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Institute of Educational Sciences
Department of Curriculum and Instruction

Doctoral Thesis

**EDUCATIONAL REFORMS IN ETHIOPIA: FROM THE IMPERIAL ERA TO THE
PRESENT**

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ORIGINALITY REPORT of THESIS

The thesis works Educational Reforms In Ethiopia: From The Imperial Era To The Present, with complete contents of Inner Cover, Abstracts, Appendices, and Main Chapters (Introduction, Literature, Method, Results, Discussion, Conclusions, and Suggestions), pertaining 137 pages, uploaded to Turnitin Internet-based plagiarism checker on 21.01.2022, and 17 percent similarity level reported by the application in applying the following filters.

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DECLARATION

It stated that this thesis is entirely my own work, that scientific ethics and academic rules are meticulously complied with at all stages from its planning to writing, that all the information in the thesis obtained and presented within the framework of ethical behaviour and academic rules. I declare that these sources have properly cited and added to the reference list.

21/01/2022

Salih Ahmed Mahammuda

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ABSTRACT

**Institute of Educational Sciences
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EDUCATIONAL REFORMS IN ETHIOPIA: FROM THE IMPERIALISM ERA TO THE PRESENT

Salih Ahmed Mahammoda

Abstract

Ethiopian educational history is believed to be far away from sufficient scientific investigation. Scholars like Kassaye (2005) and Bishaw & Lasser (2012), asserted the need to retrospective inquiry of the education sector. Also, Teferra claimed in 1996 that Ethiopian had been prescriptive than participative, but the comment was soon rejected by ministry of education, stating that the 1994 reform of education was bottom-up. Hence, this qualitative historical study aimed to describe the history of Ethiopian educational reform from 1942-2018, by answering such questions as to why it was reformed, how it was reformed, how the reform policies influenced the socio-politico-economic situation of the nation, their consideration of diversity as well as the role of the foreigners in the process in three periods, 1942-1974, 1974-1994, and 1994-2018 with predetermined contents for qualitative content analysis.

The governmental policy between 1942-1974 did not address ethnic diversity in all fields of public life so education was not an exception in this respect. Additionally, the curriculum in this period was imported from Great Britain, Kenya and Sudan. The social and economic contribution was almost non-existent as the system's beneficiaries were too low. Politically, it succeeded to intricate the narratives of Abyssinian in the minds of those a few affluents but failed to sustain it in the public. 1974-1994 reform acknowledges diversity more relative to the preceding one except for relying on single instructional media. Even though education was highly politicized, it failed to sustain a socialist or welfare state mindset in the broad mass, as there was widespread political unrest and internal conflict in the nation, which consequently deteriorated the economy and brought down the regime.

1994-2018 educational reforms incredibly recognized the multicultural nature of Ethiopia based on the 1991 national constitution by guaranteeing the right to learn in their mother tongue for all Ethiopians, but practically challenged as most languages were immature due to previous abuses. All reforms failed to change the areal pattern of the educational gap, and it persists in the same parts of the country.

Ethiopian education reform characterised as addressing short period local needs to competing on the global stage and constantly moving the country and society to a better stage of development. The reforms during the periods between 1942-1974, and 1974-1994 all followed a top-down approach, while the reforms between 1994-2018 are bottom-up, but the latter's degree of success remains suspicious.

Different outside powers have influenced Ethiopian education in three periods through consultation as well as designing, developing and implementing the education system. Their support is based on global political and strategic alliance.

Keywords; education, reform, educational policy, Ethiopian education.

ACRONYM

ADB	Asian Development Bank
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
CEDO	Community and Economic Development Office
DFID	Department for International Development
EPRDF	Ethiopian people's revolutionary democratic front
ERGESE	Evaluative Research of General Ethiopian Secondary Education
ESDP	Education Sector Development Program
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
GTZ	German Agency for Technical Cooperation
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IDA	International Development Association
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
ILO	International Labour Organization
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
MDG	Millennium Development Program
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoEFA	Ministry of Education and Fine Arts
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
PMAC	Provisional Military Administrative Council
SDPRP	Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
WPE	Workers Party of Ethiopia

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

Ethiopia is an ethnically heterogeneous country in eastern Africa, bordered on the east by Djibouti, on the north by Eritrea, on the west by the Republic of Sudan and South Sudan, on the southeast by Somalia, and on the south by Kenya. Ethiopia has embraced a variety of governance systems from the late nineteenth century, ranging from feudalism to anarchy to federalism, and finally a door for democracy was first opened regardless of its deficiency. According to the international Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA, 2016), from 1889-1913, emperor Menelik II, 1913-1916 Lij Iyasu; 1916-1930 Empress Zewditu, and 1930-1974 Ras Tafari (emperor Haile Selassie) governed the country as emperor by practicing imperial system which was characterised by high social class differences.

The imperial regime was replaced by the military regime called "Dergue" in 1974-1991 that implemented the adopted Dergue communist constitution in 1987. It was a military junta with a Marxist-Leninist approach of the government. During the Dergue, Ethiopians pinched between famine and Red Terror of the Derg government, which instigated wars between the Dergue and opposition forces that resulted in the regime's defeat, and the 1992 election held for a transition government. Finally, in 1994 the current Ethiopian constitution was adopted; the civil war which lasted more than two decades came to an end.

Ethiopia's federal democratic republic comprises of 12 regional states and two municipal administrations in the modern period; Afar, Amhara, Tigray, Benishangul Gumuz, Gambella, southern nations nationalities and peoples, Harari, Oromo, and Somali regional states, the Sidama and southwest regional states. The last two regional states are newly formed self-governing states in June 2020 and November 2021 respectively, and two city administrations namely Addis Ababa and Dire Da'wa city administration. According to the United Nations data, Ethiopia ranks 12th in the world and 2nd in the African continent with the population of 113,062,032 in 2019 with a total area of over a million km², 20.9% of the population live in urban areas. All the governors have followed different approaches and experienced diverse challenges, but none has undermined the role of education in Ethiopian development.

Education has a vital role in advancing humans' welfare. Because of that education gets due attention at the global level and is organized as a system in different countries. In Ethiopia, education has a deep-rooted history with its people and their traditions, which contributed

positive and negative effects on the progression of educational development. The past profoundly shapes the Ethiopian education system (Dagne, 2003).

In ancient Ethiopia, the two major responsible institutions for teaching and learning were the orthodox church and the Mosque to spread religious education throughout the country. Nevertheless, the role played by these institutions of learning in the social progress of the nation cannot be undervalued. There was at least public education in Ethiopia, although these two institutions provided religious education to promote their respective dogma. As a result, the church allowed the country to be the only sub-Saharan African country to have its own written script.

Determining when indigenous education started in Africa, particularly Ethiopia, is very difficult. The church education system originated in the Axumite kingdom with the introduction of Christianity in the 4th century. However, its evolution in a very organized way started in the 13th century when the church's literature peaked (Selassie, 1970).

According to the Ministry of Information (1973), the church became a formal indigenous institution at the start of the fourth century A.D., i.e., the only school in Ethiopia which created an ancient culture and delivered education. Yeha and Debra Damo in Tigray became great church schools of learning (as cited in Kassaye, 2005). On the other hand, Quranic schools possibly occurred in the 11th century in Ethiopia, where its centre of learning was Ifat and later moved to Harar (Ministry of Information, 1973). Wollo is also considered the centre of learning (Ahmed, 1988). The medium of instruction in church education is mainly Geez, while the Quran schools are Arabic, As stated by (Haileselassie, 1999) in both Church and Quranic traditions, neither the central government nor the local authority designed the curriculum. A few centres of excellence always carried out the tasks.

Provision of traditional education for over a century shows Ethiopia's commitment to traditional education. Both Church and Quranic institutions educate a large number of pupils (Kassaye, 2005). Consequentially, these schools played a significant role in the freedom of Ethiopia as a nation while many Africans were under the miasma of western colonization. The strength of orthodox Ethiopian Christianity, and to a lesser extent of Islam greatly limited the impact of European missionaries who were in consequence far less successful in Ethiopia than in many other parts of Africa (Pankhurst, 1974)

Modern education was implemented in the African countries (except Ethiopia, Egypt, and Liberia) in the late 1800s by European missionaries and colonial governments (Tedla, 1995). In the Ethiopian case, however, modern education collapsed during the Italian occupation because the Italians destroyed the system and killed numerous educated Ethiopians. The impact of the Italian occupation had taken several years to recuperate and created a massive gap in the country's educational endeavour (Kassaye, 2005). However, Trines (2018) states that unlike in other African nations, where European colonial rulers imposed modern education systems modeled after their own, Ethiopia's education system developed indigenously. Ethiopia is the only African nation that has never been colonized, despite the Italian invasion from 1936 to 1941.

In contrast to many African countries, Ethiopia did not experience noteworthy colonization, except for the brief Italian occupation from 1936 to 1941 (Bishaw & Lasser, 2012). There was fighting between Ethiopians and the invaders, and it lasted five years and ended with the defeat of the Italians in the battle of Adowa. Since the initiation of Modern education, Ethiopia has experienced three governance systems; early imperial era government (Menelik II, 1889-1913), late imperial era government (Haile Selassie, 1930-1974), socialist (Derg, 1974-1991), and the federal democratic republic of Ethiopia from 1991 to present. Under these governance systems, Ethiopia has implemented educational reforms as part of an effort to advance its educational system to improve the overall living conditions of its people and politics.

Education improves human life vastly: 'intellectually and economically' (Griffin, 2013). These intentions have been shaping the education reform process of the country. Despite the dissatisfaction from stakeholders toward the change of education, some developments in Ethiopia made the reform unavoidable. The emperor Menelik II initiated the transition from traditional to modern education by opening the first public school in Addis Ababa in 1908.

Modernisation of the education was initiated for the unification of Ethiopia, and to establishing a stable governance at urban centres. Other reasons for reform included economic development and the arrival of foreign embassies because of the recognition gained after the battle of Adwa, military contact, the need for maintaining the sovereignty of the country, and willingness to admit innovation, predominantly in 'scientific and technological field' (Amare, 1982). However, the reform agenda hailed not, and the unyielding encounter was the orthodox church owing to losing their tradition as a result of the newly growing system of teaching and

learning. Though, this reform itself was uncomprehensive as it was apt towards a specific social group, Christians.

Consequently, empress Menen opened the first girls' school in 1931, though the number of learners was minuscule since the church resisted female education. The modernization of Ethiopia through western schooling continued during emperor Haile Selassie until the outbreak of Italian occupation in 1935. After 1935, all educational achievements and the entire education system was dismissed; many schools were closed down, and the fascist intruders discharged the few elite Ethiopians as their policy intended to train Ethiopians to be their dormant servants.

In 1942, Ethiopia became free from Italian occupation and continued its reconstruction under the emperorship of Haile Selassie. According to Teferra (1996), the first decade of post Italian occupation informed Haile Selassie's government that illiteracy of its citizens was an opportunity for the Italians to take upper hand in the five-year war. Hence, the reform of education continued by expanding schools in specific urban centres. However, the British started to influence the Ethiopian education system as it supported Ethiopia in the fight with Italy.

Consequently, educational experts criticize the education system as being alien. For instance, almost everything in the school was foreign (Negash, 1990,p.4) and “modern education in Ethiopia is imported and alien” (Teferra, 1996, p.4). In addition to high British influence in the education in 1955, America also joined developing and designing Ethiopian education policy (Teferra, 1996). Ethiopian education reform was mainly initiated and controlled by the foreign agents through consultation and financial support, but there were incremental local efforts to contextualize the system. This paper intends to analyse and document different reforms in the country's education system beginning with the year 1942.

1.1 Statement of the problem

Ethiopia's education history is as ancient as its civilization and traces back to the Axumite era, while modern education is a little more than a century old. From its foundation up to now, Ethiopian education is changing through reform processes. Since its establishment as a modern centralized nation-state in 1913, Ethiopia has adopted, designed, developed, and implemented different educational policy direction from oral to written form that resulted in a tremendous effect on the livelihood of its people. However, the impacts and reasons of these reforms are still not well researched and documented. Nevertheless, the Ethiopian education

system needs more investigation from traditional to modern one. Thus, Kassaye (2005) postulated that the historical background of Ethiopian education in general and curriculum development, in particular, had not been studied systematically.

Specifically, the period after 1942 marked the expansion of modern schools: private and public schools. Hence, reform in the education system was inevitable, but its triumph in nourishing the needs of Ethiopians is still dubious. Primarily mentioned reason for such dilemma is that the Ethiopian education system from design, development, and to implementation was influenced by alien experts and foreign materials, mainly from Britain and USA. Hence, modern education lacks its base in the traditions of Ethiopians and has remained as an imported good for several years.

Thus, Ethiopia's contemporary requirements and the backdrop of educational reform need an examination of the country's educational history (Bishaw & Lasser, 2012). Foreign domination in education is partly due to the financial dependency of the education system in particular, and Ethiopia as a nation in general on different foreign governments' aid agencies and missionaries.

Worldwide, educational reforms are always on the political agenda of countries and transnational aid organizations, as education is a vehicle of progress for national advancement. The difference is that all modification considers a certain level of consent on the part of the 'actors' involved, but that would be a model, and befalls occasionally, and then only when there is a 'national or regional vision' (Vasquez-Martinez, Giron, De-La-Luz-Arellano, & Ayon-Bañuelos, 2013). Does the Ethiopian education reform is carried out in similar conditions or different?

Furthermore, about four curriculum reforms had been performed during the imperial period. Also, attempts had been made to reform the education system through the Education Sector Review which was not implemented. The Dergue regime made another attempt to change the education sector by conducting comprehensive sectoral evaluation research. The third government system which is federal democratic republic also reformed the education system when it removed the Dergue regime from power.

In the imperial era, there were serious shortcomings; the curriculum was highly subjugated by contents taken from the experience of other countries. No serious issues had been addressed by the reforms. Above and beyond, students suffered from language deficiency and

the dearth of skilled teachers and curriculum experts. Also, there was no attempt to revise the curriculum (Kassaye, 2005).

The Dergue regime is known by deteriorating the quality of education and EFDR was perceived as the better one relative to the previous ones. The educational reforms also followed different approaches and contrasting scholarly works also exist. In 1996, Teferra concluded that the education reforms carried between 1942-1994 were all top down and left no space to participation of the public figures and teachers. Nevertheless, the ministry of education falsified Teferra's categorization of the 1994 education reform by claiming it as participative and bottom up rather than top down. The last reform took place in 2018.

This study intends to describes the approaches practiced, characteristics of reforms, the way multiculturalism reflected in the reforms and effects of the policies on citizens livelihood, and the stakeholders' effect on the Ethiopian education system and its reforms. In line with this research aims, the following research questions were formulated for the thesis.

1.2 Research questions

1. What are the general characteristics of the educational reforms in Ethiopia in the following three periods 1942-74, 1974-91, 1991-2018?
2. What approaches had been applied in Ethiopian educational reforms in three periods?
3. What were the roles of foreign institutions in Ethiopian educational reforms in three periods?
4. How did reforms in 1942-74, 1974-91, and 1991-2018 take multicultural landscape of Ethiopia into consideration?
5. How did the educational reform policies influence the socioeconomic situation, and politics in Ethiopia in three periods?

1.3 Purpose of the study

The prime intention of this study is to explore and describe Ethiopian educational reforms to gain insight into them by crystallizing the historical developments under the three forms of governments; imperialist, socialist, and federalist Ethiopia.

1.4 Significance of the study

Providing a historical account of education reforms in Ethiopia three periods is of specific significance for several reasons. Firstly, the study can unfold the untold stories and realities behind Ethiopian education under each governance form. The study may also contribute to future educational changes and development efforts because it can point the historically engendered problems in Ethiopian education policy makers can avoid similar problems and adopt good experiences. Secondly, the study can shed light on the nation's historical experience of educational reform and it may help the policy and decision-makers diagnose the historical breaks in the educational policies that served as a baseline for past educational reforms. Finally, it may help interested readers understand the economic, social, and political effects of reforms and reform policies in Ethiopian education.

1.5 Scope of the study

The study exclusively focuses on general educational reforms, i.e., from grade one to twelve in the Ethiopian education system. In terms of chronology this study covers the period between 1942 and 2018. Conceptually, the study describes the main characteristics and the direction of educational reforms, their positive and negative socio-politico-economic influences, their accommodation of diverse culture of Ethiopian nation during the reform attempts, and the role of foreign institutions. The socio-politico-economic losses and gains were analysed based on the available literature.

1.6 Definition of terms

Imperial era; refers to the late imperial era that covers between 1941-1974 in which Ethiopia was led by emperor Haile Selassie I after five years' war with Italy.

1.7 Limitation

This study only reviewed some official documents which may not reflect accurate reality as these documents are prepared in the way that can safeguard the political system under which the education system is operating.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Literature Review

2.1. Definition, and classification of educational reform

Historically, Socrates is considered as an outstanding person who reformed the education of his community despite being suspected of destabilizing Athens's youth. However, educators emphasize that Socrates' accusers' transitory difficulties had been thoroughly addressed. Undoubtedly, thoughtful educational reformers such as; Aristotle, Comenius, John Dewey, Plato, St. Thomas Aquinas, Pestalozzi, Rousseau, Lancaster, and Montessori are influencing Education even today (Richard, 1973). Nevertheless, the 1960s marks the first attempt to undertake large-scale Education Reforms. However, these attempts were unable to change educational systems mainly because the promoters of reorganization overlooked issues in execution and did not communicate the local organization and cultures. In the 1990s new attempts were made again to reform the educational system (Fullan, 2000). The crucial ins and outs for reform are here and now acquainted. These efforts showed that the global society is more complex, demanding trained citizens who can constantly handle such changes (Drucker, 1999), and can work with in local and international diversity (Fullan, 2000).

The terms “educational change” and “reform” are used interchangeably, and defining educational reform with simple words is not easy. According to McKinnon (1992), Education reform is a wide-ranging and multifaceted theme of necessary implication to instructors and managers in the current schools. Education reform refers to an occurrence that necessitates enhancement and alteration in schooling within economic, cultural, and political circumstances (Teferra, 1996).

This explicates that the reform of Education cannot be overdone without the interrelated aspects of a particular society. Prearranged plan for the change of certain features of the educational system of a nation-state rendering to a set of definite needs, deliberate results and methods and resources with different objectives as well as processes for accomplishing them that happens in as like very different environment (Sack, 1981). Reform in education is a main alteration that can result in a structural reformation of core processes, programs, and/or procedures (Hanson, 2001). According to Simmons (1974), educational reforms are 'those changes in educational policy which cause significant changes in either educational budget, the

slope of the pyramid of school enrolment, or the effect of educational investment on individual and social development (Paulston, 1976). Also, school reform is a typical term and primarily implies improvement, but reform implies change depending on the scale of the event (Angus, 2005).

In this context, educational reform entails the elimination of flaws and a commitment to improving educational results. In all instances, the goal is for educational reform to result in the greatest possible opportunities for learners and progress within and across local and global societies (Airini, McNaughton, Langley, & Sauni, 2007). However, the terms reform and innovation are confused in educational change literature. Thus, Reform concerns the entire educational system and is initiated by its executives. On the other hand, innovation is a particular effort that can be planned and implemented at the local level to enhance or alter the opted feature of the edifying course by sustaining the system's entirety (Sack, 1981).

The need to reform Education has got both theoretical and empirical assumptions and findings. For instance, the primary determination of educational change/reform is to convey modification and enhancement in the course of varying aspects of the educational system such as curriculum and instruction, educational structure, educational measurement, teacher education, educational technology, educational management, and finance, etc. (M. Ginsburg, Wallace, & Miller, 1988).

Moreover, educational reforms can be classified in terms of their size or the number of pupils, educators, managers /administrators/, and houses; their aims and determinations; political and the organizational/ decision-making scheme; funding and 'budget-making procedures; financing level; an arrangement of the system: the forms, standings, and stages along with relations and ages of change among edifying organizations; 'content' and arrangement of what is taught, and how to taught/curriculum; social relations of teaching and learning/pedagogy; assortment, assessment, and evaluation, and raise criteria and rules for students; and educational workers /teachers and administrators (M. B. Ginsburg, Cooper, Raghu, & Zegarra, 1990).

The first-order adjustments are those that enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of existing operations. Second-order modifications aim to fundamentally modify how organizations are constructed, including the addition of new objectives, structures, and responsibilities (Fullan, 1991, P.29). While discussing the possible and observed educational

reform looking at the contributing factors is worth nothing. In this regard, Teferra (1996), stated that the factors that lead to educational reform are internal to the educational system per se, like worsening educational quality attributable to the faintness of a particular education system. On the other hand, educational reform can result from a social renovation, including crucial changes in educational policies concerning objectives, prescriptions, and formations or structures (Kluchnikov, 1977). Also, the shared climate of economic, social, and political forces can significantly make schools feel to change (Datnow, Hubbard, & Mehan, 2002). Educational reforms in the 20thC are the product of peripheral societal change, not internal problems of the educational system (Zufiaurre, 2007). Moreover, the most prominent educational reform purposes were: to satisfy market needs; to improve quality of Education; to introduce a new type of Education, i.e., adult learning..., and to reduce inequalities by expanding schooling (Sack, 1981). Another purpose for reforms deals with instructional materials can neither exciting nor imaginative for Instructors and pupils, and equally, students and their upcoming companies can complain as the knowledge contents taught in a classroom are not related to daily life experience (Smith & O'Day, 1990).

2.2. Paradigms and Approaches to Educational Reform

Theoretically, two divergent paradigms guide educational reform: "equilibrium" and conflict paradigm, which contains different theories and approaches, such as bottom-up and top-down. Commonly paradigm remains on all sides of diverse models/theories that emphasize Specific queries approaches and marvels, although altogether share certain essential expectations about 'social reality, values, and research' (Russett, 1966; Sorokin, 1936). Theories clustered under the equilibrium paradigm include evolutionary and neo-evolutionary, the system theory, and structural-functionalist theory.

2.2.1. The Equilibrium Paradigm of Educational Reform

The evolutionary theory rests the phase of "evolutionary readiness" as a criterion to educational reform. The rationale for educational change or reform is to move the advanced evolutionary phase within the limit of adaptive and incremental, i.e., 'natural history approach,' to reach a new phase of organizational evolutionary adaption. The neo-evolutionary theory also falls under the equilibrium paradigm. According to this theory, satisfactorily completing of early evolution phases is a necessary condition for educational reform, and the logical base for educational change is to support the transformation effort of a particular nation with the space of institutional building through the western's models and technical support to bring about the

new advanced state of educational as well as social difference. Structural functionalist theory, practical and systemic requirements must be changed whenever the social system needs to evoke an educational response or external risks to initiate an educational reform. It is often up to slight adaptation towards existing establishments /organizations/ to assure continued equanimity or emotional equilibrium of human capital and coast-to-coast progress. Systems theory holds the rationale of educational reform as a response to systems malfunctioning and the need for better system efficiency. This theory considers the technical expertise's composition of reform team as a necessary condition to educational change, and mentions as "systems management," "needs assessment," and "rational decision making" expertise. The scope of the reform is creative problem-solving in already available systems to get better-quality efficiency and accept breakthroughs. The equilibrium paradigm was summarized by Paulston in 1977, as it is presented in table 2.1 below.

Table 2.0-1 Equilibrium paradigm of educational change

Paradigm	Theories	Preconditions for educational change	Rationales for educational reform	Scope and process of educational reform	Major outcomes of reform
Equilibrium	Evolutionary	Preparedness for evolution	Pressure to advance to a more advanced evolutionary stage	Progressive and adaptable; a "natural history" approach	Adaptation to a new stage in institutional development
	Neo-evolutionary	Completion of preceding steps satisfactorily	Required to assist with the process of "national modernization"	"Institutional development" via the use of western paradigms and technical aid	Education at a new 'higher' level and social divergence / specialization
	Structural functionalist	Modifications to functional and structural requirements	The social system requires an external threat to elicit an instructional response.	Changes to existing institutions on a small scale, seldom significant	Continued 'homeostasis' or shifting equilibrium; development of 'human capital' and national 'development'
	Systems	Technical proficiency in "systems management," "rational decision-making," and need assessment	Need for increased system efficiency and goal accomplishment, i.e., reaction to system "malfunctioning"	Innovative approaches to 'issue resolution' inside established systems; i.e., a 'research & development approach'	Enhanced 'efficiency' in terms of reform costs/benefits; innovation adoption

Source; Paulston, 1977, p.372

2.2.2. The Conflict Paradigm of Educational Reform

This paradigm consists of; Marxist and Neo-Marxist Theory, Cultural Revitalization Theory, Anarchistic Utopian Theory with their respective preconditions, rationales, scopes and processes, and intended outcomes on the reform of a particular education program. For Marxist theory, educational reform regulates equivalence among the social relations of production and School to form a consolidated workforce. It assumes that the elites must notice the need for reform or shift power to specific political beliefs necessary for educational reform.

Neo-Marxist theory, the change in Education arises from the demand for social justice and equality. The reform should be prominent in scale through democratic organizations and creating a more equalitarian society by removing edifying privilege and exclusiveness.

Cultural Revitalization Theory, educational reform is possible when there is an upsurge of shared efforts to create a novel culture and public broad-mindedness towards divergent normative movements and educational programs. Its rationale is either the Education needed to advance toward movement goals or refusal of the conventional schooling as involuntary acculturation. The proposed result is to instil a new normative scheme and realize the movement's necessity, training, and cohesive needs by establishing optional schools or educational settings.

Anarchistic Utopian Theory assumes that creating helpful settings such as critical consciousness and societal heterogeneity is necessary for educational change. For this view, the rationale behind the educational change is to make man free from institutional and social restraints. Moreover, educational reform's expected outcome is reclamation, involvement locally controlled community and resource, and removing abuse and alienation within the boundary of learning society. Paulston summarized as presented in the table 2.2.

Bestowing to conflict paradigm the inherent instability of social systems and the conflicts over values, resources, and power that follow as a natural consequence. Rendering to Banks, (1987 P. 531-43), 'conflict perspective of educational reform takes place, through conflict and competition between social class, ethnic, national, religious and gender groups, whose interests are at variance; or when structural contradictions (e.g., in the economy) are unsuccessfully compromised' as cited in (Teferra, 1996).

Table 2.0-2 Conflict paradigm of educational change

Paradigms	Theories	Precondition for educational change	Rationales for educational reform	Scope and process of educational reform	Major outcomes of reform
Conflict	Marxian	Elites' recognition of the need for change or their willingness to cede power to socialists and educational reformers	To reconcile the social connections of production and education	Progressive adjustment in response to social changes or radical reconstruction with a Marxist bias	Integration of workers, i.e., the new 'socialist man'
	Neo-Marxian	Increased political influence and consciousness among marginalized populations	Social demands for fairness and equality	National-scale changes facilitated by democratic institutions and processes	Eliminate 'educational privilege' and 'elitism'; work toward a more equitable society
	Cultural revitalization	The emergence of a concerted attempt to establish a new culture. Tolerance of "deviant" normative movements and educational changes on a social level	Traditional education was forced acculturation; education is required to accomplish movement goals.	Establishment of alternative schools. Assumption: dramatic shift in educational philosophy and structure	Adopt new normative system, fulfil movement recruiting and training requirements
	Anarchistic utopian	Supportive environments; critical awareness; social pluralism	To liberate man from institutional & societal restrictions and to foster his inventiveness	Liberate current programs & institutions or develop new learning modes & contexts ('learning society')	Renewal & engagement, local resource and community control, exploitation, and alienation.

Source; Paulston, 1977, p.373.

As to the conflict paradigm, the inherent instability of social systems and the conflicts over values, resources, and power follow a natural consequence. The necessity for educational reform frequently arises from the zing of societal, political, economic, and scientific /technological worlds as the trouble stems from those steadying elements of society, needs for endurance, and safety (Ohles, 1964). In the same way, as a recurring cultural, environmental, scientific, social and technological changes pose challenges to life locally and globally, changes are required not only in the system but also in educational contents (Jónasson, 2016).

On the opposite side, the equilibrium paradigm assumes educational reform as a typical phenomenon required on every occasion as society is convinced that a change in the education system is compulsory (Paulston, 1977). Educational reforms can be either top-down initiatives

led by policy-makers or bottom-up initiatives executed by instructors (Fullan, 1994; Wideen & Pye, 1994). But The top-down approach for educational reform initiatives has not considered the workplace as well as employee circumstances for decades that failed in practice (Sakui, 2004).

Indeed, educational reforms are top-down either as polity statements or program alteration declarations that are well parcelled by concerning department of the central government. Mostly, the ‘initiatives’ had missed out. Subsequently, no substantial reform occurs in the teaching space as teachers and others in the institution concealed a collective sense of the planned reform (McKinnon, 1992). Therefore, education reform initiatives had better to be “bottom-up”, “ground-up” or “voluntary change” for the educational changes to be successful (Rune, 2005).

In practice, many legislators and experts are not aware of the existing educational culture during educational change but primarily focus on objectifying the novel alteration initiatives. Since the local governors and organization managers are substantially effective in the application of the reform inventiveness. However, by ignoring local realities and following their seniors by these bodies, neither reform sustainability would be ensured nor the proposed output obtained (Wedell, 2009).

Nevertheless, the bottom-up approach of educational reform is firmly in favour of the principle that reform impression is better to originate from the bottom to the top, i.e., lower level to higher level. Further, Fullan (2000, p. 224), argued that teachers could not wait for systems to be reformed by distinguishing two measurements of capacity for reform; what persons can do to advance their productivity as change representatives and how systems require to get changed. This indicates the nonlinearity of change and inarticulateness of the system. As long as more people act as apprentices, tie with allied state of mind, talk loudly and work with diverse understandings, likely systems would grasp to reform (Vandeyar, 2017).

On the other hand, top-down/external/ or mandated change/ approach preserves the prescriptive principle that what is suitable for the people should be handed down from power holders to subordinates (Teferra, 1996). However, in efforts to brought education reforms vital figures are ignored. In this regard, students are out of the reform agenda while their voice is critical in the process (Seitz, 2005). Mostly, educational reform is effective as long as carried

by instructors as part of their individual and occupational ventures by possessing the reform (Andy Hargreaves & Goodson, 2002; McLaughlin & Yee, 1988; Sheehy, 1982).

An external approach to educational reform is typically presented to schools quickly, and teachers are left to cope with the consequences (Clement, 2014). Such phenomenon is an 'innovation overload' (Fullan, 2000, p. 21), and 'repetitive-change syndrome' (Abrahamson, 2004, p. 2; Andy Hargreaves, 2004, p. 288). Rendering to Fullan (1993), even though the failure of the 'top-down approach' of education reform leaders continues to use, schools take out broad organizational assignments and cannot deal with them when left on their own due to their intolerance toward outcomes. He clinched that educational reform is a 'bidirectional process,' and collaborative communication between low- and high-level units is worthwhile.

Correspondingly, the educational reform process should be bidirectional, and continuous communication is necessary (Hopkins, 2005). Transformation is a multifaceted progression that takes place inside an institution's 'ecology' (Andy Hargreaves, 2000; Hopkins, 2000) it's hard to attain, (Fullan, 2000; Sarason, 1996), runs on three stages viz., 'symbolic, linear, and appropriation' (Fullan, 1991, 2003), and is every so often represents an articulation of a political stand/symbolism (Goodson, 2001).

Reforming how the classroom learning takes place and reforming the curriculum, the teachers, the classroom, the school, and the community all equally help arrive at the anticipated results. Educational transformation passes through typical phases of instigation, execution, and 'institutionalization.' Likely, those who experience changes go thru uninterrupted 'stages of concern' and respond differently to educational reform instigation, based on their work and life experience (Vandeyar, 2017).

Educational changes are impossible to precisely apply as prearranged because teachers acclimatize to the current customs, practices, and measures orders. The organizational culture engrossed the changes and became synchronized with the current routines and measures (Mehan, Hertweck, & Meihls, 1986). Being thoughtful of the context of alteration and as long as a helpful setting considers the person's 'frame of reference' is essential since the effect of the prevailing context is a mighty, which must be overwhelmed if the reform is to happen (McKinnon, 1992).

Moreover, The research on "school reform," "school improvement," and "school effective- ness" in the previous twenty years is habitually disregarded, unnoticed, and even

brush off the capability of districts as considerable correspondent to 'systemic reform' (Rorrer, Skrla, & Scheurich, 2008). These researchers identified four indispensable roles of the district in educational reform, i.e., "providing instructional leadership," "reorienting the organization," "establishing policy coherence," and "maintaining an equity focus" (p.335).

In contrast, Smith and O'Day (1990), Schools serve as the fundamental unit of change, and educators (teachers and administrators) are not only agents of change, but also the initiators, designers, and directors of change initiatives (p. 235); Finn (1991), a significant advocator of the School as the midpoint of the education reform movement, ardently itemized that districts are inconsequential. He articulated, the school serves as the key delivery system, the state serves as the policymaker (and main paymaster), and nothing in between is critical (p. 246).

An externally developed school reform design is a school improvement model developed by an outside design team. This team usually devises the reform proposal, prepares the values, execution strategy, and material resources that convoy the reform, and sometimes provides training and assistance that allow local schools to make ready educationalists apply the reform (Datnow, Hubbard, & Mehan, 1998). The commands and instructions of exterior legislators are frequently challenged by educational practices of the schools (Firestone & Corbett, 1988; Seashore, Toole, & Hargreaves, 1999), obvious as one tries to apply academic improvement policies to support schools (Ronald, 2004). According to McLaughlin (1990), mainly legislators cannot control the change at the specific institute level as the characteristics, size, and rate of reform is an artifact of contextual circumstances. Guidelines may instruct and afford an outline for alteration but do not again regulate the results in a straight line. Topographies of the school context and the particular execution process mainly control the ultimate effect of reorganizations on the pupils' success (Berman & McLaughlin, 1978; Teddlie & Reynolds, 2000). When reformers focus on the course of reform and energetic participation of teachers and principals; Devolution, 'professionalization,' and bottom-up change become a vital concept (CarnegieForum, 1986; Elmore, 1990; Elmore & McLaughlin, 1988).

Policy mandates with clear goals and the attainment scale work best; on top, there can be an equilibrium of civic and expert support. Hence, the targeted institutes can sensibly realize the instructed outcomes (Firestone & Corbett, 1988). Nonetheless, Reforming Education is a 'soft technology,' solid to transmission; resources are incredibly scarce just when (and where) the reform needs are most impassioned. Most of the proposed reforms for schools have to work in contrast to factually omnipresent, heartening thought that instruction is making an effort,

every so often ineffectively, to convey detached knowledge to inert, uncontrollable receivers (D. K. Cohen, 1988).

Mandated/externally developed reforms are unpopular and begrudged as they are either ambiguous or obstinate and because they are forced upon teachers deprived of their participation and are executed poorly in excessively beaten periods with inadequate resources and other support (Andy Hargreaves, 2004). Educational change mandates what changes to implement and how to implement them. These aspects interact and shape each other (Fullan, 2001). Educational reforms sometimes fail application a tried design expands to many schools, the course 'replication' or 'scaling up' (Elmore, 1996; Stringfield & Datnow, 1998). Occasionally, Scaling unsuccessful venture (Elmore, 1996). This happens when there is lack of understanding about the co-built nature of the operation process (Datnow et al., 1998). for an effective and bearable application of educational changes, consideration of existing culture is imperative (Angus, 2005; ten Brummelhuis, 1995).

Similarly, as adopting new approaches to education, one should consider the prevailing culture, structure, attitudes and process (Bamford & Forrester, 2003). Consequently, the focus is on those who manage or develop the process of their actions and the change initiative itself instead of how structure, culture, and norms of the organization will respond to change (Fullan, 2007; Senge et al., 1999). One's unfamiliarity with the cultural beliefs and common values in the course of reform appears as a major cause of failure (Datnow et al., 2002). As schools are cultures, altering a culture is a hell of a lot more intricate than simplistically supposing that novel curriculum or novel instructive methods, even if they might be improvements, could be delivered to schools in self-sufficient parcels that would directly reform what and how instructors taught (Ann, 2005).

Certainly, the local administration, experts' teamwork, inducements, and possibility are vital components in the course of reform, but then they exclusively would not yield changes in content and pedagogy which is critical to coast-to-coast welfare (Clune, 1990; Elmore, 1990; Fuhrman, Clune, & Elmore, 1991). contends that comprehending a problem and detecting the reforms desirable to resolve them are completely discrete phases of knowing how to convey these reforms (Fullan, 1998).

According to Ohles (1964), education reform can be organized into five steps; admitting the problem, choosing change procedures, implementing the change, amalgamating the reform,

and identifying new problems which arise from change application and modified circumstances. Privileges that the execution phase of educational alteration encompasses "change in practice" with three dimensions of possibility to affect results: (1) conceivable usage of a novel or reviewed resources, including instructional materials such as curriculum materials or technologies; (2) the conceivable usage of novel instruction methods; and (3) the potential change of views, for instance, the pedagogical supposition and theories fundamental to novel strategy or program (Fullan, 2001). Quite a few writers (Ball & Cohen, 1999; McLaughlin & Mitra, 2001; NationalResearchCouncil, 1999; Sheehy, 1982; Stigler & Hiebert, 1999), holding up Fullan's claim about the change of views and say that changes in belief and conception are the basis for successful reform as they are constructed on essential changes in conception, which, linked to abilities and resources. The challenge arises in how teachers' hammer out the connection between novel transformation efforts and the idiosyncratic certainties implanted in their personal and institutional settings and their particular antiquities. So, the way these idiosyncratic certainties are handled is critical for whether possible vicissitudes turn out to be expressive at the level of individual use and efficiency (Fullan, 2001).

Hence, as educational reform is never ending process, provision from the public is crucial to the viability of the planned reform (Ronald, 2004). Even though, The mixture of both execution and influence stages of the policy process has been less studied (Heck, Brandon, & Wang, 2001).

2.3. Politics and Educational Reform

Politics plays a prominent role directly or indirectly because political entities use Education as the main instrument to instil their ideologies in the young generation's developing, unmaturred and innocent minds. Thus, the political scheme entails the organizations, formal assemblies, constitutional preparations, and laws that rule the manner of edification (Ronald, 2004). Another scholar divides the political movements into four primary thoughts: 'neoliberalism,' which weight on making schools reliant on and organized about 'corporate models,' marketplaces, and rivalry; 'neoconservatism,' calling that we reinstate a communal culture built on a unique consensus, given the realities of race, empire, and diasporic populaces; new managerialism, is committed to reviewing cultures and to very oversimplified forms of responsibility and examining in schools; and "authoritarian populist" spiritual movements that are committed to a limited vision of holy manuscripts and authority and ultraconservative stands in Education and the larger society (Apple, 2006).

Neoliberalism seems to be associated with both participative and strict or even totalitarian rules, although as a universal discourse is typically related to the international business performers, transnational monetary organizations, and usually, with the course of globalization (Nicolescu & Neaga, 2014). Throughout the past decades, it was insisted that public schooling is inevitably not good and the private one is inevitably good. Influential groups have argued that the more that schools reflect the goals and procedures of the corporate sector, the more that we hold teachers', schools,' and universities' feet to the fire of competition, the better they will be.

These thoughts are nearly spiritual, as they appear to be nearly impermeable to experiential indication. Accordingly, there is an inadequate investigation that vigorously ropes these claims, and a sufficient number of pieces of evidence that points out the adverse effects of these policies (Apple, 2006; Apple, Ball, & Gandin, 2010; Lipman & Group, 2011; Lubienski & Lubienski, 2013; Ravitch, 2013; Valenzuela, 2005).

There is a new “new hegemonic bloc” in leadership in educational "reform" and the reform of all things social. Conventional modernization is a multifaceted and, at times, unbalanced creation of numerous clusters/groups/ that looks retrograde culturally, seeks to maintain cultural expertise and expressions onward to fetch schooling consistent with a very bounded set of economic goalmouths (Apple, 2016).

The liberal ideologies have influenced both the economic and educational policies of developing countries in general and African countries in particular. The world bank was established in 1944, basically to finance the reconstruction of war-ravaged European countries. After this mission, it moved to offer loans for developing nations. However, taking the loan has not been a sure bet. Thus, aligning the nations' economic plans with the United States of America's neoliberal policies that favour free market and privatization is a necessary condition to get a loan (Klees, 2008).

Consequently, loan beneficiary states counting Ethiopia were and are forced to accept ‘neoliberal economic’ strategies. Besides, credits and monetary aid were typically tied to provisional strategies and required beneficiary states to rearrange their core economic and Education policies. Such as tied-education policies in Ethiopia resulted in adverse consequences as priorities were turned toward increasing quantity instead of quality in enrolment (Fisseha, 2016).

Klees (2002), contended that due to the bank investment model towards Education by the world bank, Education has been regarded as a good and comprises a 'one-size-fits-all' policy notwithstanding social, local, and circumstantial realities. Although, nationwide physiognomies can only be unspoken through a historic rebuilding of organizational structures and the instructive cultures associated with them. Organizational and cultural physiognomies of coast-to-coast schooling systems themselves are intimately associated with a state's societal setting (Helmut, 2011).

From the 1970s, international energy politics also influenced the school systems, strikingly through enhancing effectiveness by growth (Romanowski & Amatullah, 2016). Neo-liberals' focus toward the overview of business fashion hooked on the public arena caused the ostensible merchandize of the 1980s, 1990s and, together with surfs of transformation tailored to nurture the efficiency of schooling, which resulted in the festivity of pupil and parent choice, the tightening of financial rules and the alienation of impartiality guidelines (Romanowski & Amatullah, 2016).

As needs arise to provide a flea market for educational facilities for income, education administrative systems can freight their educational outputs (Ross & Gibson, 2006). When regimes examine their educational systems, results regularly bring about the exploitation of the educational segment where trade-in of educational guidelines and experiences from other nations is regarded as the way to meaningfully and swiftly enhance the system of Education and economy. Hence, the policy of Education and its experiences are well-thought-out exchangeable goods that can be traded by emerging facts/knowledge frugality (Devos, 2003). Perhaps external institutions have a simple understanding of the specific culture, but they need a deep understanding of imperative cultural aspects, and then it leads to erroneous judgments and oversimplification (Dimmock & Walker, 2000). Before anything else, these hired out schooling procedures offer “cultural exchanges and conflicts that challenge the cultural values and norms of both sending and receiving countries” (Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004, p. 12).

Subsequently, the receiving culture habitually submissively integrates the trade-in strategies/policies and crops to advance the system of Education without unavoidably reflecting on how to openly buttress their schools and conceivably the agendum of the package introduction (Halpin & Troyna, 1995; Steiner-Khamsi & Quist, 2000).

Furthermore, many contended to neoliberalist educational reform; neo-liberalism overwhelms critical thinking by controlling the program, instructors, and institutes using common practices. Even if the marketplace ideals inspire learning, this learning is restricted to the compulsory and vital expertise required for the specific scholarly output erstwhile executed. As this provides little chance for raising economic, educational, political, and ethical questions, which could doubt the scholarly output or course, critical thinking remains subdued. Instructors remain the concierges flanked by facts, values, the School, and the pupil (Hill, 2004; McMurtry, 1991). An educational reform guided by neoliberalist is simply "School deform" (William Pinar, 2012).

The neoliberal reform of schooling has deeply and deceitfully ill-treated the teaching-learning practice of schoolchildren and their educators. Under the neoliberal era, this emphasis on quantification, juxtaposition, and parade of results have triggered consequential insinuations. In this day and age, under the brand of supposed responsibility, institutes, educators, schoolchildren, and their parentages are openly being compared and embarrassed through standardized tests.

Neoliberal reforms changed the system of Education, giving to the bazaar values of responsibility, choice, and efficacy (Ashwani Kumar, 2019). Similarly, Education based on instrumental understanding and standardized testing is in contrast to the assumptions of metamorphic and thoughtful perspective to instruction like "critical pedagogy" (Baltodano, Darder, & Torres, 2009; Darder, Mayo, & Paraskeva, 2017; Kanpol, 1999; Ashwani Kumar, 2013; Ashwani Kumar, 2014; William Pinar, 2011; William Pinar, 2012). In addition, Hursh (2007) criticizes by distinguishing more than a few baseless justifications of the capitalistic system's underpinning to neoliberalist educational change.

Neoliberalists initially swing "social responsibility" from the public to the individual to control public confrontation to the shortages of public facilities. Similarly, in Education, "Those who work hard, are admitted to good schools and do well; those who do not work hard have only themselves to blame. Inequality is explained as a difference in personal efforts" (p. 26).

Then, advocates of neoliberalism discount progress and enhancements exclusively on deteriorating ethnic achievement and irrationally blameworthiness Education for socioeconomic glitches. Attributable to such adverse publicity, the public's immature

expectations are elevating in educational enhancements by presenting and applying concepts against Education such as calibration, unbending testing, and competitiveness (P.27).

Again, uninformed test motivated education deteriorates the potentials for abstract thought and metamorphic teaching-learning. Because it focuses on uniformity instead of imaginative and out-of-the-box thinking, memorization and status focused learning afore comprehension and enacts common and calibrated notion on the nature of facts instead of acknowledging miscellaneous, local, and social roots of facts (Ashwani Kumar, 2019).

The claims made by different authors on educational reforms guided by neoliberal notions are evident in Africa in general and Ethiopia in particular. Ethiopia is a culturally, religiously, and ethnically miscellaneous nation, and policy borrowings under the 'one-size-fits-all' view are not and will no more relevant.

The educational reform in such an environment should value the diverse needs in the course of reform. However, the practice shows reverse in Ethiopia. The denial of rights of marginalized ethnic groups to teach and research their history, identity, and cultural estates is a sensitive point of Ethiopian public Education. Before 1991, Education was a means to gain control and oppress people.

Furthermore, assimilationist education has resulted in unequal national participation, with marginalized communities excluded from citizenship's political, economic, and social benefits. Exclusion and alienation inevitably gave rise to armed ethnonational conflict against the Ethiopian state (Yohans, n.d). In general, educational reform policies are more or less the West's by-product as it was mainly surrounded by the western elites and their curriculum, which consequently marginalized Ethiopian societies on different bases.

2.4. Society, Economy, and Educational Reform

The social and economic consequence has been studied out. The economic consequence of Education has attracted many scholars and received much attention. Theoretically, among theories that deal with the link between Education and economy is the Human capital theory. This theory states that Education accrues the skills to individuals that can make them more productive and attractive to employers. Mostly, Education is perceived as having a driving role in economic development, instigated by Schultz (1961) and (Becker, 1964). Education

increases people's productivity and thus their earnings by imparting skills and productive knowledge (Tilak, 2002).

Later on, several economists have studied Education's role in rising incomes; together with Romer (1994), Mingat and Tan (1996), Heckman and Klenow (1997), Topel (1999), Bils and Klenow (2000), Bassanini and Scarpetta (2002), Krueger and Lindahl (2001), Sianesi and Reenen (2003), Psacharopoulos and Patrinos (2004), Brossard and Borel (2006), De la Fuente and Doménech (2006), D. Cohen and Soto (2007), Hanushek and Woessmann (2008), Barro and Lee (2010), and Patrinos and Psacharopoulos (2013).

However, there is a significant inconsistency in projected influences. How much an extra year of schooling augments GDP per person or its growth hinges on the approximation technique. For instance, some scrutinize the physical capital investment while others do not and the duration and physical scope of the scrutiny. It is as well notable that, owing to the dearth of entirely similar learning measurements across all states, only a handful of studies like Hanushek and Woessmann (2008), emphasize on cognitive skills of the individual, that may perhaps be seen in proficient terms as the excellence of the 'accumulated human capital,' once projecting its effect on state revenue despite the prospective position. Contrarily, The workforce's educational attainment is a more reliable measure of educational investment's success than enrolment ratios (Psacharopoulos & Arriagada, 1986).

In more detail, a year rise of years of schooling is related with 30% higher GDP per capita (Heckman & Klenow, 1997), 0.30% per annum earlier growth (Bils & Klenow, 2000), a year rise in the average of schooling period is related with a rise in each person's income between 3% and 6% (Bassanini & Scarpetta, 2002), by 3%–6%, or a higher growth rate of 1% (Sianesi & Reenen, 2003), correspondingly, a year rise in schooling duration is related with an extra 0.2 % point in GDP per capita yearly growth accurate (Brossard & Borel 2006), Macro-projected amount of return to schooling is between 18% and 30% (Krueger & Lindahl, 2001), 27% (De la Fuente & Doménech, 2006), Between 9.0% and 12.3% (D. Cohen & Soto, 2007), Macro net proceeds to years of schooling is 36.9%, or statistically, apiece year of schooling is suggestively related with a long haul growth rate which is 0.58 % higher (Hanushek & Woessmann, 2008), The section of return to the typical year of schooling is 12.1% with constant corporal assets standard,(Barro & Lee, 2010), Each additional year of schooling is related with higher percentage GDP per capita; 18% (Crespo Cuaresma, Lutz, & Sanderson, 2012), 13% (Thomas & Burnett, 2013), 35% higher GDP per capita (Patrinos & Psacharopoulos, 2013).

In the Ethiopian context, Different researchers and the World Bank have investigated the Returns to Education. Thus, Verwimp (1996) reported 18% returns to Education in Ethiopia from a sample of 422 males, Wolday (1999), reported 5-8% from a sample of 1013, and Mengistae (1998) reported 7.5-8.5% from a sample of 1170. Yet again, the WorldBank (1998) reported 23 percent returns to education from a sample of 1474 people in 1998, but only 16 percent from 1024 males in 2005. Girma and Kedir (2005) discovered 13-15 percent in a 1476-person sample, and Peet, Fink, and Fawzi (2015) discovered 12.5 percent in a 3047-person sample. Lastly, Alvi and Dendir (2019) reported a 14-16 percent return to education. The average yields to a year of education are 14.43%, which deepens at the general primary education level (Desalegn, 2018).

Based on the 2014 Human Development Report, the adult population in Ethiopia has only 2.4 years of schooling, which is 50% less than the average for Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) and nearly two years less than the average for low-income countries. However, the expected years of schooling for children of school-entry age, the HDI's second measure of access to knowledge, shows significant improvements from 2000 to 2013(Shiferaw, 2017).

In all sector development programs, Ethiopia was ambitious to increase the role of Education in poverty reduction, which become more successful with educational development. For instance, between 1996 and 2011, the poverty gap shrank from 12.9% to 7.8%, and poverty severity shrank from 5.1% to 3.1%, implying the poverty gap and severity shrank by 39.5 and 39.2%, respectively. In general, Ethiopia is on a path to meet the Millennium Development Goal of halving poverty and hunger between 1990 and 2015 (NPC & UN, 2015). In these years enrolments to Education was rapidly increased. Indeed, Education and poverty are negatively correlated. The poverty of Education is a major cause of income poverty, and income poverty, in turn, prevents people from overcoming poverty of Education. The two reinforce each other (Tilak, 2002).

Economy and Education are interrelated. If Education makes people more productive employees, the lack of improvement in education results in Sub-Saharan Africa in the 1980s and 1990s may explain, at least in part, the region's poor economic development. There might also be a causal link in the other direction: Low income limits households' ability to send their children to School (Glewwe, Maiga, & Zheng, 2014).

In the Ethiopian case, the poverty gap and poverty severity indices had decreased from 10.1 percent and 3.9 percent in 2000 to 3.7 percent and 1.4 percent in 2016; many factors surround it, including a lack of skill due to the absence of Education (Mohammed, 2020). Considering such role of Education, the post-1991 rule of Ethiopia generally focused on the social sector and specifically on Education. Efforts to eliminate poverty and colossal infrastructure investment have focused on agriculture, Education, and health, where a significant percentage of government recurrent and capital spending is spent (Martins, 2009).

Only 2.6 percent and 0.9 percent of GDP were allocated to Education and health, respectively. On the other hand, military spending skyrocketed, accounting for more than 7.5 percent of GDP and more than 51 percent of total recurrent spending in 1990/1991 (Adugna, 1997). Ethiopia's economic progress since 1991 has been remarkable, and the country's growth prospects appear to be bright, with real GDP rising at more than 10% per year and Ethiopia currently rated among Africa's best performers (Wolde-Rufael, 2008).

According to World Bank data, the average growth rate in GDP per capita in Sub-Saharan Africa from 1980 to 2000 was -0.6%, while the primary school gross enrolment rate in Sub-Saharan Africa fell from 80 percent to 77 percent (WorldBank, 2006). On a more upbeat note, the average GDP growth rate per capita in Sub-Saharan Africa from 2000 to 2010 was around 2.5 percent, and the primary gross enrolment rate had reached 100 percent in 2010 (WorldBank, 2012).

In a nutshell, these studies attest those extra years of schooling have a striking effect on GDP per capita or its growth. So long as more schooling, knowledge, and skills to people of a nation, that rise human capital. Consequently, productivity and employability upsurge, which increases the republic's general revenue and progress.

The term "social returns to education" refers to the excellent dire consequences that accrue to those other than the person or family who chooses how much schooling to obtain (Riddell, 2016). Education is an asset that provides revenue and a stream of nonmarket utilities such as learning and culture. As a result, Education is both a consumption and an investment good (Ibid.).

Though, Pritchett (2006), informed no sign of extensive societal proceeds to schooling from a cross-national regression. Social returns to Education continue to be substantial,

exceeding 10% at the secondary and higher education levels (Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2018).

The social returns of Education not conventionally and conveniently measured relative to an economic one. Although, Education is meant to impact health, attitude, cultural development, including language. Apropos health, unlike rampant disease including HIV/AIDS are prevented by schools in rising knowledge of the individuals through training. However, early in the HIV/AIDS epidemic periods, educated adults, predominantly men, had higher mortality percentages because their higher demographic status made them contact with more cohorts than less-educated men over the years and has reformed through time (Wils & Bonnet, 2015).

On account of better awareness of the virus and the blowout of 'antiretroviral medications,' more cultured adults modified their behaviour, contributing to their near to the ground death rates than less educated groups due to HIV and AIDS (de Walque & Filmer, 2011). Similarly, lower secondary graduates had 50% more knowledge about HIV and AIDS than illiterate ones (Majgaard & Mingat, 2012). social isolation and discrimination against HIV/AIDS positive members.

Equitable, quality, relevant, and conflict-sensitive Education is vital to transform a nation as central to self-foundation, encourages insertion, and pays to nation-building. In the first place, justness in Education set up a drop-in fight risk: In 55 low and middle-income nations, wherever the level of educational disparity folded, then the chance of contest over folded, from 3.8 to 9.5% (UNESCO, 2014). Education benefits the societies and organizations to become robust against the difference of opinion and dispute by enhancing skills and potentials that could allow them to control and steadfastness tensions and quarrels calmly (UNICEF, 2014).

Mostly, the tools to dig out the social and economic influence of Education do not consider the cultural developments, language developments, and services provided by school graduates in various societal, political, and economic institutions. Although, without assessing all those aspects, it would be hard to claim the educational returns at the national level.

2.5. Education Reform in Multicultural Context

Culture is a constructed set of social assumptions adjacent to political schemes and convincing its regular practice and consequences. It is a socially shared subjective scheme of symbols and meanings, including linguistic, mythologies, rites, 'politics, social standing, and economics' (Ronald, 2004). Although many academics attribute multicultural education's origins to the 1960s and early 1970s civil rights movements (Banks, 1997, 2006, 2009; 2010; Bennett, 1986, 2001; Davenport, 2000; Hong & Halvorsen, 2014; Powers, 2002; Zhou, 2002), Banks and Banks (2004), emphasize that the impetus for the reforms began in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Different researchers have defined multicultural Education differently (Grant & Sleeter, 1985; Grant, Sleeter, & Anderson, 1986; Loobuyck, 2005; Sleeter & Grant, 1987; Torres, 1998), due to the intricacy and fullness of the subject matter (Bennett, 1986). As a field of study, multicultural education embraces a multitude of themes (Zhou, 2002, p. 8), which makes it difficult to group the various definitions of the concept into distinct categories. Rendering to Grant et al. (1986), multicultural, pluralistic, multilingual, bicultural, ethnic, and multiethnic are some terms that scholars have used to indicate Multicultural Education.

Historically, Multicultural education, as a school reform movement that emerged from the civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s, has the potential to transform schools and other educational institutions in ways that will enable them to prepare students to live and function effectively in the twenty-first century, if implemented thoughtfully, creatively, and effectively (Banks, 1995;p.391).

Moreover, multicultural Education designates how some students are deprived of equal edifying chances because of their racial, ethnic, social class, or gender characteristics (Lee & Slaughter-Defoe, 1995; Sonia Nieto, 1995). In addition to this, Banks (1995), conceptualized Multicultural Education into three primary sorts; education reform, concept, and process. As an educational reform, the reform movement makes an effort to transform the education system to be more unbiased and reachable for all students. It has challenged the status quo and called attention towards evolutionary changes.

As a concept, multicultural Education has promised in upholding the delivery of the same access and opportunities for students regardless of their background, i.e., social, economic, racial, and ethnic positions. Finally, as a process, it is a dynamic phenomenon that

is consistently involved in preserving 'social justice,' evenhandedness, and autonomy. According to Banks (2010, p. 1), Multicultural education is a concept, a movement for educational reform, and a process whose main objective is to alter the structure of educational institutions in order to ensure that all students with different backgrounds and interests have an equal opportunity to succeed academically in school. By indent of a project, a notion, or a logical stance, multicultural Education denotes a set of views and ways of thinking that recognize as well as worth the weight of cultural difference in shaping the existences, societal practices, discrete and shared selves, and the delivery of educational opportunities for persons and sets identical (Zhou, 2002).

On the word of Bennett (1986, p. 10), "multicultural education has ideological overtones based on democratic ideals that are lacking in less controversial content areas of the curriculum, such as mathematics, reading, or spelling." The four fundamental standards that afford a logical background to 'Multicultural Education' are approval and indebtedness of cultural variety; admiration for human dignity and general civil liberties; accountability to all public; and respecting the ground (Bennett, 1986).

Banks (2010), multicultural Education requires examination and rearrangement of the current edification scheme to make it thoughtful of the societal, traditional, ethnicity, language, and other features of the schoolchildren that attend it. Banks (1992), defines Multicultural Education as alterations in the entire school atmosphere, together with guidelines and policy, schoolroom relations, resources, and properties, supplementary events, official and informal programs, status evaluation tactics, guidance and counselling, and official standards.

Nieto and Bode (2010, p. 68), state multicultural education as a course of wide-ranging institutional transformation besides elementary Education to entirely pupils. It encounters and discards discrimination, including racial prejudice at School, society level, admits and confirms the heterogeneities reflected by students, their societies, and educators. It also infuses school programs and teaching tactics along with the connections amongst instructors, pupils, and parents and how schools abstract the nature of the course of instruction and erudition. For a reason, multicultural Education applies 'critical pedagogy' through its fundamental viewpoint and emphasizes facts, replication, and deed by way of the foundation for social reform. Multicultural Education encourages popular principles of public impartiality /social justice/ / (Nieto & Bode, 2010).

Grant and Sleeter (2010, p. 67), contend that all-inclusive equitable Education deals with domination and social, organizational disparity crop up on public and different indicators. Intends to making upcoming age group take scholarly activities to allow the community to set out the welfares of altogether sets of publics, predominantly the underprivileged ones. Multicultural Education as a process, Zhou (2002, p. 15), as an all-inclusive progression education, necessitates the enduring allocation of stint and resources and cautiously premeditated and supervised activities for an individual student, Reysen and Katzarska-Miller (2013, p. 858), argue that "as the world becomes increasingly interconnected, exposure to global cultures affords individuals opportunities to develop global identities". Banks (2019, p. 6), claims that schooling in a diverse society had better sustain and support pupils to appreciate individual and surrounding cultures and think out of the box. There is also a scholar who contests Multicultural Education.

According to Downey (1999, p. 251), advocates of multicultural education reason that it is a prudent philosophy in a wide-ranging undertaking on the way to social change, which accentuates social justice by uninterruptedly thought-provoking soaking up or other several types of play first fiddle. Conversely, its opponents, too, argue that multicultural Education splits a nation by wearing down the impression of racial homogeneousness, and its aims intensify detachment among collections that go against the unity of the group.

Along with Sonia Nieto (2009, p. 86), all-inclusive schooling is revisionist conservatives', while for an ultra-conventional for radicals. As Banks (2006, p. 184), clarifies, conservatives focusing on the subject of multicultural Education deny teaching essential skills and values as its' schools' fundamental goals. Thus, schools are delivering subjects like science and linguistic mainly. Since Multicultural Education, matters divert consideration after the utmost vital topics, i.e., science and linguistics. Likewise, the conservatives group believes that institutes had better support school children in developing the views, abilities, and facts desired to participate in the state or shared culture. If children of racial groups needed to learn their cultures and languages, it should be out of public schools Banks (2006, p. 184).

Extremists disapprove multi-ethnic schooling on its failure to assure basic transformation of social institution Banks (2006). The contention between multicultural and totalitarian blocks is interminable. On the word of Zhou (2002, p. 2), "the assimilation theory argues that there is a dominant group (in-group) culture in the society, and over time the incoming groups (out-groups) have to accept the mainstream way of life and discard their own

ethnic and cultural ties." Multi-ethnic promoters such as (Banks et al., 2001; Frederick, 2001; Zirkel, 2008) emphasize the reputation of taking advantage of pupils' cultural selves to increase their academic achievement.

Theoretically, there are three different views on multiculturalism. The first one is Conservative/traditional multiculturalism, which endorses the integrationist conception of handling cultural variety matters where schools try to integrate smaller pupils keen on the distinctive ethos (Jenks, Lee, & Kanpol, 2001; Nylund, 2006; Peter, 1994; Rhoads, 1998).

This implies that conservatives consciously safeguard homogeneousness at the expense of cultural variances (Jenks et al., 2001), and to regulate ethnic and cultural sets in order to preserve their current situation (Al-Haj, 2002), conventional multiculturalism deliberately relegates and sacks the cultural diversity of schoolchildren (Nylund, 2006, p. 29). In the same way, a conventional understanding of "multiculturalism tends to stress courses on diverse cultures as support offerings to be added to an already established canon (Rhoads, 1998, p. 40)). Traditional multiculturalism inspires minority schoolchildren to 'fit in' (Leeman & Reid, 2006).

Further, Jenks et al. (2001, p. 91), the conceptual foundation of traditional multiculturalism is a marketplace sense which avoids topics of cultural enclosure experiences. Liberal multiculturalism Al-Haj (2002, p. 171), noted that 'liberal multiculturalism' makes out the presence of disparity in a nation-state; nonetheless, this disparity originates from a lack of societal and educational chances but not a cultural withdrawal of the minority groups.

Thus, unlike traditional multiculturalism, liberal multiculturalism accentuates the necessity for variety and cultural heterogeneity besides the appreciation and carnival of variances (Jenks et al., 2001; Leeman & Reid, 2006). Leave-taking from the former two types of multiculturalism, critical multiculturalism does concerns intended for educational fairness and fineness can be touched through critical besides metamorphous interrogations (Jenks et al., 2001; Leeman & Reid, 2006; Nylund, 2006; Rhoads, 1998).

Consistent with Rhoads (1998, p. 41), analytic interculturalism syndicates the matter of cultural variety and the natural deliverance of analytic educational experience, which are taken from critical theory, women's movement, and postmodernism. Critical multiculturalism aims to utilize cultural variety as a springboard for questioning, rewriting, and relativizing fundamental concepts and ideas shared by dominant and minority cultures alike, in order to build a more vibrant, open, and democratic common culture" (Turner, 1993, p. 413).

Additionally, critical pedagogy benefits schoolchildren in advancing their logical capacities to involve deep learning that could support understanding the certainties of specific circumstances (Cummins, 2000). This study will consider ethnicity, religion, and language as well as rural and urban as diversity aspects.

2.6. Factors Affecting Educational Reform

Various factors influence educational reform from planning to implementation. Among these, the harmony of stakeholders, policy importation, reformers' expertise, and public opinions should be treated appropriately. O'Neil (1990, p. 6) raises to a bureaucratic style to reform that has been distinctive for years and contains rising student completion requirements, solidification of teacher training and accreditation standards, and broadening the school duration. Instead of these procedural 'bureaucratic' methods of reform that yield scanty impact on the change in practice, he concludes "reform directed toward changing the very heart of the learning and teaching process". Deal (1990a), noted that the efforts to stand in educational reform lacks momentous long-lasting upgrading to the incapacitating upshot of the bureaucratic landscape of educational institutions that are motivated "by goals, official roles, commands and rules" (p. 7).

The bureaucratic landscape of educational reform is "list-logic"(Barth, 1990). The underlying presupposition is that the directives and regulations established by educators based on their list of intended reform can make change occur in School. Patterson, Purkey, and Parker (1986, p. 61), pronounced the way an automatic, cogent model utilized during educational reform and distinguished that "rational planning models will not work in the 'nonrational' world of school systems" (p. 61).

This concern was further designated by Clark and Meloy (1990), as interceptors to change by describing official suppositions and physiognomies, including an ordered institution, expert witness and specialty, top-down the appointment of officials, centralized support system, and accountability, are exclusive physiognomies of officialdom which habitually is unnoticed, a dependence on schooling and training (p. 9-11). In addition, McKinnon (1992, p. 139), reported two contextually change interceptors and two change facilitators. Interceptors; concentrating on program expectancy, outdoor investigations, and responsibility consequences, and being controlled by period, facilitators; "Providing a helpful environment into a particular need, and providing possibilities for examination and learning" (P. 139).

McKinnon expanded the issue and claimed that to initiate an educational change, understanding of reform process is indispensable, which involves being aware of the facilitative processes that encompass: "establishing a supportive group culture; providing leadership in facilitating change; using a learning approach to change, and making connections between the philosophical and the practical" aspects (P. 139). Cimer (2017) found that teachers' dearth of phenomenal will, shallow comprehension of the reform ideas, the uncertainty of the innovation's practicality, incredulity on the importance of change, and insufficient familiarity and capabilities; thus, weak diffusion and technical leadership are the key variables that effect effective reform. Also, the conflict of interest among different stakeholders in the reform process can affect the intended change.

So, Reform of Education encompasses various participants' immediate or lasting welfares and anxieties as parentages, pupils, instructors, headteachers, superintendents, education officers, educators, change representatives, civic front-runners, companies' unions, and mass media. Throughout reform, these diverse stakeholders will pose unlike apprehensions, contending demands, and even incompatible outlooks. Possibly they may influence policymaking through their partisan and societal structures to get their needs considered (Cheng, 2020).

2.7. Modern Education in Ethiopia; an overview

2.7.1. Education during the early imperial era (Menelik II, 1889-1913)

Modern education is a recent phenomenon in Ethiopia but not education at all. Erstwhile opening the first modern school at Addis Ababa by Menelik II, earlier in 1907, one school established by the French community in Addis Ababa, which primarily Proposed for Ethiopian children and run by the brothers of St. Gabriel till 1910. Then, it taken over by the Alliance Francaise, an Ecole Francaise being formally opened in 1912. French was the medium of instruction, and one hour per day was allocated for Amharic. A similar school correspondingly was established at Dire Da'wa (as cited in Pankhurst, 1974).

In October 1908, Menelik II opened "Ecole Imperiale". Following the then practice in Egypt, the language of instruction was French, which was also the most popular subject among the students, who nevertheless also studied English, Italian, and Amharic, as well as mathematics, science, physical training, and sports. Schooling was open to anyone who could

read and write Amharic. Board and lodging were completely free, and age had no limit, countless pupils being undeniably admitted (Selassie, 1930).

The only school established by Menelik II in Addis Ababa in 1908 is the conception of modernized public (governmental) education system (Kassaye, 2005). Emperor Menelik II vehemently stated that the establishment of Ethiopia as a modern state, in addition to consolidating existing political rule, necessitated the introduction of modern education, based on the belief that the country's freedom can be associated with a trained populace capable of foreign languages. Following that, the curriculum's material is available in the following languages: French, Italian, English, Arabic, and Amharic (Dibaba & Mokuria, 1995). The total enrolments of students in the school were about 150 boy students only, most of whom were sons of the nobility, including two future Emperors: Lij Iyasu and Teferi Makonnen. The latter becomes Emperor Haile Selassie (Shishigu, 2015). Indeed, it was a beginning, but the enrolment was too low in numbers.

Ensuing the launch of that first school at Addis Ababa, attempts made by the Government, foreign communities, and missionaries to establish modern schools across the country. For instance, in 1908, a French community school established, followed by another in 1912 by Alliance Francaise. This era is also remembered for the expansion of non-governmental schools across the nation (Bishaw & Lasser, 2012). the aim of education between the years 1908 and 1935 was to master diverse languages. Consequently, the content of the curriculum was typically language courses like French, Italian, Geez, Arabic, and Amharic. Also, some courses in religion (Christianity), mathematics, law, and calligraphy were offered. Adane, 1993 as cited in (Bishaw & Lasser, 2012). Thus, the curriculum was very discriminative towards diversity due to its inclusion of single religion into the national curricular content, and impossible to state that the education system, was secular and modern. In other words, Ethiopians belonging to other religions were officially neglected in terms of schooling.

Moreover, "the first significant steps for the creation of modern education in the country itself were taken in the first years of the twentieth century when Menelik established a school at the palace. It was run by one of the Emperor's nobles, Kenyazmach Ibsa, and attended by several young courtiers who were instructed in good manners, as well as reading, writing, calligraphy, religion, Ethiopian history, law, and Geez" (Rosen, 1907).

During the imperial system, education was not inclusive for diverse groups of religion, sex, social status, and ability. Females had confined to childrearing and domestic duties under Menelik II's rule. Consequently, women disadvantaged in terms of equal educational opportunities. "It was mostly for the sons of the nobility, and the fundamental principle that dictated the development of its curriculum was political interest" aim of education was to contribute to maintaining Ethiopia's sovereignty (Bishaw & Lasser, 2012). The formation of 'modern school' then blowout over the country, and the curriculum includes subjects like science, mathematics, drawing, English, French, Arabic, physical training, and home management (Shishigu, 2015).

The causes behind the conception of modern schooling in Ethiopia were the establishment of central state authority and permanent urban seat of power, the economic need of the modern era, the arrival of foreign embassies because of the recognition gained after the battle of Adwa, military contact, the need for maintaining the sovereignty of the country, and willingness to admit innovation, predominantly in "scientific and technological fields" (Amare, 1982).

Ethiopian education and its curriculum components mostly modeled after the French educational system. The material was chosen and organized by French headmasters and instructors, since French was the language of education in Ethiopia until 1935 (Bishaw & Lasser, 2012). Females were out of school, and their participation was abysmal. According, Bender (1976), Due to the belief that "an educated woman would not take care of the home; and an educated woman's husband would not live long," (as cited in Bishaw & Lasser, 2012). This belief prevented the community from sending their daughters to school. In short throughout the rule of Menelik II, the role of females was downgraded to child-rearing and home chores. Consequently, women were disadvantaged as regards equal opportunity in education (Bishaw & Lasser, 2012).

As Menelik II died in 1913, his grandson Lij Iyasu took power for three years, and little literature is available on his effort in education. Also, one scholar claims that there was almost no attention to education during his reign. Little attention was given to education during Lij Iyasu's era. Empress Zewditu did take positive measures. She was able to circulate laws on what role parentages and church leaders should play as far as children's education was concerned (Kassaye, 2005). As Bishaw and Lasser stated in 2012, Despite her conservatism and devotion to religious causes during her lifetime, Empress Zewditu Menelik (the daughter and

immediate successor of Emperor Menelik II) was credited with initiating universal education in the Amharic language for all school-age children (defined by the Empress as ages 7-21);

All those who do not send their sons and daughters to school to learn writing and reading skills necessary to identify the good and evils and develop a fear of God and the king will be punished 50 Birr. The money collected from punishment will be given to the church for the feeding and clothing of the poor. All Godfathers should advise their religious followers....to send their children to school, and if they refuse to do so, they have to report to local authorities as they have violated the proclamation. . .Apart from their religious preaching, all church leaders in the rural areas should teach reading and writing” (Ayalew, 2000; 159).

Empress also enabled youngsters to secure money for livelihood through vocational education. Her declaration dictates as "after learning writing and reading to secure money for his life, the child has to learn one of the handicrafts available in our country" (Ayalew, 2000; 159). Nevertheless, her idea was radical at the time, as leatherwork, smithing, and clay making were considered as low-class jobs (Bishaw & Lasser, 2012).

Further, these scholars added that Empress encouraged her vision to address equity in education through universal primary education to all children in the country; there were many obstacles. There were not enough schools throughout the country to accommodate all school-age children. Besides, an enactment of worldwide primary education required the convenience of educational materials and trained professionals both in quantity and quality as teachers, school administrators, supervisors, curriculum planners, and the like. Because of these pressing problems, it has, until recently, been difficult to realize universal primary education for all school-age children in the country.

The realities and myths behind all these rushes remain covered. It is evident that Ethiopians are diverse by culture, religion, and language, but the proclamation is apparently in favour of one faith which is unfair and not all-inclusive. Also, education was dominated by French and Egyptian coaches and advisors.

2.7.2. Education during the late imperial period (Haile Selassie, 1930-1974)

Emperor Haile Selassie continued expanding modern education while keeping the shortcomings from the previous regimes. After Emperor Haile Selassie's coronation in 1930, Ethiopia's educational expansion was boosted, and the decade prior to the Italian invasion was characterized by significant advances in literacy as well as education (Pankhurst, 1974). As Vergin (mentioned in Pankhurst 1974), the emperor directly after coronation gave orders that soldiers ought to learn to read and write and that the priests ought to busy themselves teaching the adolescents. Accordingly, Bishaw and Lasser (2012), the nobility protracted modern schools in different parts of the country as empowered by the emperor.

The schools were naturally named after individuals who recognized them to confirm their partisan effects. Religion, mathematics, law, and calligraphy were a prolongation of Menelik II School content. In 1931, the first girls' school was established by Empress Menen (spouse of the emperor), and in the history of Ethiopian education, that can be seen as the first attempt at gender equity. There were improvements in vocational school curriculum contents, but it was unlike for the boys and girls. Bishaw and Lasser (2012) stated that Lycée Haile Selassie school offered courses in mathematics, physics, chemistry, civil engineering, veterinary science, and modern languages. Unlikely, for girls courses in dressmaking, sketching, home management, and physical education were given at the school. Following colonialism, many African leaders and authorities recognized the necessity for competent women trained in contemporary housekeeping to host their European guests.

Menen Institution was similarly focused on prescribing courses that prepared girls to be excellent spouses, but well ahead of its time, the school included subjects like as science and mathematics. Besides, the Emperor sent several hundred young pupils abroad from both sex groups; he also functionalized many schools, like Apart from provincial schools at Dessie, Gore, Jigjiga, Lekemti, Harar, Asaba Tafari, Ambo, Jimma, Gondar, Debra Markos, Adowa, Mekele, and Selale, there is a technical school, a teacher training school, a school for orphans, an art school, and a boy scouts' school (Pankhurst, 1968).

As Yigzaw stated in 2005, From its inception until the takeover by Italian Fascists in 1935, the school system condemned for being "too European" and incapable of addressing the real requirements of Ethiopian society. The educational system is not likely to prosper as Stunned with a shortage of materials, alien curriculum, educational content, and untrained and inefficient teachers (as cited in Bishaw and Lasser, 2012).

Even though Ethiopian patriots struggled to defend their sovereignty from 1935-1941, Ethiopia was under Italian occupation. Consequently, the education system faced great destruction. According to Teferra (1996), due to short-lived Italian occupation, schools were closed down, the educated Ethiopians were liquidated, and Fascist Italy's educational policy was implemented to make Ethiopians merely loyal servants of their Fascist Italian masters. The educational policy of Italy was based on racism, fascism, and the militaristic educational philosophy of Italy (Pankhurst, 1972).

Italian education strategy was intended to assimilate as many Africans as possible, to generate warriors for Italy, and to establish a reserve of menial laborers (Wagaw, 1979). Italian racism and apartheid were also shown via a systematic denial of education to the populace (Pretelli, 2011). Kassaye (2005) also concluded that the curriculum during the fascist invasion was entirely Italian, developed and controlled by them, and the curriculum reflects the educational philosophy of racism, fascism, and militarism of the Intruder. After their occupation of Addis Ababa in May 1936, the Italians, as earlier in Eritrea, devoted a large proportion of their attention to the education of Italian children, a matter of no small concern to them as they considered their Empire as intended for large-scale European settlement.

Moreover, Pankhurst (1974) indicated that the Italian occupation forced Ethiopia to lose pre-war education, where the government schools padlocked and converted for the schooling of Italian children. However, the traditional church schools appear to have been virtually unaffected. For example, The old Tafari Makonnen school split up into an academic and a technical school for Italians (Pankhurst, 1974). Throughout the Italian invasion, schools shuttered or were converted to military camps, and the educated few were either exterminated or enlisted in the country's guerrilla fighters (Negash, 1990).

The breakdown of Italian fascist rule in 1941, and the subsequent repair of the Ethiopian Government, created a crucial turning-point in the history of Ethiopian education. Nonetheless, most old church schools sustained to function education were by a truncated recede (Pankhurst, 1974). The Ministry of Education and Fine Arts was established in 1942, and the effort to modernize education restarted all over the country. Consequently, schools started blossoming in some of the city centres (Teferra, 1996). The emphasis of the Ethiopian education system during the imperial period (1941-74) was modernization and focused on the growth of both primary and secondary education. However, it was limited to cities (Woldehanna, Mekonnen,

& Jones, 2008). Rendering to Zewdie (2000), when Britain assisted Ethiopia to assure its freedom from the Italian invasion, it was also interested in Ethiopia's education.

Subsequently, "Mr. E.R.J. Hussey, who had extensive experience in Africa, was assigned to the Ministry of Education as an advisor in 1942. Between 1942 and 1954, British advisers had a significant effect on Ethiopia's educational system. These advisers had a significant impact on the educational framework, medium of teaching, and assessment system in Ethiopia (as cited in Bishaw and Lasser, 2012). Throughout Italy's occupation, the Ethiopian Government formed new acquaintances with Britain, and Britain influenced the overall education system of Ethiopia until the mid-1950s (Bishaw & Lasser, 2012; Getachew & Derib, 2006; Kahsay, 2016; Leyew, 2012; Teka, 2009).

This shows that Britain influenced the Ethiopian education system by installing its values and cultural components; as it supported Ethiopia to sustain its independence during these years, there was no involvement of Ethiopians in developing curriculum and implementation. The British dominated the overall process of Ethiopian education. Therefore, the education system failed to respond to the needs and problems of Ethiopian society , but After 1953, reforms enabled educated Ethiopians to participate in the system, especially from policy to classroom practice level (Bishaw & Lasser, 2012).

In terms of organization, the first ten-year education plan was recognized in 1947, and six years of elementary school, six years of junior secondary education, and four years of senior secondary education (6-6-4) became operational. Also, it was in 1947 that the first official elementary school curriculum for grades 1-6, which covered a wide range of subjects, was published. After two years, it was improved and was extended to include grades 7 and 8. Furthermore, the secondary school curriculum was issued simultaneously (Tesfaye & Taylor, 1976). Later in 1953, the Long-Term Planning Committee established the education system's structure as a three-tier 4-4-4 system (four years of elementary, intermediate, and secondary education) (Bekele, 1968).

The 1st decade of emperor Haile Selassie I was characterized as a reconstruction period in Ethiopian education history. Soon English substituted French to be the second language of instructional media. Subsequently, the primary task of schools was to produce proficient English-speaking students as the matric examination was prepared in London as well a new alliance with emperors and capitalism was formed (MoE, 1961, p. 11). Enrolment figures in the

third decade disclosed that the dropout rate between the grade one and two were approximately 45 percent. In the first trimester of the third decade of the imperial era, i.e., 1962-63, rate of school attendance was insignificant. Then five hundred extra teaching spaces were built, and 600 more instructors worked for the primary grade level (Tereffe, 1964).

The only secondary school, Haile Selassie I Secondary, was founded in 1943 in an open house that Italians built for an agricultural station approximately 10 kilometres apart from Addis Ababa/Finfinnee. Soon it was changed into a boarding school for boys. Three years later, the General Wingate School become functional in the southern part of Finfinnee. After a while, Secondary classes were also started at the school of Tafari Makonnen.

The curriculum was mainly academic. During these years, students were unruly as most of them were over-aged; a few were educated during their exile lives in Palestine, Kenya, and Sudan by liberation forces and either joined from an advanced stage of church education or fighting with Italians. In addition, some were forced to serve in Italians, and others were left orphans from the war counter to Italian occupation. As all the learners were mindful of modern education's significance, they were strongly competing with each other and unenthusiastic to instructions as mediocre or colonially focused. This was partly due to a lack of sufficiently organized ministerial administration and competent teachers for education, which later improved by teaching staff from Britain and Sweden.

Approximately twenty pupils, and very few girls, were sent to different overseas cities in 1945 to complete secondary education, including Cairo, Alexandria, and Beirut. After two years, the first set was ready to join higher education institutions of Europe and the United States of America. Locally new provincial secondary classes were recognized in three places: Harar, Kaffa, and Wollo. Also, Technical and vocational schools for the same level had progressively been recognized. In addition, an agricultural, military working out, and a law enforcement agency academy were established (MoE, 1961, p. 12).

In the year 1944, a teacher training institute for training necessary manpower for the primary schools was founded in Finfinnee/Addis Ababa, which was designed to deliver a three-year course (E. S. Pankhurst, 1955, p. 569). After three years, in-service teacher training intended to enhance primary grade teachers' subject matter knowledge and pedagogical skills was introduced (MoE, 1961, p. 11).

Regarding the curriculum, as two years the performance of elementary school graduates was unsatisfactory, particularly from province schools lacking fluency in English communication. From that point, primary school grades extended to 8th grade with supplementary curricula, and two new grades were added. Consecutively, secondary schools' with four-year duration were delivered to the Board of Education in line with the necessities of the "General School Certificate of Education" and approved (MoE, 1949).

Notwithstanding the sincere effort and hard work of the curriculum committee, the textbooks and guidelines were proved to be utterly insufficient for and entirely out of Ethiopian context; the curriculum was theoretical except needlecraft for girls and some health instruction in the primary curriculum, the language was not appropriate for Ethiopian students who were struggling to absorb English as a second and now and then third language. Besides, the secondary school curricula alignment toward 'London University General Education Certificate' necessities was disguising an enduring obstacle for curricular improvement of the nation (Bekele, 1968).

Ethiopia hosted the African States Conference on Educational Development in May 1961. Ethiopia's education system is the worst in Africa, particularly in elementary and secondary school. The urgent problems of the period were a lack of schools and instructors, a high dropout rate, and poor overall attendance rates, particularly among females, non-Christians, and rural and pastoral children. To address this issue, the Ministry of Education created a new education strategy that was implemented until 1974, considering the goals of the Government's second and third five-year development plans, which covered the years 1962–1973.

The policy presented priority to the establishment of technical training schools while expanding academic education. Curriculum revisions introduced a mix of academic and non-academic subjects. Nevertheless, the whole primary cycle was taught in Amharic, which puts any kid with a different mother tongue in disadvantaged position. (K12 academic, 2019). During Haile Selassie's reign, the Ethiopian education system is characterized by a rejection of Ethiopian cultural diversity and its domination by foreign ideologies. In this regard, Antiquity confirms that in 1930-1974, the process of “Amharization” turn out to be institutionalized and the language policies aimed at producing an Amharic-speaking society and consequently at discouraging the use of other Ethiopian languages. Hence, the development of written

languages except Amharic remained prohibited (Cohen, 2006; Cooper, 1976, 1989; Lanza & Woldemariam, 2014).

Following the Italian defeat, the country started to build up the sector, but the system was challenged by shortages of teachers, textbooks, and facilities. To address the teacher shortage, the government hired foreign teachers for elementary and secondary schools (K12 academic, 2019). However, these reform activities were not inclusive; Especially, the Muslim Ethiopians were denied access to education, which created a massive gap among the country's population.

For instance, those Somalis and Afars who are entirely Muslims remained behind others in all social, economic, and political developments that have been gained by their neighbours but not limited to them. Ahmedin Jabal describes this situation by stating (2008), "If he learns, he will awake; If the Muslim gets educated, he knows well his rights, religion, and country. He will strive for his rights and liberty, participates in government structure and politics; Devise a strategy to eliminate oppression, and Strives for the practicality of freedom of religion. It breaks the plot."

Hence, the regime has adopted a strategy of keeping Muslims out of school. Even if he sought to learn, he was being forced to choose his faith or education. Nor has he tried to be a clown who does not know (care) about Islam. The Muslim parents avoided their children from the school, saying, "My children will change their faith," as a Christian education was delivered in the school. One of the critical questions that the Muslims asked the Government on April 1, 1966, was "Stop this educational discrimination." The Government of Haile Selassie had attempted to keep the Muslim population out of school through a successful-studied strategy. Haji Bashir Dawud, who was a journalist, set his sights on Afar in the emperor period. Along the way, he saw the Muslims (Afar and Isaas) fought against each other as usual. He asked himself, "Why doesn't the government stop the war?" he dictates the situation as follows;

"The journalist came to the office of one district colonel saying, 'he is a journalist.' the colonel did not know that the journalist was a Muslim and Take him respectfully. While drinking coffee, why not collect the killers from both clans and hang them every tree from Dire Da'wa to Nazret, so that peace and stability were assured and the people trained and turned to development. Why isn't this happening? The journalist asked; soon, the colonel was shocked. The colonel frowned and put his index

finger on his nose and mouth and said, "Shush! You Do not hear from anyone else me." "What is it?" the journalist said, terrified. he replied, "Don't you know that the people who live on the desert, and lowlands, from the Red Sea through Wollo, and Menza mountain to Kenya, are Muslims?" How do you not know that if these tribes were educated and united, they would make much trouble for the Ethiopian Christians by contacting the neighbouring Arab and Islamic countries? Based on research findings, this direction is given to us by the emperors that they shall stay as nomadic by carnage each other. I was terrified and left the office as (cited in Jabal¹, 2008; 220-222).

This script indicates the reign of Haile Selassie's policy of mind deprivation practiced against the lowland pastoralists. This policy can be attributable to their religious identity and planned to remove them from their land through illiteracy and enduring ethnic conflict. Bandyopadhyay and Green splendidly put the emperor's factual curiosity in the direction of homogenization based on linguistic and religious dimensions as follows;

Perhaps the best example of a regime that promoted religious and linguistic homogenization was Haile Selassie's of Ethiopia, where Amharic became the sole language of primary education in 1943 and literature was banned in all other languages. Selassie also forced missionaries to communicate in Amharic, a smart decision given their predominance among non-Amharic speakers. They therefore became the workhorses of Selassie's national integration effort (Bandyopadhyay & Elliott, 2008, p. 6).

Incredibly, the education of the imperial system period did not satisfy its beneficiaries due to its problems of effectiveness. The imperial educational system lacked relevance (Negash, 2006). to this end, the imperial era had both positive and negative effects on the Ethiopian education system; positive ones include the establishment of the ministry of education and fine arts and the expansion of schools in different parts of the country. In terms of ineffectiveness, the access to education was limited to towns; it was intended for a single faith group; it lacked secularity, equity, equality and was irrelevant to Ethiopia. Lastly, During this reign, the gross enrolment ratio for primary, secondary, and tertiary levels was 16.3, 4.1, and 0.2, respectively, which shows low admission of the students because schools were mostly in urban areas.

¹ See appendix I for original Amharic script of the author.

Consequently, dissatisfaction with the educational system continued concerning its inability to satisfy the aspirations of the majority of the people, parents, government officials. This dissatisfaction was also demonstrated in student demands, frequently reverberated by parents (Tasissa, 2003). All these factors contributed to the overtake of power by the Derg in 1974.

2.7.3. Ethiopian education during the Dergue regime (1974-1991)

Almost after a century, 1974 marked the end of the imperial era and the birth of the Derg (military junta). Marxist-Leninist ideology served as the guiding principle for all government systems under the Dergue dictatorship. One of the first policy reforms was the establishment of a universal right to free basic education for all citizens. The educational system was designed to instil communist ideology in students. Eastern European countries offered a curriculum for policy advisers based on their own systems (k12academic, 2019). The basic goal of education was to instil Marxist-Leninist ideology in the youth, to advance knowledge in science and technology, new culture and arts, and to integrate and coordinate research and production in order to advance the revolution and ensure a productive citizenry (Negash, 1990). The overall concept was one of mass education, which might be summed by the phrases "Education for production," "Education for research," and "Education for political awareness" (Bishaw & Lasser, 2012; k12academic, 2019). A task force was set up to revise the curriculum to align the education system with the new educational goals rooted in socialist thought, and the curriculum was stated as Transitional Curriculum. General polytechnic education to yield skilled, intermediate staffing was proposed to improve the unemployment of secondary education graduates, which was one of the pressing issues during emperor Haile Selassie (Bishaw & Lasser, 2012). Additionally, both the Emperor and the Dergue accelerated enrolment growth in elementary and secondary schools. One of the revolutionary regime's first actions was to address the problem of elementary education.

As a result, a policy directive published on December 20, 1974, it declared that people had the right to free basic education "under the flag of education for all" (PMAC cited in Teferra, 1996). Based on this declaration, the Ministry of Education took a step to reconcile its educational primacies to advance universal primary education within the shortest period using the existing resources (MoE, 1977). According to Kassaye (2005), the New Educational Objectives and Directives program was launched that focused on polytechnic education, and it became operative soon. This program was applied for about eleven years, and later on, its failure

becomes noticeable. Nevertheless, a quantifiable growth of the educational system on par value seems quite inspiring during the Derg regime; substantial hitches lie overdue the facts (Bishaw & Lasser, 2012). Unfair distribution of educational resources (Shibeshi, 1989) and uncontrolled growth of schools led to gradual deterioration of educational quality (Negash, 1990; Teferra, 1996). As these snags were detected, the Dergue government reviewed the country's economic and educational needs intended to solve the snags in the service sector attributable to the swift growth of secondary schools. Then, the Government decided to expand technical and vocational education to handle the country's employment needs (Dibaba & Mokuria, 1995; Negash, 1990).

Immediately, the MOE introduced a new project named the Evaluative Research on the General Education System of Ethiopia (ERGESE) and it was conducted by four teams organized by the Ministry of Education and Addis Ababa University. The teams focused on curriculum development and teaching, learning processes, educational administration, structure and planning, educational logistics, supportive services, and workforce training, as well as educational evaluation and research (Negash, 1990; Teferra, 1996).

Generally, the education system during the Derg regime appeared to experience the same challenges as its previous imperial reign education system, but its quality declined. Besides Negash (1990), reported that the recommendation made by ERGESE were mainly included in the plan but not implemented. In addition to this, Dergue's education system faced budget deficits which attributed was to the shortage of basic educational materials and qualified teachers at secondary and primary school levels (Bishaw & Lasser, 2012). In line with this, lack of competent teachers; scarcity of student books; deficiency of clarity, consistency, and uniformity in subject matters; a considerable sum of unqualified teachers nominated for adults, military, primary schools teachers, and the like who were employed to serve as a teacher, and symptoms of declining interest to continue in the profession were major problems (Aklilu, Alemayehu, & Mekasha, 2008). The languages of instruction were Amharic, and English. Similarly, Amharic as the utmost vital language, mainly in literacy, was maintained at the national level during the socialist regime 1974-1991 (Woldemariam, 2017).

2.7.4. Education During Federal Democratic Republic (1991-present)

Previous administrations' assimilationist approach to nation-building resulted in violent battles by ethnic-nationalist groups, culminating in the EPRDF's victory in 1991. The education system of the current Government is quite different from its preceding regimes since it is based on ethnic diversity/Ethnic federalism which recognizes and affords the full right to all. For the

new education, diversity is a superstructure for unity, not taking diversity as a threat for national unity like previous regimes.

The current Ethiopian Government recognizes the importance of education for national development. The main objectives of education are; developing the cognitive, creative, productive, and appreciative potentials of citizens, educating citizens who are interested in and utilizing resources intelligently, educated in various skills, respecting people, having democratic culture and discipline with rights, equality, justice, and peace, distinguishes positive practices against development and dissemination, seeking truth and defending truth, appreciating aesthetics and exhibiting positive attitudes.

The 1994 Ethiopian education policy primarily aims at expanding schooling while improving quality and ensuring the compatibility of educational content with the country's economic demands. All the nine regional states have the National Bureau of Regional States Education and are responsible for general education, technical and vocational training, and administration and management of teacher training programs and institutions. The ministry of education formulates policies and guidelines that should be enforced by the regional education bureaus of regional states. The education system consists of both formal and non-formal education. Non-formal education includes a wide range of educational programs for all age categories, addressing school leavers and new students. Formal education includes preschool education, primary and secondary education (general education), technical-professional education, and higher education. Schooling is accessible at all levels. At the primary level, children can learn by their respective mother tongue but this opportunity is available for regions and nations which can afford it. English is the instructional language in post-secondary and higher education.

The academic year lasts from September to June. The current education system of Ethiopia is 4+4+2+2(four years of first cycle primary, four years of second cycle primary, two years of secondary, and two years of preparatory school education), and hierarchy is actually from preschool to Doctorate based on the performance of the pupil who completed the compulsory education between ages seven up to 17 years. At the end of grade eight/second cycle, primary students take the national primary school certificate exam, and those who succeed join secondary education.

Secondary education is also divided into grades 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th, in which the last two grades are for preparation for entrance of higher education. Furthermore, there are two national exams, one at the end of grade 10th and the other at grade 12th. The last one is for the entrance to higher education; the ministry of education decides the pass mark based on available seats, and those who remain behind that result of both exams can join vocational schools based on their interest.

Moreover, the preparatory school has two streams, namely Natural science and social science, with their respective contents such as social studies, geography, history for social science and biology, chemistry, mathematics, physics for natural science as specific courses. Other subjects include; social studies, English, physical education, foreign language, the national language, and natural sciences.

Though the pressing problems of previous governments in the education system have been mostly resolved, the system is not without problems. In this regard, Kassaye (2005) revealed that, even though drastic changes were made on the curriculum in the post-1991 period, including decentralization of education, development of new curriculum for different levels, change on the medium of instruction and textbooks translated to fit the new needs, most of the things were rapidly made that resulted in the insufficient orientation of teachers and shortages of textbooks. While difficulties persist, the rate of schooling has increased significantly since the policy's implementation (1994). However, it may not be sufficient to meet the current demands. Internal efficiency, quality, and responsiveness to the adult illiteracy issues are all at an early stage (Tasissa, 2003). A post-1991 period in Ethiopian education exert appreciable efforts to guarantee access to education for all school-age children in both urban and rural areas, but flaws are continuing. For example, several educational institutes lack formal administrative units that can be accountable for curriculum design, development, execution, and evaluation (Worku, 2017).

Also, Tasissa, in 2003, did a situational analysis on Ethiopian education and concludes that the objective to afford education for all school-age pupils across the country has not achieved yet. Thus, nearly 40% of school-age children lack access to school, and there is a high disparity of gender, urban and rural areas, and regions in all education progress and efficiency indicators. Similarly, almost half of Ethiopian primary school-aged children are illiterate. Low enrolment rates are a consequence of children not enrolling in school and there is cumulative impact of a high dropout rate in each grade of the primary cycle. Nonetheless, enrolment in

elementary schools grew from 2.5 million in 1989/1990 to 7 million in 2001/2002 (Lasonen, Kemppainen, & Raheem, 2005). This indicates a rapid change in access to education. All the changes observed at different periods has inherited characteristics.

To sum up, educational reform started with early reformers such as; Socrates, Aristotle, Comenius, John Dewey, Plato, St. Thomas Aquinas, Pestalozzi, Rousseau, Lancaster, and Montessori designate 1960s marks the foremost large-scale Education Reform. However, these efforts were challenged by the need to consider diverse cultural foundations in the reform process, which received the reformers' attention in the 1990s. Then, educational reform became concrete and defined in different ways. However, educational reform concisely is a change or improvement in the unfunctional aspect of the education system or practice.

Factors necessitating the reform are internal to the educational system itself or external, which are important in gesturing the scope, criteria, purpose, and approaches to the change. Theoretically, two paradigms exist to explain educational reform, i.e., equilibrium and conflict the former consists of theories evolutionary and neo-evolutionary, the system theory, and structural-functionalist theory. The equilibrium paradigm takes up educational reform as a typical phenomenon required as society believes it inevitable.

Conversely, the conflict paradigm assumes that inherent uncertainty of social systems and the struggles over values, resources, and power determines the demand for reforms. Of conflict theories are Marxist and Neo-Marxist, Cultural Revitalization, Anarchistic Utopian Theory. With these notions in mind, the direction of educational reforms is bottom-up, top-down, and bidirectional. The ground-up approach advocates the initiation of reform from teachers to get an anticipated reform outcome as they are the frontline implementers of the change. While, the top-down approach claims that the defects of an educational system must be corrected by the policymakers, which may be rooted in the view that the authority knows what is better for its people. However, the most convincing one is the bidirectional approach to reforming education, as none of the two contending approaches achieve all-inclusive results. In addition, education is a process, and its reform also needs to be approached as a process so that bidirectional communication and understanding are possible.

Education is not a discrete component from the social, economic, and political situation. Education can be convenient when it is engrained in and appreciates the community's cultural and spiritual values, which become tougher in large heterogeneous societies to be realized fully.

Social benefits of education include but are not limited to; spiritual, cultural, language development, positive attitudinal change, improvements in health, family, and livelihood of the society, but imported education failed to produce recognizable results in this regard. Education also reduces crime involvement of the youth by enabling them to resolve strain and tiffs peacefully. Bearing this in mind, the social benefits of Ethiopian Education need thorough assessment. Moreover, all-inclusiveness is important in proposing educational reforms in contexts like Ethiopia with diverse cultures, languages, and religious practices, which could be an opportunity to be utilized in a resourceful manner. Historically, education is mainly located in urban centres and the rural parts of the country. The pastoralists remained behind the track that can be attributable to a multitude of factors, including but not limited to issues of contextualisation, financial capacity, and lack of adequate attention from authorities as they were systematically distanced from political decision making at national level.

Politics plays a prominent role directly or indirectly because political entities use education as the main instrument to inculcate their ideologies in the young generation's developing, unmaturing and innocent minds through organizations, rules, and regulations they provide to administrate the educational institutions and their members. The well-known political movements behind education are neoliberalism which focuses on marketplace competitiveness; neoconservatism emphasises creating a communal culture based on consensus by recognizing differences; new managerialism oversimplifies responsibility and examining in schools; and authoritarian populism is an ultraconservative in education. In the past decades, it was claimed that public schools are bad and private schools are good. Because it was argued that the more an educational institution reflects the corporate sector's goals, the more they succeed. However, these claims need vigorous and adequate investigation. Indeed, the liberal ideologies influenced educational policies of the developing states in general and African states in particular through the credit and aid in which Ethiopia is not exceptional.

Economy and education are interrelated, as one feeds the other. Building an adequate educational facility requires sufficient financial potential related to quality education. In turn, education supplies skilled professionals to satisfy a state's economic need. Hence, educational reforms need to consider the economic consequence of a change proposal. The literature on the relationship between the two variables is called 'return to education' and measured differently. The research reports on the issue indicate that more schooling has a noticeable effect on growth.

In ancient Ethiopia, the two major responsible institutions for teaching and learning were the orthodox church and the Mosque to spread religious education. Nevertheless, the role of these institutions of learning in the nation's social progress cannot be underestimated. There was public Education in Ethiopia; even though, these two institutions provided religious education to promote their respective dogma. As a result, the church allowed the country to be the only sub-Saharan African country to have its own written script.

Even though it is difficult to trace the exact timeline of practicing traditional Education in Ethiopia, it is believed that the church became a formal indigenous institution at the start of the fourth century A.D., i.e., the only school in Ethiopia supposed to create an ancient culture and delivered education. Quranic schools perhaps occurred in the 11th century in Ethiopia, where its centre of learning was Ifat and later moved to Harar. However, in both institutions, the medium of instruction varied. In the church education is mainly in Geez, while the instruction language in the Quran schools is Arabic, but none had a formal curriculum. These two institutions significantly limited European missionary power when African nations fell under a miasma of western colonization. Nevertheless, the divide was later bridged by contemporary education.

Modern Education ensues in the late 1800s in some African nations except for Egypt, Ethiopia, and Liberia by European missionaries and their colonial governments. However, contemporary education emerged with the opening of a modern school in 1908 by emperor Menelik in Addis Ababa. Since education continued to expand in Ethiopia and contributed to the nation's independence until the Italian invasion from 1936 to 1941, this five-year occupation badly affected Ethiopia's Education by destroying schools and killing the few native literates that had enormous contribution in mobilizing the people against foreign opponents and were hopeful for the prospect.

In 1941 education system started to reconstruct itself as emperor Haile Selassie returned from exile. Ethiopia as a nation continued to experience tremendous changes and change attempts in its governance that can be categorized as early imperial era (Menelik II, 1889-1913), late imperial era government (Haile Selassie, 1930-1974), socialist (Dergue, 1974-1991), and the federal democratic republic of Ethiopia from 1991 up to now. Under these governance systems, Ethiopian education has observed some reforms and reform attempts to change the overall living conditions of the nation. Policies were introduced to develop efficient and productive citizens.

Under the Menelik II reign, education was free for all who could read and write Amharic, and the medium of instruction in the first school was French. Modern Ethiopia was born under this reign through coercive consolidation of local political power that existed for centuries as independent entities. Such unification efforts pulled the nation toward the introduction of modern education with the belief that freedom of the state depend on literacy. Accordingly, the curriculum was delivered in French, Italian, English, Arabic, and Amharic. Between the years 1908 and 1935 education meant mastery in diverse languages. As a drawback, education was discriminative in terms of language, gender, and religion. The enrolment was too low and oriented towards foreign language and the education system was modeled from the French one until 1935.

Haile Selassie I, from 1930-1974, ruled Ethiopia, this reign was challenged by the Italian invasion after five years of his coronation. Consequently, the fascist Italians captured Addis Ababa in May 1936 and destroyed all educational establishments. Italians' policy was to assimilate the mass and make them servants of their rule. In 1941 emperor Haile Selassie I returned from exile as the patriots defeated the intruders with the help of Britain and continued expanding public education in the urban centres with diverse contents relative to Menelik II's reign, including sending young Ethiopians to overseas institutions.

After a year, the Minister of Education and Fine Arts was established a system of education intended to modernize by expanding both primary and secondary education. Haile Selassie I's first decade was characterized as a reconstruction period, and English became the medium of instruction along with French. Soon education in city centres thrived but was not satisfying every Ethiopian. To begin with, academic content was imported and enveloped by foreigners, and the access to education was limited to towns; intended for a single faith group; the system lacked equity, equality and academic content was irrelevant to Ethiopian. In addition, the gross enrolment ratio for primary, secondary, and tertiary levels was 16.3, 4.1, and 0.2, respectively, which shows low admission of the students because most of the school were in urban areas. Such problems of the education system caused students' discontent echoed and shared by parents and government officials, which greatly contributed to the downfall of the imperial reign.

The reign of Dergue is a military Junta that ruled Ethiopia from 1974-1991 for 17 years with the principles of Marxist-Leninist ideology by removing the preceding reign. The first step towards reforming education policy was universalizing the right to free elementary education

for all citizens. The overall goal for education was inculcating the Marxist-Leninist dogma into the minds of young Ethiopians by delivering mass education conceptualized as; "Education for production," "Education for research," and "Education for political awareness."

To control secondary school graduates' unemployment, which was a headache for the imperial reign too, General polytechnic education was introduced. As Haile Selassie I's had done, the Dergue also elevated school enrolment at primary and secondary levels. However, Dergue's reign was criticized for the haphazard growth of schools, insufficient human resource, budget shortage, and school materials, preserving Amharic in literacy and English as the medium of instruction while there were sundry local languages. In addition, it is supposed that the Dergue reign did ignore the recommendation made by the Evaluative Research on the General education System of Ethiopia (ERGESE), which found the problems mentioned above in the ensuing reform attempts.

The Federal Democratic Republic, from 1991 to the present, had emerged with a different governance structure relative to the preceding governance system. Previous administrations' assimilationist approach to nation-building resulted in violent battles by ethnic-nationalist groups, culminating in the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front's victory in 1991, which later formed the existing Ethiopian constitution. Ethiopia was divided into regions roughly based on ethnic lines to form regional states and regional states has self-administration including the right to secession.

Accordingly, a new educational system has emerged with different structure and diversified mode of delivery supported by the 1994 education and training policy statement aiming to; Develop the cognitive, inventive, productive, and appreciative potential of citizens, cultivating citizens who are utilizing resources wisely, possess various skills, respect people, democratic culture and discipline with rights, equality, justice, and peace, distinguishes practices against development and dissemination, seeking truth and defending truth, consider aesthetics and exhibit positive attitudes. The policy statement also aims to expand the education sector with improved quality and relevance.

Educational administration has been decentralized by cascading the responsibility of general education, technical and vocational training, and administration and management of teacher training programs and institutions to regional, national Education Bureaus. Indeed, enrolment increased significantly, literacy improved, the school also budget has been

decentralized, unique strategies have been designated and implemented for hitherto disadvantaged groups like pastoralists, but the effectiveness of these special programs is doubtful as there is no tremendous change in the peoples' lives. Although, realization of equity, equality, access, and relevance are yet challenging the education system.

Under all these governances, the education sector practiced some reforms and reform attempts as change is inevitable for good or bad. As the political power transitions were through revolution, the possibility to collect and utilize best practices was low, which can be easily seen from the scant available information on the educational development of Ethiopia. The trend of forming a new education system by criticizing or totally ignoring the previous ones result in scarcity of information about the education sector. Indeed, politicians desire the education sector to support them by instilling their views on the youngsters, but such desire has no upper limit in developing nations, turning schools into political lobby centres. Educational history, particularly educational reform, is far-off from good exploration in the Ethiopian context even though education is as ancient as the country's civilization.

2.8. Conceptual Framework

Education is a path to the development and advancement of a specific community's social, economic, and political lives. Hence, educational reform is expected to bring about better results in socioeconomic and political conditions of the habitants by correcting the education systems' discrepancies, although the intended results may depend on the means to the reform. The education reform is a process but not a one-time event.

Even though the two contending approaches of educational reform, prescriptive and participative, which are both one-directional, the third approach claims educational reform to be a multi-directional process. Thus, the educational reform process should be bidirectional, and continuous communication is necessary (Hopkins, 2005). Again, the scope of objectives /intended/ outcomes of reform determines which approach to be used in the process. Finally, factors such as politics, economy, and culture influence educational reform, it also influences them in return. Therefore, educational reform and economy, culture, and politics reciprocally affect each other. Above all, educational reform should consider the problem of the system rather than the outliers and give due emphasis to concerns of all stakeholders.

CHAPTER THREE

3. Research Methodology

Research methodology refers to the collection of all methods and techniques applied in the process of a certain study. The main objective of this study is to explore and describe Ethiopian educational reforms to gain insight into it by crystallizing the historical developments under the three forms of governments in Ethiopia; imperialist, socialist, and federalist. The main periods in Ethiopian education reform are, 1942-1974, 1974-1991 and 1991-2018 for this study. Hence, this study provides a qualitative picture of the historical data.

Research design can be determined by its notion of 'fitness for purpose' and purposes of the research to determine the methodology and design of the research (L. Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2005). The research design is important to clarify the overall process and anticipated methods and techniques of a certain inquiry. The present chapter presents the research design of the thesis.

3.1. Research Design

The thesis adopts qualitative research design to provide a historical account of educational reforms in Ethiopia. Qualitative research is a type of inquiry that investigates phenomena in their natural environments, and use a variety of approaches to analyse, comprehend, explain, and provide meaning to them. It's an inductive method of inquiry. It presumes that the world may be realistically grasped via dialogue and observation in natural settings rather than by experimental manipulation in artificial settings (Anderson & Arsenault, 2005).

The aim of qualitative research is multi-method, with an interpretative, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers investigate phenomena in their natural contexts, aiming to make sense of or interpret occurrences in terms of the meanings that people assign to them. The studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives constitute qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 2)

Qualitative research in education pledges the severe free thinking that describes so much of what we do in education today. Researchers who analyse phenomena from a logical,

social-scientific standpoint tend to consider the past as an impediment to development, fail to comprehend the continuity between the past and the present, and are unable to understand themselves as a part of the totality they aim to examine and understand (Edson, 1986). Qualitative research also seeks to understand the phenomenon as it existed and so the historical research concerned to understand the past as a whole.

Further, the qualitative and historical research, both pay attention to natural settings, and the context of a certain situation. Historical research is considered as a subset of qualitative research due to the parallels between historical inquiry and other qualitative methods (Edson, 1986). This kind of study collects and evaluates historical data to describe, explain, and comprehend the ideas, actions, or events that happened. It is not a matter of manipulating or controlling variables, as in an experimental study, but accurately renovating and reinstalling events that happened within a specific time (Ion, 2018). Historical study is important in resolving the topic of education since it is difficult to believe that such a subject might be addressed today or in the future without understanding its history (Albulescua & Albulescub, 2016).

However, categorizing historical research as completely a subset of qualitative research alone may limit our application of the field and rather it would be better to approach a historical research model as a way of understanding the past by using both qualitative and quantitative types of data simultaneously or separately. According to Lawrence Stone (1981), Theoretical settings ‘reduces the study of man...to a simplistic, mechanistic determinism based on some preconceived theoretical notion of universal applicability’ (p. 42). As White (1978) stated, ‘Brilliant reporters arrange facts into "stories," while good historians organize lives and episodes into "arguments."’ (p. 2).

Past-oriented research which pursues to brighten an enquiry of up-to-date interest by an intensive study of material that previously exists (Anderson & Arsenault, 2005). Historical research is, a constant process of interaction between the historian and his/her facts, an everlasting discourse between the existing and the earlier (Carr, 1961). historic scrutiny is context-definite (Edson, 1986); ‘the discipline of history is, especially, a discipline of context; each fact can be given meaning only within an ensemble of other meanings’ (Thompson, 1972, p. 45).

The historical study enables educators to comprehend the current state of education by casting light on the past, in addition to generating new conditions in education and criticizing the possibility. (Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996). Findings based on historical data accelerates advances in educational practice. For instance, integrating historical study results with current, rapidly growing scientific knowledge is critical for innovation, advancement, and improvement in educational theory and practice (Ion, 2018: p185).

The history of science may be a source of issues as well as an originator of insights or inspiration, therefore contributing to the creation of new perspectives and interpretations in this field (Kuhn, 1977). The history of education has usually favoured a 'top-down' narrative of policy changes based on reports and government committees, while ignoring methodological concerns recognized elsewhere (McCulloch, 2016). Particularly, according to the cultural historical perspective on education, a materialist history invests "social interests" with internal homogeneity, implying a deterministic link between "interest" and "action" (Armstrong, 2003). The analysis of prior events develops instructors' critical spirit, upkeep them against mistakes, overemphasis, and monotony. At once, this type of research may lead to the exploration of many currents and philosophies, from which educators can gain useful recommendations for discovering new and more appropriate answers to the difficulties they face (Albulescua & Albulescub, 2016).

Different philosophical views also make their demarcation to historical explanation; only scientific if it is founded on empirical regularities, ('positivists'); must capture and make accessible the meaning that lies behind acts and events ('hermeneutics') and finally, the narrative is self-explanatory and, as a historian's creation, has its own independence or autonomy in relation to the past ('narrativists') (Rümke, Rossum, Legene, & Kamp, 2018).

In addition to this there are still some contending theoretical views on the method of historical research. One school of thought says that history should be written in narrative form, with the components of explanation woven into the story, given in a language understandable to the majority of readers, and arguments concerning causation typically implied (Bailyn, 1982; Lawrence Stone, 1992). On the other hand, historians should clarify their assumptions and methods of analysis openly, as well as identify causal arguments and the evidence used to evaluate them (Aydelotte, 1966; Berkhofer, 1969).

Moreover, an important concept in historical enquiry is ‘historical revisionism’ and defined as; revisionism is a form of free expression (Piper, 1994) and is a type of an interpretation that involves a more broad challenge to an established manner of reading a prior event, process, or person (Brundage, 2013, 2017). Revisiting our history is important as the past serves as base plate for the future. The historical process and our understanding of history represent the interplay between historians and their facts, thus historians may have to re-evaluate the facts in light of the synthesis they produce, as well as change their views in response to new data (Carr, 1987). Also, the basic modern assumption that human institutions, led by reason and science, have evolved to become increasingly more tolerant and compassionate is challenged by postmodernists through historical deconstructionist analysis (Brundage, 2017).

The process is divided into several phases: identifying the issue, reviewing the literature, classifying the practices under various governance policies, locating data sources (research articles, official documents, magazines, and books) through document analysis, and analysing and synthesizing the data into meaningful and accurate patterns. Above and beyond, historical inquiry is continuously advancing in strategies to collect and handle the data. Thus, for quite some time, becoming a historian was a rather straightforward job. The past was one's domain, dusty records and printed word were sources of information, and the task was to reconstruct the past as precisely as possible. However, historical research technique has significantly evolved in recent decades, and early assumptions have been supplanted by new ones (Gerber, 1974). The most inescapable transformation stems from the fact that the historian seeks “a more complex representation of the past reality than hitherto found in the subject” (Berkhofer, 1969, p. 4); which inevitably involves an interpretation of the past in light of various conceptual frameworks or theories or models of human behaviour that groups the historians to social scientist (Gerber, 1974). To better understand the Ethiopian educational practices, various policies are classified as significant events based on their respective periods.

3.2. Data source and Collection Technique

In the process of any research, designating the sources of data or types data is an important step. When historians refer to sources as the most direct access to a historical context, often known as primary sources, they refer to any sort of data that originates directly from the era under study. Secondary sources, on the other hand, are the entire range of academic publications that historians employ to obtain the essential background material as well as the

theoretical and historiographical framework or literature (Legêne, Kamp, Rümke, & van Rossum, 2018).

Historians divide the sources of their data into two categories; primary and secondary. Primary ones include: diaries, letters, newspapers, speeches, and photographs. Also, school minutes, teacher's lesson plan and an academic journal written in the question period are primary sources of historical data. Secondary, sources include: antiquity of the current topic written by other historians, evaluations of past events and later news articles (Kate, 2004).

A written record, such as a letter, diary or report, which was compiled at the time specific events occurred will be deemed to possess a higher status than any item written at a later date. Any historical account which is written long after an event occurred, and which is based on the use of primary sources, will contain interpretative and factual material and will therefore be regarded as a secondary source (Mcdowell, 2013).

However, differentiating the two sources of data somehow poses confusion for novice researchers but Marwick demarcates as the difference between primary and secondary sources is absolutely clear and is not in the least treacherous or misleading. The distinction is one of nature: primary sources were created during the period studied, whereas secondary sources were created later, by historians studying that earlier period and utilizing the primary sources created during it (Marwick, 2001, p. 156).

Documents from schools and other agencies highlight institutional viewpoints; letters, diaries, and other personal materials reveal much about individuals; the social structure is shown through quantitative data. Historians have investigated artifacts such as household equipment to draw conclusions about family roles and children's socialization (Demos, 2000; Ulrich, 2001).

The data for this study come from document analysis due to the nature of the topic under exploration. Document analysis is a systematic review or evaluation of a certain material either in printed or electronic form and can be taken as a vital source of data for this type of study. Documents are 'social facts', which are formed, communal, and used in socially systematized means (Atkinson, Coffey, & practice, 2004). Documents feasible spring, as in historic and multicultural exploration and offer a method to follow both alteration and development (Bowen, 2009). In addition, to documents, the researcher's experience is considered.

3.3. Data Collection Procedure

The researcher received a cooperation letter from Samara University Academic Vice President office that enabled the researcher to get access to documents in different places and institution. Then the researcher collected the documents from Ministry of education, and Addis Ababa University libraries. The main documents reviewed for the thesis included the education sector review of 1972; the evaluative research of Ethiopian general secondary education 1984; the 10-year plan that was developed for 1984-1994; the Ethiopian worker's party program 1984; the 1994 Ethiopian education and training policy and Education Sector Development Programs from one to five and education development roadmap 2018-30. After all these documents were collected the documents were reviewed through skimming, reading and notes were recorded. In addition, scientific articles directly related to these documents were also reviewed.

3.4. Data Analysis

The data collected through document analysis is further combined, analysed, interpreted and reported through qualitative content analysis technique as uninterpreted data remains insignificant. "To establish the facts is always in order, and indeed the first duty of the historian; but to suppose that the facts once established in all their fulness, will speak for themselves' is an illusion" (Becker, 1970, p. 18). Yet historians preferred the term synthesis to the term interpretation, hoping, perhaps, to suggest that their work was one "putting together" assembling parts into a whole without interference (Gerber, 1974). The results are narratively described as, in the history of education, the narrative tradition has long been the main historical style of study and explanation but deep awareness of the era and topic is necessary (Rury, 2006).

Content analysis is a research method for creating iterative and in force interpretations from data to their setting, with to provide facts, novel understandings, a picture of knowledge and a hands-on guide to act (klaus krippendorff, 1984). For Holsti (1969), content analysis is "any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages" (p. 14).

The use of content analysis in research dates back to the 18th century in Scandinavia (Rosengren, 1981). Content analysis became popular as an analytic technique in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century (Barcus, 1959). In their studies, researchers used content analysis as a qualitative or quantitative method (Berelson, 1952). In the nineteenth century, content approach was used to evaluate hymns, newspaper and magazine articles,

advertisements, and political speeches (Harwood & Garry, 2003). Later content analysis evolved from a "counting game" to a more interpretive approach within the qualitative paradigm (Lindgren, Sundbaum, Eriksson, & Graneheim, 2014; Schreier, 2012; Thyme, Wiberg, Lundman, & Graneheim, 2013)

The goal is to achieve a condensed and broad description of the phenomenon, and the result of the analysis is concepts or categories that describe the phenomenon. Those concepts or categories are usually used to construct a model, conceptual system, conceptual map, or categories. The researcher chooses between the terms "concept" and "category" and employs one or the other (Kyngäs & Vanhanen, 1999). Content analysis has a long history of application in communication, journalism, sociology, psychology, and business, and its use has increased steadily in recent decades (Neuendorf, 2002).

Content analysis is a method of analysing documents (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). Content analysis can be applied to existing data from a single point in time or to documents that have existed for a longer period of time; it can be used alone or in conjunction with other methods (Downe-Wamboldt, 1992). Although, few qualitative researchers contend contents analysis. Foreexample, it complicates the explanatory courses that turn conversation made about text (Silverman, 2000). The method can be used for a variety of purposes, including revealing the focus of individual, group, institutional, or societal attention; determining psychological states of individuals or groups; reflecting cultural patterns and beliefs; describing themes, trends, goals, or other characteristics in communication content; analysing open-ended survey data; and describing characteristics of the communicator's sender (Berelson, 1952; Klaus Krippendorff, 1980; Polit & B, 1991; Weber, 1990). A systematic, rigorous approach to analysing documents obtained or generated during research is known as content analysis (White & Marsh, 2006). Content analysis is the course of organising data hooked on classes related to the fundamental interrogations of the study. it necessitates a first-pass document review, in which meaningful and pertinent passages of text or other data are identified (Bowen, 2009).

Content analysis can also be used to investigate trends and patterns in documents Steve Stemler (2000). For example, Steve Stemler and Bebell (1999), conducted a content analysis of school mission statements to draw conclusions about what schools believe to be their primary reasons for existence One of the major research questions was whether the criteria used to measure program effectiveness (e.g., academic test scores) were aligned with the overall program objectives or reason for existence. When using a priori coding, the categories are

established prior to the analysis based on some theory. The categories are agreed upon by professional colleagues, and the coding is applied to the data. As needed, revisions are made, and the categories are tightened to maximize mutual exclusivity and exhaustiveness (Weber, 1990).

The method had its detractors in the quantitative field, who saw it as a simplistic technique that did not lend itself to detailed statistical analysis, while others saw content analysis as insufficiently qualitative (Morgan, 1993). Initially, the distinction between content analysis and other research methods was limited to categorizing it as a qualitative versus quantitative research method (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). According to Weber (1990), If analytical skills are lacking, it is possible to achieve simplistic results by employing any method. The truth is that this method can be as simple or as complex as the researcher makes it (Neuendorf, 2002).

The method has the advantage of dealing with large amounts of textual data and various textual sources, which can then be used to corroborate evidence. Excessive interpretation on the part of the researcher, on the other hand, poses a risk to successful content analysis, which applies to all qualitative methods of analysis (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). Hence, the data collected through document review is organized under topics like the basic research question.

The issue of reliability and validity or accuracy and relevance lay at the heart of any methodology and needs to be addressed persuasively. In the context of historical enquiry, Outward aspects such as the document's kind and intended initial purpose, authorship, authenticity, specific linguistic, writing, or printing elements and features, publishing and reprint record, physical history, and so on must be investigated (Gilstad, 1981). The availability, cautious utilization, and correct recording of source material all have a role in the quality of your study. The sources supply the basic material for reconstructing previous occurrences (McDowell, 2013). The credibility of a historical explanation is determined by criteria such as breadth, originality, and persuasiveness (Rümke et al., 2018). History should be cautious about which facts it believes, but when it does, its conclusions are unquestionably credible (Durkheim & Joas, 2004).

“Criteria of significance [for selecting types of data] should always be grounded in the nature of the problem itself and not in the tools [methods] of problem solving. The purpose of historical inquiry is...to discover what actually happened. Every efficient

means to this end is legitimate, but non alone can be erected into a standard legitimacy”
(Fischer, 1970, p. 91).

Concisely, the overall methods and techniques used in past inquiry varies from one researcher to the other. Thus, this study employed the qualitative content analysis under historical research model.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Data analysis

4.1 The characteristics of educational reforms in Ethiopia

As it has been pronounced in the literature part of this thesis, education was malformed during the five-year occupation of Italy, and with the return of Emperor Haile Selassie I to the throne in 1941, introduction of modern education was resumed. In the restoration process of education, from 1942-1974, the nation witnessed four curricular changes. The first official curriculum, 6-6 tiers, includes six years of primary education and six years of secondary education, was intended to provide the society with leadership and civil servant personnel. This program lasted for seven years to supply the required staffing of imperialist bureaucracy. The instruction language for grades 1 & 2 was Amharic, and for other grade levels was English.

The second curricular change became functional in the year 1949. It lasted until 1952, with 8-4 tiers in which eight years of primary education and four years of secondary education to resolve English language deficiency, expand elementary education, and train plumbers, engineers, and mechanics of various electricians, agriculturalists, artisans, experts. The contents for these programs were Amharic, English, science, art, geography, history, arithmetic, music, handcraft, and physical education, while the Bible in Amharic was used in 1-4 grades. After four years, a new curriculum structure was introduced. Six years was allocated for primary school; Junior secondary school received two years while secondary school consists of four years of education (6-2-4). During this period, the contents were divided into academic and non-academic streams. The academic stream included Amharic, English, health, arithmetic, social studies, and natural science and safety, whereas morals, agriculture, arts and crafts, homemaking, music, physical training, and games were non-academic subjects. There were problems with these curricular content areas. First books were translated from English for grades of 1&2, second there was lack of teacher guide, third Syllabus for secondary school was London standard. Fourth, students lacked the necessary English language fluency, fifth they included religiously biased content, and finally they were exam oriented.

Furthermore, it was a replication of the neighbouring Britain colony's curriculum against the situational reality of the nation. The shortcomings of the reform were consistent across the four curricular reforms, which imply that the reforms were not based on scientific grounds.

Such shortcomings led to dissatisfaction from; students, educators, church, nobility, most importantly there was a high rate of unemployment among secondary school graduates.

The main intents of the four curricular changes that were carried out from 1949-1963 were to train leadership and civil servant personnel; to improve English language deficiency of Ethiopian students and to increase elementary education access as well as to train plumbers, engineers, mechanics of various kinds, electricians, agriculturalists, artisans, experts. However, these motives were not sufficiently satisfied by the reforms undertaken so far, and an evaluation of the education system was done between 1971-2.

The evaluation entitled "Education: Challenge to The Nation" divulged that the school system did not provide systematic educational opportunity for young people aged about 13 and older who did not attend primary school (MoEFA, 1972, p. 12). Further, the evaluation revealed the following points as reasons that necessitated an educational reform;

There were no clear goals of education regarding Ethiopian culture and language. As a result, young Ethiopians' educational experiences were insufficiently related to their environment and local reality as the Ethiopian education system was too reliant on foreign literature, language, and professors. As a result, the students had become ungrateful, ignorant, and estranged from their cultural and familial roots.

The system was deemed to be elitist, formalistic, and dogmatic and failed to uphold the demands of most Ethiopians and bring about meaningful national reform. In particular, in 1970/71, 90 percent of Ethiopians lived in rural areas, with 10 percent in urban areas. Only 3% to 6% of the elementary curriculum was dedicated to agriculture.

The education system was inefficient and test-driven, excessively emphasizing foreign language ability and proficiency. The majority of students dropped out before gaining the necessary skills to find work. After 12 years of school, the anticipated continuation rate of pupils from grade one to higher education was 6%. About one-third to two-fifths of the students were projected to enrol in senior secondary and junior secondary school, respectively.

There was inequality in terms of access to schooling. Some provinces were especially underrepresented in schools. For example, three provinces out of the country's fifteen provinces accounted for 61 percent of elementary school enrolment. More than 41% of the total primary school funding was allocated to three provinces: Addis Ababa, Eritrea, and Shewa, which

account for 25% of the entire school-age population as the system prioritized metropolitan centres and the industrial sector. Adults were totally ignored, only youngsters under the age of 17 benefited schooling.

In general, during this period, education was haphazardly provided, lacked policy guidelines, and native skillful staffing at all levels. Moreover, according to "Evaluative Research of the General Education System in Ethiopia (ERGESE)," before 1974, Education was reserved for a few privileged and oriented toward their personal development rather than developmental needs of Ethiopia. The sector review reported that from 1942-1974, education was set aside for few lucky and slanted towards their private progress rather than the societal developmental needs of Ethiopia (MoE, 1984). Overall, the reform efforts focused on the output of the education system without providing sufficient inputs.

In February 1974 the revolution exploded in the country and it resulted in the establishment of the National Democratic Revolution. The new regime declared the national educational goals in 1976; the goals included education for scientific inquiry, education for socialist consciousness, education for production (P.2). These goals are equivocal and might be hard to implement. In 1984, Mengistu Hailemariam, commander in chief of the armed revolutionary forces, stated in his report that:

The objective of the cultural revolution is to create needed staffing by freeing working people from the old system and permeating them with scientific and revolutionary ideology...the aim of socialist education is to mould citizens who have an all-round personality by inculcating the entire society with socialist ideology. Thus, arming them with the required knowledge for socialist construction...the fundamental aim of education is to cultivate Marxist-Leninist ideology in the young generation, to develop knowledge in science and technology, in the new culture and arts and to integrate and coordinate research with production to enable the revolution to move forward and secure productive citizens (September 1984. P.100).

The report also adds that the rate of schooling was increased at all levels. The primary school population expanded three times to reach 50% of all school-aged children and secondary school populations. In the same year, the Worker's Party of Ethiopia Program (September 1984 P.98-99), was introduced to improve the quality of education at all levels:

The program aimed to enhance the curriculum and prepare textbooks. It was thought providing an eight-year education to all school-aged children would result in employment or further education and expanding secondary schools in relevant regions to cover the nation's mid-level professional gaps.

The plan was developing educational programs that would enable youths to fully be involved in the production, science and technology, the arts, sports, and military training and spend their leisure time providing economically practical social activities and extending their knowledge in the process.

Along with expansion of schooling for a larger population, content of the curriculum was improved. Administrative aspects of the education also received improvement efforts. Teachers' qualifications were improved to induce social acceptability. To accelerate scientific and technological developments, scientific subjects, inquiry and investigation skills were wired in the curriculums in ordinary schools.

The workers party of Ethiopia planned to support the provision of high-quality scientific and technical education relevant to the country's objective conditions. It also planned to introduce productive education at all educational levels but these plans were not implemented. Teachers were demanded to participate in national issues besides their teaching responsibilities.

An attempt made by the Dergue regime to create an adequate administration at levels of education but this attempt also became unsuccessful. On top, it was unable to mobilize the community to participate in and producing the required materials for the curriculum that was implemented between 1984-1991.

Improving teacher training by including refresher courses and on-the-job training was also planned. Moreover, increasing students' creativity, respect for work, and productivity through practical work at school and local development agencies were major points of the plan (WPE, 1984). But these aims were not achieved at all.

Despite the severe constraints of staffing, finance, and material resources, great efforts were made to reimburse the defects of the imperial era by extending education to a broad mass, including preschool-age children, illiterate adults, peasants, and workers. Female involvement improved (MoEFA, 1985). ERGESE revealed all the plans' achievements and drawbacks during

1974-1984 in six different areas: educational personnel, facilities, finance, organization and management, instruction, research, evaluation, and assessment.

It was discovered that teachers' profiles and performance were deceptive. Approximately 50% of instructors had fewer than six years of experience, and 80% had fewer than eleven years of experience. 11% of all instructors lacked a minimum 12 years of education or training. Twenty-four percent of instructors were inexperienced, and 45 percent required in-service training as well. Secondary school instructors frequently lacked the requisite qualifications for the grade levels the ministry of education assigned them. Thus, just 22% of teachers in grades 7-8 hold a college diploma (12+2), compared to 43% in grades 11-12. Numerous instructors did not view teaching as a profession, as they frequently thought that it did not provide satisfaction.

As a result, 40 percent of primary and 76 percent of secondary instructors work as teachers because there are no other options for them. The average weekly teaching load consisted of 30 sessions, each lasting 40 minutes in length. However, 31 percent of teachers covered 26 periods at secondary schools, while 8 percent covered just 15 periods. While in primary schools, 69 percent of instructors teach little more than three topics. The instructional time was lost because of various organizational events was not reimbursed.

The teacher-to-student ratio in junior secondary schools grew from 1:37 in 1973 to 1:47 in 1983. Similarly, the student-to-teacher ratio in senior secondary schools increased from 1:32 to 1:40. Secondary schools were frequently open in two shifts, and in some cases, three. Female instructors accounted for only 13 percent of the total teaching staff.

Regarding the administrative staff; 15% of primary school principals lacked professional training, 1.4 percent of junior secondary school principals held a bachelor's degree, 24.3 percent were graduates of teacher training institutes, and 53% possessed just a one-year postsecondary education. Accountants, storekeepers, and personnel officers at the regional and Awraja level schools and educational officers were totally not proficient.

In typical schools, facilities and finances were poorly provided. Laboratory rooms lacked power and running water and were also unequipped. Classroom space per student in elementary schools was often less than the minimum required by the ministry of education. Primary schools were too far apart compared to secondary schools, with an average distance of 8 kilometres round trip on foot. Inadequate instructional aids and classroom supplies were also

problematic. Despite the budget's underutilization (21 percent), there was a significant disparity between the demand for school expansion and the money allocated. Income from the school is not adequately documented or accounted for. Budgets for primary schools fell on average from 83 Ethiopian Birr in 1974 to 55 Birr in 1982.

In terms of organization and management; Inadequate job descriptions for people; ineffective communication, coordination, and repetition; and overlap across educational ministry divisions were also observed. Administrative heads were being replaced at a breakneck pace. Regional, Awraja, and school participation in educational planning was very limited. There was a deficiency in cooperation between the distribution of elementary schools and other developmental initiatives. Kindergarten lacked a cohesive system since its administration was divided between several ministerial departments.

Despite its excessive focus on factual knowledge, subject goals were usually compatible with national objectives. However, instructional material and goals were incompatible, affecting students' abilities. Classroom time was often inadequate to cover course material since it was centrally set. Additionally, schools were not regularly followed, and many topics got unfinished. Textbooks lacked a certain level of quality. Subjects such as technical vocational education and science needed enhancement to meet national educational goals. All Regions lacked the resources required by the curriculum to teach agriculture, productive technology, science, home economics, geography, and physical education. In general, primary schools lacked the necessary instructional resources.

Additionally, textbooks were distributed after the start of the school year. Except for grade one, there was no teaching guide for Amharic. There were no or ineffective lesson plans. Traditionally, lectures and question-and-answer sessions were used to educate. Only 4% of instructors were seen utilizing instructional tools.

Laboratory and workshop equipment were not used successfully in secondary schools due to teacher knowledge and abilities. In terms of student accomplishment, only around 30% of students in grades 3,5 and 7 passed the curriculum department's achievement exams. As a result, secondary students performed poorly in mathematics, English, natural sciences, agriculture, and vocational training. In both large and small cities, students' performance was too low.

Grades one and two had a high dropout rate. The distance between schools and homes, living away from parents, complex classrooms and a lack of instructor attention; poor study habits and nutritional status; and economic hardship were among the significant issues children encountered.

Between 1981 and 1989, the General Polytechnic Education Project (Grades 1-8) was established, and an eight-year pilot project was conducted in 102 primary schools throughout the country. It was intended to replace the nation's functional education system and bridge the gap between employment and education since the contents of the curriculum was primarily academic. The suggested structure is 8-4, i.e., 4+4 elementary and 2+2 secondary schooling (MoEFA, 1981-1989). The main achievement of education during this period are freeing modern education from religious content.

The socialist period came to an end after seventeen years, and on May 28th, 1991, the rebel group led by the Tigray liberation front had overthrown and took power from the Derg government. Soon in July, transitional government was formed, and Eritrean independence was duly acknowledged. About three years later, in 1994, the new and ever formal educational policy was introduced. The policy document rationalizes the need for educational reform on pages 2-4. The most relevant ones for general education are as follows;

“Problems of relevance, quality, accessibility and equity. The objectives of education do not take cognizance of the society's needs and do not adequately indicate future direction. The absence of interrelated contents and mode of presentation that can develop student's knowledge, cognitive abilities and behavioural change by level, to adequately enrich problem-solving ability and attitude, are some of the major problems of our education system. Inadequate facilities, insufficient training of teachers, overcrowded classes, shortage of books and other teaching materials, all indicate the low quality of education provided. The gross participation rate of primary education is below 22% of the relevant age cohort. Of these a large number discontinues and relapse to illiteracy. The disparity among regions is high. illiteracy is an overall problem of the society. Opportunities for high school education and technical and vocational training are limited to big towns. The necessary infrastructure to provide quality education to the rural population, which is over 85% of the population of the country, is at an insignificant level of development” (2-4).

The conditions that necessitated the change in education were more apparent and sounder than ever before. Under this policy, a sequence of programs to improve the education sector were designed and implemented, such as education sector development programs 1-5 (hereunder; ESDPI-V, 1998-2015). These action programs were targeted to achieve the goals set by the education and training policy of 1994. Hence, the first program to improve the education system of Ethiopia was launched in December 1998 as ESDP I. The goals for Education Sector Development Program one is derived from the 1994 Ethiopian education and training policy. The issues to be changed mentioned in the ESDP I include: low enrolment; rates for girls in particular and rural communities; weak planning and management capacity. Although funding was adequate the overall education system was inefficient, and quality was low. Above and beyond, the goal was "universal primary education in 2015," increasing the quality (MoE, 1998).

Despite the enormous achievements on the challenges of previous systems, there was a large gender, and regional disparity which was manifested in dropout and grade repetition rates due to the incapacity of the local government and community attitudes to educating their girls. The enactment of continuous assessment and self-contained classroom required further effort. The shortage of qualified teachers at the upper primary and secondary school levels remained a challenge to the education sector. Besides, low budget utilization due to feeble program planning and management, which is attributable to staff turnover, lack of critical thinking skills like analysing and interpreting the data that help schools make the right decision were problematic. Underutilization of budget has persevered through reforms and improvements witnessed in Ethiopian Education. There was a withdrawal of donors from their financial commitment due to the battle between Ethiopian and Eritrean. During this program, the incongruity of participants is experiential, even though their understanding is incontestably vital to the triumph of an educational transformation. As the program was operative only for four years, the subject of good citizenship continued to be a concern for ESDP II.

Accordingly, ESDP II (2002/03 to 2004/05) envisioned to realize quality universal primary education in 2015 by expanding access and coverage over and above, improving quality and equity, responding to socio-economic developmental needs by providing sufficient and efficient staffing and by developing sustainable poverty reduction strategy. Making the curriculum relevant to the demand of the society and national economy and the learner intellectual and behavioural level were also dictates of the program. To accomplish these visions, the government exerted an excellent effort.

Thus, access indicators were completed otherwise surpassed. However, the quality and efficiency targets were under the set-out target. On the other hand, the gender gap for primary education was a tad conical, whereas some regions such as Benishangul Gumuz, Gambella, Afar and Somali are factually underserved and remained under the target as these two regions have not been persuasive in the central governance.

As the ESDP II came to an end, the new and persisting needs become evident in the education sector that led to the commencement of ESDP III from (2005/06 to 2009/10). The epidemic of HIV/AIDS, special needs education, were recognised as new needs along with millennium development goals (MDG), i.e., eradicating poverty. Sustainable development and poverty reduction program (SDPRP), achievement of universal primary education, and education for all also demanded further efforts. Moreover, special needs education was not integrated into the education system. With the increase in the enrolment rates, access to quality education required further attention, due to lack of adequate and competent teaching personnel mainly, upper primary and in secondary school level. Organizationally, from the centre to districts: inefficient distribution and procurement of textbooks, losses in program management, implementation, planning, staff turnover, and excessive weight to expansion were problems recognized by the government.

With such persevering and arising needs, ESDP III envisaged many goals to achieve, and the most relevant ones for general education are: producing competent and responsible citizens; achieving universal primary education; improving quality of education, efficiency, and resource utilization; eradicating the disparity between gender, region and urban-rural as well as increasing access to quality secondary education to feed the demanding sectors. After five years, most of these goals had been achieved, such as teacher-student ratio decreased as the number of teaching staff increased and disparity declined, and access to education also augmented.

In 2010, the fourth part of the education sector development program (ESDP IV) was launched. At the general education level, despite ESDP III's achievements, the quality of both teachers and students posed a further challenge for the education system, as teachers' quality was worn out. Preventing HIV/AIDS was also a priority for the program. Likewise, the government's focus shifted toward equity and access to early childhood care and education, primary and secondary education, increasing the quantity and quality of science alumnae and initiating the rule of 70:30 for natural science and social science one-to-one.

The ratio rule was for university placement of the students, but as the two science streams apart at the end of grade ten, students get registered either for social or natural science to attend grade eleven. The rule was toward realizing the vision set out by the government at the expense of the learners' ability, curiosity, and desire while these are vibrant conditions to enduring learning. Another vital step taken to improve schools was implementing a school health and nutrition program that benefited 670,000 children out of ten million children living in food-insecure areas. School water sanitation and hygiene program became fully functional in 2015, and the baseline 41% of primary and 84% of secondary schools access to water. In general, ESDP IV is mainly intended to assure the quality and relevance of education at all levels in the nation.

In 2015 the fifth education sector development program (ESDP V) was out. It visioned to assure quality, access, and equity of general education, internal efficiency of the system, capacity development for improved management of educational establishments in line with the national and transnational promises such as "Education for All, the Sustainable Development Goals and the Resolution on the Rights of the Child."

Achievements during ESDP V include early childhood education recognized at the policy level and increased community awareness. To realize universalization of primary education, primary schools increased from 12,089 in 2001/2 to 33, 371 public and 2467 private in 2016/17, though the pupils' matriculation has shown radical growth over the same period. The efficiency of primary education improved, and the dropout rate also decreases. The enrolment rate both at the primary and secondary levels showed a progressive upsurge. However, the disparity between regional states, rural-urban, and gender remains a challenge for the nation.

The education development roadmap of 2018, which is currently operating, listed issues that required to reform the education system in terms of; equity, access, quality, efficiency, curriculum, educational facility, Teachers' selection, preparation, development and retention, untransparent budget allocation, facing industrial development as a nation, and dependency on partner funding. In addition, students failed to enjoy the expected level of literacy, numeracy, skills, attitudes. In general, the 1994 education and training policy looked-for for reconsideration, its implementation results dictated change, and the need for new policy outlines are significant conditions that hard-pressed the government to pledge the new

education development roadmap. It may be too early to criticise or appreciate the new reform document as it was put into action in 2018.

Overall, Ethiopia's new education development roadmap is having new insights in the recommendation to vocational the secondary school curriculum. The recommended points include widening upper primary and lower secondary, i.e., six years of primary, two years of upper primary and four years of secondary (6+2+4), vocationalization of secondary education, changing the Exam to scholastic type, delivering Amharic as national working language at grade one is relevant ones for the general education. Surprisingly, the new reform has no officially approved policy and operates under the old criticized policy; the commendations related to language are not wise. Ethiopia uses five distinctive languages as a national working language, i.e., Afar'af, Amharic, Oromia, Somali, and Tigray. Hence, choosing languages other than mother tongue and English in schools is better to leave for regional states.

In summary, the rationales of educational reform in Ethiopia vary. First, educational reform from 1942-74 was carried to train leadership and civil servant personnel; to improve the English language deficiency of Ethiopian students, increase access to primary education, and provide vocationally skilled staffing. However, it was not equally accessible to all, religiously biased, and enjoyed by a few groups of the society. Furthermore, the reforms between 1974-91 were intended to accomplish: Education for scientific inquiry; Education for socialist consciousness, and education for production. The third reform in 1991 focused on increasing access, quality, equity, literacy, universalizing primary education, achieving education for all by 2015, and overall reaching the underserved and deprived groups of the nation. Finally, the experiencing reform is equity, access, quality, efficiency, curriculum, educational facility, quality of teaching staff, untransparent budget allocation, facing industrial development as a nation, and dependency on partner funding. In addition, students failed to enjoy the expected level of literacy, numeracy, skills, attitudes. Moreover, the 1994 education and training policy looked-for for reconsideration, its implementation results dictated change, and the need for new policy outlines are significant conditions that hard-pressed the government to pledge the new education development roadmap (2018-30).

4.2. Approaches in Ethiopian Educational Reform

Educational reform experiences in Ethiopia are mainly criticized as being prescriptive rather than participative. Four curriculum reforms and one education sector review were thru from 1942 to 1974 in the Ethiopian education system. The latter, entitled "education: challenge

to the nation," was carried out by a set of professional amounts 82, from which 51 were foreigners, and the rest was native experts. Committees had carried out the reforms from 1942-1991, and the curriculum contents had been imported. Indeed, the education sector review of the late imperial period was not implemented due to the eruption of 1974 revolution. Whatever the case, the process and participants of the study signals us it was centrally initiated but based on the dissatisfaction and anger from the public.

Succinctly, even though it was top-down, it planned to address the practical problems related to the education sector at the national level. Hence, it might not be possible for the then regime to make the reform more participative as the social and political environment was hot-blooded towards the regime's officialdom. Furthermore, it is hard to critique the top-downness of educational reform as the society was reluctant to contribute to such national events. Thus, People in rural Ethiopia today believe that progress must always come from up high. As a result, there is much waiting for the government to implement reforms (Eteffa, 1971). Eteffa further describes the learners' purpose of going to school to get in governmental positions as; Going to school to train for job with the government is as ancient as Ethiopian public schools, and this mindset has only grown stronger since 1941. Indeed, such a view towards school is still prevalent in most parts of Ethiopia.

1974-1991, reform was not only in the education sector but also in all national affairs, it was in sharp contrast with the imperial regime and executed all conceivable to clean the prior regime's footfall enduringly. The first curricular change was made by including new contents such as agriculture, production technology, political education, home economics, and introduction to business which increased the number of subjects from VII to XII at the secondary level of education.

Unlike the imperial reign, the socialist regime let the magazines write on the educational situations of the nation before launching the ERGESE project. The participants, such as students, teachers, and parents, were from some public segments as subjects to fill the study questionnaire, but the degree of the parental immersion remains quarrelsome because it may not be possible to dig out complete information a single tool.

Furthermore, the engagement of teachers, students, and parents in the study process does not point to the incidence of uncluttered and faithful discourse at the national level as the believers of the down-top educational reform perquisites. Undeniably, the political environment

under which the reform carried on was uncondusive for such events, and it is no wonder to misplace such an opportunity.

In general, what makes the two periods, i.e., 1941-1974-1991, is that the convenience of official documents is limited to the extent that even the members of the education sector itself are unaware of them. The only documents currently available are the summary reports prepared for the fundraising purpose, and such summaries documents do not reveal ample information on the process of the reform that can point to the direction of the reform.

As a result, the educational reform was an expert suggestion, and education was distorted from the contextual needs until the 1994 Ethiopian education and training policy was formulated. Consequently, 22 government institutions and 62 professionals from Addis Ababa University were involved in enlisting the policy, and subsequent discussions were held in different cities. The 1994 policy formulation appears a touch crystal clear, involved, and democratic compared to prior ones.

The first discussion was held from June 11-15, 1993, at the Debrezeit Management Institute. Nearly 78 experts from diverse universities, colleges, ministries, and civic representatives, as well as provincial education officers, joined the roundtable. Under the mandate of regional education bureaus, local discussions, including educators and other bodies, were held on the possible 'educational system: objectives, strategy, teachers' affair,' medium of instruction and management of the educational organization, and education finance. Discussions were prolific in heartening the draft policy. Also, equally on July 18th, 25th, 27th, and August 23rd, 1993, fifty-five elementary and twenty-five secondary school teachers in Addis Ababa joined the discussion arranged for the same determination. In October 1993, the Ministry of Education and the Addis Ababa sector office convened discussion sessions with the whole teaching staff of 55 elementary and 25 high schools in Addis Ababa.

Additionally, another debate session broadcasted on national television and conducted in the main hall of the Ministry of Education, with hundreds of people from different sectors of the Addis Ababa population in attendance. The following subjects were covered in those sessions: Education in Ethiopia in the past and the present; teaching in Ethiopia and teachers' conditions; Educational management and organization and General conception of the draft educational policy.

It is articulated that the policy has passed through frequent, free communal discussions by including diverse parts of the society to underwrite to the formulation of the final policy

document (MoE, 2002). The policy formulation was edged by a procedure in which a wide range of people actively participated; the policy rectifies the hitches of the preceding educational systems. After three years, various development programs to augment the educational system were launched. The first one was named as education sector development program one.

During the development of ESDP I, the regional education bureaus was deeply involved. In March 1997, the 3-day workshop on the scope and priorities of ESDP I between the central and regional government members and donors. Later in march, joint meetings with doners were held in three groups at Addis Ababa, Bahir Dar, and Awassa for heads and experts of Regional Education Bureaus on content and structure of their respective sector plans. In October of the same year, second and February 1998, the final workshop was conducted to receive final suggestions. However, the implementation of the program preceded its appraisal from stakeholders. The program was managed through a Central Steering Committee at the national level, Regional Steering Committees, Annual Review Meetings, Joint Review Missions, Education and Training Boards, and School Management Committees and lasted for four years ESDP II was launched.

ESDP II plan was designed to bring into line with the remaining three years of the Government's Five-Year Education Program that meant to span from 2002/2003 to 2004/2005. The process of ESDP II was indirectly participative, in that the regional and federal governments were in agreement on prioritizing the goals of the program. So that the regions were able to plan and manage the program at their own pace and contextual situation. ESDP was a 20-years education sector development program and was controlled, directed, and preserved by the government of Ethiopia. The government agencies prepared all ESDP documents; no external partner was involved in past consultation. Also, the process was lithe and circumstantial (John, Riitta, & Tuomas, 2000).

The fourth Ethiopian education reform is the education development roadmap. It dictates that different members of the society, i.e., assemblies, ministries, heads of academia, deans, directors and professionals, professional association leaders, school heads, educators, and parents and students, were intricate in the process. The team assigned to preparing the education development roadmap is 36 in number, while their combination remains unconvinced. It also reported that more than 100 research associates from different universities and eleven persons from nine regional and two city administration education bureaus being positioned to project

locations, but the sites are not mentioned. The findings for 15 years vision was validated by Experts from, Federal Ministry of Education, Addis Ababa University, Addis Ababa Science and Technology University, Oromia Education Bureau, DFID, and GIZ.

4.3. The Roles of overseas institutions in Ethiopian educational reform

Almost after three decades of ups and downs in May 1971, an agreement between the imperial government and the International Development Association (IDA) signed an associate of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). Consequently, IDA provided 37 Person-Month to conduct all-inclusive scrutiny of educational needs. Five months later, in October 1971 educational sector review was openly launched. Participants of the review surpassed 160 individuals on or after different sectors, of which fifty-five were Ethiopians. The foreign participants were residents of Ethiopia, primarily long-term contract holders of UNESCO, ILO, and the Harvard university development advisory services or on duty at former Haile Selassie I University, currently Addis Ababa University. In addition, members of the International Panel of Consultants, Consultative Committee, Management Consultants from Cresap, McCormick, and Paget inc.; Community and Economic Development Office (CEDO) study team, inter-ministerial planning coordinating committee members; and researchers from the three American universities such as Michigan state university, Colombia University, and the University of Wisconsin were involved in the review. Further, the education sector review documented that more than a hundred projects, institutions, and agencies, schools, and training institutions at all levels, including agricultural and urban development sites, literacy training centres, educational administration officers of provinces and districts, were visited by the task force members and advisors. Accordingly, hundreds have filled the questionnaire and participated in the in-depth interview.

In 1984 another reform was carried out that intended to induce new ideology in the mind of the young generation as well as to change the education purpose that financially was supported by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation in Developing Countries, and the Canadian government. UNICEF also served as technical advisor of the 'Evaluative Research of The General Education of Ethiopia,' which made many recommendations to be included in the reform. Individual overseas participants include Ko-Chin Tung, from UNESCO as technical assistance for Data analysis, and Barbara Jung from UNICEF as technical assistant in report preparation.

In 1994 Ethiopia adopted a new education and training policy, the first written policy in the country's education history, to rectify the defects of the preceding educational systems. To enforce such policy guidelines, a series of education sector development programs were instigated. Before developing the program, "The study on Implementing Sector Development Programmes in Ethiopia (Lister, 1998)" was carried out between August 1997 and January 1998. DfID / UK provided funding for the study, but the work was carried out under direct supervision of the World Bank. Sixteen transnational institutions, namely: World Bank, European Commission, SIDA, ADB, UNDP, UNESCO, UNICEF, DFID (UK), Ministry for Foreign Affairs (Finland), GTZ, Irish Aid, NORAD, JICA, Italian Cooperation, The Forum for African Women Educationalists were involved in ESDP undertakings.

According to John et al. (2000), many employees of the World Bank were betrothed as active members of the technical teams at various times. Although many donors also chose to send their representatives to act as observers at various points within the process, this gave the World Bank relatively superior influence to the silhouette of the ESDP. Furthermore, the role of the Mission teams was decent to gauge the ESDP plans as developed by the Regions and the Ministry of Education and to support and counsel anywhere required. Whether they are individuals or institutions, the influence of foreigners had played a significant role in Ethiopian Education, from financing to shaping the reform programs but lessening through time. For instance, the DfID and GIZ are transnational organizations that participated in the education roadmap discussion, but their role or contribution is unclear. Succinctly, the historical relationship of Ethiopian education progress and overseas donors is briefed in the table below;

Table 4.1 The significant developments that happened in Ethiopian Education

Timeline	Main events in
340 A.D-1908	Traditional education (religious)
1909-1935	French and Egyptian influence (start of secular education)
1935-1941	Italian invasion
1941-1952	British influence
1955-1974	Canadian and American influence
1974-1991	former Soviet influence
1991-2020	Americans resumed with other doners

Source; MoE (n.d.) Review of Attempts at Educational Reform in Ethiopia: A Top-down or a Bottom-UP Reform? by Seyoum Teferra]

4.4. The Multicultural Consideration of Ethiopian Educational Reform Policies

Ethiopia is a home for different nations, nationalities, and peoples acknowledged by their own distinct culture, religion, language, and livelihood. Such differences need to be carefully addressed in any national policy guidelines. In this regard, the historical experiences in Ethiopian Education explicitly revealing several glitches over a distinct period.

The instructional language practice from 1942-1974 was relatively oriented toward unifying the nation through a monolingual education policy that is often considered cultural assimilation. Recognizing and promoting the multicultural nature of Ethiopia was not a concern of policymakers' while the policy was prescriptive. Amharic, as the only instructional local language from more than 80 Ethiopian languages prolonged all over the country, and the 'Amharic academy' was established at the national level. Such discriminatory context was stated as follows by Walleign Makonnen, who was one among prominent leaders of the Ethiopian student movement;

Ask anybody what Ethiopian culture is? Ask anybody what the Ethiopian language is? Ask anybody what Ethiopian music is? Ask anybody what the "national dress" is? It is either Amhara or Amhara-Tigre!! To be a "genuine Ethiopian," one has to speak Amharic, listen to Amharic music, accept the Amhara-Tigre religion, Orthodox Christianity, and wear the Amhara-Tigre Shamma in international conferences. In some cases, to be an "Ethiopian," you will even have to change your name (Makonnen, 1969, pp. 1-2).

With such a political context and education approach, diversity is dreadfully touched. Nonetheless, it is difficult to judge the imperial regime on such a basis alone. Because illiteracy was rampant, and teaching by different languages requires a sundry human resource that can communicate in that different language which might be resulted from limited access to schooling in the nation due to economic and societal problems. Makonnen's account may reflect his experience of the time but in current Ethiopia the existence of such view is dubious.

From 1974-1991 or the socialist era prolonged the monolingual approach of educational policy notwithstanding some attempts in acknowledging the languages of different nationalities other than Amharic, such as changing the name of 'Amharic Academy' to 'Ethiopian Language Academy' so that all languages supposedly get equal devotion from the government. Likened

to the preceding one, unfortunately, the socialist regime reformed the linguistic and religious aspects. However, the livelihood, gender, and rural-urban issues required solutions, and the observed gaps continued.

The 1994 education and training policy was mainly concerned with diversity and paved the way for more instructional languages and education in principle to become secular service. The policy recognizes the right to be educated in mother tongue under its specific objectives. Article 2.2.12 states that “To recognize the rights of nations/nationalities to learn in their language...” (p.10); as well as under language and education Article 3.5.1. points out that, “Cognizant of the pedagogical advantage of the child in learning in mother tongue and the rights of nationalities to promote the use of their languages, primary education will be given in nationality languages” (p.23). Thus, the 1994 Ethiopian education policy duly recognizes the right to learn through mother languages by Ethiopian child, which is a crucial aspect of individual learning and cognitive development. As elucidated by Banks in 1997, linguistics has significant influence as the dominant tool of mental change, and it can open or close the door to academic success.

Cognizant to the problems associated with gender such as stereotypes, societal biases, and prejudice congenital in the ex-education systems of the nation, Article 2.2.13 of the policy asserts that “To gear education towards reorienting society’s attitudes and values pertaining to the role and contribution of women in development” (p.11). On the next page, Article 3.1.3 states that “ensuring that the curriculum developed and textbooks prepared at central and regional levels...give due attention to...gender issues” (p.12).

Consequently, during ESDP I, the language of instruction in the nation increased to nineteen out of 80 languages locally spoken. This is a significant step in developing local languages, in contrast to policies which limited to a single language by previous regimes. Later, the number of local languages purported to be used at the primary level as instructional media reached twenty-five (25) (Seidel & Moritz, 2009).

Unlike its previous education system, the policy intends to provide education free of religious bias and declares in Article 2.2.7 that "To provide secular education" (p,9). Such policy provisions safeguarded the delivery of education to a diverse society. Indeed, it may not be surprising as the constitution of Ethiopia splits up religion and state affairs obviously in Article 11 "State and religion are separate, there shall be no state religion, the state shall not interfere in religious matters and religion shall not interfere in state affairs."

Acceptance of such societal multitude requires the pledge of equity no less than in principle, and the policy also affirms in Article 2.2.3. that “To enable both the handicapped and the gifted learn in accordance with their potential and needs” (p.10). Accordingly, Article 2.1.3. on 7th page echoes that “Bringing up citizens who respect human rights, stand for the well-being of people, as well as for equality, justice and peace, endowed with democratic culture and discipline.” Yet again, Article 2.2.9. states that "To provide education that promotes democratic culture, tolerance and peaceful resolution of differences and that raises the sense of discharging societal responsibility” (p.10). This mien is further braced on the same page by one more provision in Article 2.2.10. which stipulates that “To provide education that can produce citizens who stand for democratic unity, liberty, equality, dignity and justice, and who are endowed with moral values” (p.10).

In practice, the nation has a massive number of children out of school, as was observed in the five phases of the educational sector development program that Ethiopia implemented in twenty years. There is a disparity among regional states and urban-rural areas, and between gender. Besides, as livelihood and settlement of Ethiopians vary across the nation such as residing in; rural, urban, as well as agrarian, pastoralists, and so on, livelihood is another topic that needs to be addressed by policy direction because the problems that encounter the entire education system are germane at the pastoral areas, why rural and pastoralist areas are remaining behind the track by a great distance.

At a document level, the government of Ethiopia wielded efforts to narrow such gaps, including the development of pastoralist area education strategy, but in practice, the distance forward is too long. The strategies devised for the pastoralist areas include: firstly, establishing different modalities of education such as alternative primary education, mobile schools, Para boarding schools, hotels, along with formal primary schools. Secondly, convincing the community by raising their awareness towards 'gender roles, harmful traditional practices, early marriage, value of secular education' but the last one needs to be defined contextually consistent with the belief and cultural values of the community. Thirdly, the bold ones under the third strategy are embarking upon the environmental and economic barriers that pull the child out of school through food, water, and latrines for both sex groups separately and supporting them by stationary. However, these are essential facilities that a particular pastoralist service institution should equip with for the reason that the child of the pastoral is traveling long distance, and their way of life does not allow them to hold food but are wrongly perceived by the policymaker and labelled as incentives to address student dropout.

Fourthly, improving the quality and relevance of primary education through harmonization of the alternative basic education curriculum with the pastoral context; attaining 1:1 student book ratio, using mother tongue as instructional media in modalities, improving teachers/facilitators subject knowledge and intellectual level, applying student-centered learning, charming community leaders and adherents to control the child behaviour, creating experience and resource sharing channel between ABE, adjoining formal schools and among formal schools. Improvement of budget allocation, governance, and capacity was also included in the basic education level strategies for the pastoralist area.

In addition to this, secondary education was also part of the strategy. Expanding secondary schools; equipping with necessary material adequately; building affordable schools and enabling income to cover their partial cost; building affordable hostels to students coming long distance; offering pocket money to poor ones were the courageous ones among the strategies, besides improving the quality of secondary education usage of information communication technology, building teachers' capacity, clustering schools, and establishing central resource centres to get teachers to share experiences. Although the affordable school building strategy was executed to expand schools, it was failed by influencing educational qualities that led them to sacrifice huge costs. Finally, adult education, distance education, and educational radio programs were parts of the pastoralist educational strategy.

Generally, the education system from 1942-1974 was not in place to accept and handle the multiculturalism of Ethiopia, and it is being criticized as religiously biased and serving the few social classes so that most Ethiopians being kept out of school fence. From 1974- 1991, education becomes secular, but other diversity issues were not appropriately addressed. Ethiopia's secular culture and spoken languages were not given an apt weight and reputation as a modern system of education, the issuing of Education and Training policy in 1994 (Teklehaimanot, 1999). After this period, at any rate, principally, educational reform duly considered the diversity of Ethiopians.

The 2018 roadmap of Ethiopian Education is operating, and the reflections here are based on recommendations and statements made in the draft paper regarding diversity as it has not been finalized yet. It underlines the need for common language throughout the nation at the early childhood level of education by citing the following focus group discussion's transcript;

Appreciating the use of the mother tongue..., the problem that I would like to raise in this line is that it has been overly emphasized, and as people living in one country, we are facing

problems. There is a problem with understanding each other as one goes out of his place of birth or moves to other country regions. There is a problem as we travel from one region to the other. It is good if there is a common language that all regions use to communicate with one another (p.10).

It is dubious whether such needs are occurring in present Ethiopia. Besides, this thought reflects the intention to return to imperialist mindset, when Amharic was common language because the roadmap still recommends Amharic to be taught in all regions, "Start Amharic (Federal working language) as a subject from grade 1" (p.20). However, research shows that mother tongue is the ideal language for instruction (Heugh, Benson, Bogale, and Yohannes, 2007; Nekatibeb, 2007; Ramachandran, 2012). On the other hand, the up-to-date changes on national working language indicate that more languages are being approved as the Federal working language such as Afar'af, Amharic, Oromifa, Somali, and Tigrayan languages. Categorically, the 2018 education roadmap draft was put in effect prior to such initiative but it needs reconsiderations on the instructional media. Is the Ethiopian curriculum going to be embedded by languages in the upcoming? Because in the future probably more language will get approved as national working language and so that endorsing working languages to the curriculum under the umbrella of unity in diversity to all nations is not a clear path. In its place, it is worthwhile that mother tongue and English remain as the medium of instruction and promoting unity in diversity through other alternatives, for instance, national goals and mutual interest.

4.5. The Socio-Politico-Economic outcomes of Educational Reforms

The commencement of Education in Ethiopia is engrained in several reasons, among which modernization, socialist awareness, and economic growth are the most frequent terms existing in educational scripts. Because education is an essential factor that can positively influence the national development. Consequently, it is unanimously approved that the development of any country is mainly reliant on an educated employee (Hoot, Szente, & Tadesse, 2006). To pull alongside such role of Education, nations; reform, revise and rewrite their educational policies and strategies in line with current requirements that ascend from the system or outside setting.

Although educational reforms are carried through, unlike the ins and outs, they are covertly or overtly anticipated to bring about an inevitable outcome on society, economy, and politics. Family structure, health, environment, crime involvement of youngsters, fertility, and

child care are the predictable social consequences of education. The political upshots are contingent on the environment in which the education system is operating, and the economic outcomes mainly focus on human capital. However, Analysing the effect of education on these three areas separately bears difficulty, mainly where there exists a dearth of authentically organized apt data like Ethiopia.

In the education history of Ethiopia, the period between 1942-1974, education was out-of-the-way for most citizens, and a few fortune beneficiaries had enjoyed it, and its social, political, and economic outcomes supported that fortunate few. However, attempts made to reform such a system supported the revolution against the regime that ended the imperial period. Although there is no apparent gesture of the instant role of the unproductive reform attempt to the triumph of the revolt, it is considered a great contributor to the event in Ethiopian education literature. Nevertheless, before the attempt to reform took place, the education sector review entitled "education a challenge to the nation" revealed the dissatisfaction of the society and students on the education system's lack of quality, unemployment, and failure to address their needs. When the reform was about to pledge a secondary school, students joined the revolt. Economically, during the imperial period, there was high unemployment of secondary school graduates, which was another cause of the eruption of the revolution.

In 1974, the military committee (Dergue) won and took over the imperial regime's power due to continued confrontation. Two years later, educational goals were redefined and announced as production, socialist consciousness, and scientific inquiry. Nevertheless, no evidence submits whether the socialist educational ideals were being realized. Thus, "It is of course doubtful whether the socialist regime achieved any of its objectives. Education might indeed be considered as one of the areas of priority but throughout the 1980s, there were other areas that siphoned off more and more resources" (Negash, 2006, p. 21). It was better than the preceding one in supplying staffing for industries. However, the political intention was not achieved as Negash states, "For the great majority of the Ethiopian population socialism is associated with the spreading of the equality of poverty" (p. 22). The institutionalization of private firms left the people all poor except the politicians. It is also supposed that 50% of the contemporaneous budget was allotted to the defence sector rather than the civil sectors such as health, education, and the like. However, such an orchestra had only lasted for 17 years.

In 1991, the ethnic-based rival groups from different nation directions led by the Tigray Liberation Front ousted the socialist regime and formulated a new education and training policy

of Ethiopia in 1994. This policy comprehensively designated the route and objectives of education in a new manner. Accordingly, the sector highly expanded from nursery to higher education, and enrolment also progressively increased from year to year, notwithstanding sharp gaps among regional states, rural-urban areas, and gender.

Socially, the policy articulated objectives such as “Bring up citizens who can take care of and utilize resources wisely, who are trained in various skills, by raising the private and social benefits of education” in article 2.1.2 (p. 7). So, the aim of education is to increase health, reduce the criminal involvement of the young, improve the family structure, and control fertility with improved day-care. Two methods exist to address these issues; the elite population can handle such social matters at an individually or family level and through the provision of professionals to the social service sector.

Moreover, the article 2.1.5 states that “Cultivate the cognitive, creative, productive and appreciative potential of citizens by appropriately relating education to environment and societal needs” (p.8). So, this policy states that education should be designed based on the needs of the setting and the social order can address and contribute to the protection of society and its environment. Besides, article 2.2.14 provides more detail on the environment by stating that “To provide education that can produce citizens who possess national and international outlook on the environment, protect natural resources and historical heritages of the country” (p. 11). So that is directed to produce learners that protect their environment and wisely use its resources.

The 1994 Ethiopian education and training policy mainly foresaw nurturing citizens with the democratic and harmonious attitude. Thus, article 2.1.3 states that “Bring up citizens who respect human rights, stand for the well-being of people, as well as for equality, justice and peace, endowed with democratic culture and discipline” (p.7). Specifically, the same policy reiterated in article 2.2.9 by stating “To provide education that promotes democratic culture, tolerance and peaceful resolutions of differences and that raises the sense of discharging societal responsibility” (p.10). This policy of the government is totally against the previous regimes.

The education systems during the regimes, i.e., 1942-1974 and 1974-1991, are both criticized as insufficiently making a positive contribution to the country's overall development because during the former one, providentially education was accessible to a few affluent and economic development was not an educational priority while the later suffered from inefficiency and lack of resources as well as financial shortage. Although, between 1974-1991,

the education system is acknowledged for its outstanding contribution in reducing adult literacy. Nonetheless, no remarkable contribution to education can be noted for these two periods.

The reverse is valid for 1991-2018, because education contributed to the Ethiopian economy through the supply of skilled staffing in all country sectors despite the contestation on the quality of staffing. In this regard, in 1994, Ethiopia's education and training policy, through harmonized program development, aimed to produce citizens who respect work and contribute to creating jobs rather than leaving the graduates at the mercy of recruiting units.

The, article 3.6.3 dictates that “Coordinated curriculum development will be ensured so that students and trainees will acquire the necessary Entrepreneurial and productive attitudes and skills” (p.25). However, in practice, graduates of the education system lacked such skills and attitudes in general and the general education level exceptionally deteriorated. Education under 1994 significantly contributed to supplying the required staffing to different legatees in one way or another. Moreover, it opened an excellent opportunity for nations, nationalities, and peoples to advance their cultures and languages in their schools.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Discussion, Conclusion and Recommendation

5.1. Discussion

This study's primary goal was to describe the history of Ethiopian educational reform between 1942-2018 by answering questions as to why it was reformed, how it was reformed, how the reform policies influenced the socio-politico-economic situation of the nation, their consideration of the diverse religions, languages, gender groups, rural and urban and livelihood the Ethiopian people were taken into consideration as well as the role of the foreign institution in the process. Content analysis was done with predetermined contents in line with the research questions under three distinctive periods, namely, the imperial reign between 1942-1974, the Dergue regime between 1974-1991, and the federal government between 1991-2018. The 2018 Ethiopian educational roadmap was also reviewed to describe the current changes in the education system. The contents include; rationales, approaches, the roles of external parties, multicultural consideration of reform policies, and socio-politico-economic outcomes of educational reforms in the nation.

The rationales of Curricular reforms ensued between 1949-1963 were intended to train leadership and civil servant personnel; to improve English language deficiency of Ethiopian students and to increase access to primary education as well as to provide plumbers, engineers, mechanics of various kinds, electricians, agriculturalists, artisans, experts although the land was in the hand of a few landlords.

In addition, the most important aim of the reform remained practically unfulfilled. For instance, the schooling rate, in 1961, equated to other African states, was the bottommost record. Apart from Niger, Ethiopia had the least schooling rate of 3.3% for the primary school-aged population and 0.5% for the secondary school-aged population (Bjerkan, 1972, p. 122). This was indeed a sound counter allegation to the Imperial rule (Teferra, 1996).

Ethiopian modern schooling is an imported good and still alien to the Ethiopian culture (Teferra, 1996). Rhetorically, the English language proficiency of the learner thundered during this period but not constantly. According to Negash (1990, p. 4), no thoughtful educational matters were addressed by those in the position, even though virtually the whole lot in the school was far-off, (Teferra, 1996). Furthermore, even though the system is repeatedly criticized for being out of step with the context, both philosophically and practically, the

changes have failed to solve the issue or fall short to reach this aim, the rationales for many of the reforms are almost identical and not far-reaching.

In addition, the system's inefficiency and its failure to provide equal opportunity for all were severe problems that necessitated an alteration in the system. Such defects of the education system and failure of the reform attempts to sweep out the defects resulted in enduring inequalities among gender groups, rural-urban, regional states, and livelihoods, i.e., pastorals and others, became an eternal challenge for the education system going on in Ethiopia. In this regard, the ERGESE reported that from 1942-1974, education was allocated for few lucky and slanted towards their private progress rather than the real developmental needs of the Ethiopian people (MoE, 1984). Yet, Negash in 2006 revealed sharply contrasting account on the beneficiaries of education during the imperial time and stated as although there is a dearth of factual evidence, the primary benefactors of education were not the children of the governing class, but those from ordinary and impoverished families. In contrast to their rural counterparts, households whose fate led them to cities and towns benefitted from the school's arrival.

The comprehensive reform planned during the imperial era evaluated in an education sector review completed in 1972. However, it was remained on the desk due to the eruption of the 1974 revolution. According to Teferra (1996), the stint the education sector review was planned to operate was the eve of the 1974 revolution, and the nation was desperately demanding all-inclusive reform. So that it was shortly interrupted and deferred by the Dergue. In one or another way, the reforms of education during the imperial period failed to meet the intended aims, and it was met with disappointment and rage by the public. It was also thought to contribute to the birth of the Dergue along with other factors. The Dergue government's policies appeared to be in total contrast with the imperial reign and the Dergue changed many things, including the educational system.

From 1974-1991, the educational reform was hinged on three catchphrases: Education for production, Education for socialist consciousness, and Education for scientific inquiry. Consequently, "All necessary measures to eliminate illiteracy will be undertaken. All necessary encouragement will be given for the development of science, technology, the arts and literature" (PMAC, 1977, p. 4).

During this period, the main achievements of education were freeing modern education from religious content and increasing adult literacy level despite the literacy programs being used to induce socialist ideology into the adult age population. Negash (1990, p. 12) recapped

the need to gauge the outcomes of literacy programs on Ethiopians was progressive. Subsequently, after 11 years of the nationwide literacy campaign, in July 1990, a national literacy rate was reported to be 75.3% (Teferra, 1996). Referring to "the reduction of the illiteracy rate from 93% set forth as the baseline percentage figure at the start of the Ethiopian National Literacy Campaign (ENLC) to 24.7% is certainly an outstanding literacy achievement." This achievement is noteworthy relative to the imperialist reign's practice in which the literacy rate was meagre. People in nations like Ethiopia are concerned that just a tiny fraction of the school-age population (8 percent in Ethiopia) attends school. People were concerned since the literacy rate was barely 10% or 12% (Eteffa, 1971).

The socialist period comes to an end after seventeen years, and on 28 May 1991, the rebel group led by the Tigray liberation front overthrew and took power from the Derg government. Soon in July transitional government was formed, and Eritrea became sovereign.

About three years later, in 1994, the new and ever formal educational policy was introduced. The main reasons for education reform include ensuring relevance, quality, accessibility, and equity; Educational objectives meeting hasty societal needs, and inadequate future plan, contents were inconsistent with mode of delivery. Low quality of education is mainly attributable to inadequate; facilities, teacher training, suffocated classrooms, dearth of books, and supplementary instructional resources. The gross matriculation rate of primary education was too low, i.e., a small amount of 22% or 78% primary school-aged children were out of school: high dropout rates, disparity among regions, and illiteracy. Furthermore, High school education and technical and vocational training had restricted to big cities. Even though 85% of Ethiopian inhabitants were settled in rural areas, the basic setup for worth education delivery was allocated to urban areas.

The global movements such as education for all, universal primary education, and prevention of HIV/AIDS were essential topics that instigated the educational reform during this period. Accordingly, the education sector plans were adjusted to include such topics. HIV/AIDS prevention strategies were mainstreamed into the general education curriculum, but the outcome still of these policies require further investigation.

In general, reforms undertaken in the Ethiopian educational system in the 20th century are all intended to answer the questions and address the doubts on the system of education contests with the claim made by Zulfiaurre. He insisted that Educational reforms in the

20th century are the product of peripheral societal change rather than internal problems of the educational system (Zufiaurre, 2007).

During the late imperial period, not only education-related but also all governmental decisions were centrally circulated. So that the efforts wielded to advance teams designated by the central government carried out the education system. The grouping of the team mainly consisting of foreigners and some native professionals in early attempts, progressively the number of foreign experts became declined.

The sector review entitled "education: challenge to the nation" was carried out by a set of professional amounting to 82, out of which 51 were foreigners and the rest was native experts. Indeed, the education sector review of the late imperial period was not implemented due to the 1974 revolution eruption. Thus, the sector review's experts (51 Ethiopians and 31 foreign experts) concluded that all people have a right to receive at least four years of basic elementary education (Negash 2006, p. 17).

Even though it was top-down, it aimed to address the practical problems related to the education sector at the national level. It might not be feasible for the regime to make the reform more participative as the social and political environment was hot-blooded towards the regime's officialdom.

Unlike the imperial regime, the socialist regime let the magazines write on the educational situations of the nation before launching the ERGESE project. The participants, such as students, teachers, and parents, were from some public segments as subjects to fill a study questionnaire, but the degree of the parental immersion remains dubious because it may not have been possible to dig out complete information through a single tool. Furthermore, the appointment of teachers, students, and parents in the study process as subjects does not point to the occurrence of an uncluttered and faithful discourse at the national level. Undeniably, the then political environment under which the reform carried on was uncondusive for such events.

Nearly one hundred sixty people participated in ERGESE and was bigger than the people who participated in the imperial reign's sector review. This account was confirmed by a few scholars and Agents of global organizations, such as, UNESCO, IBRD, and ILO. In total, roughly 160 professionals took part in the 'education sector review' (Teferra, 1996).

The 1994 policy formulation appears to be clear, more participative, and more democratic compared to the prior ones. Consequently, 22 government institutions and 62

professionals from Addis Ababa University were involved in enlisting the policy, and subsequent discussions were held in different cities. However, Teferra (1996) abruptly criticized the course of the 1994 education and training policy based on the introduction of mother tongue as instructional media, decentralization of educational administration, and overall judged the policy path as a 'top-down.' Momentarily the ministry of education retorted to Teferra's claim and concluded that the claim was baseless. Likewise, the policy course and its enactment plan clearly show different events carried at national and regional levels with different groups.

The 2018 retro education reform is the education development roadmap that dictates that different members of society such as assemblies, ministries, heads of academia, deans, directors and professionals, professional association leaders, school heads, educators, and parent and students were to participate in the process. The team assigned to preparing the education development roadmap consisted 36 people, while their representativeness for diverse views in the nation remains unconvincing. It was also reported that more than 100 research associates from different universities and eleven people from nine regional and two city administration education bureaus were positioned in the project locations, but the sites were not revealed. The verdicts for 15 years vision was validated by Experts from, Federal Ministry of Education, Addis Ababa University, Addis Ababa Science and Technology University, Oromia Education Bureau, DFID, and GIZ. Hence, it can be said that the educational road roadmap is participative, but the level of need should determine the direction of reform.

In general, what is parallel between the two periods, i.e., 1941-1974-1991, is that public access to official documents was limited to the extent that even the education sector members are unaware of them. The only documents currently available are the summary reports prepared for the fundraising purpose, and such summaries do not reveal ample information on the reform process that can point to the route of further transformation. Thus, Negash (1990: 18) notes that "These documents are, however, classified as secret and, therefore, have been inaccessible to the public. Permission to study the documents is granted on individual basis with the personal authorization of the Minister of Education." Correspondingly, Teferra (1996) noted that the ministry of education concealed the final version of reform documents even from the team members.

Indeed, secrecy is not limited to the official documents and government bureaucracy alone but also extends to the knowledge sharing and collaborative culture among intellectuals

which manifests in generational patterns among intellectuals and can be attributable to the domination of religious institutions in the education sector as well as the authoritative teaching learning practices in schools. The difference is that the imperial period reforms are mainly dominated and carried out by foreigners while native professionals do the educational changes during the Dergue.

Education and training policies from 1994 to the 2018 education road plan can be described as more participative and bottom-up, while the relevance of the latter reforms remains controversial for general education because most of the policy recommendations are not very different from the 1994 policy statements except for the vocationalization and the changes related to the tiers of the curriculum. The internal and transnational organizations have played an essential role in the reform process of Education in Ethiopia.

Historically, Ethiopian education has been guided and influenced by many transnational governmental and global aid organizations. Since 1942, Great Britain influenced Ethiopian Education as it was a primary ally in defeating Italian intruders from the Ethiopian territory after a five-year occupation. Negash, (2006), states that even though the five-year Italian occupation was brief to be considered as a colonisation by historians, education system operated in Ethiopia was identical to the education system of long colonized African states.

Ministry of Education (n.d), "The curriculum, the structure and the text books used were same as the ones used in the east African British colonies and students were prepared for the London General Certificate Examination, (GCE)" for the years between 1947-1958 (p.90). Moreover, SIDA has played a meaningful role in the school building and community mobilization. According to Negash (1996), out of 4800 elementary schools, 3600 classrooms were built by SIDA in 1972. It is the only Aid organization that has supported the Ethiopian education sector since 1942 whereas, the USAID was withdrawn from 1974-1991 on account of political shift and nationalization of private properties and the land by the Dergue regime.

The British influence faded out, and the Americans began to influence the Ethiopian educational policy outline (Teferra, 1996). Likewise, Negash (1996) affirms by stating that between 1952-1974, America greatly influenced Ethiopian Education as it was the most vital strategic region for its foreign relations. He specified in 2006 that from the late 1950s, the prominent global organizations involved in the planning of Ethiopian Education as developmental partners were; the world bank, UNESCO and USAID. According to him,

UNESCO predominantly was powerful in pointing the country to enlarge its education system and introduced the idea of the role of education in economic development.

USAID was resumed in 1991 with the downfall of the Dergue regime and continued to influence the education sector. The two donors, i.e., the SIDA and USAID, played an essential role in shaping the overall education system of the nation. All the collaborations and efforts were canopy on addressing the very nature of Ethiopia and satisfying its diverse needs.

For the years between 1942-1974, diversity was not a concern of the imperial authority, and education was designed to produce citizens who respect their king, were fluent in the Amharic language and were indoctrinated with the faith of Christianity. Thus, education was apt for certain religious groups, and followers of other religions were dissatisfied with this practice. Consequently, most parents were reluctant to send their children to schools out of fear that their children would convert to Christianity. Likewise, educational opportunity was limited to towns, while the nation had a few cities, the gender gap was huge, there were wide regional disparities. Moreover, some scholars splendidly pronounced the emperor's interest erasing diversity through linguistic and religious with following words;

Perhaps the best example of a regime that promoted religious and linguistic homogenization was Haile Selassie's of Ethiopia, where Amharic became the sole language of primary education in 1943 and literature was banned in all other languages. In a particularly clever move, Selassie also required missionaries to use Amharic: since they were already predominately located among non-Amharic speakers, they thus became the workhorses of Selassie's national integration project (Bandyopadhyay & Elliott, 2008, p. 6).

Akin to the early 1960s, the imperial education structure smoothed the course of assimilation at the cost of quality of education by simultaneously using Amharic and English as instructional languages and by ignoring the native languages as possible language for instruction. Also, the dominant groups' history was, exclusively, taught (Abbay, 2004).

Assertion of the Amharic language as the medium of instruction and national language by the emperor in primary schools was not to flourish the local language (Wagaw, 1979). In the same tune, education was used by the emperor as a silent weapon in his 'coercive assimilation' rather than national development (Kebede, 2006).

From 1974-1991 or the socialist era perpetuated the monolingual approach of educational policy notwithstanding some attempts made to acknowledge the languages of

different nationalities rather than Amharic, such as changing the name of 'Amharic Academy' to 'Ethiopian Language Academy' so that all languages supposedly would get equal devotion from the government. Like to the preceding one, the socialist regime reformed the linguistic and religious aspects.

The Dergue regime endeavoured to take relatively modest measures to fine-tune the discriminative and assimilative nature of the imperial period. In this regard, the regime promised that; "All necessary effort will be made to free the diversified cultures of Ethiopia from imperialist cultural domination and their reactionary characteristics...(PMAC, 1977, p. 4).

Consequently, it became legitimate for Primary schools and adult literacy programs to use local languages in educational institutions. Around 15 vernaculars were used with very few qualified teachers fluent in these languages, and roughly 3500 unqualified individuals were appointed to instruct at primary schools (Joseph & Bernard, 1992). However, it fell short of closing the gaps in admission to education, and it appeared that the quality of education declined. Thus, Regional inequalities in primary education involvement were territorially enlarged, inclining to the direction of a North-South division (Shibesh, 1989). Of course, the unstable political environment greatly underwrote such dichotomic disproportions between regions. Further, the relevance of the education with the contextual factors suffered even more.

Education is an avenue to advance one's culture, change the attitude of people, to get better income, train skilled staffing, and increase the political participation of citizens, by increasing their awareness of the social issues. So, educational reforms are mainly conducted to improve flaws in the education system's social, political, and economic outcomes either in quality or quantity. The failure of education to bring about the cultural development as a result of its irrelevance, certainly led to low contribution to the socio-economic expectation of the society, and the societies low contribution to education in return.

Thus, the majority of Ethiopian people had not saluted social outcomes of imperial education as most of their cultural values and histories were dominated by one group, which finally accelerated the armed revolution entrenched in deep-seated ethnic identity. In such a process, most histories remained concealed, cultural values of most ethnicities stained, and the cultural bases of education continued to be overlooked. Hence, the economic contribution of such an education system is categorically meagre, but the labour for a share of primary and secondary education levels appears surprising. So, in 1973, the percentage of the labour force with primary education was 22.3, and secondary education was 13.8 (Psacharopoulos &

Arriagada, 1986). Nevertheless, this percentage might belong to the 'a few fortunates, and hard to consider as an economic contribution at the national level.

Politically, even though there is no apparent gesture of the instant role of the 1972 unproductive reform attempt to the triumph of the revolt, it is being considered as a great contributor event in Ethiopian education literature. A majestic regime's inability to make appropriate consent on the endorsed vicissitudes by the sector review before declaring them formed a prevalent adverse public response to the anticipated transformations. Such public sentimentality and reaction presumably contributed to the revolution (Joseph & Bernard, 1992). Moreover, Negash summarized the root causes that accelerated the timing of the demise of the imperial regime, including the above circumstance as follows;

universally alleged for refuting severe famine in northern Ethiopia, which likely brings about over 100,000 deaths. A sharp increase in price on an article of trade; soldiers' discontent with the way the regime handled pro-independence uprising in Eritrea, radical campus students, and joblessness of secondary school graduates. Besides, as teachers and secondary students realize that the sector review was in favour of rural than urban centres, they broadly opposed the reform from which they would not benefit (Negash 2006, p.17).

Thus, the imperial education reform ramblingly influenced the political bureaucracy of the regime by instigating student hesitation toward the regime. As shown in the above quotation, after years of educational practice in the state, the economy turned indifferent to secondary school graduates. The main reason for such trouble is the unplanned quantification of secondary school graduates, but it is impressive that the economic development was decayed and failed to absorb new entries. Besides, if the preceding reforms were successful, then the 1972 reform might not got challenged by schools. The Ethiopian economic growth was not that meaningful as during the period between 1960-1973, real GDP increased at a rate of 4% per year, while per capita income increased at about 1.5% per year (Geda, 2005), which is followed by ever worst economic growth,

The Dergue initiated other reforms to dismantle the then nationwide structure that affected education too. Thus, the provisional military administrative council stated that they would have a program that would “provide free education, step by step, to the broad masses. Such a programme will aim at intensifying the struggle against feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism” (PMAC, 1977, p. 4).

Relative to the previous one, enrolment rapidly improved, but the quality worsened, and the curriculum also was highly politicized as political education was imparted as a subject at secondary schools. Besides, it appears that the reform was not to overcome the earlier shortcomings and perpetuate the good ones but to get rid of all attitudes and governance structure except instructional language.

The economic contribution of education during the Dergue regime seems not be different from the imperial one; even during the Dergue period, economic growth was slow, with real GDP growing at about 1.9% per year, while real per capita growth was negative, at -0.8% (Geda, 2005).

Nevertheless, as the political environment was unhinged, it is difficult to label the low economic and social achievement as a by-product of weak education. Nevertheless, between 1974-1991, despite the improved admission records, countless schools lacked the lowest standards, instructors lacked rudimentary professional skills, and the program was strongly broadcasted. The system was exceedingly central, English and Amharic were used as instructional language more willingly than the students' mother tongues. Additional local languages were not taken into consideration as instructional media (Joshi & Verspoor, 2012).

Although, the persistent problem of quality, relevance, equality, and equity designate the low influence education had on the socio-politico-economic activities of Ethiopia, the enrolment rate of all levels of education is progressive, as shown in table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Enrolment for the three rules at different level of education

Year	Primary (1-8)	Secondary (9-12)	Post-secondary (higher)
1956/7	135,467	4,845	466
1974/5	1,042,900	81,000	6,474
1990/91	3,926,700	454,000	18,000
2002/03	8,743,265	627,000	147,954
2009/10	15,800,000	1,695,930	420,387

Sources: UNESCO, 1961; World Bank, 2004; Negash, 1990 and 2006; McNab, Wagaw, 1990:167, and MoE statistical abstract, 2009.

Specifically, beginning in 1991, enrolment rate swiftly rose at all levels of education. The eloquent contribution of education to social, economic and political spheres in the country had increased. The 1994 Ethiopian education and training policy provision based on the federal democratic republic of Ethiopia constitution guaranteed the right of the child to use mother

tongue as instructional language. Since then, in regional states, teachers capable of their regional language delivered primary education by mother tongue. Primary school teacher training schools are also training teachers in the local language, and as a result of such essential developments, Ethiopian cultural capital is thriving, which is essential to the socio-economic input of education.

Moreover, the ESDPs decode the 1994 education and training policy into the act through state enactment context. The program was arranged into five chapters. ESDP, I cover 1997/98–2001/02. ESDP II and ESDP VIII cover the corresponding 2002/03–2004/05 and 2005/06–2009/10. Nevertheless, in terms of literacy, the third-round sector development program appears unsuccessful. Unquestionably, the literacy target set at 5.2 million in the ESDP-III could not be realized. As noted by UNESCO (UIS), the literacy rate of males older than 15 years was 41.9%, literacy rate of female was 18%, and the total was 29.8% in 2005, as cited in JICA & IDCJ, 2012).

ESDP IV began in 2010/11 and concluded in 2014/15, and ESDP V covered the reforms between 2015-2020. During the first ESDP, HIV/AIDS was seen as highly spreading in the nation. The HIV/AIDS rampant has to turn out to be a most central menace to Ethiopian society (Kloos & Mariam, 2000). At the end of the first two years of ESDP III, it was reported from the city of Gondar that Low infection was observed among secondary school students as they had ample information on HIV/AIDS and VCT notwithstanding the risky practices, although health education needed Sustained behavioural changes (Andargie et al., 2007). Nevertheless, it was reported that 1.2 million Ethiopians are living with HIV/AIDS (Rodney, Ndjakani, Ceesay, & Wilson, 2010), which initiated the ESDP IV.

Despite all problems, the last two programs brought a noteworthy change in addressing social and environmental issues. Thus, the education sector development programs were inquisitively fruitful in snowballing access and moving towards universal primary education by 2014/15, in harmony with the government's promise to realize the Education for All targets and Millennium Development Goals (MDG). Such development was realized amidst the plummeting frequent provincial fights, natural resources manipulation, and a high HIV/AIDS incidence (Joshi & Verspoor, 2012). However, Addis Ababa, some parts of Amhara, large areas of Afar, and mid-Oromia regional states needed special consideration (Kibret et al., 2019). Despite the efforts exerted by the government and non-governmental organizations, the issue of HIV/AIDS is still demanding further steps.

Universal primary education goal was about to be achieved till the last reform. For instance, in 2014, net enrolment at the primary school level reached 93%, with an 18% annual growth rate. However, in the same year, secondary school rate was only 20.2 %, with a 6.8% growth rate per annum. Despite such progress, the illiteracy rate in 2011 was 53% (NPC & UN, 2015). This report further states that Ethiopia made good progress towards youth and woman employment despite significant gender disparity, and Poverty was reduced to 22.6 million people who live under the poverty line. The literacy rate for groups aged 15-24 in 2017 was reported as 72.8 % (UNESCO, 2017). Even though the 1994 policy and its programs were challenged by the dropout rates, which is attributable to various factors, its fruitful in many aspects. The policy has resulted in significant achievements in ‘access, equity and diversity, quality and relevance, and efficiency’ (Jeilu et al., 2018).

Economically, the 1994 education sector policy made a conspicuous contribution to the national economy in terms of labour, particularly emphasizing the poor part of the society and increasing the enrolment that changed the preceding trends of primary and secondary education's critical contribution to the economy. Thus, Elementary and Secondary education is essential for growth and reducing poverty since education serves as the ultimate economic tool. Advancements in education can directly impact the accumulation of human capital, which is essential for uninterrupted economic growth and increased incomes. Decreasing reproduction and improving health allow the impoverished to become more productive members of society by boosting their physical and mental power. Additionally, educational activities contribute to the formation of civil society, the development of national capacity, and the improvement of governance (World Bank, 1995,p. 19). Such developments resulted in a larger-than-life transformation of the human capital of the country.

Hence, in Ethiopia, the skill profile of the workforce began to transform relatively recently. Before 1994 the gross enrolment rate (GER) for grades 1–8 was less than 30 percent; in that year, only one-third of 13–14-year-olds had ever been to school (World Bank, 2005). Also, its focus on the underserved part the society narrowed the gap between men and women. In this regard, Woldehanna and Jones (2006) found that the Education Sector Development Policy emphasized the poor and rural, which suggestively lessened the gender gap at the primary school level. Furthermore, the educational attainment of Ethiopia's workforce from primary and secondary education appears massive. After seven years of the provision of the 1994 sector policy, the cut of primary and secondary school graduates was 21.3 and 3.2 percent one-to-one (World Bank, 2005). Far ahead in 2005, these numbers magnificently increased,

particularly at the secondary education level with 24.9% and 12.2% for primary and secondary education respectively (CSA, 2006).

The survey in 2000 revealed that public and private returns of education accounted for 32.5 and 19.2 percent of primary and secondary education, respectively, in urban areas while the data on rural areas was unavailable (WorldBank, 2005). Moreover, in 2010 the secondary education graduates' share showed slight change with 13%, while primary education level reached 28.7 percent (world bank, 2010). Although variations in the number of people joined the job market from year to year, the developments befell during this period overweigh its prior ones and progressive at the general education level.

The proportion of the primary school graduates in the labour force raised to 35%, while secondary education graduates accounted for 27% (World Bank, 2016, P.31). Further, the share of an educational accomplishment in the Ethiopian labour force in 2016 for incomplete primary and complete primary was, 35.2 and 5.4%, respectively. While incomplete secondary and complete secondary constituted 9% and 2.1% one-to-one (World Bank, 2017, P.18). In addition, in 2019, Ethiopia had 502,738 primary schools, 116,345 secondary schools, of which males constitute the majority both at primary and secondary level accounting for 63.4 percent of the total (MOE, 2019, P.6). Despite the notable progress and achievements in the sector, the majority of unemployed people attended primary education (35.0 percent), followed by 19% with secondary education diploma in February 2021 (CSA, 2021).

This situation may not be directly attributable to the educational programs alone as Ethiopia is politically sane since 2014 after twenty-four years. Education, for past two years in Ethiopia, almost collapsed. Nevertheless, comparatively, the positive influence of the 1994 education sector policy is much more significant than its preceding reforms and related programs in all respects. The education programs before 1994 unnecessarily taught the novice to serve in urban centres at the expense of the rural tax-payers, while after 1994, the sector policy and programs inclined toward the poor and rural parts of the nation. According to Sisaye (1985), from 1942-1974, the curriculum equipped learners with skills for work in urban top-ranked professional positions, with scaling down market due to failure of the capital-intensive industrial development process to absorb more labour.

Then after 1994, educational reform and enactment programs contributed more to the country's cultural, economic, and political developments. Despite the government's notable attempts to narrow the educational gap, it failed to flatten the gaps among regional states, gender

groups, and rural-urban areas, a severe problem, especially in the so-called emerging regions, namely Afar Benishangul Gumuz, Gambella, and Somali. These regions still need special attention in terms of access, equity, quality, and relevance of education. Their teaching staff at the general education level needs intensive capacity building; the amount of content provided for pastoral children need to drop and the relevance of the content to the people lives needs to increase. Politically, this policy does not appear to succeed in producing democratic and tolerant citizens as Ethiopia is sporadically going through internal conflict and war.

In general, this historical study aimed to describe the history of Ethiopian educational reform from 1942-2018, answering such questions as to why it reformed, how it reformed, how the reform policies influenced the socio-politico-economic situation of the nation, their consideration of the diverse religions, languages, gender groups, rural and urban and livelihood that forms Ethiopia as well as the role of the foreign institution in the process. Content analysis was done with these predetermined subject categories in line with the research questions corresponding to three distinctive periods, namely, imperial period 1942-1974, Dergue period 1974-1991, and republic period 1994-2018. The 2018 Ethiopian educational roadmap was also reviewed to include current changes in the education system. The subject categories analysed include; rationales, approaches, the roles of external parties, multicultural consideration of reform policies, and socio-politico-economic outcomes of educational reforms in the nation.

The rationales for Ethiopian education varied from answering short period demands to competing on the global market. The rationales of educational reform in Ethiopia vary. First, educational reform from 1942-74 was carried to train leadership and civil servant personnel; to improve the English language deficiency of the students, to increase access to primary education, and to provide vocationally skilled staffing. However, it was not equally accessible to all, religiously biased, and enjoyed by a few groups of the society.

Furthermore, the reforms between 1974-91 were intended to accomplish education for scientific inquiry, education for socialist consciousness, and education for production. The third reform in 1994 focused on increasing access, quality, equity, literacy, universalizing primary education, achieving education for all by 2015, and overall reaching the underserved and deprived groups of the nation.

Finally, the currently operating reform aims to improve equity, access, quality, efficiency, curriculum, educational facility, quality of teaching staff, budget allocation, facing industrial development as a nation, and lessen the dependency on partner funding. However,

students failed to enjoy the expected level of literacy, numeracy, skills, attitudes. Moreover, the 1994 education and training policy required for reconsideration, its implementation results dictated further changes, and the need for new policy outlines are significant conditions that hard-pressed the state to pledge the new education development roadmap (2018-30).

Different foreign powers influenced Ethiopian education through its history, i.e., 340 A.D-1908, indicates traditional education (religious); 1909-1935, indicates French and Egyptian influence (self-styled secular education); 1935-1941 marks Italian invasion; 1941-1952, indicates British influence; 1955-1974, indicates Canadian and American influence; 1974-1991, indicates former Soviet influence; 1994-2020, indicates Americans and other allies influence. Even though the degree of influence varies for all actors, their influence shaped the education system in ways that mirror their own system. The means they use to succeed in such effort is financial and military support.

The multicultural consideration of an education system is essential in nations like Ethiopia. During the period between the 1942-1974 diversity had no place in all sectors, so education was not exception, and the claim that education does not consider Ethiopian culture is ambiguous. Because during this period, the overall national efforts were toward establishing an empire through coercive assimilation of the nations, nationalities, and people whom the territory endowed. Similarly, education was used to acculturate Ethiopians and the process was facilitated by knowledge hegemony. Access to education was exceedingly skewed towards certain; gender, ethnic, religious lines, and urban centres, which subsequently challenged the attempts to close the gaps among gender, regional states, and urban-rural areas. The curriculum was imported, and foreign influence was high, social and economic contribution was almost non-existent as the system's beneficiaries were too low. Politically, succeeded to intricate the narratives of Abyssinian in the minds of those a few affluences but failed to sustain it as there was a growing discontent of the public specifically from the students and the rebel groups by ethnic lines.

Between 1974-1994, reform appeared to acknowledge diversity more relative to the reforms of 1942-1974 except for the preservation of instructional language domination in formal education. This educational reform attempt at least principally separated education and religion, enabled the previously marginalized part of the society to join modern schools. However, Dergue's obsession with inculcating the socialist political ideology in the society and military development resulted in a low emphasis on education. Then educational budget

declined, the quality deteriorated, and the gaps among different groups continued to persist. Indeed, educational attainments during this period are believed to be literacy development, but also reinforcement of political ideology. Even though education was highly politicized, it failed to sustain a socialist state, as there was widespread political unrest and internal conflict in the nation, which consequently had a similar effect on the economy.

1994-2018 educational reform recognized the multicultural nature of Ethiopia based on the 1991 national constitution. It guaranteed the right to learn in their mother tongue for all Ethiopians, which was practically unfeasible as most languages were immature due to previous abuses. Consequently, the number of instructional languages increased, the gaps among regional states, gender, and urban-rural still exist but are narrowed. Remarkably, the pastoralists remained behind in educational attainment relative to other regional states, which is no surprise as the regions, namely, Afar, Benishangul Gumuz, Gambella, and Somali, were away from political decisions at the national level.

5.2. Conclusion

Educational reform from 1942-1974 was inadequately rationalized, mainly imported contents through a top-down approach, and had no space for the diversity of Ethiopians. Economic gain was limited to those who had access to education but better than the subsequent reform. The political and social influence of the reform was highly damaging.

The rationales for 1974-1994 education reform have lacked clarity, and the measures taken to contextualize the education through a top-down approach led to inexorable quality deterioration. Attempted to acknowledge the diverse needs by separating the education and religion and using different local languages in teaching but only for literacy campaign which intended to install the socialist ideology into the adult group. Failed to satisfy the political intention, it produced poor economic outcomes, and cultural and language development.

The educational reform policy of 1994 and its execution programs was well rationalized, followed a bottom-up approach, and considered the diversity of people, positively contributed to national economic, cultural, and language developments but practically have many failings, including disparities among different parts of the society. Also, its political achievement seems meagre. All reforms so far carried in Ethiopian education are to transform the education system to better status.

In all the reform process, the role of foreign institutions lessened over time, and the institutions vary depending on political alienation. Their role varies from designing, shaping, and implementing the education system to financing it and foreign influence still persists in Ethiopian education reform practice.

5.3. Recommendations

First and foremost, what is evident in Ethiopian education history is that policy makers do not learn from history. This fact directly affects the nation's reputation to improve its educational practice that is partly rooted in the problem of documentation. Hence, improved documentation through automation may help to address the loss of historical documents.

Bringing more local languages as instructional into schools needs policy direction. In this regard, only the 1994 education and training policy articulates the importance of learning mother tongue for the learner but does not articulate how to enhance the underdeveloped local languages. So, the country is in need of plans about local languages which are to become instructional language in the short term, midterm, and long term to assure every child is being taught through their mother tongue. Teaching the languages spoken by neighbouring countries would have vast economic and social benefits by increasing the social interaction between peoples that would bring about cultural exchange among them. It will increase the employment opportunity for Ethiopians by diversifying their language skills as most unemployed youths flee to middle east countries.

Public participation in the education sector is meagre and educational budget is allocated by the government. One possible reason may be the deviation of modern education from tradition because of secularism. Secularism has been applied in Ethiopia and needs correct interpretation and contextualization that may help to attract rural society to modern schools. Also, the Ethiopian tradition needs to be represented in research institutions. For instance, cultural art works need to be researched and advanced by research institution and religious studies need to be included in the research themes of educational institutions. In this respect only music is delivered by a few institutions.

The 2018 education road map recommends 'vocalization of primary education,' but what type it would be is unclear, i.e., whether it is 'ruralizing the curriculum,' 'combining education with production,' or 'introducing manual labour.' However, such policy perspective has been tried out in some countries such as China and India and it has been abandoned.

Regardless of the form of the reform, it would require tremendous resources and even require transforming the school infrastructure entirely.

Further, the languages supposed to be taught in schools needs reconsideration. The new reform insisted Amharic should be taught in all schools as a common language justifying it as the working language of the nation, but currently, languages working at the federal level accounted for five. In this situation, it seems better if the state avoids directives that insist on what languages the children should learn along with their mother tongue. Because the attempts to determine common language failed several times in Ethiopia. In addition, as more languages become national working language it would be difficult to choose among the languages. Finally, as it is the era of technological advancement, the internet and computer can handle language interpretation.

There is a high dependency of the education sector on foreign aids, which is exposing it to different influences and interests. Increasing public participation in schooling would help to reduce such influences in public schools.

Quality and access are topics of discussion for all education reforms that took place so far in Ethiopia and were never appropriately addressed because the attempts to assure educational quality have focused on auditing and control instead of changing the practices in the classroom. Changing the teaching practice and linking theory with the learner's real-life experience will help to address the quality problems at the general education level (grades 1-12). Increasing access was also tried by using different learning modalities particularly from 1974-2018 but still remained as a problem which worsen at upper grade level. Hence, to increase access and quality of education in rural areas in general and pastoralist areas, particularly, aligned types of education could be beneficial, meaning primary education in regular session and secondary education by distance with apt instructional materials and boarding school labs.

Relevance is another critical topic in Ethiopian education that every reform mentions. In this regard, following the 'community-oriented education approach' at the primary level will help to enable the learner to deal with life problems effectively.

Nutrition, hygiene, and school feeding are other essential issue in Ethiopian education. The child spends more time to home hence, hygiene and nutrition shall include the home at least by creating awareness in the rural areas. However, school feeding may increase the daily duration of the child at school and reduce the nutritional deficiency but only one meal time. In

the pastoralist areas, the third party needs to fulfil school feeding, nutrition, and school supplies because of the economic situation they are facing now.

All reform is obsessed with bringing up citizens who possess all-round personalities but none has provided sufficient guidance to get such results. Thus, the individual's psychological, physical, intellectual, and spiritual development could bring about the all-round personality development of the individual and the schools have to be open to teach all aspects.

Secularism has been wrongly perceived and practiced in educational institutions with rigid rules and regulations, to the extent that even those who want to practice their religions are labelled as being 'radicalists' and terrorists. This situation is strengthening the religious divide in the country and reducing community involvement in educational matters as their values and traditions are thrown out of the school.

The teaching profession needs reconceptualization in Ethiopia. Thus, teacher training should emphasize building professional coaching instead of memorized content presentation and authoritarian mentorship. Besides, the teaching aids need to be provided by different modalities.

The data on economic, social, and political outcomes of Ethiopian education need to be documented and records should be update by collecting first-hand data on the issues as the state emphasizing on the market value of education. Some studies exist but are not sufficient to capture the national picture.

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ETİYOPYA'DA EĞİTİM REFORMLARI: EMPERYAL DÖNEMİNDEN GÜNÜMÜZE

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Etiyopya, doğuda Cibuti, kuzeyde Eritre, batıda Sudan Cumhuriyeti ve Güney Sudan, güneydoğuda Somali ve güneyde Kenya ile komşu olan, doğu Afrika'da etnik olarak heterojen bir ülkedir. Etiyopya, on dokuzuncu yüzyılın sonlarından itibaren feodalizmden demokrasiye doğru bir dizi yönetim şekillerinin denendiği bir ülke oldu. Yirminci yüzyılında süre açısından az da olsa demokrasi deneyimi yaşamaya başladı ve şu anda devam ettiriyor.

Etiyopya yönetiminde 20. Yy da tarihi kronolojiye göre yönetim dönemleri; Uluslararası demokrasi ve seçim yardımı enstitüsüne göre (IDEA, 2016), 1889-1913 arasında, imparator Menelik II, 1913-1916 Lij Iyasu; 1916-1930 İmparatoriçe Zewditu ve 1930-1974 Ras Tafari (imparator Haile Selassie) yaşanmıştır. Bu dönemler içinde Etiyopya halkı iç çatışmalar, ekonomik yoksulluk ve kıtlıklar ve yönetim zafiyetleriyle dolu bir ülkede yaşamının en derin acılarını çekmiştir.

1974-1991'de yerine "Dergue" adı verilen ve 1987'de kabul edilen Dergue komünist anayasasını uygulayan askeri bir rejime geçildi. Hükümetin Marksist-Leninist yaklaşımını yansıtan askeri bir cuntaydı. Derg yönetimi sırasında, Etiyopyalılar bir yandan ekonomik yoksulluk ve kıtlıkla mücadele ederken diğer yandan Derg hükümetinin baskıcı Kızıl Terörü arasında sıkışıp kaldılar. Ülkede yaşanan bu kaotik durum Derg yönetimi ile muhalefet güçleri arasındaki çatışmaları hızlandırdı ve ülke iç savaş yaşadı. Ülke içinde yaşanan bu siyasi şiddet ve mücadele sonrasında muhalefet başarılı oldu ve rejimin yenilgisiyle sonuçlanan iç savaştan sonra bir geçiş hükümeti kurma yönelik 1992 yılında seçimler yapıldı.

Geçiş hükümetince hazırlanan ve hala yürürlükte olan Etiyopya Anayasası 1994'te kabul edildi. Bu sonuç yirmi yıldan fazla süren iç savaşın bitirilerek yeni bir Etiyopya yönetiminin oluşmasını sağlamış oldu. Yeni anayasaya göre devletin adı "**Etiyopya Federal Demokratik Cumhuriyeti**" olarak kabul edildi. Yeni devletin yönetim yapısı 10 bölgesel devlet ve iki belediye idaresinden oluşmaktadır. Bunlar; Afar, Amhara, Tigray, Benishangul

Gumuz, Gambella, güney ulusları ve halkları, Harari, Oromo ve Somali bölgesel devletleri ve kendi kendini yöneten Sidama bölgesel devleti ve Addis Ababa ve Dire Da'wa şehir yönetimi olmak üzere iki şehir yönetimi. Birleşmiş Milletler verilerine göre, Etiyopya'nın nüfusu 2019 yılı tahmini olarak 113.062.032 bu nüfusla dünyada 12 sırada Afrika kıtasının ise 2. sırada yer almaktadır. Etiyopya'nın yüzölçümü ise bir milyon km²'yi aşmaktadır. Etiyopya ülke olarak kentleşmenin az olduğu bir ülkedir. Nüfusun %20,9'u kentlerde yaşamaktadır. Etiyopya'nın kentleşmedeki yaşadığı sorunlar eğitim sistemini ve eğitimde fırsat eşitliğini sağlamada ciddi zorluklar oluşturmaktadır. Bu sorunun çözümü için illerdeki valiler farklı yaklaşımlar izlemekte olsalar da hala ciddi zorluklar yaşamaktadırlar. Etiyopya'da kalkınmanın önündeki en büyük engel halkın eğitim seviyesinin çok düşük olmasıdır. Bu durum aynı zamanda Etiyopyalılık ve millet bilincini oluşturmayı zorlaştırmaktadır.

Çünkü eğitim insan topluluklarının ortak yaşama bilincini oluşturmada ve iyi yurttaş olarak yaşadığı toplumun gelişmesine katkı sağlamada en temel faktörlerden birisidir. Diğer yandan çağdaş ve bilimsel olmayan bir eğitimin toplumların içinde karışıklıklara sebebiyet vererek toplumun gerilemesinde ana faktör olmaktadır. Dolayısıyla Etiyopya eğitim sisteminin önündeki en büyük engel bir yandan toplumdaki tüm bireylerin eğitim hizmetlerinden yararlanma durumlarının sınırlılığı diğer yandan yapılan eğitimin niteliğinin istenilen seviyede olmamasıdır. Aslında Etiyopya eğitimi köklü bir geleneğe ve tarihi geçmişe sahip olmasına rağmen günümüzde toplumsal kalkınmada öncüllük yapmakta zorlanmaktadır.

Literatür, eğitim reformu kavramı çok eski tarihten beri farklı düşünürler tarafından ifade edilmiştir. İlk çağlar düşünürlerinden başlayarak günümüze doğru incelendiğinden, eğitim reformu kavramı hep güncel kalmıştır. Eğitim kavramı kullanan bazı düşünürlerden Socrates, Aristoteles, Comenius, Plato, St. Thomas Aquinas, Pestalozzi, Rousseau, Lancaster, John Dewey ve Montessori dönemlerinin eğitim reformu öncüleridir. Eğitim reformu kavramının kullanıldığı döneme göre de kapsamı ve içerik tanımlamalarının değiştiği görülmektedir. 1990'lardan sonraki reformcuların eğitim reformundaki önerilerinde toplumu oluşturan farklı kültürel durumları da dikkate aldıkları görülmektedir. Genel olarak eğitim reformu; toplumun eğitim sisteminin veya uygulamasının işlevsellik boyutu dikkate alınarak önerilen değişiklik veya iyileştirme değildir.

Eğitim reformu tartışılırken reformu gerektiren faktörler iç ve dış olmak üzere iki grup altında incelenmektedir. Diğer yandan eğitim reformu felsefi temel denge veya çatışmacı olmak üzere iki paradigmaya dayanmaktadır. Denge paradigması evrimsel ve yeni-evrimsel teorileri,

sistem teorisini ve yapısal-işlevselci teoriyi içine alan bir yaklaşımdır. Denge paradigmasına göre toplumlar bir değişim içindedir ve eğitim sistemleri de dinamik bir yapıya sahiptir. Dolayısıyla toplumdaki değişim tüm alt sistemleri etkilemekte olduğundan tüm toplumlarda eğitim reformu her zaman gerekli ve sıradan bir süreçtir. Çatışma paradigmanın felsefi ve sosyolojik temeli Marksist, Neo-Marksist, Kültürel Yeniden Canlandırma ve Anarşist Ütopik Teorilere dayanmaktadır. Buna göre sosyal sistemlerin doğuştan gelen belirsizliğe sahip olarak, toplumdaki farklılıklar değerler, kaynaklar ve güç üzerine mücadele etmektedirler. Bu bağlamda toplumsal mücadele eğitim sistemi üzerinden de olmaktadır. Bu mücadele eğitimde reform talebi olarak görülmektedir.

Eğitimde reform hareketlerine bakıldığında reformun başlangıç noktası ve yönü tartışılmaktadır. Genel olarak eğitim reformlarının yönü aşağıdan yukarıya, yukarıdan aşağıya ve iki yönlüdür. Aşağıdan yukarıya reform bakış açısı, değişimin ön saflarında yer alan uygulayıcılar olarak, beklenen bir reform sonucunu elde etmek için öğretmenlerden reformun başlatılmasını savunur. Yukarıdan aşağıya görüşte ise bir eğitim sisteminin kusurlarının politika yapıcılar tarafından düzeltilmesi gerektiğini iddia etmektedir. Çünkü otoritenin halkı için neyin daha iyi olduğunu bildiği görüşüne dayanmaktadır. Fakat üçüncü bir bakış açısı olan iki yönlü de ortaya konulmaktadır. Çünkü her iki yaklaşımda konuyu tam olarak açıklamakta yeterli olmadığını görülmektedir. Diğer yandan eğitim bir süreçtir. Eğitim reformu da bunu süreç olarak açıklamak ve uygulamak zorundadır.

Eğitim sistemi bir toplumda diğer sosyal, ekonomik, yönetim ve politik sistemler den ayrı bir sistem parametresi değildir. Bir bütünün parçaları gibidirler. halbuki bir eğitim sistemi topluluğun kültürel ve manevi değerlerinde yerleştirilmesi ve takdir ettirilmesi gerekmektedir. Bunu gerçekleştirmek heterojen toplumlarda ve gelişmekte olan ülkelerin eğitim sistemlerinde oldukça zor bir iştir. Çünkü toplum bir taraftan ağırlıklı olarak geleneksel yapı içinde diğer taraftan kentleşme ve modernleşme sürecindedir.

Dolayısıyla toplumdaki farklı kültürlerin ve değerlerin birleşerek ortaklaşa değerler ve kültürler oluşturması zorlayıcı bir durumdur. Eğitim ülke birliğini sağlayıcı kültür ve ortak dil oluşturma sürecinde aktif rol almalıdır. Gelişmekte olan ülkelerin en temel sorunlarından biri de toplumu birleştirecek ortak kültürel değerlerin oluşturulmasıdır. Tüm toplumlarda eğitim sisteminin temel toplumsal görevlerinden birisi yeni yetişen gençlerin toplumun sosyal, kültürel, ahlaki, manevi değerlerini kazanmalarını sağlamaktır. Diğer yandan eğitim aynı zamanda gençlerin problem çözme becerileri kazanarak sorunlarını barışçıl bir şekilde çözmelerini

sağlamalarına yardımcı olmaktır. Bütün bunlar dikkate alındığında Etiyopya eğitim sistemindeki reform çalışmaları ülkenin sosyal ve kültürel kalkınmasına katkı sağlayıcı nitelikte olmalıdır.

Eğitim reformları Etiyopya'da daha fazla zorluklar içinde yürümektedir. Çünkü Etiyopya çok farklı kültür, dil ve dini uygulamalara sahip bir ülkedir. Bu bağlamda ülkede ortak bir dil birliği ve kültürel değerler oluşturmak kolay olmamaktadır. Yeni yetişen gençlere aktarılmak istenilen kültürel değerlerin seçiminde verilen kararlar farklı tartışmalara yol açmaktadır. Aslında eğitim iyi bir şekilde kullanıldığında ülkenin birliğini sağlayıcı kültürel değerleri oluşturmada öncülük yapabilir.

Etiyopya nüfus yerleşimi ve coğrafyası bakımında ağırlıklı olarak kırsal kesimde olması eğitimde fırsat eşitliğini sağlamada ciddi zorluklar oluşturmaktadır. Etiyopya tarihsel olarak eğitim kurumları kent merkezlerinde bulunmaktadır. Ülkenin kırsal kesimlerinde ve köylerinde tarıma dayalı yaşayan ailelerin olduğu yerlerde eğitim hizmetlerinin sağlanması oldukça zordur. Bu duruma ilave olarak yöneticilerin bu konudaki istekleri ve ülkenin ekonomik koşulları kırsal bölgelere eğitimin yaygınlaşmasını önlemektedir.

Siyaset ve eğitim birbirine oldukça bağımlıdır. Eğitim uygulamaları doğrudan veya dolaylı olarak siyasi durumlardan etkilenmektedir. Çünkü siyasi oluşumlar, eğitim kurumlarını ve üyelerini yönetmek için kurdukları örgütler, kurallar ve düzenlemeler aracılığıyla gençlik üzerinde etkili olmaya çalışmaktadırlar. Siyasi hareketler ideolojilerini yetişmekte olan gençlerin olgunlaşmamış ve masum zihinlerine aşılacak için eğitimi ana araç olarak kullanmaktadır. Eğitim'deki siyasi hareketleri şunlardır; neoliberalizm, yeni-muhafazakârlık (farklılıkları tanıyarak fikir birliğine dayalı komünal kültür yaratmayı vurgular), yeni yöneticilik (okullarda sorumluluğu ve araştırmayı azaltan yaklaşım) ve otoriter popülist (eğitimde aşırı muhafazakârdır). Geçtiğimiz on yıllarda devlet ve özel okullar nitelik açısından tartışılmaktadır. Bu yıllarda devlet okullarının kötü, özel okulların iyi olduğu ve bir eğitim kurumu özel sektörün hedeflerini ne kadar çok yansıtırsa o kadar başarılı olduğu iddia edildi. Her ne kadar bu iddialar güçlü ve yeterli soruşturmaya ihtiyaç duysa da, gerçekten de liberal ideolojiler, Etiyopya'nın istisnai olmadığı kredi ve yardım yoluyla genel olarak gelişmekte olan devletlerin ve özel olarak Afrika devletlerinin eğitim politikalarını etkiledi.

Ekonomi ve eğitim, biri diğerini beslediği için birbiriyle ilişkilidir. Yeterli eğitim tesisi inşa etmek, araştırmacıların kaliteli eğitimle ilişkilendirdiği yeterli finansal potansiyel gerektirir. Buna karşılık eğitim, bir devletin ekonomik ihtiyacını karşılamak için yetenekli

profesyoneller sağlar. Bu nedenle, eğitim reformlarının değişiklik önerisinde eğitimin ekonomik sonuçlarını dikkate alması gerekir. Eğitim ve ekonomi değişkeni arasındaki ilişki olumludur. Konuyla ilgili araştırma sonuçlarına göre daha fazla okullaşmanın büyüme üzerinde gözle görülür bir etkisi olduğunu gösteriyor.

Eski Etiyopya'da, din eğitimden sorumlu bir kurumdu. Fakat tek bir din anlayışı hâkim değildi. Dini eğitimi ülke çapında yaymak için Hristiyanların Ortodoks kilisesi ve Müslümanların Camisi kendilerine görev almışlardı. Bu dini kurumların ülkenin sosyal gelişmesinde etkili olmalarına rağmen kendi değerlerini ve kültürlerini halka kazandırmışlardır. Dolayısıyla ülke genelinde din temelli bir ayrışma görülmüştür. Kilise eğitiminde kullandığı yazı sayesinde Etiyopya'nın kendi özgün yazı dili olan tek Sahra altı Afrika ülkesi yardımcı oldu.

Etiyopya'da geleneksel eğitim uygulamasının tam ne zaman başladığı bilinmese de, kilisenin MS dördüncü yüzyılın başında resmi bir yerli kurum haline geldiğine, yani Etiyopya'da eski bir kültür yaratması gereken tek okul olduğuna inanılmaktadır. Diğer yandan Etiyopya'da Kuran okulları tahmini olarak 11. yüzyılda, öğrenim merkezinin İfat olduğu ve daha sonra Harar'a taşındığı kabul edilmektedir. İki kurumlarında öğretim dili çeşitlilik göstermekte yanı kilisede Geez dilde yapılırken, Kuran okullarında öğretim dili Arapçadır. Ancak hiçbirinde resmi müfredat yoktur. Dini okullar Afrika uluslarının batı sömürgeciliği sürecinde varlıklarını devam ettirmişlerdir. Hatta sömürgeci politikaların uygulanmasını kolaylaştırmışlardır.

Modern eğitim, 1800'lerin sonlarında Avrupalı misyonerler ve onların sömürge hükümetleri tarafından Mısır, Etiyopya ve Liberya hariç bazı Afrika ülkelerinde uygulandı. Ancak çağdaş eğitim, 1908 yılında imparator Menelik tarafından Addis Ababa'da modern okulun açılmasıyla başlatılmıştır. O zamandan beri, eğitim Etiyopya'da genişlemeye devam etti ve 1936'dan 1941'e kadar süren İtalyan işgaline kadar ulusun bağımsızlığına katkıda bulundu. Bu beş yıllık işgal, okulları yıkarak ve toplumu harekete geçirmede büyük katkısı olan birkaç yerli okuryazarı öldürerek Etiyopya'nın eğitimini kötü bir şekilde etkiledi.

1941'de imparator Haile Selassie'nin sürgünden dönmesiyle eğitim yeniden inşa edilmeye başlandı. Etiyopya bir ulus olarak, erken imparatorluk dönemi (Menelik II, 1889-1913), geç imparatorluk dönemi hükümeti (Haile Selassie, 1930-1974) ve sosyalist (Dergue, 1974-1991), 1991'den bugüne kadar Etiyopya Federal Demokratik Cumhuriyeti dönemi olarak ayrılmaktadır. Tüm bu dönemlerde Etiyopya eğitimini vatandaşlarının genel yaşam koşullarını

değiştirme ve geliştirmenin önemli bir aracı olarak görüp eğitimde bazı reformlar ve reform girişimleri yapmaktadır. Eğitim sistemini nitelikli insan sermayesi yetiştirme aracı olarak kabul edip iyi yurttaş ve iyi vatandaş yetiştirme politikasına göre oluşturmaktadır.

II. Menelik döneminde Amharca okuyup yazabilen herkes için eğitim ücretsizdi ve ilkokulda eğitim dili Fransızcaydı. 1935'e kadar olan eğitim Fransız modelinden alınmıştır. 1908-1935 yılları arasında eğitimin amacı farklı dilleri öğretmektir. Buna göre müfredat Fransızca, İtalyanca, İngilizce, Arapça, Amharca olarak düzenlenmişti. Eğitimde istenilen başarı sağlanamadı çünkü eğitim dili, cinsiyet ve din temelinde ayrımcı olması, kayıtların çok düşük olması ve tamamen yabancı dil ile eğitim yapılmasındandır. Etiyopya'da yüzyıllardır bağımsız olarak varlıklarını sürdüren yerel halkın bu saltanat altında siyasi güç oluşturma çalışmaları yapılmıştır. Böyle bir birleşme ulus bilinci oluşturma süreci olarak devletin bağımsızlığını sağlayacak modern eğitime yönelmeyi sağlamıştır.

Haile Selassie I, 1930-1974 yılları arasında Etiyopya'yı yönetti. Taç giyme töreninden beş yıl sonra ülke İtalya tarafından işgal edildi. Faşist İtalyanlar Mayıs 1936'da Addis Ababa'yı ele geçirdikten sonra tüm eğitim kurumlarını yok ettiler. İtalyanların genel politikası, Etiyopya halkını asimile ederek onları egemenliklerinin altında sömürmektir. 1941'de imparator I. Haile Selassie, vatanseverlerin ve Britanya'nın yardımıyla başlattıkları bağımsız mücadelesi sonucu ülke bağımsızlığını kazandı ve sürgündeki imparator Etiyopya'ya döndü. Bu dönemde Etiyopyalı öğrenciler yurtdışına eğitime gönderilerek ülkenin gelecekte ihtiyaç duyduğu nitelikli uzmanların yetişmesi sağlandı. Aynı zamanda da ülke içinde kent merkezlerinde halk eğitim merkezleri açarak halk eğitimi çalışmalarını artırmıştır.

Bir yıl sonra, Eğitim ve Güzel Sanatlar Bakanı hem ilköğretimi hem de ortaöğretimi yaygınlaştırarak çağdaşlaşmayı amaçlayan bir eğitim sistemi oluşturmak üzere kurulmuştur. Haile Selassie I'in yeniden yapılanma dönemi olarak nitelendirilen ilk on yılı'da İngilizce ve Fransızca eğitim dili olmuştur. Kısa süre sonra şehir merkezlerinde eğitim gelişti. Fakat eğitim sisteminde Etiyopyalılar çok ta memnun değillerdi. Çünkü eğitim dili yabancı bir dil, programlar da dışarıdan alınan eğitim programları ve içerikleri de topluma uyumlu değildi. Eğitime ulaşılabilirlik kolay değildi okullar genelde kasabalara kadar yayılabiliyordu kırsal kesimde okullaşma oranı yok gibiydi. Dolayısıyla eğitimin belli bir inanç grubuna göre ve belli coğrafi bölgelerde olması eğitimde fırsat eşitliği anlayışına aykırı idi. Eğitim sisteminin bu tür sorunları, öğrencilerin ve ebeveynlerin memnuniyetsizliğine neden oldu. Bu çatışmalar hükümete olan güveni azalttı ve imparatorluk saltanatının çöküşüne büyük katkı sağladı.

Dergue rejimi, 1974-1991 yılları arasında saltanatını kaldırarak askeri bir cunta olarak Etiyopya'yı 17 yıl boyunca Marksist-Leninist ideoloji ilkesine göre yönetti. Eğitim politikasını reforme etme yolunda atılan ilk adım, tüm vatandaşlar için ücretsiz ilköğretim okullarının yurt genelinde yaygınlaştırılmasıydı. Etiyopya Eğitim sisteminin genel amacı; Marksist-Leninist ideolojiyi yeni nesil Etiyopyalıların zihinlerine yerleştirmektir. Bu amaç üç şekilde ifade edilmekteydi: "Üretim için eğitim", "Araştırma için eğitim" ve "Politik farkındalık için eğitim".

İmparatorluk saltanatı için en önemli sorun, ortaokul mezunlarının işsizliğinin yüksek olmasıydı. Dolayısıyla eğitim görmüş ortaokul mezunların iş bulamaması toplumda rahatsızlık yaratmaktaydı. Bu soruna çözüm için genel politeknik eğitim uygulanmasına geçildi. Haile Selassie I'nin yaptığı gibi, Dergue de hem ilk hem de orta düzeyde okul kayıtlarını yükseltti. Bununla birlikte, Dergue rejiminin okulların gelişigüzel büyümesi, yetersiz insan kaynağı, bütçe sıkıntısı ve okul materyalleri, mevcut muhtelif yerel diller varken Amharca'yı İngilizce ile birlikte okuryazarlık olarak koruduğu için eleştirildi. Ayrıca, Dergue rejiminin, sonraki reform girişimlerinde yukarıda belirtilen sorunları bulan Etiyopya Genel Eğitim Sistemine İlişkin Değerlendirme Araştırması (ERGESE) tarafından yapılan tavsiyeye yeterince dikkate almadığı görülmektedir.

1991 yılından günümüze Federal Demokratik Cumhuriyet, öncekine göre farklı yönetim yapısı ile ortaya çıkmıştır. Önceki yönetimlerin ulus inşasına yönelik asimilasyoncu yaklaşımı, etnik-milliyetçi grupların şiddetli savaşlarıyla sonuçlandığından, daha sonra mevcut Etiyopya anayasasını oluşturan Etiyopya Halkın Devrimci Demokratik Cephesi'nin 1991'deki zaferiyle sonuçlandı. İçeride Etiyopya, bölgesel devletler oluşturmak ve Etiyopya uluslarının ayrılma hakkı da dahil olmak üzere kendi kendini yönetmesini sağlamak için etnik temele dayalı olarak esnek sınırlardan oluşan federal yapının içinde bölgeler oluşturuldu.

Buna göre, 1994 eğitim ve öğretim politikası beyannamesi ile desteklenen farklı yapı ve çeşitlendirilmiş eğitim sistemi yenilenerek uygulanmaya konulmuştur. Yeni geliştirilen eğitim sisteminin amacı; Vatandaşların bilişsel, yaratıcı, etkili, verimli ve takdir edici potansiyellerini geliştirerek ülke kaynaklarını akıllıca kullanan, çeşitli temel becerilere sahip, İnsan haklarına saygı duyan, demokratik değerleri ve kültürü benimsemiş, insanlara karşı eşitliği, adaleti ve barışı savunan vatandaşlar yetiştirmek, ülkenin kalkınması ve gelişmesine katkı sağlayan, bilimsel doğruyu aramak ve doğruyu savunmak, estetik değere sahip olmak olarak ifade edilmektedir.

Federal Eğitim bakanlığı genel eğitim, teknik ve mesleki eğitim ile öğretmen yetiştirme programlarının ve kurumlarının idare ve sorumluluğunu bölgesel milli eğitim bürolarına devrederek merkeziyetçilikten uzaklaşmıştır. Bunların sonunda okullara kayıt önemli ölçüde arttı, okuryazarlık arttı, okul bütçesi ademi merkeziyetçi, kırsal halkın ve dezavantajlı gruplar olarak görülen yerlerde uygulanan yeni politikalar neticesinde eğitimde iyileştirmeler görülmektedir. Eğitimde meydana gelen bu iyi değişimler insanların yaşamlarında büyük bir değişikliğe yol açmamaktadır. Bununla birlikte Etiyopya Eğitim sisteminde hala fırsat eşitliği ve eğitimin yaygınlaşmasında ciddi zorluklar yaşanmaktadır.

Etiyopya tarihinde yönetim değişiklikleri ister istemez eğitim sistemini de etkilemiştir. Her yönetim değişimi eğitim sistemini kullanarak kendi ideolojilerine uygun insan yetiştirme politikaları oluşturmaya çalışmıştır. Nitekim siyaset, eğitim sektörünün gençlere kendi bakış açısını aşılıyarak destek vermesini ister, ancak okulları siyasi lobi merkezlerine dönüştüren gelişmekte olan ülkelerde bu arzunun üst sınırı yoktur. Eğitim, ülkenin uygarlığı kadar eski olmasına rağmen, genel olarak eğitim tarihi ve özellikle eğitim reformu tarihi, Etiyopya bağlamında yeterli araştırmadan uzaktır.

Problem durum

Etiyopya'daki eğitim reformlarının katılımcı olmaktan çok kuralcı olduğu vurgulanmaktadır. 1996'da Teferra, Etiyopya'daki eğitim reformlarının katılımcı olmaktan çok kuralcı olduğu sonucuna vardı, ancak bu yoruma eğitim bakanlığı kısa süre sonra itiraz etti ve 1994 eğitim reformununun aşağıdan yukarıya ve katılımcı olduğunu belirtti. Fakat bu konuda fikir birliği sağlanabilmiş değildir. Kassaye (2005), Etiyopya'nın eğitim gelişiminin tarihine ilişkin bilimsel araştırma yapılması gerektiğini ifade etmiştir. Ayrıca, Bishaw & Lasser (2012), Etiyopya eğitim reformlarının ülkenin mevcut eğitim ihtiyaçlarını karşılamaya yönelik sınırlamalarının, sektörün geriye dönük olarak araştırılmasını gerektirdiğini ileri sürmüştür. Eğitim reformları, daha iyi sonuçlara ulaşmak için farklı paydaşlar arasında bir fikir birliğini gerektirir. Eğitim reformları için doğru veriler bulma ve kullanmak önemlidir, Etiyopya'daki eğitim reformlarını da araştırmak ve geçmişin deneyimlerinin objektif olarak bilimsel veriler ışığında incelemek gerekmektedir. 1942-2018 yıllarını kapsayan emperyalist, sosyalist ve federalist Etiyopya dönemlerindeki eğitim uygulamaları ve reformları bilimsel olarak ele alınmalıdır. Bu konu ele alınırken; eğitim reformu politikalarının gerekçeleri, izlenen yaklaşımlar, farklılıklar, uluslararası güçlerin rolleri ve sosyo-politik ekonomik durumların etkileri dikkatlice incelenmelidir. Bu tür alanları araştırmak, Etiyopya eğitim tarihindeki reform

deneyimlerini ortaya çıkarmak için önemlidir ve bu da gelecekteki reformların benzer hataların üstesinden gelmesine ve en iyi uygulamaların güçlü yönlerinden yararlanmayı gerektirir. Araştırma sonuçları ülkede politika yapıcıları, karar vericiler ve araştırmacılara yardımcı olabilecek şekilde sunulmaktadır.

Yöntem

Bu çalışmada kullanılan yöntem nitel araştırma yaklaşımından doküman incelemesi olarak belirlenmiştir. Ulaşılan dokümanların tarihsel bir kronoloji olarak ele alınarak analiz edilmiştir. Etiyopya eğitim reform tarihi konuların verileri şunlardan toplanmıştır.

1972 eğitim sektörü incelemesi,

Etiyopya genel orta öğretiminin değerlendirici araştırması 1984,

1984-1994 yılları için geliştirilen 10 yıllık plan,

Etiyopya işçi partisi programı 1984,

1994 Etiyopya eğitim ve öğretim politikası ve birden beşe kadar ilgili Eğitim Sektörü Geliştirme Programları,

2018-30 eğitim geliştirme yol haritası doküman analizi yoluyla toplanmıştır. Ayrıca doğrudan bu belgelerle ilgili bilimsel makaleler de incelenmiştir. Veriler nitel içerik analizi kullanılarak analiz edilmiştir.

Bulgular

Etiyopya eğitiminin gerekçeleri, kısa dönemli taleplere cevap vermektan küresel pazarda rekabet etmeye kadar değişiyordu. Başlangıç olarak, 1942-74 reformu liderlik ve memur personeli yetiştirmek için gerçekleştirildi; öğrencilerin İngilizce dil eksikliklerini gidermek, ilköğretime erişimlerini artırmak ve mesleki niteliklere sahip personel sağlamak. Ancak, herkes için eşit derecede erişilebilir değildi, dini açıdan önyargılıydı ve toplumun bir kısmı tarafından beğenildi. Bir sonraki reform 1974-91, bilimsel araştırma için eğitim, sosyalist bilinç için eğitim ve üretim için eğitim önerdi. 1994 reformu, erişimin, kalitenin, eşitliğin, okuryazarlığın artırılması, ilköğretimin evrenselleştirilmesi, 2015 yılına kadar herkes için eğitimin sağlanması ve genel olarak ulusun yetersiz hizmet alan ve yoksun bırakılmış gruplarına ulaşılmasına vurgu yaptı. Son olarak yaşanan reform ise; eşitlik, erişim, kalite, verimlilik, müfredat, eğitim tesisi, öğretim kadrosunun kalitesi, şeffaf olmayan bütçe tahsisi, ulusal endüstriyel kalkınma ve ortakların finansmanına bağımlılık. Öğrenciler ayrıca beklenen okuryazarlık, aritmetik, beceri ve tutum düzeyinden zevk almakta zorlandılar.

Uluslararası sivil ve resmi güçler Etiyopya eğitimini farklı bir zaman çizelgesinde etkiledi, 1941-1952, İngiliz etkisi; 1955-1974, Kanada ve Amerikan etkisi; 1974-1991, eski Sovyet etkisi; 1994-2020, Amerikalılar diğer uluslararası güçler devam etti. Etki derecesi tüm aktörler için farklı olsa da her bir güç odağı eğitim sistemini kendi sistemlerine göre şekillendirdi. Böyle bir çabada başarılı olmak için kullandıkları araç, görünüşe göre mali ve askeri destektir.

Etiyopya gibi uluslaşma sürecini tamamlamamış ve çeşitliliğe sahip olan bir ülkede eğitim sisteminin çok kültürlü olarak ele alınması bekleniyor. 1942-1974 arasında, çeşitliliğin tüm sektörlerde yeri yoktu ve eğitim istisnai değildi, çünkü genel ulusal çabalar, daha önce bölgesel haklara sahip olan Etiyopyalıları kültürleştirmek için kullanılan eğitim insanların zorla asimilasyonu veya bilgiyi güç olarak kullanarak hakimiyet kurmayı amaçlamaktaydı.

Eğitimde fırsat eşitliği ülke genelinde sağlamak oldukça zordu. Toplumsal cinsiyet, bölgeler ve kentsel-kırsal alanlar arasındaki farklılıklar problemin çözümünü zorlaştırmaktaydı. Özellikle cinsiyet eşitsizliği, etnik farklılıklar, dini farklılıklar ve kentsel-kırsal farklılıklar sorunun çözümünü zorlaştırmaktaydı. Eğitim programlarının ithal edilerek topluma göre uygun hale getirilememesi eğitimin uygulanabilirliğini azaltmıştır. Dolayısıyla eğitim sistemden katılımların çok düşük olduğu için eğitimin sosyal ve ekonomik katkısı sınırlı kalmıştır.

1974-1994 reformu, yaygın öğretim dilinin hakimiyetinin korunması dışında, 1942-1974'e göre çeşitliliği kabul ediyor gibi görünüyordu. Bu eğitim reformu girişimi, birkaç yıl boyunca birbirine karışan eğitim ve din, en azından temelde birbirinden ayrılmış, toplumun daha önce marjinalize edilmiş bölümünün modern okullara katılmasını sağlamıştır.

Ancak Dergue'nin sosyalist politik ideolojiyi topluma ve askeri gelişmeye aşılama tutkusu, eğitime verilen önemin düşük olmasına neden oldu. Sonra eğitim bütçesi azaldı, kalite bozuldu ve farklı gruplar arasındaki boşluklar devam etti. Gerçekten de, bu dönemdeki eğitim kazanımlarının okuryazarlık gelişimi olduğuna inanılıyor, ancak aynı zamanda politik bir ideolojiyi öğretmek için de kullanılıyordu. Eğitim son derece politize olmasına rağmen, ülkede yaygın bir siyasi huzursuzluk ve iç çatışma olduğu için sosyalist bir devleti sürdürmekte başarısız oldu ve sonuç olarak ekonomi üzerinde olumsuz bir etkiye sahip oldu.

1994-2018, eğitim reformu, 1991 ulusal anayasasına dayalı olarak Etiyopya'nın çok kültürlü doğasını inanılmaz bir şekilde kabul ediyordu. Daha önceki manipülasyonlar nedeniyle çoğu dil olgunlaşmamış olduğu için pratikte zorlanan tüm Etiyopyalılar için ana dilleriyle öğrenme hakkını garanti etti. Öğretim dillerinin sayısı arttı, bölgesel devletler, cinsiyet ve

kentsel-kırsal arasındaki boşluklar hala var ama azaldı. Afar, Benishangul Gumuz ve Somali gibi bölgeler ulusal düzeyde siyasi kararlara seyirci kaldığı için bazı bölgeler diğer bölgesel devletlere göre eğitimde geri kalmış durumdaydı.

Sonuçlar

1942-1974 arasındaki eğitim reformu, esas olarak yukarıdan aşağıya bir yaklaşımla ithal edilen içerikler ve Etiyopya doğasına aldırılmadan, yetersiz bir şekilde rasyonelleştirildi. Ekonomik kazanç, eğitime erişimi olanlarla sınırlıydı, ancak sonraki reformdan daha iyiydi. Reformun siyasi ve sosyal etkisi son derece olumsuz oldu. 1974-1994 eğitim reformunun gerekçeleri netlikten yoksundu ve eğitimi yukarıdan aşağıya bir yaklaşımla bağlama oturtmak için alınan önlemler, amansız kalite bozulmasına yol açtı. Eğitim ve dini birbirinden ayırarak ve öğretimde farklı yerel dilleri kullanarak, ancak yalnızca sosyalist ideolojiyi yetişkin gruba yerleştirmeyi amaçlayan okuma yazma kampanyası için farklı ihtiyaçları kabul etmeye çalıştı. Siyasi amacı, zayıf ekonomik sonuçları ve kültürel ve dil gelişimini tatmin edemedi.

1994 eğitim reformu politikası ve uygulama programları iyi bir şekilde rasyonelleştirilmiştir, aşağıdan yukarıya görünmektedir ve insanların çeşitliliği gerektiği gibi dikkate alınmıştır, ulusal ekonomik, kültürel ve dil gelişmelerine olumlu katkıda bulunmuştur, ancak eşitsizlikler de dahil olmak üzere pratik eksiklikler ülkenin farklı kısımları arasında mevcuttur. Siyasi başarısı yetersiz görünüyor. Tüm reformlar, daha yüksek bir aşamaya geçmek veya daha iyi bir eğitim statüsüne duyulan ihtiyaç tarafından yönlendirilmek içindir. Tüm reform sürecinde yabancı kurumların rolü zamanla azalmış ve kurumlar siyasi yabancılığa bağlı olarak değişiklik göstermiştir. Rollerini, eğitim sistemini finanse etmek için tasarlamak, şekillendirmek ve uygulamaktan kaynaklanmaktadır ve Etiyopya eğitim reformu uygulamasında devam etmektedir.

Öneriler

Öncelikle, Etiyopya eğitim reformunun, kısmen belgeleme sorununa dayanan eğitim uygulamasını geliştirmek için ülkenin itibarını doğrudan etkileyen tarihten öğrenmesi gerekiyor. Bu nedenle, eğitim bakanlığında başlatılan sektörün dijitalleşmesinin hızlandırılması ve kayıtların güvenli ve erişilebilir tutulmasına yardımcı olabilecek her düzeye indirilmesi gerekmektedir.

Yerel dilleri eğitici medya aşamasına getirmek, politika girişimi gerektirir. Bu bağlamda, yalnızca 1994 eğitim ve öğretim politikası, öğrenci için anadilde öğrenmenin

önemini dile getirmekte, ancak az gelişmiş yerel dilleri geliştirmek için hiçbir sorumluluk yüklememektedir. Bu nedenle, her çocuğun anadilinde eğitim görmesini sağlamak için kısa vadede, orta vadede ve uzun vadede eğitici medya haline gelen yerel dilleri hedefleyen planlara ihtiyaç vardır. Komşu ülkelerin konuştuğu dillerin öğretilmesi büyük ekonomik ve sosyal faydalar sağlayacaktır.

Eğitim sektörüne halkın katılımı son zamanlarda artış göstergese de istenilen seviyeye gelmemiştir. Etiyopya eğitim sistemi laik bir anlayışa göre şekillendiği için geleneksel ve dini baskının yoğun olduğu yerlerde modern eğitim kurumlarına katılımında halk istekli görünmemektedir. Etiyopya'da kırsal toplumu modern okullara çekmeye yardımcı olabilecek politikalar üretmelidir.

2018 eğitim yol haritası, 'ilköğretimin meslekileştirilmesi'ni önermektedir, ancak bunun ne tür olacağı, yani 'müfredatın kırsallaştırılması', 'eğitimle üretimin birleştirilmesi' veya 'el emeğinin getirilmesi' olup olmadığı belirsizdir. Ancak bu tür bir politika perspektifi Çin ve Hindistan gibi bazı ülkelerde denenmiş ve terk edilmiştir. Gerekli reformdan bağımsız olarak, muazzam kaynaklar gerektirecek ve hatta okul altyapısının tamamen dönüştürülmesini gerektirecektir. Okullarda öğretilmesi gereken dillerin yeniden gözden geçirilmesi gerekiyor. Yeni reform, geçmişte Amharca'nın tüm okullarda ulusun resmi dili olarak öğretilmesi gerektiğinde planlanırken, şu anda federal düzeyde çalışan diller beşe yükseldi ve devletin resmi dil ve eğitim dili konusunda netlik görülmemektedir.

Eğitim sektörü, muhtemelen farklı etki ve çıkarlara maruz kalan dış yardımlara oldukça bağımlıdır. Halkın eğitime katılımının artırılması, devlet okullarının bu tür maruz kalma durumlarının azaltılmasına yardımcı olacaktır. Kalite ve erişim, Etiyopya'da şimdiye kadar gerçekleşen tüm eğitim reformları için tartışma konularıdır ve eğitim kalitesini güvence altına alma girişimleri, sınıftaki uygulamaları değiştirmek yerine denetim ve kontrole odaklandığından hiçbir zaman uygun şekilde ele alınmamıştır. Öğretim uygulamasını değiştirmek ve teoriyi öğrencinin gerçek yaşam deneyimiyle ilişkilendirmek, genel eğitim düzeyindeki kalite sorunlarının ele alınmasına yardımcı olacaktır.

Özellikle 1974-2018 yıllarından itibaren farklı öğrenme yöntemleri kullanılarak erişimin artırılması da denenmiş ancak yine de üst sınıflarda daha da kötüleşen bir sorun olarak kalmıştır. Bu nedenle, genel olarak kırsal alanlarda ve özellikle kırsal alanlarda, özellikle de uyumlu eğitim türlerinde eğitime erişimi ve eğitimin kalitesini artırmak faydalı olabilir, yani örgün ilköğretim ile yaygın eğitim veya uygun öğretim materyalleri ve yatılı okul

laboratuvarları ile uzaktan ortaöğretim. Uygunluk, Etiyopya eğitiminde her reformun bahsettiği bir başka kritik konudur. Bu bağlamda ilköğretim düzeyinde 'toplum odaklı eğitim anlayışı'nın izlenmesi öğrenenin yaşam sorunlarıyla etkin bir şekilde başa çıkmasına yardımcı olacaktır.

Etiyopya eğitiminde beslenme, hijyen ve okul beslenmesi diğer önemli konulardır. Çocuğun evde hijyene ve beslenmeye daha fazla zaman ayırması, en azından kırsal kesimde farkındalık yaratarak evi kapsamalıdır. Ancak okul beslenmesi, çocuğun okuldaki günlük süresini artırabilir ve beslenme eksikliğini azaltabilir, ancak sadece bir öğün olabilir. Kırsal bölgelerde, üçüncü şahısların şu anda karşı karşıya oldukları ekonomik durum nedeniyle okul beslenmesi ve okul ihtiyaçlarını karşılaması gerekiyor. Tüm reformlar da olduğu gibi olumlu sonuçları elde etmek için vatandaşlara yeterli rehberlik sağlanmalıdır. Böylece bireyin psikolojik, fiziksel, entelektüel ve ruhsal gelişimi, bireyin çok yönlü kişilik gelişimini beraberinde getirebilir.

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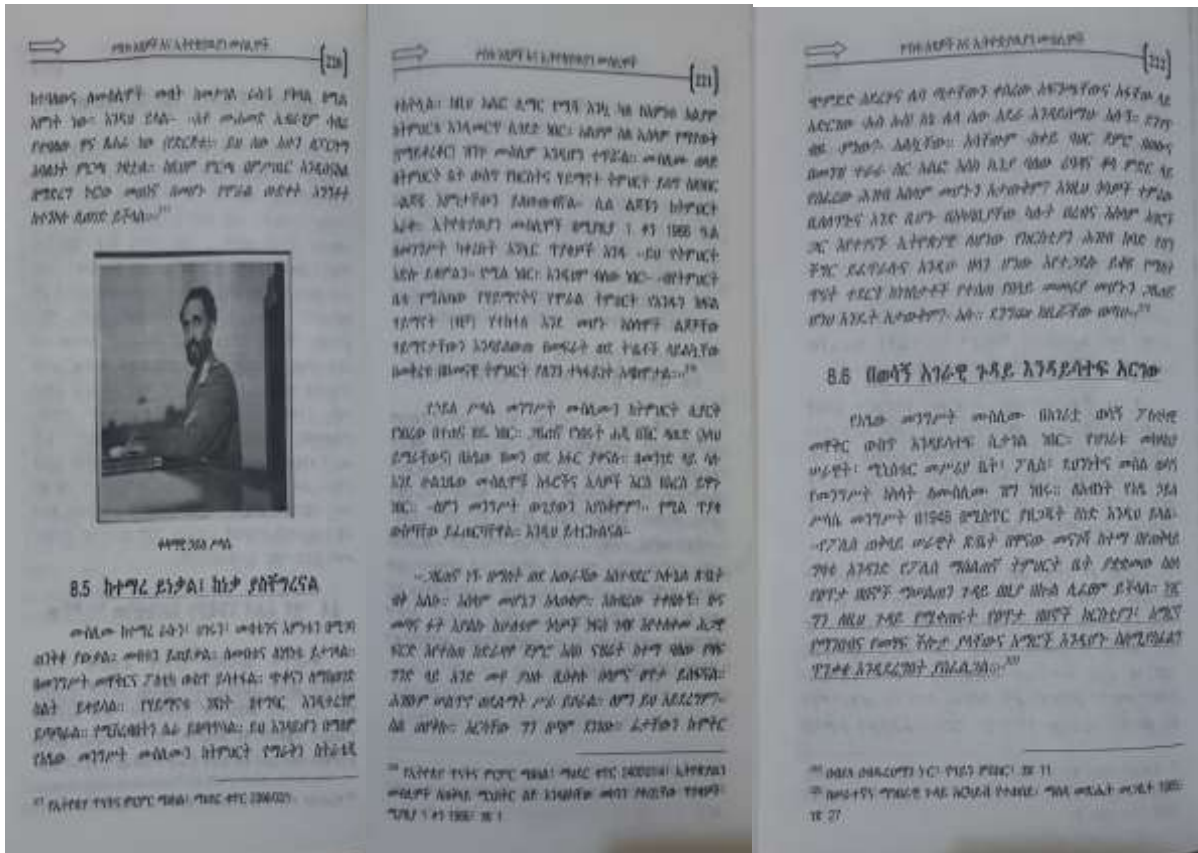
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Appendix-I

3ቱ አጼዎች እና ኢትዮጵያዊያን ሙስሊሞች (ትግልና መስዋትነት)፤ ከቃሊቲ ማረሚያ ቤት፤ ኦዲስ አበባ ኢትዮጵያ።



የዘመናዊ ልማት ለማሳካት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው። ለዚህ ዓለል ላይ ለሰው ልማት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው። ለዚህ ዓለል ላይ ለሰው ልማት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው። ለዚህ ዓለል ላይ ለሰው ልማት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው።



ዘመናዊ ልማት

8.5 ከግሪ ይነቃል ይነቃ ይሰጥናል

ግሪ ይነቃል ይነቃ ይሰጥናል ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው። ለዚህ ዓለል ላይ ለሰው ልማት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው። ለዚህ ዓለል ላይ ለሰው ልማት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው። ለዚህ ዓለል ላይ ለሰው ልማት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው።

¹ የዘመናዊ ልማት ለማሳካት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው።

የዘመናዊ ልማት ለማሳካት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው። ለዚህ ዓለል ላይ ለሰው ልማት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው። ለዚህ ዓለል ላይ ለሰው ልማት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው። ለዚህ ዓለል ላይ ለሰው ልማት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው።

የዘመናዊ ልማት ለማሳካት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው። ለዚህ ዓለል ላይ ለሰው ልማት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው። ለዚህ ዓለል ላይ ለሰው ልማት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው። ለዚህ ዓለል ላይ ለሰው ልማት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው።

የዘመናዊ ልማት ለማሳካት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው። ለዚህ ዓለል ላይ ለሰው ልማት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው። ለዚህ ዓለል ላይ ለሰው ልማት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው። ለዚህ ዓለል ላይ ለሰው ልማት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው።

የዘመናዊ ልማት ለማሳካት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው። ለዚህ ዓለል ላይ ለሰው ልማት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው። ለዚህ ዓለል ላይ ለሰው ልማት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው። ለዚህ ዓለል ላይ ለሰው ልማት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው። ለዚህ ዓለል ላይ ለሰው ልማት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው።

² የዘመናዊ ልማት ለማሳካት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው።

የዘመናዊ ልማት ለማሳካት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው። ለዚህ ዓለል ላይ ለሰው ልማት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው። ለዚህ ዓለል ላይ ለሰው ልማት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው። ለዚህ ዓለል ላይ ለሰው ልማት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው። ለዚህ ዓለል ላይ ለሰው ልማት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው።

8.6 በወሳኝ አገራዊ ጉዳይ እንዲይዘትና አርጎው

በወሳኝ አገራዊ ጉዳይ እንዲይዘትና አርጎው ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው። ለዚህ ዓለል ላይ ለሰው ልማት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው። ለዚህ ዓለል ላይ ለሰው ልማት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው። ለዚህ ዓለል ላይ ለሰው ልማት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው። ለዚህ ዓለል ላይ ለሰው ልማት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው።

³ የዘመናዊ ልማት ለማሳካት ማለት ማለትም ማለት ነው።