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Research Original Article

Elucidating enclosed truths in Ethiopian Education System during imperial periods: a realist review

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Abstract

Ethiopia undertakes inordinate opportunities and challenges to shape its education system. Notwithstanding the positive connotations of understanding the Ethiopian educational system, the exact educational configuration should be clarified. Thus, this realist review examined Ethiopian education during the imperial period, its growth patterns, external and internal challenges, and the colonial influences that hindered education transformation. The diversification of political party-oriented leadership in the education system from internal perspectives and hidden neo-colonialist ideology-oriented support from external bodies were identified as enclosing the truth offered by the imperial government in education development. Furthermore, it has been found that the enclosed facts that the imperial government sacrificed for generations to advance education for nation-building have been covered in dust by prudish politicians in the last three decades. It also identified the inhibiting and promoting efforts of international partners during the imperial period in education in Ethiopia.

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1 Introduction

Education is a process through which humans use it as a vital tool to transfer socially constructed experiences from generation to generation. Education is critical for sustaining culture through generations and for providing quality human capital that can respond to social, economic, political, and technological activities (Mandefro, 2020; UNESCO, 2015a). However, in the process of human activities, education is beset with an array of changes and advances in the development of academic spheres (Mandefro, 2022; UNESCO, 2015b; Mandefro, 2019).

Exclusively, there are two commonly known forms of education: traditional and modern. Traditional education is intended to pass on values, manners, skills, customs, and desirable social practices from one generation to another. The onset of different forms of traditional education (cultural, indigenous, and religious) in Ethiopia is unclear (Mandefro et al., 2016; Semela, 2014). Nevertheless, it has an ancient foundation, as society has used it to shape lifestyles. Traditional education in Ethiopia still has potential and is provided in different forms to socialize children with their indigenous knowledge, culture, and religious matters. In Ethiopia, empowering children with indigenous knowledge, culture, and religion is the shared responsibility of the family, socially recognized elders, and religious leaders. For example, religious education is one of the dimensions of traditional education that has contributed to and been a vital asset for indigenous knowledge and cultural

development in Ethiopia. For instance, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church contributed inspiring assets such as exceptional rhetorical scripts (Ethiopic alphabet), numbers, calendars, and indigenous cosmological knowledge that Ethiopia contributed to African cultural development (Pankhurst, 1972; Wagaw, 1979; Tefera, 1996). Owing to these unique assets, Ethiopia is one of 18 countries in the world with scripts and numbers. Generally, traditional education is the foundation of literature and is reserved as a cultural heritage and passed on to generations. Moreover, indigenous education in Ethiopia has been well thought out as a fantastic avenue for providing literacy to Ethiopian children and equipping them with the initial tools of learning that contribute to further education (Melesse and Bishaw, 2017; Semela, 2014; Wagaw, 1979; Tefera, 1996).

Notwithstanding its importance, traditional education is far from using science and technology (Melesse and Bishaw, 2017). At the offset of the 19th century, an unexpected but significant event that awakened all Africans was made by Emperor Menelik II. The event was the victory of Africans over prudish colonial ideology in the battle of Adwa. This phenomenon laid the foundation for modern education in Ethiopia. Consequently, modern education began during the reign of Menelik II in 1906. Hence, the admiration of Ethiopian victors over Italians at the Battle of Adwa in 1888 increased the international recognition of the country, especially to support the modern education system.

Recognizing these facts, Emperor Menelik II was highly convinced that education was an indispensable tool to create human capital to respond to the demands of internationalization in social, economic, political, and technological affairs to familiarize the country with other nations. Therefore, the purpose of this review article is to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the development of the education system in Ethiopia, focusing on the enclosed truths that imperial governments have contributed to the advancement of nation-building through education. Specifically, this realist review article is more focused on the policy and governance of the education system, curriculum, contents, and structure of education, language, policy and media of instructions, teacher and leader recruitment, selection, training, and development strategies. This article also scrutinizes the internal cultural barriers and external colonial influences that have hindered the development of education in Ethiopia. It also assesses the efforts, support, and misconceptions made by Western partners in the Ethiopian education system. Moreover, the article presents enclosed truths that have been covered by ethnocentric political ideology in the last three decades that both imperial governments have contributed to nation-building in education.

2 Research Methods

2.1 Realist Review

A realistic review is an appropriate method for achieving the objective of this study. Realism is a systematic approach aimed at searching for information and refining explanations of the relationships between contextual elements, situations, mechanisms, and intervention outcomes (Pawson et al., 2005). Realism philosophy holds that mechanisms matter because they generate outcomes, and contextual elements should be taken into account since they influence the processes by which an intervention produces outcomes (Wong et al., 2013). In the context of this article, a realistic assumption is significant in understanding the enclosed realities of the purpose of education during the imperial government period compared with the mechanisms used by the prudish political system covering these realities to sustain ethnocentric ideology in the last three decades. In this regard, the mechanisms used by the ethnocentric governance system in the last three decades in the education sector have negatively affected our understanding of the contribution of the imperial government to nation-building. Thus, as discussed by Pawson

and Manzano-Santaella (2012), the realist methodology used in this study allows for an interpretative, reflexive, and iterative review process to best understand the facts that contribute to the development of modern education in Ethiopia.

2.2 Sources of data

A systematic literature review was performed between March and October 2022. The purpose of this review was to identify studies related to the historical development of education in Ethiopia. Searching for information included different databases covering various disciplinary fields such as the Education Resources Information Center (ERIC), Scopus, Web of Science, Google Scholars, SocIndex, Published books, Published Theses, and websites and resource centers of Higher Education Institutions. As a result, this article used several secondary sources of information because it aimed to review the literature to assess and describe the variety of facts that are not well addressed and described to create a comprehensive understanding of education development, particularly in imperial governments in Ethiopia.

2.3 Inclusion and exclusion criteria and review process

The initial information was limited to peer-reviewed articles published in academic journals and research reports published by nontraditional academic institutions such as UNESCO, OECD, UNICEF, and the World Bank. To be included, articles and research reports published by both traditional and nontraditional academic institutions needed to adhere to various inclusion criteria, such as had to concern (1) traditional education, (2) the evolution of modern education, and (3) the pros and cons of the development of education in Ethiopia. Moreover, articles, books, and research reports had to (4) incorporate policies and practices of education in Ethiopia; (5) policy and governance of the education system; (6) curriculum contents and structure of education; (7) language policy and medium of instruction; (8) teacher and leader training and development policies and strategies; and (9) include a presentation of empirical data. Thereafter, information from articles, research reports, and books was extracted to construct findings describing the realities of the education system in the imperial era. No further restrictions on the selection of articles, books, or research reports were applied on methodological grounds. Finally, the most vital components of the education system, such as philosophical and historical foundations, policy and governance systems, curriculum and its structures, school organization and management, the medium of instructions, teacher and school leaders' training and development strategies, assessment, evaluation and certification, and other relevant issues that have not been assessed together by others are addressed to demonstrate a complete image of education during the imperial period.

3 Results

3.1 Glimpse of Ethiopian Menelik II Reign

The fundamental reason Emperor Menelik II established modern education in Ethiopia was the irreversible need to cope with the opportunities and challenges of globalization at the beginning of the 20th century. As indicated in the introductory section, Emperor Minilik II recognized whether indigenous or religious education was not satisfied with the needs of political, economic, technological, and foreign relations and maintained the country's popularity (Wagaw, 1979; Tefera, 1996). Among the prevalent conditions,

the formation of a centralized government, the establishment of diplomatic relations with other countries, the commencement of construction of the Franco-Ethiopian railway that linked the country with neighboring countries, and the demand for mechanics and technicians to introduce modern means of communication, such as telephone, radio, and postal systems, and many others required trained people (Wagaw, 1979).

With the introduction of modern education in Ethiopia, Emperor Menelik II also faced strong opposition from internal forces, such as Orthodox Church leaders, and external forces, such as the Coptic Church of Alexandria and Syria. They believed that the goal of modern education was to infect youth with secular objectives that opposed their canons. Moreover, they assumed that secular education could promote anti-Ethiopian attitudes by hosting foreign religions and menacing ideas that undermine their status in society (Wagaw, 1979). However, Emperor Menelik carefully handled the problems raised by the Orthodox Church by establishing a diplomatic relationship by recruiting teachers from the Copts Churches of Egypt. This is because these teachers are assumed by church leaders to respect the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, as both have similar canons. Another strategy used by the emperor to facilitate the foundation of secular education in Ethiopia made the purpose of education to equip the ruling elite (most of them from the Church) with foreign language knowledge for better contact with foreigners and make the ruling elites competent in court affairs and defining law articles based upon the experiences of others. As a result, French, English, Italian, and Amharic were the dominant languages used by Ethiopians during the onset of secular education in Ethiopia (Tefera, 1996; Wagaw, 1979).

Underpinning the secular education development in Ethiopia, Emperor Menelik II also used the strategy that the education system founded on the legal ground by endorsing the education law policy. Recognizing this truth, Menelik issued the first historic educational proclamation in 1906. Proclamation is the first written education law or policy that provides legal grounds for introducing modern education into the country, and it has been stated as follows:

> "In other countries, not only do the younger practice." An additional inspiring concept that we have to recognize from the proclamation is that high emphasis has been placed on technical and vocational education. Therefore, it can be said that the Proclamation hoped to enhance the all-rounded development of Ethiopian children. Another interesting connotation we must understand from the proclamation is that education is compulsory and free for all school-aged children.

The emperor's interest was in recognizing education as a vital tool for creating quality human capital that Ethiopians can respond to the demands of globalization in social, economic, political, and technological advancements to seem equal to other nations in the world. Additional messages we have to draw from the proclamation are that the value given to educating citizens is to gain knowledge and create new things and innovations for social, economic, political, and technological development.

Although several preparations have been made, much has not been achieved during Menelik's reign. In 1913, after the emperor's death became accustomed, only four schools, Menelik II School in Addis Ababa, one school in Harar, one school in Dessie, and another school in Ankobar (where Menelik II was born) were established in Ethiopia. While the proclamation approved that the attendance of schools was free, parents were not interested in sending their children to school because they were under the strong influence of the Church's clergy (Wagaw, 1979). The achievement of these schools was in addition to foreign languages, moral education, Ethiopian history, Ge'ez, reading, and writing as part of the curriculum. However, all subjects were brought directly from France. As a result, it

was neither relevant to the Ethiopian context nor to recognize the existing realities and indigenous knowledge of Ethiopian society (Mengistie, 2020).

After Menelik's death, Empress Zewditu (daughter of Menelik II), came to power in Ethiopia. Following her father's example, she also made a second historic educational proclamation in 1929. The second education proclamation charted by the Empress is described as follows:

> ... those parents who failed to send their children to school and made them learn reading and writing skills, respecting the empress and God would have to be penalized 50, 50 Ethiopian Birrs each, and the birth collected from such penalties would be given to the respective church and used to serve the needy people. The baptism priest was also requested to advise religious children to send them to school. If they fail to send their children to school, the priest should inform their respective government representatives. Teachers were requested to teach the children. Church leaders are also expected to provide life skill advice to their people. Moreover, parents need to initiate their children's learning of local skills that can help them lead their future (Bender, 1976).

Similar to Menelik's proclamation, Empress Zewditu's education proclamation includes essential concepts that hoped for the development of modern education in Ethiopia. Some of the important points of the proclamation are discussed below.

The Proclamation emphasizes the motto of education. The central intent and individuals responsible for leading the education system were endorsed by priests and church leaders. Education was mostly non-formal, without uniformity or curriculum; it was mainly focused on reading and writing. Among the strengths of the proclamation, it placed a high emphasis on practical, technical, and vocational education to transform the lives of society. Therefore, technical and vocational education is considered a basic tool for improving the economic advancement of the youth. In recognizing the importance of technical and vocational education, the proclamation highly emphasized that a family who is not training their children in technical education is considered a murderer who made an individual disabled. Proclamation also places a high emphasis on the humanitarian, moral, and ethical dimensions of education. Basic education is compulsory for those age groups- 7-21 years old.

The type of education envisaged in the proclamation was more of the traditional church education type than its form of modernity, which intentionally happened to mollify public opposition (Tefera, 1996). Thus, it was no longer effective in the development of education in Ethiopia. From the above proclamations, it is clear that education mainly focused on reading and writing. The curriculum was borrowed from the West and it was mostly language; the teachers were expatriates, the medium of instruction was French, and the content of most of the other subjects dealt only with Western experience and ideology that was not relevant to the Ethiopian context (Tefera, 1996). Recognizing the fact that Ernest wrought in 1931, as cited in Pankhurst (1972), recommended that Ethiopian children be educated in their languages and teachers, training Ethiopian teachers, writing Ethiopian textbooks for Ethiopian students, and expanding primary, secondary, and tertiary education in Ethiopia.

The literature discussed in the preceding sections is ostensible that in the dark age of Ethiopia, where they are isolated from other brothers in the world due to illiteracy, Emperor Menelik II made surprising efforts to modernize Ethiopia by introducing modern education into the country. The history of Ethiopia tells us that apart from introducing secular education into the country, Emperor Menelik II has made irreversible breakthroughs and contributions in defining territorial integrity, national unity, and sovereignty for Ethiopia. Furthermore, working with his Ethiopian brothers and sisters and using his

devised leadership quality, he has made a commemorative history for all human beings by discarding the anti-humanitarian colonialism ideology of the land of Africa. Regarding the modernization of the education system in Ethiopia, although he did not achieve his plan due to rigid cultural and religious creeds, he laid down irreversible milestones by opening the eyes of all Ethiopians towards education and contributing much to today's Ethiopia.

3.2 A Glimpse of Ethiopian Education during Haile Selassie Reign

Emperor Haile Selassie's arrival to power in 1930 was considered a renaissance period in the Ethiopian education system. Emperor Haile Selassie started the expansion of education in Ethiopia by establishing his first school, Teferi Mekonen Primary School, in Addis Ababa in 1925 (Tefera, 1996; Pankhurst, 1972). Like Menelik II, the emperor faced opposition from conservative church leaders while making all his efforts to open this school throughout the country. Recognizing that education is vital for nation building, Emperor Haile Selassie established a Ministry of Education and Fine Arts in 1930 (Tefera, 1996). Following the formation and organization of the Ministry of Education, some steps were taken in the system, including the allocation of the education budget and other related administrative activities, such as recruiting educational advisors to the Ministry of Education from the USA have been made. As a result, Professor Ernest Work was appointed to advise and produce proposals for improving the Ethiopian education system (Pankhurst, 1972).

Like Emperor Menelik II, they were entirely imported from Western countries. As a result, French and English serve as the medium of instruction. However, French was dominant in teaching other subjects such as mathematics, chemistry, physics, history, geography, gymnastics, and sports. Moreover, most of the teaching staff were French (Tefera, 1996). By 1935, when the Fascists struck, there were 21 government schools, and the other two schools were run by missionaries. The best achievement of this period seems to be the survival of a new educational system imported from abroad.

The modest attempt made by Emperor Menelik II and further enhanced by Emperor Haile Selassie to modernize the country through Western education was disrupted by the Italian occupation in 1936 (Tefera, 1996). In the process of Ethiopian education, this period was considered a Dark Age, in which all efforts made by the two imperial governments and international partners were entirely collapsed by the fascist Italian army. Recognizing the severity of the problems, Markakis (1974) explained the situation as between 1936-1941 the Italian occupation nipped the novel process of modern education in Ethiopia in the bud.

Moreover, Markakis (1974) stated that the fledgling system of state education was completely demolished, students and teachers were dispersed, the meager collection of educational materials was scattered and destroyed, foreign teachers left, and school buildings were commandeered by the Italian army (Tefera, 1996). After destroying the educational system that started in the country, Italians attempted to establish their own educational system. Accordingly, an educational ordinance was issued in 1932 for East African colonies (Pankhurst, 1972).

Accordingly, the Italian army established two different kinds of educational institutions, i.e., the "National" (Italians) and schools for the Colonial Subjects (Ethiopians). The schools for colonial subjects were controlled by the governor to ensure that fascist ideology was pursued (Pankhurst, 1972). The education ordinance stated that the medium of instruction was a local language. Accordingly, Amharic, Tigrigna, Oromigna, Kafficho, and Somali varieties have been used in different regions (Tefera, 1996). This was, however, not for pedagogical or cultural values, but rather to promote their "divide-and-rule" policy

of colonialism. Thus, it is possible to infer that the Italians destroyed the newly emerged educational system and tried to install a system that they thought would sustain their colonial rule.

3.3 The British Period (1942-1950)

After the Italian forces were defeated by the Ethiopian army for the second time in 1941, there were no functional schools, no Ethiopian teachers, and all efforts made by both imperial governments to build the education system have been destroyed by Italian forces. There was also a severe shortage of educated people who could run government offices (Pankhurst, 1972). Recognizing these facts, Emperor Haile Selassie began the reconstruction of the education system with the support of British advisors. Consequently, in 1942, schools were reopened using teachers and teaching materials from Britain or British colonies and protectorates. However, between 1944 and 1950, the education system was characterized by sluggish growth with an acute shortage of resources (Tefera, 1996). After the liberation period, foreign advisors from Britain and teachers were entirely engaged in the formation of the education proclamation. The proclamation was prepared mainly with British assistance; as a result, English became the medium of instruction. The curriculum, structure, and textbooks used were those of East African British colonies, and students were prepared for the London General Certificate Examination (LGCE) (Negash, 1996).

To enhance the expansion, a Board of Education was established in each region, and an educational tax was declared. To supplement the government's efforts, private and voluntary organizations were encouraged to open schools. With the proclamation made to regulate their activities, missionaries were officially invited, for the first time, to participate in providing education and other services. At the end of the 1950s in Ethiopia, all types of schools, such as primary, secondary, and teacher training institutes, one commercial school, one technical school, and a few agricultural schools provided functions to Ethiopian citizens. With this rapid growth, the urgent requirements for semiprofessionals were at least partially met (Pankhurst, 1972).

3.4 The American Period (1951-1974)

This was a period in which remarkable changes were observed in the history of modern education in Ethiopia. As the first step in which the USA was involved in the Ethiopian education system, Ethiopia signed the "Point Four program" of Technical Assistance with the US government in 1951. This was also a period of declining British predominance and increased American influence on the Ethiopian education system (Pankhurst, 1972). Accordingly, as per the direction of American experts, who replaced British advisors, the Ministry of Education was reorganized, the structure was changed, and textbooks started being shipped from the United States (Tefera, 1996).

The major change, however, was the adoption of a series of five-year plans aimed at a controlled expansion in education (Pankhurst, 1972). The emphasis was not on offering wider educational opportunities but on producing limited personnel to meet the manpower needs of the country. However, the expected change was not achieved in primary education by 1961, which was the end of the first five-year plan. Only 6.6% of eligible children attended primary school (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 1961). The Ministry of Education organized a committee to evaluate the educational program and make recommendations. In 1962, the committee came to a plan by 1980, a country to be achieved: 82.8% of primary education, 19.2% of second education, and 1.9% of college education. Conversely, the government rejected the proposal as it was

too expensive and unrealistic for the country's economy. Instead, it chooses to concentrate on its own five-year national education development plan, which focuses on limited manpower training rather than on the expansion of education (Mengistie, 2020).

In the late 1960s, students, parents, and teachers expressed widespread dissatisfaction with the government, which called for basic changes and reforms in the education system (Tefera, 1996). In response to these demands, in 1969, the National Commission for Education studied and recommended a review of the entire education sector, and the government accepted (Pankhurst, 1972). In 1971, an agreement has been signed with International Development Agency (IDA) to finance a project called "Education Sector Review" which was aimed to conduct a comprehensive assessment and draw suggestions to bring change and improvement in the Ethiopian education system, (Tefera, 1996). The "Education Sector Review" was planned and conducted with the broad participation of Ethiopian experts. This phenomenon was the first step that reflected Ethiopians' capacity in planning and policy formulation in education (Tefera, 1996). However, the imperial government failed to build a sufficient consensus around these changes. Moreover, before introducing a change by decree, there was a widespread negative public reaction to the proposed reforms. Consequently, this public reaction played a role in precipitating the revolution in 1974 (Tefera, 1996).

3.5 Curriculum changes & development

The application of French methods to Ethiopian students was fraught with difficulty. For instance, Ethiopians were unfamiliar with the assessment methods used at that time. The monarchy relied on a non-Ethiopian curriculum that did not consider local differences. For example, students in most schools were required to take the French Government Examination of Competence (Zewudie and Bridge, 2000). As a result, the involvement of foreigners (particularly the large number of French and Egyptian advisors) had a significant impact on curriculum selection and organization, which did not always address the needs and interests of Ethiopians. Thus, issues regarding the educational structure and formal curriculum in Ethiopia began during the Haile Selassie Reign.

Along with many structural changes, different curricula that conform to these structures have been suggested. Curriculum changes during the Haile Selassie period can be divided into four phases. The initial phase of the curriculum development group consisted of foreign staff organized to craft a formal school curriculum in Ethiopia in 1947. This curriculum consists of a 6+6 structure; with six years of primary education followed by six years of secondary education (Tefera, 1996). The subjects included in the curriculum were Amharic, English, Science, Art, Geography, History, Arithmetic, Music, Handcraft, and Physical education. Amharic was the medium of instruction for all subjects in Grades 1 and 2. There was an assumption that there was a gradual transition to the use of English as a medium of instruction in grades 3 and 4 in the teaching of art, science, physical training, handicraft, music, geography, history, and arithmetic. English was suggested to be the medium of instruction in Grades 5 and 6 for all subjects except the Amharic subject (Tefera, 1996).

Despite attempts made in the first curriculum, serious problems were observed in its implementation. For example, textbooks translated from other languages to Amharic did not reflect Ethiopian reality, shortages of teaching and learning materials, and the secondary school syllabus was entirely based on the standards of British schools. In the teaching of the Amharic Bible was selected as the textbook from Grades 1 through 4, which significantly affects non-Christian children from populations; teaching in English at a primary level significantly impacts students' learning where English is not their first language. Thus, the curriculum was criticized because its content was foreign, which is irrelevant to the Ethiopian context (Mengistie, 2020; Tefera, 1996; Pankhurst, 1972). To

overcome these problems, the government appointed a committee to prepare a relevant curriculum for Ethiopian students for the second time.

For the second time, the modern education curriculum was developed in 1949. In this curriculum, the structure of education has changed from 6+6 to 8+4 to overcome language problems, particularly English difficulties, as a medium of instruction at the primary level and the desire to extend elementary education (Mengistie, 2020). The language of instruction was English, starting in Grade 4. Apart from the subjects included in the first curriculum, the second curriculum included social science and humanities and technical and vocational education subjects with high emphasis on engineering, mechanics, electricians, agriculturalists, artisans, and experts. Having approved this curriculum, between the years of 1949-1963, all primary and secondary schools implemented it. However, throughout the implementation process, the stakeholders identified serious problems, such as not considering the Ethiopian situation, focusing only on the formal type of education, and pupils learning both foreign languages and content at the elementary level had difficulty grasping either (Mengistie, 2020; Negash, 1996). Thus, to solve these problems, the government has planned to revise the curriculum for a third time.

After According to Negash (1996), the third curriculum, with an experimental approach, was influenced by the US between the years 1954-1974. In 1954, the US States began to shape Ethiopian education policy through an advisory group (Negash, 1996). The report of this committee included the introduction of community schools for basic education; the educational objectives should be achieved towards universal fundamental education; and students should display effective command of communication in Amharic (Negash, 1996). Then, the curriculum was prepared, and based on the recommendation made by the committee, before implementing the new curriculum; a pilot test was conducted to determine its effectiveness (Mengistie, 2020). Completing the pilot program, both teaching and learning improved as Amharic was used as the medium of instruction for the primary level; however, the absence of books and teaching materials was reported as a major problem. To solve these problems, the Ministry of Education established a textbook production unit (Negash, 1996). After completing the experimental program in 1963, another curricular change was made for the fourth time during the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie.

The fourth curriculum during Emperor Haile Selassie provided the structure (6+2+4) for six years for primary education, two years for junior secondary education, and four years for senior secondary education. Amharic became the medium of instruction at the primary level (Grades 1 to 6) to teach subjects like Amharic, English, Arithmetic, Social studies, Natural Science, Health and Safety, Morals, Agriculture, Arts and Crafts, Homemaking, Physical education, and Music, (Negash, 1996). The fourth secondary school curriculum is highly technical and vocational (Tefera, 1996). Notwithstanding all the efforts made by Emperor Haile Selassie, there was a disparity between the educational program and the needs arising from the social situation and demands for education in Ethiopian society. Thus, there were strong requests from educators, university students, government officials, students, and parents to improve the educational system further (Tefera, 1996).

Based upon the observable problems and criticisms made by different stakeholders on the ineffectiveness of different curricula and education strategies, Emperor Haile Selassie was forced to develop a comprehensive official document called the Education Sector Review (ESR) in 1971, which was discussed in Section 4.3. The education crisis and related problems such as social crises, economic limitations and poverty, political interests, and technological limitations in Ethiopia mobilized students and teachers to lead to a successive wave of local and national strikes that began early in 1974 and continued unabated until the overthrow of the imperial system in September 1974.

3.6 Teacher training and development

We have made a detailed discussion regarding modern education in Menelik II, where the system was highly characterized by a series of problems. Menelik has not only faced problems with planning for teacher training, but also has serious challenges in establishing primary schools in Ethiopia. Thus, at the time, it was impossible to think about teacher education in Ethiopia. After Menelik's death, Empress Zewuditu's government collapsed and no progress has been made in teacher training and development. According to Semela (2014), the history of teacher education began in Ethiopia after the collapse of Italian occupation in 1941.

Having collapsed the Italian occupation, the reconstruction of the education system in Ethiopia began with support provided by Britain. Emperor Haile Selassie recognized that the rapid expansion of education was unrealistic unless Ethiopia created its local capacity. This was the correct time to begin reform of teacher preparation (Semela, 2014). Consequently, the 1st historical teacher training program in the Menelik II School compound was introduced in 1944 (Semela, 2014). Following this, an independent and formal teacher training institution (TTI) was established in Addis Ababa in 1946 (Kelemu, 2000). Until the early 1970s, the system had been modestly expanded with the opening of three new TTIs in Harar, Dabre-Berhan, and Jimma Town (Semela, 2014). Moreover, Semela (2014) noted that, between the late 1960s and the 1970s, three more diploma teacher training colleges were established: Kotehe College of Teacher Education, Bahirdar Academy of Pedagogy, and Alemeya College of Agriculture.

According to Semela (2014), in the Emperor Haile Selassie regime, three phases of teacher education reform were renowned. The first phase was between 1944-1954, which is recognized as the onset of the teacher education program in Ethiopia. This was the first time standards for admission for primary school teacher training were established. Accordingly, one year of teacher training in a certificate program was provided to prepare primary school teachers. The second phase of teacher training was between 1955-1965. The Ministry of Fine Arts strengthened the certificate and created a new diploma for the education program. Regarding this, Semela (2014) elaborated that a one-class secondary school teacher training program began at Haile Selassie I University (HSIU) in 1959. These improvements indicate the growing importance of maintaining quality standards for teachers, apart from expanding educational opportunities (Semela, 2014). The third phase is considered the last teacher education program reform of the Emperor regime, which survived for only two difficult years (1966-1968). Unlike the earlier admission criteria, the duration of teacher training in the certificate program was increased to two years. In addition, the new graduate teachers should successfully pass both the exit examinations of their respective institutions and the national examination, which was centrally administered by the MoE, to join the teaching profession.

According to the discussion above, Emperor Haile Selassie's government established a significant milestone for Ethiopian teacher education, training, and development programs. Furthermore, the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie is regarded as Ethiopia's 'Golden Age' of teaching careers (Negash, 1996). This was because teachers were held in high regard by the community at the time, paid more than other civil servants, and had a high level of prestige and status in society (Semela, 2014). However, teacher-training programs in Ethiopia have not been successful at all levels in addressing the country's teacher shortage. According to Semela (2014), up to 90% of teachers in primary and secondary schools are unqualified to the level to which they are assigned to teach.

3.7 The school leadership training and development

School leadership training in Ethiopia has a history that is similar to that of teacher training and development. During the imperial reign, school leadership, training, and development in Ethiopia had three phases. The first phase had a background similar to the opening of the 1st Menelik II School in Addis Ababa. The arrangements for hiring teachers and school heads were made between Menelik and the church leaders. Consequently, the first Coptic teachers and their headmasters were hired in Egypt (Negash, 1996).

Hence, the first school in Ethiopia (Menelik II) was initially directed by the Egyptian instructor Hanna Saleb (Pankhurst, 1998). In 1925, Doctor Werkineh Eshete was the first Ethiopian to be assigned as the school director to lead the Teferi Makonnen School in Addis Ababa (Wagaw, 1979). From the onset of secular education until 1935, Coptic and French head teachers mostly executed the responsibilities of managing and leading schools and other educational institutions (Bishaw and Lasser, 2012). Recognizing this fact, Ernest Work proposed, among other things, that building schools by local staff was the priority area he had suggested to the government (Shibeshi, 2008). However, no actions were taken during that time, because it failed to appreciate its necessity by the people, the incapability of the education system, and political instability, especially the fascist Italian impact on the education system (Areaya, 2008; Shibeshi, 2008). Consequently, many of the school directors' positions were held by expatriate staff (Asayehgn, 1979). Likewise, expatriate staff members occupied many advisory positions in the Ministry of Education.

Starting from the second half of the 1940s, the development of Ethiopia's school leaders was in progress, as Ethiopians started to graduate from teacher training schools. It started with the graduation of 24 Ethiopians in 1946 (Gemechu, 2018). As the only trained Ethiopian teachers in the country, they were called upon to perform various duties such as administration, accounting, and community leadership, in addition to their teaching responsibilities (Wagaw, 1979). Specific to the principal, jobs started as supervising teachers when those in the position were responsible not only for a single school but also for the education system (Ali, 2012). This development could be considered as a second phase in the developmental stages of school leadership in Ethiopia during the Emperor's Haile Selassie reign.

In the late 1940s, the start of Ethiopian substitution by expatriate staff was a step forward in the right direction. The expansion of education services throughout the country has forced the government towards school leaders' training programs. Furthermore, the growing number of schools and the rate of enrollment also put pressure on the government to begin leadership training in the Ethiopian education system (Tekleselassie, 2002). Moreover, to reduce the salary and other administrative costs necessary for expatriate staff, role confusion and language barriers in local communities are among the reasons for beginning the school leadership training and development program in Ethiopia, which is considered the third phase of leadership reform (Gemechu, 2018).

In 1995, educational administrative personnel and inspectors' training began at the Teacher Training Institute (TTI) in Addis Ababa (Wagaw, 1979). Accordingly, experienced teachers who graduated from TTI were recruited through a six-week inspection training program. At the end of the same year, 24 inspectors had graduated from the program (Wagaw, 1979). The training was discontinued in 1953 until more inspectors were needed' (Wagaw, 1979). The program reopened in 1955 and teachers and head teachers attended a one-year inspection course at Haile Selassie I school, which was later called Kokebe Tsibha School (Ministry of Education, 1994).

Likewise, in 1962, one-year and summer in-service training programs for elementary school directors and supervisors were established at Haile Selassie I University (Asayehgn,

1979). Educational personnel with two or more years of experience were recruited to join the leadership training program; thus, after completing the training, they would become better educational leaders and agents of change (Asayehgn, 1979). The school directors' program was prepared by training primary and secondary school directors and supervisors (Ministry of Education, 1994). The education and leadership training program also started in the early 1970s at the Bahir Dar Academy of Pedagogy, currently known as the Bahir Dar University (Gemechu, 2018). These are facts about leadership training and development recorded in Ethiopia in the imperial era.

4 Conclusions

This literature review indicates that the traditional educational system in Ethiopia has two forms: indigenous and religious. Indigenous education socializes children by teaching social norms, values, beliefs, etc. Parents and elders were responsible for educating their children. Religious education, however, was responsible for inculcating the canon of a particular faith and morally developing followers. Thus, religious education has an organized and hierarchically structured system that involves reading, writing, computing, and singing. The methods of teaching, for instance, church education, included oral memorization and reaction, and the evaluation was based on checking the mastery of orally learned materials. Nevertheless, because of their significance, neither indigenous nor religious education alone has contributed to social transformation, economic development, regional and international integration, political and diplomatic collaboration, and inculcation of technology and innovation in Ethiopia. Furthermore, these types of education systems alone did not contribute to the country introducing itself to other worlds and providing its unique assets to the world and nation-building. Educational thoughts about Ethiopia should emanate primarily from its social, political, cultural, economic, and educational context. Failure to develop the Ethiopian education system from indigenous and religious educational experiences greatly affects the relevance of the Ethiopian education system.

Recognizing that Emperor Menelik II is the Ethiopian liberation hero and the figure of the African liberation movement, Emperor Menelik II has struggled with both internal and external forces to introduce modern education into Ethiopia. This is because he recognized and committed to changing the world through education and educating people. In realizing his vision, one remarkable phenomenon was called the Battle of Adwa, in which Ethiopians took over the Italian army. Through this process, Ethiopians had the opportunity to open their doors to modern education in the 19th century. In response to several national and international interests, modern education in Ethiopia began in 1908 through Menelik II's leadership. It is ostensible that Emperor Menelik II was convinced of the importance of modern education in connecting Ethiopia with another world, as it is an obligatory tool to create quality human capital that can respond to the demands of globalization in social, economic, political, and technological activities that Ethiopia has opportunities to familiarize itself with other nations. Moreover, the emperor was politically motivated to establish a central government and there was a need for educated people to establish diplomatic relations. At the same time, new types of communication services, such as telephone, postal systems, radio, and rail transport, are needed for trained personnel.

Although there was opposition, especially from Church leaders, to the introduction of modern education, some schools opened from 1908 to 1935 in different areas of the country. These schools and students discontinued their formal activities from 1936 to 1940 due to Italy's invasion of Ethiopia. When Ethiopia restored its independence in 1941, it embarked on reopening schools, considering education as a key factor in development. The curriculum was dominated by Western cultures, which were irrelevant

to the Ethiopian context. First, it was French-influenced, followed by British, and finally American. Although the curriculum underwent different changes and reforms at different times, it was not relevant to the Ethiopian context and could not serve the expected purpose.

Regarding teacher training and development, Emperor Menelik II faced serious challenges in beginner teacher education in Ethiopia. As a result, there was nothing to do regarding teacher education and training. After defeating Italian occupation, the reconstruction of the collapsed education system, Emperor Haile Selassie, began teacher education and training in Ethiopia in 1944. Following its introduction, Emperor Haile Selassie laid down an important milestone in Ethiopian teacher education, training, and development programs. This period was considered as the Golden Age for teaching careers in the Ethiopian educational system. However, teacher training programs have not been successful at all levels in dealing with the shortage of qualified teachers in Ethiopia.

Along with the teacher education and training program, the educational leadership training and development program in Ethiopia is undergoing similar reforms largely associated with changes in the political system of the country. Therefore, it can be argued that educational reforms were, for the most part, politically driven, with a significant degree of intervention and support from international actors. However, based on analyses of the policy and governance history of Menelik II and Haile Selassie, there are harmonies and similarities across the historical development of the education system and state ideologies. However, the challenges, attitudes of society towards education, and strategies used by these two regimes to provide education access, teacher training, leadership training, and development vary. Moreover, throughout both imperial eras, the Ethiopian education system was not left free to develop through Ethiopian realities and culture.

Although educational reforms in Ethiopia were initially generated by Ethiopian forces, such as Menelik II, they were later taken over by foreign powers that used education as a means to inculcate their political interests and ideology in Ethiopian society. The central reasons for foreign domination are closely associated with Ethiopia's economic, political, and national security and dependence. On the other hand, we appreciate and give high respect and value to these foreign brothers for their efforts and support in modernizing Ethiopia's education. Moreover, in the Dark Age, both emperors forwarded their efforts to modernize the Ethiopian education system.

5 Implications

We Ethiopians, and other brothers in the world should recognize and give high value to the efforts made by both governments to advance Ethiopian education. In reviewing the literature in this article, we also understand that there were bitter truths that were covered in dust by prudish politicians, divide-and-rule ideologists, and fraudulent ethnocentric ideologists that both imperial governments sacrificed for nation building and contributed to sustaining and developing the Ethiopian education system.

Moreover, the historical disorder of educational practices in Ethiopia still contributes to the unbalanced development of education in the country. This is the result of emphasizing the direction of political elites to achieve their short-term political goals at the expense of a larger Ethiopian society. As a result, these trends in education cost the country and seem Ethiopian today's shape. Therefore, it is time to lay a foundation and reasonable paradigm shift for the Ethiopian system to make it relevant with appropriate access and quality to transform Ethiopia into a middle- or high-income country, although defending the invisible hands of neocolonialism, ethnocentrism, corruption, prudish political ideologies, and promoting the growth and live-together ideology of the 21st century. We hope that this article also suggests that educational advisories, policymakers,

textbook writers, donors, and so on were not adequately dealing with our (Ethiopian) wonderful indigenous knowledge. Today, these scenarios have led us to be victimized by foreign policies and indirectly dependent on them. Therefore, we (Ethiopians) stand together to invest our knowledge, resources, time, and energy to make our education system realistic to its country and to advance the Ethiopian social system.

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Data Availability

Data can be made available on the behavior of the request

Declaration of interests' statement

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