub-cities. At the same time, the manager of the sub-cities [chose us] before [we] took the exam. That is one of [the] screening systems. They select people based on many individual categories. For example, birthplace, political tendency, TTC results, etc. It's political things! Because Ethiopia is sensitive in politics, school areas are also sensitive. The principal or vice principal's role is making [the] schools stable politically. They want to have stable schools, so they screen the candidates' ability to control the school and the society. Can he mobilize society? These things are analyzed. And after that, you take the exam. If you fail the exam, they will reject you. (A quote from a vice principal with four years of experience)

Why do teachers agree to and even actively seek to be politically active? Participating in candidates' political campaigns seems to promise administrative or governmental positions. In fact, many government officials were teachers. Teachers are influential on communities and parents; therefore, teachers are good supporters in maintaining the ruling party. The other source of compensation is some sort of direct payment by a political party to teachers to conduct their duty or giving them the chance to go abroad for professional development or sightseeing.

If you join the major party, you can get lots of benefits. For example, you could become a government official at the governmental level. I even heard from other teachers that most teachers who did the campaign were looking for money. Teachers are always [in] need [of] money. The party allocates some sections, which are mostly your school areas, and you secretly do a campaign. After that, you will get some money. (A quote from a seventh grade teacher with 10 years of experience)

Definitely, I will remain teaching because I want to be a government officer. I come from SNNPRS⁸: I'm a member of the major party and I am [a] degree holder. I believe that I could be [an] officer. So I want to go abroad to study more. (A quote from a sixth grade teacher with 15 years of experience)

However, the situation has changed. In fact, political opportunities are ironically much lower today for teachers. In part, this seems to be the impact of attempts to reduce civil service roles. In addition, teachers are not the only group to be compensated, nor are they even the most important one. Teachers tend to work at the same sort of tasks as university students in political parties.

⁸ Southern Nations and Nationalities Peoples Republics (SNNPRS)

Of course, in the past, teaching was a good position in society because teachers can get [a] high position if [they] join the party and become good politicians. However, these days, I never [hear of] teachers who are in very high positions, even if they are good. Maybe they'll name you vice principal or principal, or a technical advisor in an educational [capacity]. That's all. But these percentages [are] also small. (A quote from a seventh grade teacher with 10 years of experience)

They will look for university students [rather] than teachers because they are so cheap and [because] they are much smarter than teachers. (A quote from the director at the Woreda education office)

Teachers' backgrounds and political affiliations also influence their choice to engage in a party's politics. There is one political party that is called the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF); it was founded in 1991 and is headed by Prime Minister Meles Zenawi. The EPRDF led the forces that overthrew the Marxist-Leninist government of President Mengistu Hailemariam (known as Dergue). The Dergue and Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE) government were responsible for massive human rights abuses over the 17-year period after the revolution of 1974, which overthrew Emperor Haile Selassie's government. Selassie's government saw the most prosperous period in

Ethiopia (Amnesty International, 2005)⁹. The EPRDF and current government are composed of Tigray people, who are located in northern Ethiopia, have the smallest population, and have a tendency to follow the WPE's thinking.

In the 2000 elections, the EPRDF and its affiliated parties were challenged more than ever before by national and regional opposition parties. Several opposition parties claimed that their members have faced considerable restrictions and human rights abuses, particularly in remote rural areas outside the gaze of the international community and the media centered in Addis Ababa. Still, Ethiopia has faced a crisis in democracy. An eighth grade teacher with eight years of experience describes the hatred for party politics in the following way:

Q: Specifically because you come from the Oromia region you don't want to join the political party?

A: You know that we do not have developed politics and [a] developed democracy, so we are not able to express our ideas [within the] political system. That's why everybody hates politicians and political things. If you are not able to join the political party, especially EPRDF, you are not able to [become a] principal. I hate politics. That's why I want to leave teaching.

Q: Do you want to be [a] principal?

⁹ Retrieve from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/AFR25/006/2005/ar/6acf3326-d4f6-11dd-8a23-d58a49c0d652/afr250062005en.pdf>

A: No! I don't want to be [a] principal. Everyone could be a principal, but I don't want [to]. Principals and vice principals aren't educators, they're politicians.

On November 11, 2011, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) reported about an Ethiopian teacher who burnt himself to death in a protest. According to the report, Yenesew Gebre made an impassioned plea at a protest before burning himself using petrol. Addressing fellow protestors, he is reported to have said the following: "I want to show to all that death is preferable than a life without justice and liberty, and I call upon my fellow compatriots to fear nothing and rise up to wrench their freedom and rights from the hands of the local and national tyrants" (BBC News Reports, November 11, 2011)¹⁰.

It appears that he had been fired from his teaching position because of his political views, which opposed the ruling party. This is an example of a teacher's protest against the current government because of his personal background. A quote from an eighth grade teacher with seven years of experience conveys this concern:

¹⁰ Retrieved from <http://revolutionaryfrontlines.wordpress.com/2011/11/16/ethiopian-satellite-news-ethiopian-activist-yenesew-gebre-sets-himself-on-fire-in-protest-dies/>

Q: Could you tell me why you began teaching in the first place and the main people who influenced you to become a teacher? What other options could you have chosen?

A: Nobody enforced me to [become a teacher], but when I [achieved] my first degree [at] Adama University, [it was] because [of] different political problems around 1997. It [was a case of] complicity, I mean political complicity. There was a national election. At that time, there was an oppositional party. The opposition dominated government positions. After that, there was political instability between the government and the oppositional party. Many of [the] oppositional leaders [were] sent to jail. After that, all [of the] university students [came] under [the] control of the government, and some political members [began] screening students. At the time, we supported the opposition party. Because they selected us, I was a representative of the opposition party at the university. Suddenly, they selected 17–18 students and they fired the students including me from the university. Because [this was a] waste of my time, I immediately applied to Kotebe TTC. They immediately accepted me. That's why I chose my career as a teacher.

4.2.3 Burdens from Career Ladder System

Workloads from the government are strongly related to politics. The Ethiopian government considers schools to be strategic places to convey government thinking and policy; therefore, the government sets the principals' and vice principals' duties using 14–17 categories to evaluate teachers and communicate with the community. However, the most stressful and burdensome are the political duties teachers are assigned by the government and the ruling party:

Before two years [had passed], there were some problems with the principals. The government announced through the media that teachers could earn an additional salary. But the reality was that teachers didn't get additional salaries, just that the government had upgraded scale of salaries. That was a trick. That's just political promotion. So teachers didn't teach for three days. After that, there was some political interference [with the] teachers. So at that time, teachers had some problems with principals and higher government officers. Actually, the government forced teachers to teach using principals' voices . . . teachers restarted teaching. Because of the interference of principals, we have [a] very poor relationship with [the] teachers.

(Quote from a principal with eight years of experience)

One day, I was doing my job at my desk when suddenly two well-dressed men came into my office. Without any greeting, they showed me a bomb. A real bomb! Can you imagine this situation? Finally, we figured out that they were sent by the government to check the school's security against terrorists. There were some terrorist attacks in local provinces. So, they checked whether this school can screen terrorists. However, we found out that we could not. It was totally my fault and they announced me to the 'qquate.' (A quote from a vice principal with 10 years of experience)

Closely linked with the oversight procedure is the "qquate" system. Due to the huge pool of applicants, candidates are subject to undergoing further screenings to fit their numbers to the resources. Under these circumstances, each school is tied up to a "qquate" system for further screenings to determine eligibility out of the already eligible pool of candidates. It also creates an atmosphere of competition among teachers and obedience to principals.

Especially when making decisions, teachers do not want to protest against principals and vice principals. Teachers mentioned that the decision-making process in school is mostly political; generally, principals force teachers

to follow the government's decisions. There is no freedom of speech and teachers have to follow the decisions already made by the principal. This drives teachers to be "individuals"¹¹ in a school:

If you are close to people, you will be addicted to political things. Especially, Ethiopians talk a lot. This is when problems happen. I do not want to face these situations. In this school, I have very limited relations with co-workers. Just say hi, and if there is something, we meet and simply communicate, and that's it. We don't talk about other matters, such as personal situations and political situations. (A quote from a teacher with nine years of experience)

Teachers in Ethiopia described themselves as "talkative." Ethiopians like meddling in one another's affairs and conveying news to others, which generates other issues. Admittedly, these phenomena abound in schools, so teachers learn not talk about sensitive gossip, especially political gossip. Because of these situations, teachers do not meet at school more than is necessary.

¹¹ Lortie (1975), the first to discuss the phenomenon of teacher individualism in any systematic way, associated it with qualities of uncertainty and anxiety, which led teachers to rely on orthodox doctrines and their own past experience. "Individualism" in this study does not mean the same thing as Lortie's definition. Here, individualism does not happen when teachers are evaluated based on their performances; instead, it is based on politically isolating teachers.

Actually, I have limited relationships with the principal and vice principals and staff members. Most of the time, if you spend [time] with these people, they will know you and you will be [put in] unnecessary situations. (A quote from a teacher with 12 years of experience)

This culture affects the relationship between teachers and principals. Usually, principals and vice principals recommend teachers to join “qquate” in the future. However, teachers, even if they do not want to be principals or vice principals, are likely to be recruited to the “qquate” if they work hard in a school or had good grades from university and in-service programs. Furthermore, teachers who want to be promoted must follow and consent to leaders’ opinions even though they have opposite opinions. A quote from an eighth grade teacher conveys this concern:

Actually, there is something that we call ‘democracy’s majority role.’ Democracy for me is very poor. So, we are just under their ideas. So most of the time, decision-making is for [the] majority in the major party here. Simply, teachers are just raising their hands [in agreement with the] principal’s [ideas].

The questionnaire survey results also support the poor relationship between principals and teachers when making decisions. Twenty-six teachers out of 42 teachers who responded “yes” to school-decision making process (“4” and “5”) consider the school decision-making process as a critical factor in attrition (39.4% out of 100%). The null hypothesis of the test, that there are no differences among intention of attrition (yes or no), is dismissed. In other words, stark differences exist among respondents regarding whether the school’s decision-making process affects intention of attrition ($\chi^2 = 27.82, p < .01$).

Table 5

Results of Cross Tabulation Analysis on Attrition and School Decision-Making

Effect on Attrition Related to the School Decision-Making Process							
	1	2	3	4	5	Total	χ^2
Intention of attrition (no)	9 (13.6)	8 (12.1)	3 (4.5)	1 (1.5)	3 (4.5)	24 (36.4)	17.47** (.002)
Intention of attrition (yes)	5 (7.6)	4 (6.1)	7 (10.6)	16 (24.2)	10 (15.2)	42 (63.6)	
Total	14 (21.2)	12 (18.2)	10 (15.2)	17 (25.8)	13 (19.7)	66 (100.0)	

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

“Poor democracy” and “individuality” are closely related to “politics” and “promotion.” Teachers who were not interested in promotion did not show enthusiasm toward teaching and the school’s functions. Teachers who were eager for promotion showed loyalty to the leadership in the hopes of becoming members of “qquate.” Most of the teachers that the researcher interviewed did not want to be promoted, i.e. the “individuality” of the culture of a school was revealed: it broke up meetings and protected teachers from politics.

4.3 Salary

Many scholars found that little compensation and low salary are critical reasons for teachers to leave the profession (Fuller, 1991). Generally, the interviewees thought that teachers were unfairly treated. Only a few of the interviewees thought that teachers’ compensation (official and non-official) was adequate.

Based on the World Bank’s findings and conclusions, there is a general consensus that teachers’ remuneration, especially in developing countries, is seriously inadequate (Higginson, 1996; Education International, 2003; cited in Bennell, 2007). Although teachers’ salaries constitute a sizable portion of national education expenditures, teachers believe the level of their salaries is insufficient to enable them to meet their minimum household subsistence needs.

So, earning a secondary income is central to the coping strategies adopted by many teachers (Bennell, 2007).

Table 6

Education Expenditure Trends in Different Government Systems, 1970–2005

Year	Education Expenditure (Million Birr)	Total Government Expenditure (Percent)	Government System
1970	65.5	10.4	Monarchy
1975	129.9	14.1	
1980	203.6	8.6	Communism
1985	328.3	8.2	
1990	491.9	7.5	
1995	1,337.0	13.8	Federalism
2000	2,485.1	13.6	
2005	4,638.9	16.7	

Source: “Education Statistics Annual Abstracts” (MoE, 2011, p. 83)

The Ethiopian government has made a great effort to increase teachers’ salaries, increasing steadily since 1994. For example, as seen in Table 6 from the 1995 data entry, the total government expenditure on education has increased. The new policy was implemented based on the “Education Sector Strategy” report (MoE, 1994). It outlined 10 objectives for the new reform:

- 1) To provide a good quality primary education with an ultimate aim of achieving universal primary education over a period of 20 years
- 2) To make education relevant by providing problem-solving skills and a well-rounded education catering to the needs of the individual and the society
- 3) To provide vocational education and training at different levels attuned to the manpower requirements of the economy
- 4) To provide a secondary education of appreciate quality in an equitable way
- 5) To promote a higher education of good quality, relevance, and focusing on research and development
- 6) To make available special and non-formal education in line with the needs and capability of the country
- 7) To improve the quality of training, professional competence, and career structure of teachers and other professionals
- 8) To streamline the management and organization of the educational system so as to make it decentralized, coordinated, participatory, professional, and efficient
- 9) To increase the financing of education by encouraging community participation, introducing cost-sharing mechanisms, and

involving the private sector in the provision of education

10) To improve the collaboration and coordination of the education sector with other relevant sectors

The reform included decentralization, curricular reform, language policies, and a greater emphasis on student-centered instructional practices. Such reforms have major implications for the work and professional lives of teachers and for enlarging universal primary education. To reach this target, the government expanded its educational budget beginning in 1994.

In fact, based on the World Bank's (2005) research, in 2001–2002, their annual remuneration (including pension and allowances) averaged nearly seven times the per capita GDP for teachers in grades 1–4. For teachers in grades 5–8 and grades 9–12, the corresponding figures were 8 and nearly 12 times, respectively. In other words, in grades 1–4, the average annual remuneration ranged from under six times the per capita GDP in Tigray and Harari to eight times in Afar, where hardship allowances were provided. In grades 5–8, teacher cost, on average, was six times the per capita GDP in Addis Ababa and as much as 10 times in Afar. One thing attracting attention is that the structure was essentially flat in Addis Ababa, where teachers in grades 5–8 were about as costly as those teaching grades 1–4. This was relatively steep in such regions as Tigray and Harari, where teachers in grades 5–8 cost about 50% more (see Table

7). From Table 7, the researcher speculates that the teacher salary in 2001–2002 was not low compared to the GDP per capita.

Table 7

Average Annual Teacher Remuneration in Government Schools, Ethiopia, 2001–2002

Region	Teachers' Average Annual Pay ^a		
	Grades 1–4	Grades 5–8	Grades 9–12
Tigray	5.6	8.2	13.8
Afar	8.0	9.5	15.5
Amhara	7.1	8.1	9.9
Oromiya	6.9	8.3	13.7
Somali	8.0	9.5	15.5
Benshangul-Gumuz	6.4	7.7	12.1
SNNPR*	6.9	7.8	8.5
Gambella	6.1	7.3	16.2
Harari	5.8	8.7	14.0
Addis Ababa	6.2	6.1	11.7
Dire Dawa	7.4	8.6	11.6
Ethiopia	6.8	8.0	11.8

*Southern Nations and Nationalities Peoples Republic (SNNPR).

Note: Per capita GDP was 878.3 Birr in 2001–2002 (1994 E.C.¹²).

a. Includes base salary, pension, and allowance.

Source: “Education in Ethiopia” (World Bank, 2005, p. 73).

¹² E.C. refers to Ethiopian calendar. E.C. is the principal calendar used in Ethiopia.

Scrutinizing the budget information requires checking the total budget for education. After that, teacher wages, which account for the education budget, will be dealt with. First, as seen in Table 8, a large portion of regional spending was on primary and secondary education: grades 1–4 (cycle 1) claim an average of 33% across the regions, and grades 5–8 (cycle 2) and grades 9–12 claim average shares of 24% and 18%, respectively. However, the pattern in Addis Ababa is an exception. Regarding TVET, Addis Ababa allocated less than 50% in 2001–2002.

Table 8

Recurrent Spending on Primary and Secondary Education Across Regions, Ethiopia, 2001–2002

Region	Total Regional Recurrent Spending on Education		Percentage Allocation of Total Regional Recurrent Spending on Education				
	In millions of birr	As ratio of budget amounts	Primary Education			Grades 9–12	Primary and Secondary Education
			Grades 1–4	Grades 5–8	Grades 1–8		
Tigray	82.0	0.85	37.5	27.8	65.3	17.7	83.0
Afar	21.5	0.88	29.9	15.2	45.1	29.8	74.9
Amhara	266.7	0.95	46.0	24.4	70.4	10.7	81.2
Oromiya	499.8	0.93	35.3	27.0	62.3	16.5	78.8
Somali	28.6	1.10	43.3	28.1	71.4	10.2	81.6
Benshangul-Gumuz	25.3	n.a.	—	—	71.6	7.9	79.5
SNNPR	240.6	0.92	40.0	31.2	71.2	7.9	79.1
Gambella	20.3	n.a.	—	—	50.3	7.9	58.2
Harari	14.2	0.88	27.6	29.3	56.9	25.7	82.6
Addis Ababa	133.3	0.91	12.7	15.7	28.4	21.3	49.7
Dire Dawa	12.8	0.90	28.2	19.0	47.3	17.2	64.5
Regional total	1,270.9	0.92	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

— = Data not available.

n.a. = Not applicable.

Source: “Education in Ethiopia” (World Bank, 2005, p. 79).

Table 9 provides additional information on the pattern of regional spending on education. Especially, it illustrates the allocation for teacher salaries and educational supplies in each sub-cycle. Of note is that teaching salaries absorb a large portion of the budget, leaving very limited amounts for non-salary inputs.

Table 9

Teacher Wages and Educational Supplies as a Percentage of Recurrent Spending in Primary and Secondary Education Across Regions, Ethiopia, 2001–2002

Region	Teacher Wages as a Percentage of Subsector Recurrent Spending			Educational Supplies as a Percentage of Subsector Recurrent Spending	
	Grades 1–4	Grades 5–8	Grades 9–12	Grades 1–8	Grades 9–12
Tigray	89.8	82.2	66.3	1.2	6.9
Afar	71.9	65.5	13.4	8.5	5.2
Amhara	96.4	94.8	82.7	0.8	1.6
Oromiya	90.4	89.3	69.2	4.1	15.2
Somali	84.5	87.4	73.5	2.9	0.0
SNNPR	97.7	93.8	73.1	0.6	1.7
Harari	73.2	82.1	64.0	1.4	5.5
Addis Ababa	75.2	76.7	78.8	4.7	5.1
Dire Dawa	80.5	91.4	73.3	8.8	7.4

Source: “Education in Ethiopia” (World Bank, 2005, p. 80).

To sum up, teachers' salaries increased from 1994 and took up lots of subsector spending in education. Even teachers' salaries were generally 6.8 times higher (cycle 1) and 8 times higher (cycle 2) than the per capita GDP in 2001–2002. However, based on the literature review and personal interviews, low salary was still a severe problem in SSA. In fact, based on Fenot's (2005) study, the teaching profession had low appeal to young people; teachers were perceived to be demoralized and demotivated; and the teaching force was characterized by high absenteeism, turnover, and attrition rates. The main reason for teachers' turnover was low salary and compensation. The researcher also found the same results as Fenot (2005) through personal interviews. There were over 120 statements made by teachers during the interviews that discussed how teachers were “the ignored of society,” “the most miserable/ill-treated,” had “the poorest job,” etc. related to salary compared to other professions.

The questionnaire survey results also tell us that Ethiopian teachers think salary is the main factor affecting attrition. Both responses (intention of attrition (“no”) and intention of attrition (“yes”)) are concentrated in “4” and “5” on the Likert-type scale, which means most of the teachers regardless of responses think that salary is not sufficiently complete (see Table 10).

Table 10

Results of Cross Tabulation Analysis on Attrition and Salary

Effect on Attrition Related to Salary							
	1	2	3	4	5	Total	χ^2
Intention of attrition (no)	0 (0.0)	3 (5.0)	2 (3.3)	6 (10.0)	7 (11.7)	18 (30.0)	1.76 (.779)
Intention of attrition (yes)	2 (3.3)	4 (6.7)	3 (5.0)	14 (23.3)	19 (31.7)	42 (70.0)	
Total	2 (3.3)	7 (11.7)	5 (8.3)	20 (33.3)	26 (43.4)	60 (100.0)	

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

Why do teachers still complain about Ethiopia's salary policy? Even though they get eight times higher compensation compared to the per capita GDP, why do teachers feel that they have not been treated fairly in terms of salary? The government set a career ladder system in which promotion equals a higher salary. This could help in improving teachers' lives economically. Because salary was the main cause of leaving the teaching profession, the career ladder would be good compensation and induce people to take up teaching positions. However, based on the personal interviews, most of the teachers did not want promotions even though there were salary benefits. What are the reasons teachers refused promotions? The answers fall into the following three categories: 1) still low salary compared to other professions, 2) no big salary differences between

teachers and principals, and 3) big differences in workload between teachers and principals.

4.3.1 Still Low Salary Compared to Other Professions

The per capita GDP of Ethiopia in 2013 was USD \$498.1.¹³ As mentioned above, teachers' salaries in primary school averaged 6–8 times higher than the per capita GDP. Approximately, teachers' monthly salaries fell between USD \$249 to USD \$332 (Birr 4,768.00 to Birr 6,357.00)¹⁴. However, based on field research, the salary claiming to be 6–8 times higher than the per capita GDP was not true; instead, the salary teachers received was much smaller than what was publicized.

The most a teacher could get is not more than 3,000 birr before extracting government taxes,¹⁵ which is a small salary compared to other professions. Teachers normally get around less than 2,000 birr (USD \$104). An eighth grade teacher with 10 years of experience described it in the following way:

¹³ World Bank Statistics (Retrieved from <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD/countries/ET?display=graph>).

¹⁴ USD \$1 = Birr 19.15 (Retrieved from <http://www.nbe.gov.et/>).

¹⁵ Based on field research in 2013, the government tax is another reason for the reduced salary. If teachers get less than 150 birr, there are no taxes. In the range from 150–500 birr, there is a 10–15% tax. In the range from 600–1,000 birr, there is a 20–25% tax. The average tax range was between 10–35%.

Teachers are not highly paid: nine hundred birr as freshmen, 1,800 birr as a normal teacher. If you drive a truck in the road, you may get 3,000 birr, and they can get 100 birr for lunch and an extra fee excluding salary. So they can get 5000–6000 birr [in total]. So there are big differences [in salary] between a teacher and a driver. A new medical doctor may get 2,500–3,000 birr and a specialist can get 5,000–6,000 birr. A normal Woreda government officer may get 3,000 birr. So teaching has the lowest salary. So, everyone doesn't want to be a teacher because the salary is very low. . . . We cannot afford to live with this salary to survive. There is house rent, transportation, clothing, medicine, and other things, and you have to support your parents—in Ethiopian case, everyone has to support their parents. But we cannot do that because of the income. So everyone wants to leave teaching . . . We know teaching is a good profession. We have freedom. But there are two contradictions: there is low payment, but the profession is good. So society judges you depending on your income. If you have a low income, you cannot change your situation and status. How will society respect you? How will students respect you? They will judge you by your clothing and by your face. So it's impossible, and nobody wants to get this job.

Teachers' salaries were quite small compared to experts, public officers,

and even laborers.¹⁶ Even though teaching is a good profession,¹⁷ with low social respect and small compensation, teachers cannot afford a good life; therefore, they decide to leave the profession. In 2011, clerks or mid-level professionals got about the same salary as teachers.

¹⁶ Other professional salaries included civil workers (starting from 2,000 birr), surgeons (starting from 3,000 birr), those with specialist licenses (starting from 5,000 birr), truck drivers (normally less than 4,000 birr), and laborers (per one day, 30–50 birr) (Field research, 2013).

¹⁷ From the researcher's field research, many teachers mentioned that teaching itself is a good profession; however, considering economic and political aspects, teaching is not a good profession (Field research, November 23, 2013).

Table 11

Ethiopian Wages Set by the Government in 2011

Rank	Type of Services						Starting Salary (in Birr)	Ceiling (in Birr)
	Guards & laborers ^a	Custodials ^b	Clerks ^c	Mid-level professionals ^d	Administrators ^e	Professionals ^f		
I	1						420	734
II	2	1	1				470	817
III	3	2	2	1			525	908
IV	4	3	3	2			587	1,006
V	5	4	4	3			694	1,172
VI		5	5	4			817	1,359
VII		6	6	5			957	1,571
VIII		7	7	6	1		1,114	1,798
IX		8	8	7	2		1,295	2,058
X		9	9	8	3	1	1,499	2,351
XI		10	10	9	4	2	1,719	2,686
XII			11	10	5	3	1,968	3,066
XIII			12	11	6	4	2,249	3,499
XIV				12	7	5	2,570	3,985
XV					8	6	2,934	4,535
XVI					9	7	3,348	5,135
XVII						8	3,817	5,776
XVII						9	4,343	6,460

- a. Guards and laborers are those who can read and write (completed grades 1–4).
- b. Custodians completed grade five and above.
- c. Clerks include 10+2 or 10+3 and a diploma in secretarial science.
- d. Mid-level professionals include those with a diploma and above.
- e. Administrators include those with a B.A. in management, administration, etc.
- f. Professionals include those with a B.A. or higher.

Source: (Retrieved from <http://www.wageindicator.org/main/salary/minimum-wage/ethiopia>).

Table 12 shows teachers' monthly living expenses (calculated to include a wife and two kids). The teacher whom I interviewed had nine years of experience in teaching and was classified in the "teacher" category in the career ladder system. As Table 12 shows, average total income was 2,900 birr and expenditures totaled 3,250 birr. The sum of the expenditures and the income was negative 350 birr. A teacher's salary cannot support living expenses. By good fortune, the interviewee mentioned here had a wife who was also teacher: the family finances were barely maintained.

Table 12

Teachers' Living Expenses

Item	Living Expenses	
	Expenditure	Income
	Birr	Birr
Salary	.	2,500
Tutor	.	400
Tax	500	.
Housing	900	.
Electricity	150	.
Transportation	500	.
Food	800	.
Parents	200	.
Etc.	200	.
Total	3,250	2,900

Source: Field research (2013).

The inflation rates were 19.8%, 34.1%, and 11.3%, respectively, in 2011, 2012, and 2013,¹⁸ but this stagnant salary¹⁹ could not keep up with inflation and other professions' salaries, which fluctuated with economical situations.

4.3.2 No Big Salary Differences at Career Ladder System

The reason teachers refused to be promoted is that there is no big salary difference between a teacher and a principal. At the same time, there are big differences in workloads. In fact, following the career ladder system in Table 13, the salary system shows a gap between beginner and lead teacher.²⁰ The promotion system is based on teaching experience, degree attained, performance, etc. For example, a beginner could be promoted to the next level when he or she has 5–10 years of teaching experience. Following the 2008 data, a beginner's salary starts from 2,151 birr; however, there is a trap. As mentioned before, the amount of government tax deduction is not included in the table. In fact, a beginner gets around 900–1,000 birr after deducting taxes,

¹⁸ "IMF Country Report" (Retrieved from <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2013/cr13308.pdf>).

¹⁹ In 1992–1993, an amendment was passed to increase the salary of civil servants from 50 birr to 150 birr. There were also further increments in 2000–2001, 2006–2007, and 2010–2011. Compared to the last increment, this latest increase shows an improvement of 8% (Retrieved from <http://allafrica.com/stories/201408060369.html>).

²⁰ Principals and vice principals fell under the lead teacher salary system.

while principals get around 3,500 birr.²¹

Other professions get higher salaries than principals, so there is no motivation for becoming a teacher. Therefore, without strong personal motivation toward a career in education, there is no reason to stay in the teaching profession or accept a promotion to principal or lead teacher. In fact, teachers felt that the salary gap could be made up for by getting second jobs and that teaching was a stepping stone to other professions.

²¹ The data stated was based on field research and interviews; however, the information could be off-target because the tax system could not be verified from government documents.

Table 13

Salary of teachers of Kindergarten, Special and First Cycle (1-4) Primary; and Second Cycle (5-8) in 2003 and 2008

Career Ladder System	Kindergarten School	Special and fist cycle primary(1-4)	Second cycle of primary school(5-8)	Base Salary	Levels of Salary Increment									
					1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Terminal
I	Beginner	Beginner		403	426	450	475	502	530	560	595	630	672	716
				2151	2249	2351	2458	2570	2686	2807	2934	3066	3204	3348
II	Junior	Junior		475	502	530	560	595	630	672	716	760	805	850
				2458	2570	2686	2807	2934	3066	3204	3348	3499	3656	3817
III	Teacher	Teacher	Beginner	560	595	630	672	716	760	805	850	895	942	990
				2807	2934	3066	3204	3348	3499	3656	3817	3985	4160	4343
IV	Senior Teacher	Senior Teacher	Junior	672	716	760	805	850	895	942	990	1040	1092	1145
				3204	3348	3499	3636	3817	3985	4160	4343	4535	4734	4933
V	Lead Teacher	Associate Lead Teacher	Teacher	805	850	895	942	990	1040	1092	1145	1200	1255	1310
				3656	3817	3985	4160	4343	4535	4734	4933	5135	5340	5554
VI		Lead Teacher	Senior Teacher	942	990	1040	1092	1145	1200	1255	1310	1370	1435	1500
				4160	4343	4535	4734	4933	5135	5340	5554	5776	5998	6225
VII			Associate Lead Teacher	1092	1145	1200	1255	1310	1370	1435	1500	1565	1635	1707

VIII	Lead Teacher	4734	4933	5135	5340	5554	5776	5998	6225	6460	6704	6959
		1255	1310	1370	1435	1500	1565	1635	1707	1780	2853	1926
		5340	5554	5776	5998	6225	6460	6704	6958	7218	7488	7768

All figures are in Ethiopian currency (USD \$1 = 8.55 birr) in 2003; (USD \$1 = 13.45 birr) in 2008.

Source: Federal Civil Service Commission (2009, p. 35)²²

²² The data was distributed to each school from the federal civil service commission in Ethiopia. The researcher reconstituted the table from the data.

Here are the main duties of a school director²³: 1) lead the teachers, students, and parents toward the desired educational goal; 2) organize the various co-curricular establishments such as the parent–teacher association, committee of the curriculum, technical committee, etc.; 3) assign classroom (head) teachers, and if necessary, unit leaders; 4) work to have many different co-curricular establishments that enable students to stabilize their educations and develop their talents; 5) ensure the success of the students’ association (the school director thoroughly follows up on whether the teaching and learning process is in accordance with the stated democratic and humanitarian principles (laws) in the federal constitution; 6) serve as a leader/supervisor of any committee established in the school if necessary and arrange a supervisory program for high-ranked teachers to enable them to help other junior teachers; 7) recognize whether students have access to counseling and guidance services; 8) make the school premises clean, beautiful, and peaceful by getting the students to clean their classrooms and the school premises; 9) ensure that the education offered satisfies the community by enabling the youth to develop their talents and promote and lead community participation; 10) examine, evaluate, and confirm with a seal every proposal presented by the parent–teacher association, and consequently, report to the concerned parties; 11) coordinate the community, governmental and non-governmental organizations, and wealthy community

²³ This responsibility was issued to each school from the Addis Ababa Education Bureau in 2013.

members to get them to support the school; 12) create suggestions about the teachers', students', and any employees' discipline on his/her document upon leaving the school and check newcomers' documents; 13) follow up on whether the records of continuous assessment and tests are well kept and sent in a timely manner to the concerned parties; 14) develop systems in which students can successfully complete each grade level without any detention; 15) ensure that facilities such as laboratories and books in the library are used by students and check whether documents of students, teachers, and employees are well kept; 16) oversee that every employee has carried out his/her duties (e.g., engaging in partisan politics in the school compound or abusing students who criticize or challenge the teachers is forbidden); and 17) give necessary explanations to the students, teachers, parents, and community.

Compared to principals, normal teachers' responsibilities mainly lie in their lessons. Many teachers spend their time talking in the school cafeteria and outside of school. Other teachers devote their time to study for their in-service programs or extension programs. On average, teachers' weekly teaching loads are less than 16 hours per week (three or four hours per day) (see Table 14). They were not seen doing school tasks. However, the researcher observed that the principal and vice principal were very busy with school tasks, for example, department meetings; business trips to other schools; and even resolving complaints from teachers, students, and parents.

Table 14

Data for Decomposition of Spending Per Student in Government Primary Schools, Ethiopia, 2001–2002

Components of Spending on Teachers and Students							
Grades and region	Overall spending per student (birr/year)	Share of recurrent spending on teachers (%)	Average remuneration of teachers (birr/year)	Pupil/teacher ratio	Average section size	Students' weekly instructional hours	Teachers' weekly teaching load (hours)
Grades 1–4							
Ethiopia	86	92.5	5,987	75.2	77.0	24.6	24.0
Oromiya	84	90.4	6,017	79.2	76.8	24.9	25.6
SNNPR	78	97.7	6,062	79.6	84.4	24.5	23.1
Addis Ababa	174	75.2	5,440	41.7	62.0	22.7	15.3
Dire Dawa	199	80.5	6,486	40.5	61.4	24.6	16.2
Grades 5–8							
Ethiopia	160	89.8	7,005	48.8	68.0	24.0	17.2
Oromiya	177	89.3	7,251	45.9	66.3	24.3	16.8
SNNPR	159	93.8	6,855	45.9	70.2	24.2	15.8
Addis Ababa	200	76.7	5,365	35.0	69.1	22.7	11.5
Dire Dawa	190	91.4	7,522	43.3	66.2	23.9	15.6

Source: "Education in Ethiopia" (World Bank, 2005, p. 249).

There were no big differences in compensation. Often, even young principals and vice principals wanted to leave school:

There is little difference in the principal's and vice principal's income compared to normal teachers. For example, if the principal gets 2,000 birr, other teachers will get 1,644 birr. There is a 300-birr difference. So, we can get 300 birr by tutoring. As principal, there is lots of responsibility: the tasks are given by the government, and the schools have to meet the [government's] deadline. It's too much work and responsibility. But there is no big difference in salary (a quote from a vice principal with 10 years of experience).

Having a second job is another reason teachers were reluctant to be promoted. Usually, teachers do tutoring after finishing their teaching at school. The salary for a tutor is 300–500 birr depending on the subject and the frequency of times a teacher meets with a student per week. If they do a lot of tutoring, teachers could catch up to or surpass the principal's salary. Getting a second job could cause teachers to evade their school responsibilities and political issues. A sixth grade teacher with nine years of experience and an eighth grade teacher with seven years of experience described the phenomenon in the following way:

I do tutoring. I teach secondary students after school. Three times a week we meet and study. I can get 300 birr [for this].

Especially this year, I was busy. I was doing lots of research. Also, I took on an additional three research [projects] for others. They will pay me to conduct their research. They pay for it. For one paper, [I receive] 600 birr, and if there is a thesis defense, I will get some extra money.

As illustrated above, the salary system did not give any benefits in terms of amount of salary. Furthermore, a lack of compensation to principals, who have lots of duties, did not boost teachers' morale to be promoted or make them devote more efforts to their school tasks. On the contrary, teachers began to pay attention to attrition by doing in-service programs or extension programs to get another chance to change jobs.

Chapter 5: Discussion

In the previous chapter, in-depth interviews with a questionnaire survey illustrated the career ladder and salary systems. Based on this, this chapter will discuss the attrition and retention model of Ethiopian teachers and characteristics of those who stay or leave. Furthermore, implications for the educational cooperation field will be stated based on the result of the findings.

5.1 Attrition and Retention Model of Ethiopian Teacher

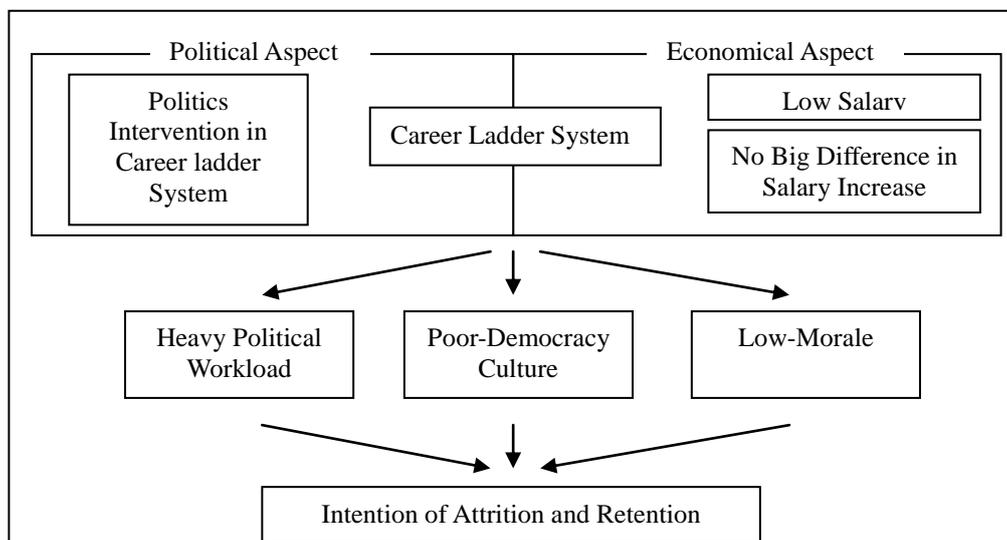


Figure 2. Attrition Model of Ethiopian Teachers.

The career ladder system adopted in 1994 created in equal promotion

opportunities for teachers and higher remuneration when they were promoted. However, as examined in the previous chapter, the career ladder system does not provide equal chances. Furthermore, teacher's salaries were still small and the promotion system did not guarantee a salary increase. Specifically, the career ladder system in Ethiopia was strongly linked to a political coalition; Haile Selassie's regime (1941–1970) and the socialist/communist regime (1971–1991) appointed teachers as members of the ministry or other important roles. Even though the current government (1991–Present) set up the career ladder system in 1994, the government still uses the old assignment of personnel system, which was strongly connected to party politics. A precarious political system exploited teachers as political partisans to promote political ideology. “Qquate,” a political group, tried to seize the education sector and provided deformational structures when teachers were promoted.

The deformational structure could have a negative effect on schools; in this case, it made teachers leave the school. First, it caused additional political workloads for the principal and vice principal, giving no incentive to become a principal or vice principal. Second, the poor democracy cultivated unilateral power in the school's decision-making process, breeding a culture of passive individualism. Third, when ardent and devoted teachers do exist, the abnormal career ladder structure depresses morale. Because political tendency is the main quality considered when handing out promotions, no matter how much a teacher

devotes himself/herself to education, he/she will not be promoted unless he/she changes his/her political tendency.

To sum up, a heavy political workload, the culture of poor democracy, low morale, and low or no difference in salary when promoted caused teachers to lean toward attrition. Figure 2 shows an attrition model in the Ethiopian context.

5.2 Characteristics of those who stay or leave

Based on the questionnaire survey, 17 out of 66 (25.8%) teachers answered “I plan to stay in teaching until I retire.” Why did the 17 teachers decide to stay at their schools? Under pressure from politics and unfair remuneration, what kinds of factors could affect teacher retention? There are probably unknown elements at play sustaining the profession.

Through personal interviews and field research, the researcher figured out the elements influencing retention: 1) a fear of retaliatory acts from political parties when defecting from a major party or taking an opposing position to the government, 2) utilizing a skewed promotion system to upgrade their level, and 3) enjoying teaching itself.

First, some teachers confessed that the reason why they did not leave the profession was that they feared reprisal from close-knit political partisans. As mentioned in the previous chapter, teachers need to be the members of “qqate”

to be promoted, which means that promotion candidates are selected based on their membership to the major party. If selected as a member, it is easy to pass the qualification procedure to become the future director of a school. Therefore, ability, age, experience, etc. were less important details once a candidate had satisfied the eligibility rules. At this point, the career ladder system was equitable to everyone who wanted to be promoted; however, it generated severe side effects for teachers' development and morale.

Why were teachers interested in joining politics? In fact, one 29-year-old vice principal confessed that he was interested in politics because of exaggerated claims made by the media, which advertised extensively the positive acts of the government and the major party. This type of propaganda can make people deluded:

When you see the television and media, they show the nice part of the government. When you go there and [witness things firsthand], you can see the big differences between [these two versions of the story]. So, the government always said false things. So, I hate them. (A quote from a vice principal with three years of experience)

However, getting out of politics and the ruling party is not easy. Leaving the ruling party is like defecting to the opposite party, which causes acts of

revenge against the teachers. One teacher stated: “I want to be opposite to the government. But if I oppose, I will be in prison.” Here is another quote from a principal with seven years of experience:

Q: Why don't you leave the ruling party?

A: If I leave the major party, I can't survive in education. Everyone that I am close to is a member of the party. If I escape, they will [desert] me. One thing I could choose is to just keep calm or find another job.

In the end, the system coupled with politics gives chances for teachers to be promoted; however, it also causes them to be trapped by their political views. In other words, the *sine qua non* of promotion is political commitment; it suffocates teachers and keeps them from doing anything just so they become political partisans of the ruling party.

Second, while some teachers and directors were forced to stay because they were afraid of being disadvantaged by the government, on the other hand, some teachers actively utilized the career ladder system. As mentioned above, the most effective qualification was political tendency—ability, birthplace, and degree were not as important. Therefore, working actively on political affairs affords good positions to teachers.

To some teachers, the career ladder system is not bad; it is another

chance to upgrade their social level. In fact, some teachers the researcher met with confessed that as political members, they tried to get promoted. One teacher was to be promoted in the near future. This individual was 38 years old and had transferred one year ago from SNNPR. She was born in SNNPR and faced many obstacles to becoming a member of the major party because the opposite parties to the current government were based on SNNPR. Even with the handicap of her birthplace, by joining the major party, she could make a future plan to become a principal or a member of the Ministry of Education. With this hope for the future, she found her current fragile situation tolerable.

Finally, enjoying teaching itself was a reason to stay. Based on the questionnaire survey (question number 13), approximately 40% (answering with a one or two)²⁴ of teachers chose to stay because teaching was right for them and they enjoyed it (see Figure 3).

²⁴ The percentages for “What was the main reason you become teacher?” were as follows: 1) “Teaching is right for me” (21.2%), 2) “I enjoy teaching” (18.2%), 3) “Teachers are much needed in this country” (13.6%), 4) “I want to dedicate myself to the education field” (9.1%), 5) “Teaching is a stable job” (0%), 6) “Teaching is quite a good job to make money” (1.5%), 7) “Teaching is a bridge to other jobs” (33.3%), and 8) “Other” (3.0%).

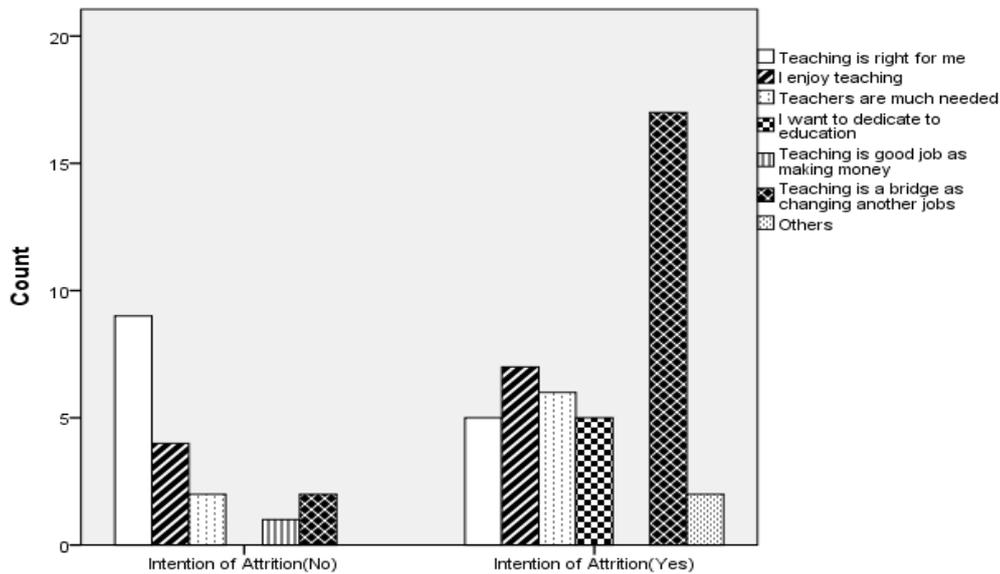


Figure 3. Bar Chart of Cross Tabulation Analysis between “Intention of Attrition” and “Reasons for Becoming a Teacher.”

The commitments teachers made before entering into teaching were linked to their current commitment to teaching. Especially, the percentage of orphans and female-headed families in Yeka Sub-city was high compared to other sub-cities, so some teachers were trying to concentrate their efforts to support poor kids by providing them with a good quality of education. One teacher, a 34-year-old female, stated: “I love teaching, by teaching I feel happy. My father was a teacher too, he also felt happy as teacher. Especially teaching in Yeka gives to me lots of great things. Often, students tighten their belts by

drinking water. So, I prepare spare lunch for them.” For her, dedicating herself to poor children by providing them with an education was pleasurable.

To sum up, teachers in Ethiopia gave three reasons to stay: 1) fear of retaliatory acts from politics, 2) utilizing a skewed promotion system, and 3) the pleasure of teaching. The first and second reasons are classified as external factors, the last reason is characterized as an internal factor of retention (see Table 15).

Table 15

Attrition and Retention Factors in Ethiopia

The Career Ladder System in Ethiopia		
Factor	Retention	Attrition
External factor	- Retaliatory act from politics -Utilizing a skewed promotion system	- Avoid political reprisal - Low salary - Overworked
Internal factor	- The pleasure of teaching	-Utilizing teaching as a stepping stone - Low morale

5.3 Implications for the Educational Cooperation Field

The “Global Education First Initiative” was initiated by United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-moon on September 2012 with three priorities: 1) putting every child in school, 2) improving the quality of learning, and 3) fostering global citizenship. Not much later, on October 5, 2012, Ban Ki-moon relayed another message for World Teacher’s Day that was closely related to the “Global Education First Initiative”: “No education system is better than its teachers.” The message said that two million more teachers are needed to achieve the UPE and MDGs by 2015 and that teacher should be able to “improve[e] the quality of learning.”²⁵

Education reform prioritized training and professional development and re-dignifying the profession by modifying remunerations. In other words, pre-service and in-service training were as crucial as good working conditions and proper remuneration. Based on the reform suggestions, Ethiopia transformed its education system in 1994 and sustained the transformation through ESDP I-IV (1994–Present) by fulfilling universal education, improving the quality of education, and recruiting qualified teachers.

However, the educational transformation has been considered unsuccessful. For example, the pre-service curriculum was changed from an

²⁵ Retrieved from <http://www.globaleducationfirst.org/>

“integrated program”²⁶ to a “detached program,” which education experts steadily fought to abolish. The detached program as a pre-service program had the advantage of recruiting many teachers; however, accepting foreign policy was not effective in finding qualified teachers, especially in elementary schools. Also, ministry officials often defined the reform in discussions with donor agencies such as the World Bank and without the systematic involvement of national citizens, civil society organizations, or educational experts. The meaning of an in-service program has faded. While the in-service program in Ethiopia was set up for teachers’ sustained development, it was sometimes used as a bridge to change jobs by providing degrees to teachers.²⁷ The extension program²⁸ had the same role as the in-service program. These two programs are strong motivating factors in sustaining or entering the education field; however, it increased teachers’ attrition and switch to other professions.

Strong arguments have been put forward in support of the education reform policies, but are this reform enough? How can we understand the ongoing fragile situation? The issue should be open to inclusive democratic dialogue

²⁶ An integrated program was a united system that provided pedagogy tools and subject knowledge for three or four years. A detached program, or post graduate development teaching (PGDT), includes three years of subject study and one year of additional pedagogy study; it is currently taking effect in the US.

²⁷ Diplomas and certificates are given upon graduation from TTC, which has a three-year curriculum. However, taking in-service programs at a university provides a degree that is equal to a four-year curriculum.

²⁸ An extension program provides a degree that is not restricted in the education field but that would be restricted in any other field, like economics, engineering, accounting, etc.; however, it is not free like an in-service program is.

including listening carefully to stakeholders' voices at education sites.

In the case of the career ladder system in Ethiopia, it would be useful to figure how the “national level of teacher development policy” transformed at the “local level of reality.” For career development, as mentioned above, the government has been stipulating a lot of eligibility conditions. The reality is that the system is operated by politics. This situation affects teacher attrition and retention at the same time; it influences teacher development at the national level because teachers use in-service programs as a way to change jobs. As a result, the vicious circle breaches the purpose of quality education.

Usually, an epoch-making education reform is implemented at the national level to achieve quality education. However, if the voices from current education sites are ruled out, education reform fails. Teachers' voices in Ethiopia are loud about party politics not entering local education fields, human resource affairs being treated fairly, and the necessity for a pragmatic approach to salary increases.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This study aimed to figure out why Ethiopian teachers leave or stay at schools. Previous studies on teacher attrition and retention in an Anglo-Saxon context focused on economic and social aspects, e.g. social status, teaching environment, the relationship between teacher attrition and students' achievement, etc. But there are not many studies related to low-income countries' teachers. Furthermore, even if there are studies on teacher attrition and retention in low-income countries, these studies focused on factors mentioned in Anglo-Saxon contexts. Therefore, focusing on the career ladder and salary system, i.e. institutional and organizational factors, in the Ethiopian context sheds light on why low-income countries' teachers stay or leave.

We must focus on teachers because they are crucial to improving the quality of education. Through the MDGs, especially Goal 2 (“achieve universal primary education”), enrollment in primary education in developing regions reached 90% in 2010, up from 82% in 1999, which means more kids than ever are attending primary schools. Even with the success of reaching Goal 2, 123 million youth globally lack basic reading and writing skills and societies are demanding higher levels of education rather than simply reading and writing. United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-moon initiated a new educational action called the “Global Education First Initiative” with three goals in 2012.

The initiative focuses on “improving the quality of learning” and emphasizing and reprioritizing recruiting qualified teachers” with the motto “no education system is better than its teachers.” As mentioned in Chapter 1, teachers in SSA are sometimes the only resource available to students.

Many developing regions have been launching education reform with teacher development programs and plans to recruit qualified teachers. In Ethiopia, owing to the education reform, the qualified teachers’ second cycle (grades 5–8) reached 90.8% in 2011–2012. The total number of primary teachers increased dramatically from 253,629 in 2007–2008 to 321,894 in 2011–2012. By all appearances, the reform seems to be a success; however, the reality is different. Losing teachers to other professions has emerged as a new challenge. Now, we must turn our attention from how to recruit qualified teachers to how to keep qualified teachers from attrition. To do this, we should try to pay attention to teachers’ situations: why they cannot help changing their profession rather than staying teachers.

To find out why they leave or stay, this research adopted a quantitative and qualitative research approach. The researcher used four kinds of data collection: 1) archival research, 2) questionnaire survey, 3) interview, and 4) participatory observation. That is, the relationship between Ethiopian education and teachers was analyzed in a historical perspective. Furthermore, possible factors affecting teacher attrition and retention were scrutinized through

questionnaire survey, interview, and participant observation.

Chapter 4 particularized the relationship between the career ladder system and political and economic aspects. First, the career ladder system is closely linked to party politics. Historically, politicians, government officials, and even cabinet members were teachers, and the vestiges of this tradition still remain. Even though party politics' needs have diminished, teachers are still considered political partisans. Therefore, politicians pay more attention to those in school positions like principals and vice principals who can affect decision-making processes related to government policies. In these situations, party politics exert their influence on the school promotion system via the candidate pool called "qquate," which is the database that tracks teachers who have the same political tendencies as the ruling party. Consequently, the highest priority is politics and not teachers' capabilities or some impartial principle applied to everyone equally. Therefore, the education field is regarded as pertaining to the world of politics. The teachers interviewed also felt disappointed because of the political reality. They felt that they were in hopeless and fragile situations at their schools; further, they felt confined to situations where they could not speak freely.

If so, are principals and vice principals, who are members of a major political party, satisfied with their work? The answer seems to be no. Politics' intervention in schools imposes workloads related to government policies. Also,

the political situation strains relationships between teachers and administrators or teachers and teachers, as unintended meanings or disagreements with governmental policies cause political controversy. For this reason, teachers had to agree with their principals' opinions related to politics and were aloof with fellow teachers to prevent trouble.

In terms of the career ladder system and salary, the crucial factor was the graded payment and salary increase depending on teaching position. In reality, the career ladder system was classified into 10 categories with nine salary increments. From beginner to lead teacher, the salary differences are more than twofold; however, a salary increase does not guarantee actual growth because of taxes, contribution promises, etc. In reality, there were not big differences in salaries considering workload and the stress coming from politics between teachers and principals. In these situations, teachers choose to take on a second job or considered teaching to be a stepping stone for changing to other professions rather than being promoted to principal or vice principal.

In Chapter 5, the attrition model of Ethiopian teachers, i.e. characteristics of those who leave and those who stay, was discussed. Even in such fragile situations, there were teachers who were willing to stay in school. This chapter adopted external and internal factors. In other words, the external factors for retention were fear of political reprisal when breaking away from the party and using the promotion system for upgrading social levels. The internal

retention factor was the pleasure of teaching.

There were three external attrition factors: 1) avoiding politics, 2) low salary, and 3) being overworked. That is, some teachers avoided politics because of personal characteristics or political orientation. Also, teachers were not content with the low salary as compared to other professions and small salary differences upon promotion. The internal attrition factor was utilizing teaching as a stepping stone. In other words, teachers regarded teaching as a bridge to changing to other professions because of having plenty of spare time to prepare for other qualification exams (extension program) and the government supporting university degrees (in-service program). These programs and benefits provide chances to change professions.

To sum up, the study showed that the reasons teachers considered leaving a school were the career ladder system, party politics, and deficient salary increases. At the global level, requiring qualified teachers is a significant issue in developing and developed countries. However, this study suggested that keeping qualified teachers from attrition should be a priority rather than worrying about how to recruit and develop qualified teachers. At the same time, by providing voices from the field, this research provided clues for why teachers want to leave the education field; therefore, when thinking of teacher attrition and retention, we should consider the situations in broader terms, including overcommitted politics and economic problems.

This research had some limitations. First, a variety of factors that may affect teacher attrition and retention were overlooked. Generally, institutional, educational, and social factors were related to teacher attrition and retention, but only the career ladder system and low salary, which are institutional factors, were examined. Another missing point was that this study was very focused on attrition rather than retention. A comprehensive approach is needed to understand the reasons why teachers remain at a school.

Considering these limitations, several further studies can be suggested. First, further study is needed on a wide scope of research, including politics, economics, and society at a variety of levels and in several regions. Understanding these situations requires understanding the complex phenomenon related to education. Second, teacher resilience and teacher identity research, particularly in low-income countries, is required. In fragile situations like in SSA, teachers are easily frustrated by their internal and external educational environments. Therefore, it is important to know how teachers overcome these situations or gain resilience from negative shocks. That is, knowing the way teachers live through obstacles is connected to teachers' identity formation, which is directly correlated to teacher attrition and retention.

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Appendix 1: Different Formats and Checklists for Teacher Evaluations

Follow up check list for female students tutorial

Teacher's name _____

Year _____ E.C

S.N	Grade	Subject	Number of female Students	Sort of support they get	Number of female students who get the support	How long does it take?	Improvement shown	Remark

Follow up format for misbehaving students

Teacher's name _____ subject _____ Grade _____

S.N	Name of student	Grade	His/Her misdeed	Date	Solution given	Parent's opinion	Name of the parents	Student signature

Follow up check list for students with different learning achievement.

S.N	Teachers name	Subject	Grade	Level of achievement									Strategies used to identify the students	Things done to improve the low achievers	What has been achieved	Remark
				Low			Average			High						
				M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T				

Additional remarks of the teacher _____

Confirmation and comment of department head _____

Follow up checklist of tutorial classes

Teacher's name _____ Grade _____ Year _____

S.N	Date	Time taken	Number of students			Teacher signature	Name of department head	sign	Vice principal		Tutorial topic
			M	F	T				Name	Sign	

Follow up check list for educational materials evaluation

Name of school_____

Department_____

S.N	Material evaluated	Name of the teacher	The result of the evaluation	Submission date	Comments given about the result	Remark

Follow up check list for communication made with students' parents.

Name of school_____

Grade_____

Sign_____

S.N	Name of parent	Date	Reason for his/her coming	Suggestions given by the parents	Teachers name	Name of the child	Grade

(Name of school) _____

Weekly lesson plan

Teachers name _____

Subject _____

Grade _____

Topic _____

Date _____

Week _____

Page _____

Sub-topic _____

Date	Content of lesson	Specific objectives	Teachers activity	Students activities	Time allotted	Teaching method	Teaching aids
			Introduction_____ _____ Presentation_____ _____ Stabilization_____ _____ Evaluation_____ _____				

Name of Teacher

Departments head

Name _____

Sign _____

Remark _____

Vice director's

Name _____

Sign _____

Remark _____

Appendix 2: Results of Cross Tabulation Analysis on Attrition

1. Education and Training Factors

		1	2	3	4	5	Total	χ^2
Adequacy of teacher education program	Intention of attrition (no)	4 (6.1)	6 (9.1)	5 (7.6)	4 (6.1)	5 (7.6)	24 (36.4)	.319 (.989)
	Intention of attrition (yes)	6 (9.1)	11 (16.7)	10 (15.2)	8 (12.1)	7 (10.6)	42 (63.6)	
	Total	10 (15.2)	17 (25.8)	15 (22.7)	12 (18.2)	12 (18.2)	60 (100.0)	
Adequacy of student-teacher experience	No	4 (6.1)	4 (6.1)	6 (9.1)	7 (10.6)	3 (4.5)	24 (36.4)	.398 (.983)
	Yes	5 (7.6)	8 (12.1)	10 (15.2)	14 (21.2)	5 (7.6)	42 (63.6)	
	Total	9 (13.6)	12 (18.2)	16 (24.2)	21 (31.8)	8 (12.1)	66 (100.0)	
Level of education prior to entering teaching	No	7 (10.6)	4 (6.1)	6 (9.1)	6 (9.1)	1 (1.5)	24 (36.4)	2.64 (.620)
	Yes	7 (10.6)	11 (16.7)	12 (18.2)	8 (12.1)	4 (6.1)	42 (63.6)	
	Total	14 (21.2)	15 (22.7)	18 (27.3)	14 (21.2)	5 (7.6)	66 (100.0)	

Length of your teacher education program	No	6 (9.1)	4 (6.1)	6 (9.1)	5 (7.6)	3 (4.5)	24 (36.4)	2.33 (.675)
	Yes	9 (13.6)	12 (18.2)	9 (13.6)	10 (15.2)	2 (3.0)	42 (63.6)	
	Total	15 (22.7)	16 (24.2)	15 (22.7)	15 (22.7)	5 (7.6)	66 (100.0)	

*** p < .001, ** p < .01, * p < .05

2. Institution and Organization Factors

		1	2	3	4	5	Total	χ^2
Relationship with other professionals at school	No	8 (12.1)	3 (4.5)	3 (4.5)	6 (9.1)	4 (6.1)	24 (36.4)	4.84 (.304)
	Yes	8 (12.1)	6 (9.1)	13 (19.7)	12 (18.2)	3 (4.5)	42 (63.6)	
	Total	16 (24.2)	9 (13.6)	16 (24.2)	18 (27.3)	7 (10.6)	66 (100.0)	
Relationship with students	No	6 (9.1)	2 (3.0)	0 (0.0)	7 (10.6)	9 (13.6)	24 (36.4)	6.87 (.143)
	Yes	8 (12.1)	4 (6.1)	9 (13.6)	12 (18.2)	9 (13.6)	42 (63.6)	
	Total	14 (21.2)	6 (9.1)	9 (13.6)	19 (28.8)	18 (27.3)	66 (100.0)	

Involvement in school's decision-making process	No	9 (13.6)	8 (12.1)	3 (4.5)	1 (1.5)	3 (4.5)	24 (36.4)	17.47** (.002)
	Yes	5 (7.6)	4 (6.1)	7 (10.6)	16 (24.2)	10 (15.2)	42 (63.6)	
	Total	14 (21.2)	12 (18.2)	10 (15.2)	17 (25.8)	13 (19.7)	66 (100.0)	
Satisfaction with teacher salary	No	0 (0.0)	3 (4.5)	2 (3.0)	8 (12.1)	11 (16.7)	24 (36.4)	1.30 (.861)
	Yes	2 (3.0)	4 (6.1)	3 (4.5)	14 (21.2)	19 (28.8)	42 (63.6)	
	Total	2 (3.0)	7 (10.6)	5 (7.6)	22 (33.3)	30 (45.5)	66 (100.0)	
Satisfaction with career ladder system	No	9 (13.6)	5 (7.6)	0 (0.0)	4 (6.1)	6 (9.1)	24 (36.4)	27.39*** (.000)
	Yes	0 (0.0)	2 (3.0)	7 (10.6)	19 (28.8)	14 (21.2)	42 (63.6)	
	Total	9 (13.6)	7 (10.6)	7 (10.6)	23 (34.8)	20 (30.3)	66 (100.0)	
Recognition and support from administrators	No	6 (9.1)	4 (6.1)	5 (7.6)	6 (9.1)	3 (4.5)	24 (36.4)	6.12 (.190)
	Yes	7 (10.6)	12 (18.2)	15 (22.7)	3 (4.5)	5 (7.6)	42 (63.6)	
	Total	13 (19.7)	16 (24.2)	20 (30.3)	9 (13.6)	8 (12.1)	66 (100.0)	
Peer and	No	7 (10.6)	3 (4.5)	7 (10.6)	5 (7.6)	2 (3.0)	24 (36.4)	3.30

administrative mentoring relationship	Yes	7 (10.6)	10 (15.2)	15 (22.7)	5 (7.6)	5 (7.6)	42 (63.6)	(.509)
	Total	14 (21.2)	13 (19.7)	22 (33.3)	10 (15.2)	7 (10.6)	66 (100.0)	

*** p < .001, ** p < .01, * p < .05

3. Personal and Social Factors

		1	2	3	4	5	Total	χ^2
Commitment to teaching prior to entering profession	No	6 (9.1)	2 (3.0)	5 (7.6)	7 (10.6)	4 (6.1)	24 (36.4)	1.93 (.747)
	Yes	6 (9.1)	6 (9.1)	11 (16.7)	10 (15.2)	9 (13.6)	42 (63.6)	
	Total	12 (18.2)	8 (12.1)	16 (24.2)	17 (25.8)	13 (19.7)	66 (100.0)	
Support and encouragement from family and friends	No	9 (13.6)	4 (6.1)	7 (10.6)	1 (1.5)	3 (4.5)	24 (36.4)	2.72 (.606)
	Yes	10 (15.2)	7 (10.6)	11 (16.7)	5 (7.6)	9 (13.6)	42 (63.6)	
	Total	19 (28.8)	11 (16.7)	18 (27.3)	6 (9.1)	12 (18.2)	66 (100.0)	
Demographic makeup of	No	7 (10.6)	1 (1.5)	5 (7.6)	7 (10.6)	4 (6.1)	24 (36.4)	5.97 (.201)
	Yes	4	6	11	10	11	42	

school or district		(6.1)	(9.1)	(16.7)	(15.2)	(16.7)	(63.6)	
	Total	11 (16.7)	7 (10.6)	16 (24.2)	17 (25.8)	15 (22.7)	66 (100.0)	
Similarity of school/district to community in which you grew up	No	10 (15.2)	2 (3.0)	5 (7.6)	3 (4.5)	4 (6.1)	24 (36.4)	5.67 (.225)
	Yes	7 (10.6)	9 (13.6)	11 (16.7)	6 (9.1)	9 (13.6)	42 (63.6)	
	Total	17 (25.8)	11 (16.7)	16 (24.2)	9 (13.6)	13 (19.7)	66 (100.0)	
Social status and respect for the teaching	No	8 (12.1)	2 (3.0)	6 (9.1)	1 (1.5)	7 (10.6)	24 (36.4)	4.08 (.395)
	Yes	12 (18.2)	7 (10.6)	4 (6.1)	4 (6.1)	15 (22.7)	42 (63.6)	
	Total	20 (30.3)	9 (13.6)	10 (15.2)	5 (7.6)	22 (33.3)	66 (100.0)	

*** p < .001, ** p < .01, * p < .05

Appendix 3:Teaching-Learning annual plan(Addis Brahan Primary School)

Vision

In 2012, We inspire to see:

- Students who can meet the minimum learning competence in each grade level.
- Good personality students.
- Students who are the building blocks of our countries development and prosperity.
- Patriotic and civilized citizens, and
- Internationally competent students.

Mission

- To ensure of education;
- By properly applying and using co curricular materials and work time.
- By preparing exams which can measure the targeted level of knowledge and skill, and,
- Improving the late of missed classes (by teachers)

Target points

- Teachers capacity building
- Applying student centered teaching method
- Giving the lessons with reference to the students daily life
- Using teaching aids to provide tangible lessons
- Creating conducive environment
- Creating parental relationship between teachers and students

Part-one

-Background information from the year 2012(2005 E.C)

The strength and weakness of our school in 2005 E.C

1. Strong points

- The relative improvement of students' achievement
- Decreasing number of late comers
- A relative improvement in teachers works initiative
- Through it was not strong; there was soft communication between the school and students parents
- Reducing the practice of answers from others during exams
- Students 1 to 5 organization was more or less strong

2. Weak points

A. Weak points reflected by the administrators

- Lagging to put decision
- Back of patting clear work division
- Failure to give clear and specified task, and to evaluate accordingly
- Failure to follow scheduled meetings
- Refraining to pass strict decisions up on students who are un ethical
- Poor record keeping
- Lack of follow up using check list, and providing no feed back
- Busying with daily routines and at out of the plan
- Lack of experience sharing and adaptation
- Do not strengthen departments, committees, etc

B. Weak points reflected by teachers

- Giving priority to some private business
- Missing classes
- Being late to go (start) class, and being early to leave the class
- Insufficient preparation
- Failure to identify to help low achiever students
- Refusing to take responsibility

- Lack of keeping clear and quality records
- Failure to prepare relevant and up to standard questions for test(exams)
- Sending students out of class for every silly misbehaves
- Not wearing gowns
- Not checking and putting marks in students exercise books
- Teaching without preparing lesson plan
- Lack of sharing experience and giving support to one another

C. Weak points exhibited by students

- Not doing class work and homework
- Failure to study their lessons
- Giving less/no attention to their lessons
- Lack of understanding and implementing their rights & obligations
- Being late and absent
- Not carrying all the necessary learning materials
- Not wearing school uniforms
- Failure to keep their personal and environmental hygiene
- Being involuntary to bring their parents when asked
- Wandering through the school compound during class time
- Being careless for the schools properties
- Disobedience
- Disregarding class room discipline rules
- Committing scuffle and theft
- Attempts to copy answers from others during tests/exams
- Committing frequent faults

D. Weak points of department

- Not having annual plan
- Failure to present a 15 day, a monthly and a quarter year report
- Not to do, what they have to
- Failure to implement teachers 1 to 5 organization
- Failure to follow up and give the necessary corrections
- Failure to enforce as to tests to be given as scheduled

- Reckless evaluation of teachers' efficiency
- Failure to create experience sharing forums for teachers
- Failure to supervise teachers

E. Weak points shown by clubs

- Being unable to have workable annual plans
- Failure to recruit members
- Not having done tangible tasks
- Barely focusing on occasional tasks
- Failure to have a discussion session on their annual plan
- Failure to have participated teachers and students
- Not to take the initiative to accomplish their duties
- Failure to submit a 15 day, a monthly and a quarter year report
- Not working hard to mobilize students

F. Weak points of students' parents

- Assuming the school as a pass time place
- Refusing to appear when they are invited to
- Failure to provide educational materials and regular meals for their children
- Trying to put no effort to support the school
- Let everything be done by the school and the government
- Failure to follow up and help their children
- Lack of coming to school and discuss on problems, when facing, and rather proceed to some other parties

G. Problems exhibited by classroom (head)teachers

- Failure to have a good record of students profile
- Lack of talking daily record of students attendance
- Failure to strengthen students 1 to 5 organization
- Failure to have and implement classroom regulations
- Lack of developing and implementing strategic plan for the betterment of students discipline
- Lack of keeping quality and timely records of students results

- Lack of follow up and control up on absentees
- Refusal to accomplish some extracurricular activities

H. Threats

- Students may not give good attention to their lessons
- Annual budget that it usually lags
- Parents of students may not put effort to follow up and help their children
- Dalliance of information sent to us

I. Opportunities

- The presence of great interest among teachers and administrators towards the work
- Having full members of the administrators

Part-Two

It is necessary to develop and implement a working plan based on the information we get from last year accomplishment assessment. Therefore, we have prepared the following plan in the way that it can help to meet packages of education quality.

Goal-1 To accomplish tasks which can enable the administrators teachers and parents to involve.

- Task to be accomplished under this goal
 1. To hold discussion on the plan, and make it of all
 2. To assign responsible bodies for the accomplishments of the plan
 3. Preparing a checklist, and provide necessary support and follow up
 4. Making a plan review, once a year
 5. Making plan accomplishment evaluation, twice a year

Goal-2 Strengthening the teaching learning process, and to make students average result above 60% in each subject

- Task to be accomplished
 1. Identifying low achieves in all subjects, and to give at least a 10 hour tutor in each semester

2. To have signed a common agreement among the 3 parties (teacher, student and parents), i.e. twice a year in October and February, it will be accompanied by a strong follow up and supervisory system
3. To make the rate of absentees 0.5%
4. To enable students of grade 5-8 to read in a library about two hours in two different days in each week
5. To have communicated with parents about four times in each semester by classroom level
6. To correct all students with misbehavior
7. To implement students centered teaching methodology
8. To share experience from other school, once in a semester
9. To make the rate of drop out (students) below 1%
10. To have no missed class if there are, to have replenished 100%
11. To have no detained students
12. To have 0% of students who cannot read and write well
13. To have a supervision program in each class, twice a semester
14. To have completed all subjects in line with the academic calendar
15. To prepare contest for all subjects
16. To improve the rate of using teaching aids to 90%
17. To give tests three times in each semester

Goal-3 Strengthening all co-curricular establishments and provide support to meet their target 100%

- Tasks to be accomplished

A. Clubs:

- Must have a workable plan, and then, we evaluate it and put a seal of confirmation
- Must hold a meeting to discuss on their plan
- Must have permanent meeting day once in 15 days
- Must report every 15 day, monthly, quarter year and half a year to the school
- Should keep proper record of their members and works
- Should work to improve their income
- Should present their work to the public once in a week by the school mini-media
- Should review their plan once a year
- Should arrange a field trip twice a year
- Should evaluate their accomplishment in each quarter

B. Departments

- Must have a workable annual plan
- Should check whether the weekly lesson plans go in line with the annual plan, and put a confirmation seal
- Should carry out an inbuilt supervision twice a semester
- Should work to strengthen students 1 to 5 organization and hold a discussion on how it is going, for one hour in a week
- Should arrange a schedule for teachers to have supervised one another, twice a semester
- Should have permanent contact out and hold a discussion, once in each 15 days
- Should arrange a schedule for each test and final exam, and they also evaluate test and exam
- Should submit reports for each 15 days, quarter a year and half a year about their performance to the school
- Should evaluate their performance at each quarter
- Should provide the necessary support for the teachers
- Should use a checklist to follow up teachers' performance, and keep a good record of it
- Should evaluate the teaching learning process once at each month

Goal-4 Working to maximize teachers' usage of computers to 80% under the ICT program in collaboration with teachers' development program

- Tasks to be performed
- To give training for all teachers
- Ensure proper implementation of radio lessons
- Strengthen the ICT club

Goal-5 To maximize the quality and timeliness of educational information (records) to 100%

- Tasks to be done:
 1. Distribute the necessary forms to all teachers in order to help them fill out information properly
 2. To submit a report educational information to the concerned bodies, once in each 15 days
 3. To hold awareness raising program for the teachers about record

keeping

4. To keep records in software and with in hard ware documents

Goal-6.1 Maximize the performance of giving tests as scheduled to 100%

- Tasks to be done:
 1. Teachers should prepare tests four times in each semester
 2. Tests/exams should be handed out and to be corrected in time
 3. Eliminate the trend of copying answers one another
 4. To give back the answer sheets to the students in time
 5. To carry out test(result) analysis, each semester
 6. Teachers should use table of specifications while they prepare test and exams

Goal-6.2 To Maximize conduciveness of school environment from 50%-80%

1. To fulfill staff room materials and to make it comfortable for the students
2. Preparing 3 dining rooms
3. For kindergarten students
4. For first cycle(grade 1-4) students
5. For second cycle(grade 5-8) students
6. Making the school premises conducive for the students with disability

Goal-7 Improving the kindergarten

- Tasks
 1. Leveling the play ground
 2. Repairing the chairs and tables
 3. Paying due supervision twice a semester
 4. Improving personal hygiene of the children
 5. Applying an interesting and attractive teaching methodology

Goal-8 To make the class, toilets and water services up to the standard

- Tasks
 1. Keeping classes clean
 2. Repairing and take good care of the chairs, and painting the blackboards
 3. Taking good care of doors and windows, and get the repaired
 4. Ensuring proper provision of water service and cleanliness of toilets

Appendix 4: Questionnaire of the Study

TEACHER SURVERY

Please write your responses in the available blank spaces or please indicate your response by making a mark in the appropriate the answer box .

Part 1 ★ Personal Background Information

1.1 Gender Male Female

1.2 Age _____

1.3 Highest Degree Attained

Ph.D./Ed.D. Master in Education Bachelor in Education

Diploma P1 Certificate

Any other qualification (_____)

1.4 Total Teaching Service (*in years*)

1-4 years 5-10 years more than 10 years

1.5 Teaching Service in this school

1-4 years 5-10 years more than 10 years

1.6 Your Current Teaching Position

Beginner Junior Teacher Teacher Senior Teacher

- Associate Lead Teacher Lead Teacher Head Teacher
 Vice Principal Principal

1.7 Grade Level You Teach First Cycle(1-4) Second Cycle(5-8)

1.8 Subject or subjects you teach _____

1.9 Have you ever taken In-service program?

- Yes No

1.10 What kinds of in-service programs have you been taken?

1.11 Have you ever taken an extension program?

- Yes No

1.12 What kinds of extension programs have you been taken?

13. What was the main reason you became a teacher? (Choose 1 answer from below)

- Teaching is right for me
 I enjoy teaching.
 Teachers are much needed in this country.
 I want to dedicate to education field
 Teaching is a stable job
 Teaching is quiet good job as make money
 Other (please explain your answer)_____

14. What are your plans for remaining in the teaching profession?

- I plan to stay in teaching until I retire.
- I plan to stay in teaching unless I have the opportunity to get another job.
- I definitely plan to leave the teaching profession.
- I am not sure what my plans are.

15. If you could start all over again, would you become a teacher?

- Yes
- No

16. Please tick the items listed below that you believe have been influential to your leaving in the teaching profession.

	Not Influential At all ①	Little Influential ②	Average ③	Influential ④	Strongly Influential ⑤
a) Adequacy of teacher education program in preparing you to be a school teacher (i.e., how much do you agree that TTC, TTI programs are influential to your staying?)					
b) Adequacy of student-teacher experience in preparing you to be a school teacher					
c) Level of education prior to entering the teaching profession (i.e., how much do you agree that your highest degree or certifications are influential to your staying?)					
d) Length of your teacher education program (i.e., how much do you agree that in-service programs or extension programs are influential to your staying?)					
e) Relationship(s) with other professionals at school (principals, fellow teachers, etc.)					

f) Relationships with your students					
g) Your involvement in the school's decision-making process and areas of leadership					
h) Satisfaction with teacher salary and benefits					
i) Satisfaction with career ladder system					
j) Recognition and support from administrators/supervisors					
k) Peer and administrative mentoring relationships					
l) Your commitment to teaching prior to entering the profession					
m) Support and encouragement from family members and close friends					
n) Demographic makeup of the school and/or district					
o) Similarity of school/district to the community in which you grew up					
p) Social status and respect for the teaching profession					

국문초록

에티오피아 에카지역 초등 교사 이직에 관한 연구

에티오피아는 1994년을 기점으로 교육개혁을 시도하면서 보편적 교육 및 질 높은 교육의 실현을 위한 기틀을 마련하였다. 특히, 두 목표를 실현하기 위해 1994년 교육개혁은 질 높은 교사의 수급을 위한 교사 양성소의 교육과정 변화 및 임금 인상에 따른 승진제도 마련 등의 유인책을 제도에 포함시켰다. 이러한 유인책에도 불구하고 여전히 에티오피아 내 교사수급은 현저한 문제점으로 지적되고 있으며 특히 질 높은 교사의 이직은 심각한 사회적 문제로 부각되고 있는 실정이다. 따라서 본 연구는 에티오피아 교사들은 왜 이직을 하려고 하는 지에 대해 분석하고자 한다. 더불어 근속 교사의 특징을 함께 논의하고자 한다.

본 연구에서는 에티오피아 교사 승진제도 및 낮은 임금 구조가 교사의 이직에 영향을 미친다는 결론에 도달한다. 첫째, 불투명한 승진구도는 교사의 이직과 관련성이 있다. 과거, 정당에서 교사를 정치내각에 중용하는 관습을 따라 현재 또한 교사를 정당정치에 가입시킴으로써 교사의 정치적 활동 및 정치적 색깔에 따라 승진이 결정된다. 실력 위주의 승진보다는 인맥 및 정치적 경향성에 따른 승진 구도는 실력 있는 교사의 이직을 야기시킨다. 둘째, 승진에 따른 정치관련 업무 증가는 교사의 이직에 영향을 미친다. 즉, 교사의 정당가입권유 및 정당활동점검, 지역사회 및 교내 정치적 갈등해소 등 담당 업무 증가는 관리자의 업무 피로도 상승을 야기시킬 뿐만 아니라 사기 또한 떨어뜨린다. 따라서 일반 교사에게 교장과 교감은 선망의 대상이기 보다는 정치적 선동자로 간주된다. 셋째, 교육 및 정치의 연관성으로 인한 교직 내 민주적인 문화형성이 어렵다. 비 민주적인 교내 문화는 교사간의 협의 및 민주적인 토론을 방해한다. 교사의 자유로운 발언 및 활동이 억압되는 환경에서 교사들은 비민주적인

조직문화에서 벗어나고자 이직을 선택한다. 넷째, 승진으로 인한 급여 인상이 매력적이지 않다. 승진체계표에 따른 봉급인상과는 달리 과도한 공과금 및 기여금 부과로 인한 봉급의 인상률은 저조하며 이는 기본적인 생활 수준 유지에도 못 미치는 경우가 있다. 또한 다른 직업과의 임금 비교에서도 현저히 낮은 임금 수준은 교사의 이직을 유발시킨다.

‘논의’에서는 첫째, 에티오피아 초등교사의 이직 모델이 제시되었다. 승진제도 및 임금구조가 주요한 이직요인으로 제시되었으며 이로 인한 부작용들은 실질적으로 교사의 이직을 야기시킨다. 둘째, 이직을 선택하지 않고 근속을 이어나가는 교사 및 이직교사의 내·외적 특성을 구분하여 해석하였다. 근속교사는 탈당에 대한 개인적 거부감 및 정당가입에 따른 승진제도의 적극적 활용 측면이 외적인 요소로, 교직에 대한 즐거움 추구가 내적인 요소로 구분 지어진다. 반면, 이직교사의 외적 특성은 정치적 활동에 거부감, 낮은 임금구조, 업무부담 등이며 내적 요소는 교직의 이직을 위한 도구 활용으로 특징지어진다.

세계적으로 개발도상국의 교육 질적 향상이 이슈가 되고 있는 가운데, 교사는 질 높은 교육 제공에 중요한 역할을 담당한다. 이에 따른 질 높은 교사 수급 계획 및 교사 능력 개발을 위한 정책적 제도가 이행되고 있는 상황이다. 하지만 교사의 수급과 능력 개발 보다는 질 높은 교사의 유출을 방지하는 것이 보다 시급하다는 측면에서 이론적인 정책적 제안보다는 현장 중심의 정책적 반영 및 불안정한 교육 제도 내 존재하는 위험요소를 인지하는 접근법이 필요하다.

주요어 : 에티오피아 교사, 이직, 근속, 승진제도, 급여, 교육의 질
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