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Formal Education and the Rural Dwelling Vezo of Ankilibe

A Study of the Relationship between Daily Life of the Vezo and the
Public Education System in Madagascar

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Fall 2010

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Introduction

Public Schools in Madagascar

Since its settlement by humans in the first century A.D. (Rakotoarisoa, 1997), Madagascar's cultures have been largely based on oral tradition. The Malagasy language was not written until the 18th century when the *Sorabe*, an Arabic text appeared, and it was not until 1823 when Welsh Missionaries first wrote Malagasy that it was adapted to the Latin alphabet (Tyson, 2000). Around the same time as the written word of Malagasy was first transcribed, the Malagasy people were first exposed to the Western formal education system with the arrival of Europeans in the early 1700's and American missionaries in the 19th century (Babault, 2006). As part of their colonization of Madagascar, beginning officially in 1896, the French built a public school system modeled after that used in France. The system starts with five years at École Primaire Publique (EPP), followed by four years of École Secondaire Premier Cycle (CEG), and finishing with three years of École Secondaire Deuxieme Cycle (lycée). After the first five years of school at EPP, students test for the Certificat d'Étude Primaire (CEPE), the diploma which indicates that one is officially literate and, in the past, could be sure to find work. If the student continues through CEG, he or she may receive the BEPC (Brevet d'Études de Premier Cycle), which shows that he or she is educated, and may teach at the EPP level. Finally, after three years of lycée, students pass the Baccalaureate to demonstrate their intellectualism can enter university, teach at the CEG level, and theoretically to be able to find work somewhat more successfully than those with lower diplomas (pers. comm., RAEVONIAINA, Luis Manera, 2010). Through the university system, one may become license, maîtrisé, or obtain a doctorate. In order to become a

teacher in Madagascar, one must have obtained the diploma for mastery of one level higher than the level at which he or she wishes to teach: in order to teach at CEG, one must have a Bacc, to teach at lycée, one must be licencié (pers. comm., RAEVONIAINA, Luis Manera, 2010).

The public school system is, theoretically, available to the whole population free of charge, but because of the poverty in the country, corruption in the government, and tiny percentage of the budget allotted to education (3.8 % in 2006, Madagascar Action Plan, 2006), students at public school of all levels must pay a tuition fee, and in some cases an additional fee to a parent's association (FRAM) (Heneveld et al, 1995, pers. comm. RAZANA Sambo, TSILOVA Tsraky, 2010). There are also many private schools around the country, located mostly in urban areas, and often having religious or cultural affiliation, such as Alliance Française and Sacre Coeur in Fort Dauphin.

Since the construction of the public school system by the French, both public and private schools have existed in Madagascar, but since the end of colonialism in 1960, the education system has undergone policy changes which have resulted in its breakdown. In 1972 with the removal of Philibert Tsiranana from the position of president and the adoption of socialist policies by the state came the Malgachisation of the school system (Bavoux et al, 1993, pers. comm., Hansen, 2010). This policy, based on increasing feelings of independence and patriotism and furthering Malagasy cultural education among the young population of Madagascar, though essentially a positive idea to implement in the highly westernized school system, was poorly communicated at several levels, and had numerous negative effects. Teachers who had received all of their education and training in French struggled to suddenly teach exclusively in Malagasy

(pers. comm., RAEVONIAINA, Luis Manera, 2010, Bavoux et al, 1993). In addition, in many cases the teachers interpreted the Malgachisation policy as a translation of the existing lesson plans, which generally had no relationship with Madagascar. For example, instead of writing a new passage about anything concerning Malagasy culture, one teacher simply translated a passage called “Neige a Paris” or “Snow in Paris” into Malagasy. While students were now working with the more familiar Malagasy language, they were learning nothing about Madagascar, its history, or people (pers. comm., RABARIJAONA, Bernadin, 2010). The struggles on the part of the instructors led not only to inefficient teaching, but also to the retirement of many teachers from the profession, and therefore the closing of schools around the country (pers. comm., RABARIJAONA, Bernadin, RAEVONIAINA, Luis Manera 2010).

To further exacerbate the problem, the ministry of education decided to revert back to French as now one of two languages of education, used with Malagasy. The resulting education system is Malagasy at its base and French at the higher levels, with university instruction conducted solely in French. Therefore, one measure of a person’s possible level of education is his or her proficiency in French (Babault, 2006). Though the return of French as the official language of education occurred just ten years after its banishment, the damage to the education system had been done. Today, only 52% of adults in Madagascar are literate, which likely stems from the fact that only 57% of people in the country complete primary education, there is an average 52:1 student to teacher ratio in public schools, only 31% of people of the appropriate age enroll in CEG, and only 19% of people in Madagascar complete secondary education. Further, only 9% of people of the appropriate age range (15-18 years old), enroll in lycée, only 7% of

people actually complete lycée, and in total there were only 4,750 graduates from tertiary education, or university, in Madagascar in 2006 (Madagascar Action Plan, 2006). These statistics paint a picture of a society which is fairly unengaged in the formal education system, and though primary education in Madagascar is theoretically required, there are several factors which lead to very low rates of enrollment even in primary schools.

Along with the factors contributing to the low quality of education in Madagascar that originate from the history of education, there are three major factors that are more tangible for families in every day life that prevent children from going to school. Firstly, there is a great lack of actual school buildings and classrooms in Madagascar, and also a deficiency of teachers to serve all of the students who wish to attend school. This is largely a problem of funding, and the effects are serious: only 43.5% of children in the public education system go to school full time, with 18.5% attending half-time, and the final 37.5% going to school only part time (Jee-Reng Tan et al, 2001). This means that more than half of all Malagasy students cannot go to school full time which is necessary to really focus on learning, and to learn in an efficient manner.

Another factor inhibiting the children of Madagascar from attending school is the general poverty of the average family in the nation, and public school costs families money even though it is supposed to be free of charge. Because the state does not give enough money to the schools, families of students must pay a tuition fee, and because this has been going on for so many years, families have become accustomed to paying this fee (Heneveld et al, 1995). In addition, there is also the cost of books, pens and notebooks, and because each child needs between 5 and 14 notebooks per year (pers. comm., Patricia, 2010), and each family has many children, the cost of school materials increases

rapidly even without considering the tuition fees.

Finally, the lack of state funding and closing of many schools during and after the Malgachisation period resulted in a very low density of school buildings around the country, especially in rural areas (pers. comm., RABARIJAONA, Bernadin, Babault, 2006). This means that many students must travel quite far to find a school, especially a CEG or lycée, which is terribly inconvenient for the families and students, especially when renting a house in a new city adds more cost to education.

These three tangible factors: lack of teachers and classrooms, poverty of Malagasy citizens, and far distances to travel to reach school, all inhibit young Malagasy people from receiving formal education. After having completed research with people living in the isolated commune of Faux Cap, the *proviseur* (director) of the Lycé Pole in Fort Dauphin, administrators of schools in Tulear, and students in Fianarantsoa, I found that the three tangible factors heeding school attendance are the most important reasons why children say that they cannot go to school, and they most seriously affect rural dwelling people who are on average, poorer and live farther from school than city dwellers (McNeil, 2010).

In addition, rural people almost invariably work in the informal sector of the economy, which includes activities which often do not require extensive education (pers. comm., Ravivomanana, 2010). For example, the people living in Faux Cap are almost all farmers who also raise animals, two skills passed down through parents to children by practice, and which do not require knowledge of French grammar or extensive scientific learning, and for most people not even reading or writing. For this reason, the incentive to push past other discouraging factors and continue with school, which will instill

knowledge likely not necessary for the average rural citizen's future success, is very low. However, the EPP classrooms continue to be crowded, and people send requests to the state to build more schools (pers comm, President of the Fokotany Ambory, 2010), which shows that to a certain extent, people must, to some extent, want to attend school. It seems that people must equate more schooling with a better life to warrant surmounting difficulties involved in attending school, but eventually the monetary and geographical barriers create too much stress on the student and or family and children often cannot continue school through lycée.

The Vezo and Ankilibe

The Vezo people, who inhabit the southwest coast of Madagascar (Tyson, 2000), have the strongest tie to the sea of any ethnic group in the area. As traditionally outstanding fishermen, they usually live no further than one hour's walk from the sea (Langley et al, 2005), and have a deep relationship with the ocean through traditions such as throwing one's umbilical cord into the sea just after birth (pers. comm. Mahampy, 2010). To be Vezo, one must not only be born in the area, but also must be a skilled fisherman and seafarer: one way an outsider may gain acceptance into the ethnic group is by proving him or herself worthy at sea (Langley et al, 2005). The Vezo are also characterized by their semi-nomadic and non-confrontational history: if a Vezo village heard that another group planned on an attack, they would load their valuables and families into pirogues and head out to sea while the aggressors plundered anything that was left of the village (Langley et al, 2005). Before the coastal regions inhabited by the Vezo became so overpopulated, they would often fish an area until not enough marine

life remained to sustain the village, then pick up and move to a new region in which fish were more plentiful (Marikandia, 1995). As the population has continued to grow, however, there no longer exists new places to which they may move, and so the fishermen must travel much farther each day, or over several days to find an area rich enough to fish (pers. comm., Pete, 2010).

The Tulear reef, which is 12 miles of continuous reef off the coast of Tulear and rich in marine resources, is also the most heavily fished area by the Vezo. In response to growing human population, the fishermen have turned to unsustainable fishing practices to increase the quantity of their catch, which further depletes supply for future generations (Wildlife Conservation Society, 2007). As fishermen increase the frequency of use of fishing gear like beach seins and gill nets with smaller holes, the quantity of the catch increases, but the selectivity decreases, and they catch many young fish that have not yet reproduced, or animals closer to the base of the food chain, which contributes to the rapid disappearance of fish populations (Mahatante, 2008). In addition, inland deforestation increases sedimentation in rivers, which deposit large amounts of sand onto the delicate reefs, choking them and causing further damage to the fisheries (Remanevy, 2010).

The potential complete disappearance of the fishery of the Tulear reef has great implications for the survival of the Vezo who are so closely tied to the sea, and who depend almost exclusively on the sea to sustain their subsistence lifestyle. As notoriously abysmal money savers, the Vezo will live in accordance with the amount of fish caught that day: on lean days, they do not eat, and on plentiful days, they forget their hunger from the day before and eat, and drink excessively in many cases (pers. comm. Paubert

Mahatante, Bernadin Rabarijaona, 2010). This phenomenon is partially linked to the belief that the sea will always give, and that to be Vezo one must be a competent fisherman, and if one has a successful day and does not celebrate, he shows a lack of confidence in his ability to have success the following day (Corbett, 2010). Despite the strong belief in the sea and *Zanahary* (God) as givers of life and food, the Vezo have started to realize that their resources are disappearing due to over fishing (Mahatante, 2008), and their own unsustainable fishing techniques (pers. comm., fishermen group interviews, 2010). The price of fish has multiplied almost tenfold over the last 20 years, while the quality and quantity have both greatly diminished (Mahatante, 2008, fishermen group interviews, 2010, pers. comm., Zorline, 2010), largely due to the recent accelerations in population growth.

Against this backdrop of disappearing resources and booming population, formal education may seem to have nothing to do with the daily life of struggling for food to feed a large family, and yet has everything to do with changing living habits and even

livelihood to be able to move away from unsustainable fishing as a way of life. Ankilibe, a Vezo fishing village located 15 km south of Tulear in which more than 85% of the people relies on sustenance fishing as a means of survival and the population has expanded rapidly over the last decades (Mahatante, 2008) served as a case study in which I investigated the relationship between formal education and the daily life of Vezo



Figure 1. The Tulear reef and Ankilibe. Tulear is located to the north off the map, while St. Augustin is visible in the very southern end (Mahante, 2008).

fishermen. The current population of Ankilibe is 3,500 (pers. comm., Eliasijain and Jaosinga, 2010), but was only 2,500 people in 2006 (Mahatante, 2008). This rapid population growth of almost a 50% increase over four years exists among a very young population, where the 21 years of age and older bracket makes up only about 25% of the population (Fig 2, Mahatante, 2010). The fishermen of

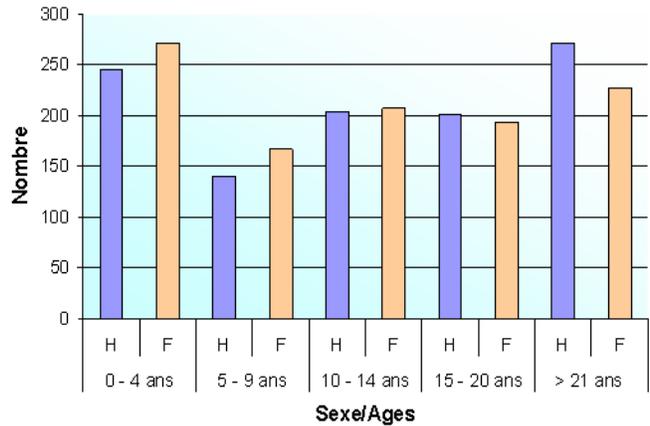


Figure 2. The population distribution of Ankilibe in 2006 (Mahante, 2008). Approximately 75% of the population is under 21 years of age, with an approximately equal number of individuals age 21 and older and between 0 and 4 years old.

The fishermen of Ankilibe use primarily gill nets, beach seines, and mosquito nets to fish in pirogues, methods which are largely unsustainable (Mahatante, 2008), but reflect the recent history of desperation in obtaining sufficient quantity of catch from the ever diminishing fish populations in the area. According to the fishermen and women of Ankilibe, the quality and quantity of fish is rapidly decreasing (pers. comm., subjects Ankilibe, 2010), and even younger fishermen can remember the time when the fish were plentiful, indicating that the area has just begun to truly show the affects of rampant over fishing.

The people of Ankilibe suggest that fishing may soon no longer be a sustainable lifestyle (pers. comm., fishermen group interviews, Eliasijain, 2010), and that though they were, by a vast majority, Vezo, the time may have come to leave this way of life to find more lucrative work to provide for themselves. To leave Ankilibe and find work in the formal sector of the economy as a teacher, doctor, midwife, or gendarme, all of which were popular potential career choices among the people of Ankilibe, requires several

diplomas through the formal education system. At the time of study, there exists in Ankilibe one EPP with 5 classrooms and 16 *insituteurs*, or teachers, and 569 students (pers. comm., Mme. Bako, 2010). The school was recently renovated and two additional classrooms built in 2009, but the nearest CEG remains in either Tulear or St. Augustin, both of which are between 12-15 km away and require a permanent move to attend because of this distance.

Having established that school in Madagascar costs rural families hard earned money which is usually not saved very consistently among the Vezo, and therefore the population of Ankilibe, and that children cannot usually attend enough school to break into the formal sector of the economy and escape the subsistence fishing lifestyle, it seems strange that the children of Ankilibe would bother attending school at all. Essentially, the high drop out rate from EPP in rural areas around the country is logical, and considering that a child who leaves school to fish changes from a financial burden to a financial supporter, why would families bother sending children to school for those first two or three years? The objective of this study was to investigate whether or not a relationship exists between the curriculum content of the formal education system and the daily life led by the Vezo people, which would provide insight as to why children in Ankilibe go to school before leaving to become fishermen. Further, I wished to find out how inevitable the fishing lifestyle is for children, and if they enjoyed school and wished to continue or just attended out of habit for a few years before moving on to fishing which they had planned on doing from the outset. Some factor must tip the balance in favor of formal education for a few years, despite the financial trouble, geographic barriers, and seeming lack of relationship between the future of the young people of

Ankilibe and formal education. In this study I investigated the views of the people of Ankilibe on why children attend school, the importance of attending, and why they leave, in order to find out what factors motivate children to attend school. These views contribute to shaping an overall plan on how the public school system could further improve itself to increase enrollment, completion, and continuation to higher levels which would enable the people of Ankilibe to shift away from a now unsustainable way of life.

Methodology

Strategy-Interviewing, Attending Class, Observation

To conduct this study, I lived with Say Johnson and her family in Ankilibe, participating in daily life of the Vezo for three and a half weeks from November 2 to 25th.

Interviewing served as my primary data collection method, for which I used a translator, either Tsibara Mbohoahy or Pascal (Termand Norbert). The interviews with the citizens of Ankilibe were informal and semi-structured, with pre-prepared questions from which the conversation could deviate if the subject led it elsewhere (Appendix I). The questions asked were as open ended as possible, excepting for age, number of siblings, years spent in school, and other basic statistical information questions, in order to solicit as many ideas and opinions from the subjects as possible. The interviews of villagers lasted on average 5-10 minutes per individual (groups of 3 took around 30 minutes), while the interviews with the presidents of the fokotany, teacher, and *directrice*, or head administrator, were all about 30 minutes to an hour each.

With the exception of the two presidents of the fokotany, the *directrice* of the

school, and the teacher at the school, all subjects were randomly selected as the translator and I walked along the beach in front of the village or through the village of Ankilibe. We asked people in small groups of 2-4 or individually, who did not appear to be too occupied to answer a few questions for a study. To interview women, we largely sought subjects in the morning, and for fishermen we walked along the beach in the late afternoon and evening to ensure the largest volume of available interviewees. Slightly different questions were asked of different subject groups: for example, we did not ask adults what they want to be when they grow up or school children how many children they have, but also used several universal questions for every subject (Appendix I).

In addition, I attended two classes for twenty minutes each at the EPP Ankilibe, one CM 2, or 7ieme, and one CP 1, or 11ieme. While in the classroom, I sat at a desk in the back to observe the teaching strategies, lesson content, and student behavior at school. CM 2 is the last class available at the EPP level, and so I observed the oldest students at the school at the highest scholastic level. CP 1 is the first level of school, so I could also observe the youngest children. In addition, I briefly analyzed the teaching and lesson planning journals to gain insight into the knowledge and effort put in on the part of the teachers at the school.

Finally, my family included two girls attending the EPP at Ankilibe, so I was able to observe the life of students while they were not in school, as well as the school schedule and effort put in to studies while not in the classroom. Living in the village also afforded me the opportunity to interact with and observe other villagers and their level of attention devoted to education. Tsibara, who had worked extensively on other projects in the area and knew the town and its inhabitants well was an invaluable source of

information, especially considering that he had grown up and struggled through the public education system in a rural setting. By talking casually with Tsibara, Say, and other families while not formally interviewing and paying attention to the content of conversations around me, I could further understand the priorities and major interests of the citizens of Ankilibe.

Obstacles

The most unavoidable obstacle to my research, which also likely had the biggest effect on my results, was my appearance as a *vazaha*, or stranger. Especially considering that the school in Ankilibe is largely financed by a French *vazaha*, the people of Ankilibe seem to perceive *vazahas* not only as people who are rich and well educated themselves, but also who value education in others and possibly even look down on those who are uneducated. It is easy to imagine, then, that many of the subjects giggled nervously or averted their eyes in a gesture of embarrassment when I asked how many years of school they had attended and why they left. Some defensively cited external factors such as a parent's inability to pay for school or a malicious teacher as reasons for leaving, but others, such as girls who had to leave because they were pregnant, often did not give direct answers initially about their number of years spent in school or reasons for leaving. In addition, I realize in retrospect that asking the question "Do you want your children to attend school?" would invariably receive the same response from everyone if they all thought that I was a big proponent of education. The school children also gave very much the same answers about whether or not they liked school (they all did), and whether they wanted to continue (of course, through university if my parent's finances permit). In

our final group interview with the youngest children, they were on school property, and while they were not in class, their teacher was within sight of the interview, and I believe that affected the response to the question, “What do you think of the teacher?” As it is difficult to conduct double blind interviews and do observation at the same time, I must take the information gleaned from the interviews knowing that it may have been slightly altered from the truth for my “benefit,” by exaggerating years spent in school or giving different reasons for leaving.

A more treatable obstacle that we encountered was that the larger the group, the fewer opinions obtained in general, either because everyone tended to nod or shake their head after one opinion was given, or because an apparently homogenous group actually included a parent and son or daughter who deferred to the hierarchy and only the most established or oldest person spoke. We attempted to limit our group interviews to 4 people maximum and insofar as was possible, I attempted to direct question at the non-dominant speakers in an effort to obtain the opinions of the other subjects, but in some situations the non-dominant speakers responded only very briefly before deferring once more to the dominant speaker. Both of these problems could be remedied by interviewing in smaller groups, and in many cases we interviewed subjects individually by drawing them aside from the group one by one to get answers that were as honest and true to individual beliefs as possible.

Results and Analysis

Population at School

The general population of Ankilibe has been rapidly increasing over recent years, up from 2,500 in 2006 to 3,500 people in 2010. This incredible boom in population was evident in the average family size of the subjects interviewed (Figure 3).

For the 85 subjects included in the sibling data, seven is the number of siblings of highest frequency, with an average number of siblings of 6.37 and a range from 0-14 siblings. While one cannot assume two parents for each sibling set because in many cases siblings have different mothers or fathers, this large number of children per family reflects the recent population boom, and shows that it will not likely be slowed any time in the very near future.

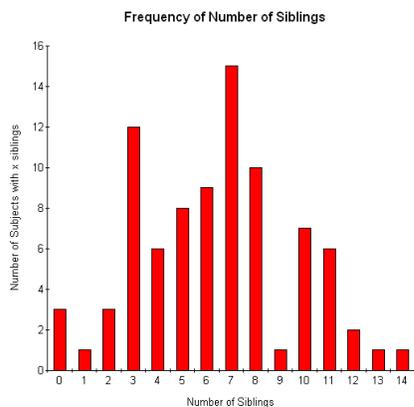


Figure 3. The number of siblings of subjects interviewed. The most frequent number of siblings is seven, with a range from zero to 14, and an average of 6.37 siblings. 85 subjects responded.

Of this plethora of children born each year, almost all begin school. Of the 100 subjects interviewed, 90 had been to school for at least one year or were still attending the EPP in Ankilibe. Though only 569 children currently attend the EPP at

Ankilibe, and only 633 children attended in the scholastic year 2009-2010, of a predicted age appropriate population of about 1200 (Mahatante, 2008), 90% of interviewees said that they had attended school, and of the 69 subjects who had children, every single person said that their children were either in school, had gone to school, or would be attending as soon as they were old enough. This low number of students in school in proportion to the population can be blamed on the high drop out

and low completion rates of students at the EPP. According to the 74 subjects who spoke about their siblings in interviews, 69 mentioned that either some or all of their siblings went to school, further supporting the idea that almost all children at the very least begin school.

Of the subjects interviewed, 70 were not in school, either having finished or not attended at

all, while 30 were schoolchildren currently attending EPP Ankilibe.

Figures 4 and 5 show the number of subjects interviewed that stopped

school at each scholastic level, which differed overall for males and females. It appears that more males leave school at an

earlier level, spiking at 9ieme (CE), while females stayed in school slightly longer on average, with the most frequent level reached being 6ieme, or finishing with EPP and beginning CEG. There are, however, more males in the higher scholastic levels than females, and more females interviewed did not attend school at all. However, 60 of 70

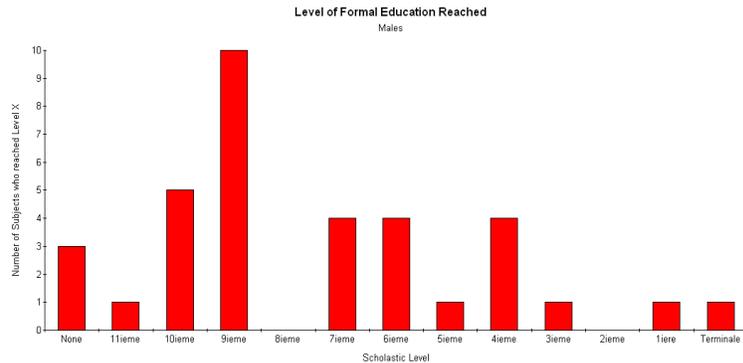


Figure 4. Level of formal education reached by males shown by number of subjects who completed through a given level. The most frequent level of abandonment was 9ieme, but more males completed higher levels of education than females.

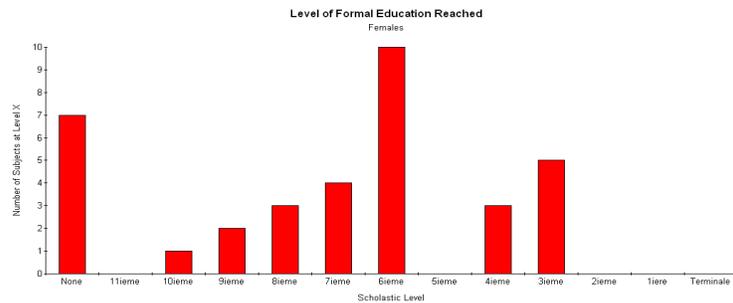


Figure 5. Level of formal education reached by males shown by number of subjects who completed through a given level. The most frequent level of abandonment for females was 6ieme, but fewer females made it to higher levels of education, and more females never attended school than males.

adult interviewees having attended school for at least one year further establishes the idea that people in Ankilibe generally begin school at the EPP level even if they fail to

continue for a significant period of time.

Once they begin school, however, the children do not seem to stay there too long. According to

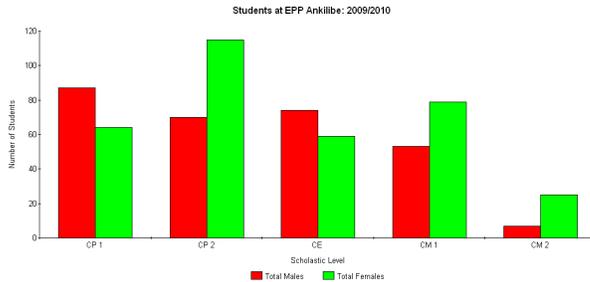


Figure 6. The total number of students attending school at EPP Ankilibe for the school year of 2009/2010. There were 633 students total in the school, 291 males and 342 females. There are far more girls enrolled in the higher scholastic levels than boys, but there are more boys than girls in CP 1.

the data collected by the school administration, there are 96 students in the first scholastic level, CP 1 or 11ieme, while there are only 32

students in the highest scholastic level, CM 2 or 5ieme (Figure 6, pers. comm. Mme.

Bako). In addition, of this total, a large percentage of the students are repeating classes

(Figure 7, pers. Comm. Mme. Bako), with only 40 of 96 students in the first year enrolled as new students, with 56 of 90 as repeating students. There is also a high rate of abandonment, or

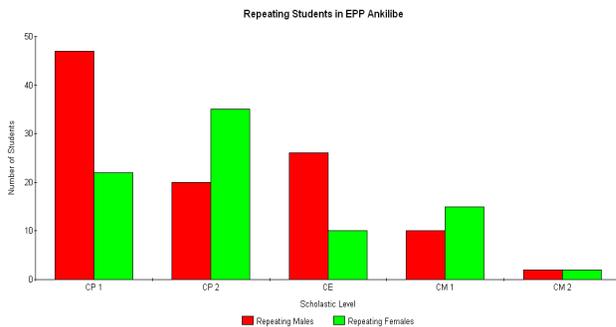


Figure 7. The total number of students repeating each scholastic level at EPP Ankilibe. In CP 1 (11ieme), 47 males and 22 females were repeating students in 2009/2010, in CP 2 (10ieme) 20 males and 35 females were repeating, in CE (9ieme) 26 males and 10 females were repeating students, in CM 1 (8ieme), 10 males and 15 females were repeating, and in CM 2 (7ieme) only 2 males and 2 females were repeating.

dropping out during the school year instead of just failing to re-enroll, after the first two scholastic levels, with almost half of the boys enrolled in CM 2, or 5ieme,

dropping out before the end of the year (Figure 8, pers. comm., Mme. Bako). These population statistics support the conclusion that many children begin at the EPP Ankilibe, but very few finish their studies through the EPP level. Not only does the number of students in each level drop significantly from CP 1 (11ieme) to CM 2 (7ieme), but the number of repeating students drops as well, suggesting that after about CE (9ieme), if the student has not proved him or herself capable of being a successful student, they give up on school altogether. Additionally, the number of students who abandoned during the school year rises through the scholastic levels until CM 2 (7ieme). This suggests that students may leave school for various reasons during the year at the mid-level classes, but once they have reached CM 2, only a few months remains and they finish the year, or that only the very academically inclined reach CM 2 and therefore are not the type of children

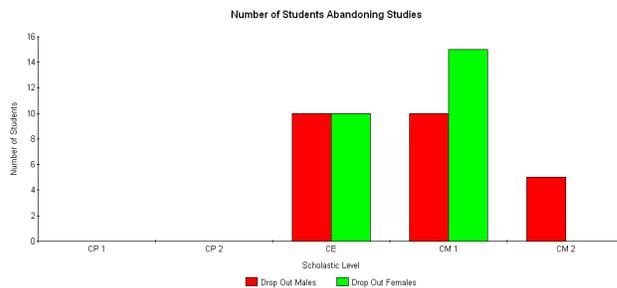


Figure 8. The number of students abandoning each scholastic level at EPP Ankilibe in 2009/2010. More males than females abandoned in general, with higher levels of abandonment at higher grade levels, but no females abandoning the final year of studies.

to abandon their studies midway through the year.

While these data are suggestive and helpful, they did originate from calculations done by

the school administration. A separate chart is completed each month by the administration, which, in theory, shows changes in the

student population month by month, but when I examined these charts, the numbers in each month were exactly the same for each level and category, with the number of sections sometimes altered. While this could have been a reflection of a very stable

student population, I discovered when I observed both the CM 2 and CP 1 classes that the number of students differed drastically from that which was recorded in the administrative charts. In the CM 2 (7ieme) class, the administration shows 20 males and 24 females enrolled in the single section of CM 2, but only four males and 17 females were present on the day of observation. When questioned, the instructor stated that this was an average school day as far as attendance was concerned, which leads me to believe that the numbers in the administrative records may not be fully accurate. Furthermore, the administration attests that there are 60 males and 36 females enrolled in CP 1, which is split in to three approximately equal sections, but the single section which I observed of CP 1 consisted of 24 males and 33 females. If the administration's records are accurate, that would mean that there were only three females in the other two sections of CP 1, but when the directrice briefly introduced me to the other two sections, they were of approximately equal size as the first and had approximately equal numbers of males and females. These observations lead me to believe that while the graphs of total, repeating, and abandoning students may give a vague reflection of the school population, they should not be blindly accepted as the exact truth.

From these population statistics data, combined with the administrative data collected on a monthly basis, one can conclude with reasonable confidence that in general, there is widespread attendance of school for the first few scholastic levels, but this quickly drops off during, and in the first year following EPP.

Viewpoints and Observations: EPP Ankilibe Administration

The administration of the EPP Ankilibe, made up of the teachers and *directrice*, Madame Bako, have clearly formulated ideas about why the children of Ankilibe interest themselves in formal education for so few years, and seemingly so half-heartedly.

According to Mme. Bako, the principal reasons for which children attend school include the midday meal and extra time with their friends. Some children even enroll in school before they are 6 years old, the official starting age, to begin receiving the midday meal one year early. The drop-off in enrollment from 633 students in 2009-2010 to 569 in 2010-2011 has been largely due to the change from rice to corn as the staple of the midday meal, according to Mme. Bako, which further supports the idea that children come to the EPP Ankilibe only for the midday meal. Interestingly, when one of the young girls with whom I was living returned from school with the remains of the corn from her midday meal, the family was indignant that they now served corn instead of rice (pers. comm. Say, 2010).

The quality of education at the EPP Ankilibe lags behind that of the EPPs in Tulear and St Augustin because the children do not do their homework, and because the school day is only 4 hours long per child, they do not spend enough time thinking about school, and therefore no progress can be made (pers. comm., Mme Bako). Additionally, Mme. Bako stated that almost all of the children know that they will become fishermen or help their husbands to fish, so they do not believe in the necessity of school and it is, for them, more of a distraction for part of the day.

The close relationship with the *vazaha*, the French benefactor Mr. Gerard, helps the school by providing uniforms, occasional gifts, and most importantly, the beautiful

building constructed in 2009 which added two classrooms and an administrative office to the school. Additionally, Programme Alimentation Mondial (PAM) provides vitamins for the students, and Unicef pays the salaries of the *non-fonctionnaire*, or not officially licensed teachers. Despite all of the outside aid, the lack of support from the parents and lack of effort on the part of the children result in the low quality of education at EPP Ankilibe (Mme. Bako).

While Mme. Hangele, the teacher interviewee, had a very similar attitude towards the children as Mme. Bako, she mentioned some interesting facts about the administration that should be taken into consideration. Mme. Hangele agreed that the children come to school for the midday meal, and further, that if there is for some reason no midday meal on a particular day, the students will not come to school. The student's reasons for leaving school are numerous, including wanting to amuse themselves elsewhere, get married, or go fishing, and they will usually leave by the time they are 12 or 14 years old because they are tired of repeating classes. In some cases, children start leaving school much earlier: "if the tide is low, they will ask to go to the bathroom, and then run to the sea and not come back to school," (pers. comm., Mme. Hangele). On days when the tide is low before school starts, the teachers will all bike in from Tulear where they live and see that the school is empty because all of the children are on the beach collecting shrimp, sea cucumbers, and other delicacies, so they turn right around and head back to Tulear. If there are no students at school on Tuesday, the teachers will not come back until Friday to fill out their time card slips saying that they came to school each day but no students were present. This lack of student participation in school is also largely due to the fact that there is absolutely no parental support for the school in

Ankilibe. No FRAM, or parent-teacher association, exists for the EPP though these are fairly common in other public schools of all levels (pers. comm., RAZANA, Sambo, and TSILOVA, Tsraky, 2010). This means that the teachers must work alone, and because, according to Mme. Hangele, the directrice Mme. Bako steals all of the aid given by Mr. Gerard the generous benefactor, the teachers really have nothing to keep them going.

These attitudes towards the students and life at school on the part of the administration cannot possibly breed a healthy learning environment at the EPP Ankilibe. Not only is there a complete lack of confidence in the motives of the students and their ability to work and learn, but there is also evidently no collaboration between the teachers and *directrice*, even blame for lack of resources or effort between these two parties as well. There must be, however, some reason as to why there are some days without any school, seemingly a mutual decision without any announcements on the part of all parties involved. During the 23 days that I stayed in Ankilibe, from November 2 to November 25, no vacations were scheduled in the official scholastic calendar which states that school runs from October 11 to December 17 without any breaks, but the school was in session only 10 days out of 17 potential school days. This is the normal pattern of attendance (pers. comm., Maeva, Say, Mme. Hangele, Mme. Bako) for the teachers, students and the *directrice*, but no matter who receives the blame, the fact remains that the school appears to be open for just over half of the scheduled school days. Combined with the expenses of attending school (6,000 FMG, or 1,200 Ar, or roughly \$0.75 USD) per year, and the allure of the sea, the children of Ankilibe struggle to continue their education.

Viewpoints and Observations-Students

30 students were interviewed, from ages 5 to 14 representing all scholastic levels of the EPP Ankilibe. 30 of the 30 children interviewed stated that they liked school and wished to continue as far as possible if they continued to have the financial means to attend school and 28 students mentioned career choices such as midwives, gendarmes, teachers, doctors, or religious leaders, while only 2 of 30 children said that they might want to be fishermen when they grow up. This information already contradicts the opinions of the teachers and *directrice* that all children know that they will be fishermen when they grow up. Further, 30 of 30 children said that their professor was mean and or lazy, citing examples such as hitting the students with rulers, locking them in classrooms, coming to school drunk, or not coming at all (pers. comm., Mamato, Maeva, Adeline, Nasia, 2010). Some students said that they preferred the professor to be mean and serious than lazy so that students accomplished their necessary learning (pers. comm., Adeline, Nasia, Floriace, Ambohany, 2010). Additionally, according to Maeva, 13, student in CM 2, the teachers will occasionally send the students home because they do not wish to teach, they eat the student's food, and if the rich *vazaha* sends a gift for the students, the teachers will sell it to them for a fee. These opinions reinforce the idea that there is an extreme lack of communication between the different groups at school, all of whom seem to blame the other for the school not being open or the lack of funds or food available.

When asked about their curriculum, students either looked confused or laughed when asked whether anything about fishing, money management, selling goods, or daily activities of the Vezo were taught in school. "There is no relationship between school

and the children's daily life," according to Mme. Bako, and 30 of the 30 children asked said that they do not learn anything about fishing or selling goods from the formal education curriculum, but that they must learn it all from their parents or older siblings at home. In my brief observations of the lesson planning books, it was apparent that nothing specific to the region was taught, with only one picture in the book for the CP 1 (11ieme) class containing a pirogue.

The in-class observations were telling as well, mostly about the supposed low quality of education at EPP Ankilibe, which is so terrible that in order to get a good education, one must start with EPP in Tulear, not merely move for CEG (pers. comm., Maeva, Tsibara, 2010). In the class CM 2, taught by the most successful teacher in the school according to Mme. Bako, I observed a French class taught by a man who could not speak French enough to communicate with me even on a basic level. The students, seated silently in their desks, watched the professor copy passages onto the board in French, and questions about the passages. When he had finished his transcription, the teacher read the passage aloud, then asked a few students to read it aloud individually, then the whole classroom chorused the phrase. He then gave the instructions for identifying the verb and subject in French, but promptly repeated them and explained them more in-depth in Malagasy. The students were fairly competent at identifying the verb, subject, and object, but they did not speak any French besides chorusing back the phrases, and the teacher himself spoke no French that did not come directly from the lesson planning book. Additionally, fully half of the class time was spent with the students silently staring at the board or doodling in notebooks while the teacher copied phrases on to the blackboard.

This system leaves much room for improvement in efficacy: with a few simple training courses for the teacher, class time could be used much more efficiently with more active learning on the part of the students. Instead of using class time to copy phrases onto the board, the teacher could simply repeat them once or twice to students as they wrote them down, or else as he copied them, interact with the students by explaining the lesson or phrase. The unavoidable failing considering the lack of teachers available is the low level of education of the educators themselves. Because the Malagasy government only requires a teacher to have one diploma higher than the diploma for which he or she teaches, and only a few months of training to be teachers (pers. comm., Mme. Hangele, 2010) instructors in an EPP do not have to have high school level French, math, science, or any other subject, and so are often not very confident in their own teaching material.

The second class which I observed, CP 1, contained 62 children ages 5 to 11, all crammed into the classroom with 4 or 5 to a bench (the same benches used for 2 students in CM 2), and 5 children on the floor. All lessons were in Malagasy, with the same style of repetition and chorusing back lessons with not much attention paid to student comprehension or retention. The math lesson consisted of counting apples, and each student spent far more time drawing apples than actually doing math. Again, this is a very easy place in which improvements could be made on the teaching style in order to increase efficiency. This case was, however, more difficult, because one teacher with a low level diploma to 62 children all under the age of 11 constitutes something closer to daycare than actual school, especially when most students enter this grade level with no exposure to reading or writing.

While the students claim to enjoy school, and the teachers claim that students all want to leave, the actual curriculum itself also seems partially to blame for the lack of continuation with formal education. With nothing relating to their daily lives taught in school, and the duration of the school day being only 4 hours per day, with sporadic numbers of days per week, it is unsurprising that school is not a priority for the people of Ankilibe. The younger children do, however, want to continue with schooling, and every career choice that they mentioned required many additional years of school. This could not be the only reason that children go to school, because if fully 90% of the population quits school to become fishermen in Ankilibe, the illusion of continuing school through university could not be enough to send almost everyone to school to begin with.

Therefore, while it has clearly been established that there is no relationship between the daily life of the Vezo and the formal education curriculum, and that there are numerous problems with the EPP at Ankilibe arising from lack of funds and lack of communication and support between community members, the question remains as to why children enter school in the first place.

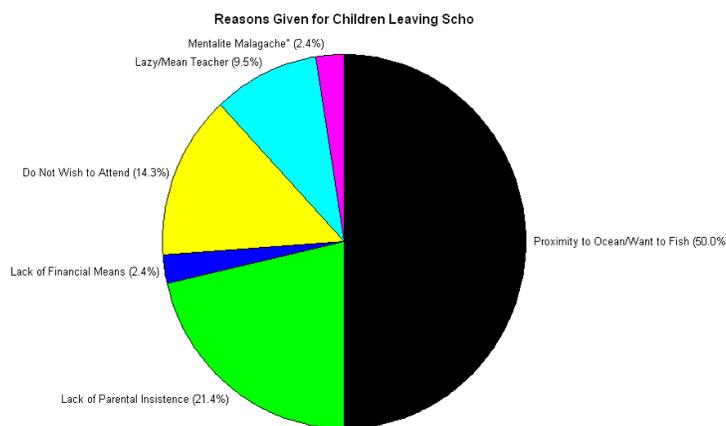
Viewpoints and Observations-Adult Population

The adult population of Ankilibe, defined as a person not in school and working for money, made up the bulk of the interviews for this project, with 70 individuals interviewed. Though this definition of adult included people as young as 14, there were no other identifiable differences in the professions or years spent in school between younger adults and older ones, therefore the category of “children not in school” does not exist. All “children” that I found that were not in school were around the age of 14-18

and already worked as beach fishermen, fishermen, or fish sellers. 35 Women and 35 men were interviewed about their professions and views on the formal education system and the lack of participation in the school system by all members of the community in Ankilibe.

Interestingly, the reasons given by men and women as to why children leave school do not completely match the reasons for which the adults left school themselves. Of the 42 adults who gave an opinion on why the children of Ankilibe leave school, 21 cited the proximity to the ocean, 9 said that parents do not insist that their children attend, six said that the children simply do not wish to continue, four cited the existence of lazy or mean teachers, while only one person said that finances kept children from attending, and one subject cited the “mentalite malagache,” which is that school is not necessary for

success (Figure 9).



The proximity to the ocean and desire to fish on the part of young people evidently

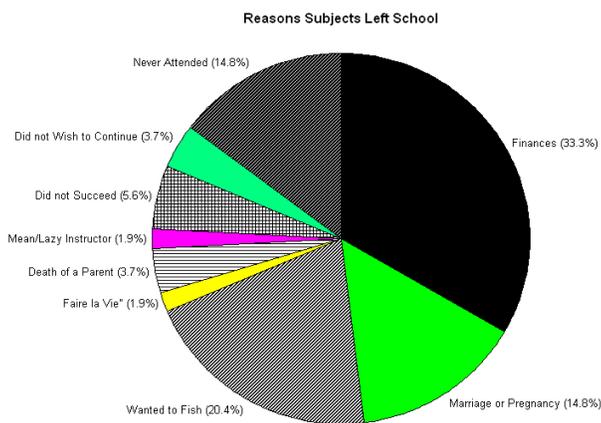
Figure 9. Reasons given why children leave school. Half of the subjects cited leaving to fish or proximity to the ocean, many cited lack of parental insistence, lack of desire to attend on the part of the student, mean or lazy teacher, lack financial means, and the Malagasy mentality about school.

plays an important role in their abandoning

school before completion according to the adults of Ankilibe, with one participant saying that, “Maybe if Ankilibe was located further from the sea, children would stay in school for longer because there wouldn’t be anything else to do [besides go to school],” (pers.

comm., Fiay, 2010), and another joking that, “You can close the school but you can never close the ocean,” (pers. comm., Georgiane, 2010). These opinions reflect the deep ties that the Vezo have to the sea, but seem to run contradictory to the now prevailing idea that the fish are rapidly disappearing and that fishing will soon cease to be a viable lifestyle.

While leaving school to fish evidently plays a huge role in the abandonment of formal education according to the adults interviewed, when asked why they personally left school, their answers were quite different. The most common reason cited for abandonment of the 53 people asked why they left school, 18 could not continue because of finances, only 11 wanted to become fishermen, 8 never attended, 7 left because of the desire to marry or because of unplanned pregnancy, 3 “did not succeed” and so decided to leave, 2 cited death of a parent or a lack of desire to continue, and one person wanted to “faire la vie” or live life, which apparently does not include going to school (Figure 10). This discrepancy between reasons people actually leave school and reasons that they gave for children leaving school can be at least partially explained by the stigma



surrounding leaving to fish and pregnancy. Subjects seemed to look down on those who leave school to fish, with one

Figure 10. Reasons that subjects left school. The most frequent response was finances, followed by desire to fish, marriage or pregnancy, not succeeding, death of a parent or lack of desire to continue, and wanting to live life.

president of the fokotany, Eliasijain, saying that “the ocean is school for the people of Ankilibe,” and the schoolchildren who were asked whether they fished on foot on weekends quickly denied any activity having to do with the ocean, saying that they washed their uniforms and went to church instead. This defensiveness on the part of the children and defeatist attitude on the part of the adults surrounding fishing suggests that once children begin to fish casually on weekends, they quickly drop out of school and become fishermen full time, an action which might be seen in a negative light by the general population because of the decreasing viability of fishing as a profession. The subjects may have also been more defensive and less likely to show pride in their work as fishermen in a dying field to a *vazaha* when they associate *vazahas* with supporting education and looking down on those who are less educated.

Additional discrepancies in the opinions on children leaving school and the reasons given for leaving school include lack of financial means and pregnancy. Many more people cited financial troubles and pregnancy as reasons for which they had to leave formal education behind than gave it as a reason that children usually left school. Lack of financial means to continue was linked in many cases to the inevitable turning to the sea for a job for men: in many cases they defended their choice to leave school and become fishermen by saying that their parents could no longer financially support their education.

Women seemed embarrassed in several cases that they had been forced to leave school early because of pregnancy, saying that at the time they could not continue school because they were ashamed to face their friends (pers. comm., Chantal, 2010), and some of the younger women hesitated to mention that pregnancy was the reason for which they

had to leave school. Though 8 of 26 women, almost one third of the female interviewees, who mentioned their reason for leaving school cited pregnancy as their primary reason, not one person said that young girls often leave school because they become pregnant, and some respondents even said that this is not a big problem at the EPP in Ankilibe (pers. comm., Tahery, 2010). Again, this discrepancy might be due to the stigma surrounding pregnancy, especially when speaking with a *vazaha*. Both early pregnancy and lack of finances because of a subsistence fishing lifestyle contradict ideals of progress towards a developed society and economy, and so while the subjects may have been willing to grudgingly reveal that they had left school for one of these reasons, they are less likely to admit that future generations are also unable to finish school because of “backwards” life choices or insufficient funds due to a parental vocation not found frequently in more developed countries. The fact remains that the lives of the Vezo are inextricably linked to the sea, Ankilibe is no exception, and this seems to interfere significantly with the continuation of formal education.

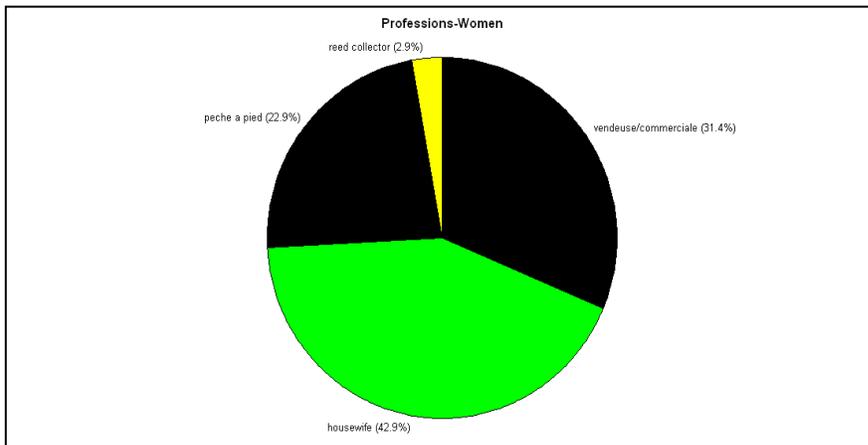


Figure 11. Professions of Women in Ankilibe. 15 of 35 women were housewives, 11 of 35 were fish or product sellers, 8 were fisherwomen by foot, and one collected reeds for weaving mats.

The professions of almost all adults in Ankilibe were somehow connected to the sea, with the exception of the large number of housewives among

the women, 15 of 35. Eleven of 35 women were fish sellers or sellers of other market products such as mangoes, peanuts, corn, and rice, eight of 35 women fished on foot during low tide, and only one collected reeds and wove mats as a career (Figure 11).

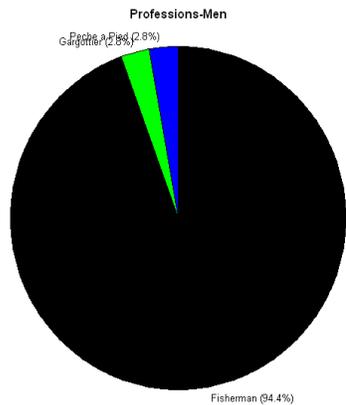


Figure 12. Professions of Men in Ankilibe. 33 men were fishermen, one did fishing by foot, and one sold products as a *gargottier*

The men of Ankilibe had a much less diversified job selection, with fully 34 of 35 men working as fishermen (one as a fisherman on foot), and only one as a

gargottier, or seller of various goods such as phone credit, candy, coffee, and bread (Figure 12). None of the above careers fall into the category of the formal sector of the economy: the entire economy of Ankilibe is completely undocumented and untaxed, and also none of the jobs have official pre-requisites of diplomas or any formal education. While all but 10 of the adults went to school, none of them appear to use any skill that they learned there save counting and simple math, in their daily lives.

To investigate why this apparent paradox of lack of usefulness of knowledge gained at school but the continuing participation in school by the people exists in Ankilibe, I asked each subject whether they believed formal education made any difference in the success of a person in their career field. For example, fishermen were asked whether fishermen who went to school had a better quality of life than those who did not, and why. Of the 19 men who responded to this question, 13 confirmed that

formal education made a positive difference in the quality of life of a fishermen, while only 6 stated that the fishermen who went to school had the exact same quality of life as those who didn't, often explaining that, "no matter what diploma one has, the sea will always be the same," (pers. comm., Delphin, 2010) (Figure 13). Those who disagreed and thought that formal education did make a difference cited examples such as better problem solving skills, better knowledge on where the fish can be found, better times to fish, or better financial management, stating that, "The sea will always be the same, no matter how many diplomas you have, but the difference is that those who went to school take their money to the bank," (pers. comm., Jencrit, 2010). Though none of these skills are taught expressly at school, problem solving and future thinking management skills seem to become habit once one has attended a certain amount of school. Of the 24 women who had an opinion on the difference in quality of life of those who went to school compared with those who didn't, eleven said that school made no difference, and 13 said that school helped improve quality of life by increasing communication skills,

financial management, knowledge on what to sell and where to sell it, and, importantly, that more educated people tend to push their

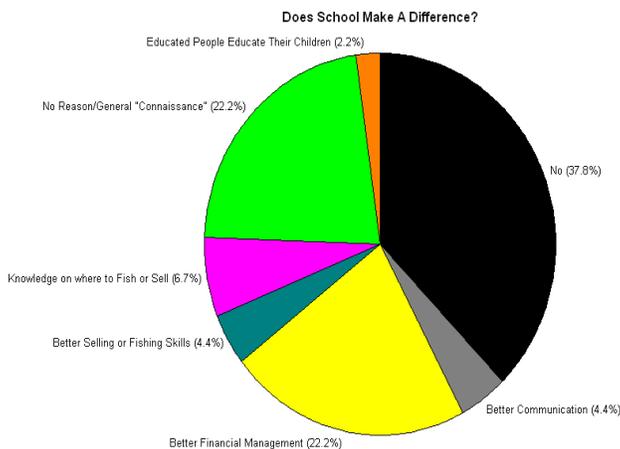


Figure 13. Opinions on whether school makes a difference or not and why. Slightly more than one third of the participants said that school did not make any difference, but many said that school makes for better financial management, better problem solving skills, better selling or fishing skills, or general conaissance.

children to continue with school (Figure 13)

Combining women and men, almost two thirds of the adult population of Ankilibe believes that even a small amount of school increases the quality of life of the people who attend. This figure, while encouraging because a majority of the population knows on some level that school is helpful, must not be quite enough to tip the balance in favor of children really investing time and effort into their education to work towards a better quality of life. If a larger, more convincing majority of the population saw a direct connection between academic success and increased quality of life, it is possible that more children would attend the EPP Ankilibe, and possibly make more of an effort to continue to the CEG in St. Augustin.

Conclusion

Prior to the start of the study, it had already been established that for the Vezo people who live in Ankilibe, unsustainable fishing practices have recently been leading to a rapid decline in available resources. Booming populations in many villages are at the root of the problem: people who need a larger quantity of fish to feed their families use mosquito nets, gill nets with very small holes, or beach seines to increase the size of their catch, but the quality of the product and ability for the fisherman to select for larger fish which have already reproduced almost disappears (Mahatante, 2008).

Against this backdrop of increasing desperation to either change the techniques people use to fish, try to find a way to leave the fishing industry altogether and seek work elsewhere, or continue to slip further into poverty, the public school system in Ankilibe struggles to keep consistent enrollment and increase completion rates. While the

acquisition of diplomas through the formal education system is necessary for most jobs in the formal sector of the economy, many obstacles stand between the children of Ankilibe and these diplomas, such as lack of financial means to continue, lack of either parental or student desire to continue school, marriage or pregnancy, or the desire or need to abandon formal education to go to sea as a fisherman. This final reason, given most frequently by adult interviewees, may seem like the most contradictory of all: people who should continue school to be able to find jobs elsewhere instead of fishing leave school in order to become fishermen. In addition to the reasons given by the general population for leaving school, it was discovered that absolutely nothing is taught in school which relates to the daily lives of the Vezo people, and that the teachers are often lazy or mean (or the students have terrible attitudes and do not come to school), so the reasons for which children actually do go to school seem few and far between. Despite these discouraging factors, according to the subjects interviewed and the statistics gathered from the personal experience of these subjects almost everyone in Ankilibe attends school at some point for some amount of time, even if they do not, for the most part, complete the first diploma from EPP. This phenomenon seemed to be due to the fact that, “For the Vezo, school isn’t interesting, they’re just in the habit of going [for a few years], while other [ethnic groups] really want to go to school,” (pers. comm., Sahonaky, 2010). The students and general population often stated that it was important to go to school to have a general “connaissance,” or knowledge, but only two thirds of the population agreed that school had a positive effect on the quality of life of the average citizen of Ankilibe.

Although these statements may seem discouraging for the future of formal education, this community in fact has great potential to be able to use the school system

in a much more effective manner. Because almost every child seems to attend school for a few years, the school has enormous power to be able to educate and engage almost the entire population of Ankilibe. If the curriculum could be somehow altered to include aspects of the daily life of the Vezo, many more students would stay in school (pers. comm., Pete, 2010). For example, if the curriculum included information about sustainable fishing practices, and the advantages to letting the fish regenerate, or how to more effectively manage finances by saving or investing, the link to a better quality of life for those who went to school would become more obvious, and the children would be more engaged because they would be learning something which relates to the world that they see around them.

To further improve the school at Ankilibe, communication between teachers, the administration, parents, and students must increase substantially. Because none of these respective parties seem to communicate with each other, no one takes the responsibility for the failure of the school in keeping students through the final year, or failure of the students to stay in school through their final year. While this pattern of lack of communication continues, no improvements will be made because each party currently waits for the other to change their habits or way of doing things because the other parties are to blame for the problem. If communication increases between the groups through the creation of a parent-teacher association (FRAM) or organized community meetings to create an action plan to improve the curriculum and environment of the EPP Ankilibe to motivate students to stay in school and to teach them useful skills so that when they did leave, they could have a better quality of life and fish with more sustainable techniques. Considering the seemingly vast problem of lack of education, overpopulation, and rapidly

diminishing resources, this possible solution of increased communication and slight alteration of the school curriculum to make it more relevant to the lives of the people does not seem like too arduous an undertaking.

Though the formal education system in Ankilibe currently functions at a lower level of excellence than is ideal, especially considering the aid given by outside sources, a two main solutions exist which could vastly improve this school: communication between the school and community, and alteration of the curriculum to include material relevant to the lives of the students. With these changes, I can say confidently that the number of children engaged in school would increase, and this could lead to improved rates of completion and therefore possible incentive to continue through CEG and be able to find jobs in the formal sector of the economy which may have more stable futures. Even if the children did not continue through CEG or lycée, they would at least be better equipped to live by the resources given to them from the sea, and manage these resources more effectively, decreasing poverty and hunger.

Appendix I

Interview Questions

All interview questions were posed to the translator in French, translated into Malagasy for the subject, then the subjects' response was translated into French by the translator. Answers were recorded in French, English, and a small amount of Malagasy. Eight questions were asked of every subject, with a few additional questions for different subject groups.

*As the interviews evolved, some questions were added or removed, so not every single subject was asked this question

**15 schoolchildren interviewed at once in the largest group interview did not give number or siblings or to which level siblings completed school, if at all.

^This question was asked of the fishermen exclusively, but several women mentioned declining fish population as well

All Subjects

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. Where are you from?
4. With which ethnic group do you identify?
5. Did you ever attend school or are you currently attending school?
6. Through which level did you attend?
7. How many siblings do you have?*
8. Did your siblings attend school? Through what level?

Schoolchildren

1. Do you enjoy school? Why?
2. What are some important things that you learn in school?
3. What do you think of the teachers?*
4. What do you want to be when you grow up? Do you think you'll be a fisherman or fish-seller?
5. Why are you at school?
6. Why do other children leave school?

Adults

1. Do you have children? If so how many?
2. Do your children attend school? How far do you think they will go with their studies?
3. What do you do for work?

4. Do you see any changes in the quality or quantity of fish in the Ankilibe region?
Why do you think this is?^
5. Why did you leave school?*
6. Why do the children of Ankilibe attend school?
7. Why do the children of Ankilibe abandon their studies?*
8. Do you think that it makes a difference in the quality of life of _____(insert profession of subject)? Why?*

Presidents of the Fokotany

1. How many people live in Ankilibe? How many men? How many women?
2. When did formal education start in Ankilibe? How has it changed since then?
3. Is school more important for city dwellers than for the Vezo? Why?
4. What do young boys and girls generally do for work when they grow up? Has this changed at all in recent years?
5. What do you think is the best path for a young person to take concerning jobs and work in the future?
6. Does going to school make someone a better fisherman?
7. What do you think of education in Madagascar in general? What improvements could be made?
8. If one thing could be improved about the EPP in Ankilibe, what should it be?

Directrice

1. How many students are there at the EPP Ankilibe?
2. How many students per level?
3. How many students per classroom/teacher?
4. What subjects are taught here?
5. Do the children learn anything about the Vezo in particular? (History, daily life, etc)
6. How many students finish the school compared to the number who started?
7. How many students continue to CEG? Lycee?
8. Are there more girls or boys at school? Why?
9. Are the parents ever involved in school? Do they support the school? How?
10. What percentage of children have parents who fish?
11. Where do the teachers come from, in general?
12. Can you describe the *vazaha* who helped to build the school? Did he give any direction as to lesson content?
13. What school system existed in Ankilibe before the construction of EPP Ankilibe?
14. In your opinion, why do the students of Ankilibe come to school?
15. Why do the students decide to abandon school?
16. What are the major problems with the education system in Madagascar?
17. What would you wish for the school at Ankilibe if you could have any improvement (money is no object)?

Teacher

1. What is your highest diploma? From what school?
2. What further training is involved in becoming a teacher? Is this standardized over Madagascar?
3. How long have you been teaching at EPP Ankilibe?
4. What level do you teach? How many sections?
5. How many children do you teach?
6. How many days per week do you work?
7. Are you paid by the state? Is this pay reliable and sufficient?
8. What do you think is the prevailing attitude of the people in Ankilibe towards education?
9. Do you think that the parents in the community are supportive of the teachers here?
10. Do the parents support their children's education?
11. Why do you think that your students want to be in school?
12. What is the most important thing that you teach the children of Ankilibe?
13. At what age or grade level do most students stop going to school? Why?
14. What is the biggest problem with the EPP Ankilibe? With formal education in Madagascar?

Appendix II Subjects Interviewed

Name	Age	Level School	Siblings	Children	School Sib	School Kids	Ethnicity	Job	Sex
Zorline	42	4	12	5	yes	yes	vezo	commerciale	F
Hita	30	9	10	5	yes	yes	vezo	commerciale	F
Givansealfanse	27	6	6	3	?	yes	vezo	fisherman	M
Fanampy	20	9	11	0	yes	n/a	vezo	fisherman	M
Gizy	17	6	4	0	yes	n/a	vezo	fisherman	M
Spirani	17	4	4	0	yes	n/a	vezo	fisherman	M
Temamathilde	50	8	2	9	yes	yes	vezo	menagere	F
Pete	45	none	8	10	no	yes	vezo	menagere	F
Katherine	14	6	7	0	?	n/a	vezo	peche a pied	F
Tsenga	14	6	8	0	?	n/a	vezo	peche a pied	F
Tomara	16	6	4	0	?	n/a	vezo	peche a pied	F
Leah	18	4	1	0	yes	n/a	vezo	peche a pied	F
Zozy	5	9	?	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	F
Mamato	5	11	4	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	F
Mari	6	11	0	0	n/a	n/a	vezo	school	F
Doele	8	9	?	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	M
Samba	8	9	?	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	M
Sia	9	9	?	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	F
Erica	9	9	?	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	F
Nina	9	9	?	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	F
Mimi	9	9	?	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	F
Olivia	10	9	?	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	F
Nathalie	10	9	?	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	F
Zeny	11	9	?	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	F
Elaly	11	9	?	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	M
Doso	11	9	?	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	M
Darisu	11	9	?	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	M

Name	Age	Level School	Siblings	Children	School Sib	School Kids	Ethnicity	Job	Sex
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Dore	11	9 ?		0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	M
Sandy	12	9 ?		0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	F
Eliasijain	43	terminale	8	3	yes	yes	vezo	gargottier	M
Julien	27	7	8	4	yes	yes	vezo	fisherman	M
Pierrot	45	7	0	10	n/a	yes	vezo	fisherman	M
Sambalahy	20	9	9	2	yes	yes	vezo	fisherman	M
Raheri	21	6	7	1	yes	yes	vezo	fisherman	M
Laurent	18	10	7	0	yes	n/a	vezo	fisherman	M
Mario	35	9	2	0	yes	n/a	vezo	fisherman	M
Nari	22	9	8	1	yes	yes	vezo	fisherman	M
Mihanta	62	none	5	7	no	yes	vezo	fisherman	M
Jencrit	47	4	7	4	yes	yes	vezo	fisherman	M
Bedji	32	11	10	3	?	?	vezo	fisherman	M
Petit	28	4	3	1	yes	yes	vezo	fisherman	M
Tsipita	65	10	7	2	yes	yes	vezo	fisherman	M
Lavidraza	43	9	7	5	yes	yes	vezo	fisherman	M
Avimasy	50	9	7	6	yes	yes	vezo	fisherman	M
Tsihata	37	9	7	5	yes	yes	vezo	fisherman	M
Imboy	28	7	7	2	yes	yes	vezo	fisherman	M
Zefa	61	10	3	1	yes	yes	vezo	fisherman	M
Danina	30	10	6	1	no	no	vezo	fisherman	M
Botota	27	1	5	1	yes	yes	vezo	fisherman	M
Kaka	22	10	10	2	yes	yes	vezo	fisherman	M
Bertin	20	9	7	1	yes	yes	vezo	fisherman	M
Naina	27	none	5	2	?	yes	vezo	fisherman	M
Nasatsy	30	9	6	4	yes	yes	vezo	fisherman	M
Sahonaky	16	none	6	0	yes	n/a	Mahafaly	peche a pieds	M
Maeva	13	7	5	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	F
Rosaly	34	6	13	7	yes	yes	vezo	commerciale	F
Feline	56	7	10	8	yes	yes	vezo	menagere	F
Marceline	41	6	12	1	yes	yes	vezo	menagere	F

Name	Age	Level School	Siblings	Children	School Sib	School Kids	Ethnicity	Job	Sex
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Viany	22		6	11	2	yes	yes	vezo	menagere	F
Tahery	20		3	7	1	yes	yes	vezo	menagere	F
Jaosinga	65		4	3	5	yes	yes	vezo	fisherman	M
Delphin	57		3	14	7	yes	yes	vezo	fisherman	M
Daminko	32		6	3	0	yes	n/a	vezo	fisherman	M
Tefe	25		7	3	4	yes	yes	vezo	fisherman	M
Mahampy	31		9	3	1	yes	yes	vezo	fisherman	M
Katake	56		5	0	16	n/a	yes	vezo	fisherman	M
Natenaina	16	none		7	4	yes	yes	vezo	menagere	F
Jandarke	40		4	10	10	yes	yes	vezo	menagere	F
Fiay	33		7	11	4	yes	yes	vezo	menagere	F
Lousopere	64	none		5	5	no	yes	vezo	menagere	F
Antoinetty	33		7	10	5	yes	yes	vezo	menagere	F
Georgette	50		10	4	11	yes	yes	vezo	menagere	F
Serafine	18		3	3	2	yes	yes	vezo	menagere	F
Vohita	17	none		7	1	no	yes	vezo	peche a pied	F
Veline	20		8	7	3	yes	yes	vezo	peche a pied	F
Veryhe	60	none		3	10	yes	yes	vezo	peche a pied	F
Nihana	20	none		11	1	yes	yes	vezo	peche a pied	F
Noryhe	26	none		3	4	no	yes	vezo	reed collector	F
Eveline Hova	35		6	5	5	yes	yes	vezo	vendeuse	F
Nono	20		6	7	1	yes	yes	vezo	vendeuse	F
Ange	20		6	5	1	yes	yes	vezo	vendeuse	F
Marte	40		3	4	9	yes	yes	Masikoro	vendeuse	F
Georgiane	25		7	8	3	yes	yes	vezo	vendeuse	F
Nyna	20		6	11	3	yes	yes	vezo	vendeuse	F
Ilza	40		3	6	11	yes	yes	vezo	vendeuse	F
Refa	17		9	11	1	yes	yes	vezo	vendeuse	F
Alexi	6		11	3	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	M
Denipe	8		11	6	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	M
Adeline	9		7	2	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	F

Name	Age	Level School	Siblings	Children	School Sib	School Kids	Ethnicity	Job	Sex	
Adeline	9		7	2	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	F
Ambohany	9		10	8	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	F
Rakoto	9		11	6	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	M
Floriace	10		11	6	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	F
Raharnaina	11		7	3	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	F
Limberasa	12		7	3	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	F
Nasia	12		8	6	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	F
Hari	13		7	8	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	F
Baldo	14		7	8	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	M
Rina	?		11	8	0	yes	n/a	vezo	school	F
Say	20		8	10	1	yes	yes	vezo	menagere	F
Chantal	23		3	5	pregnant	yes	n/a	vezo	menagere	F