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On the Education and Institutional Quality Nexus, By: Paulos Gutema (Ph.D.)1, College of Development Studies, Addis Ababa University

Abstract

The education-institutional quality relationship is somewhat controversial. Some writers argue that improvement in quality of institutions influence progress in education, while progress in education has no effect on improvement of institutional quality. Others argue the other way round. Based on the existing theoretical framework that links quality of institutions to education, this paper investigates the effect of education on improvement of institutional quality. The theoretical analytic result suggests that, if agents maximizing behavior functions without impairment, progress in education can play significant role in improving institutional quality. Empirical results obtained from the analysis of panel data, constructed from 166 countries over the period of 1960-2010, supports this argument.

JEL Classifications: O11, O43, O47

Key Words: Education, Human capital, Institutional quality, Prosperity, Panel data

1. Introduction

During 1961-1970, according to World Bank (2015) statistics, the average per capita GDP (constant 2005 US$) in Zambia was 968.08 while it was 507.9 in Thailand, implying that during this decade the representative person of Zambia was, 1.91, almost twice, times richer than the representative person of Thailand.

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After five decades, during 2001-2010, the average per capita GDP (constant 2005 US$) in Zambia was 724.6 while it was 2703.9 in Thailand, suggesting during this decade the representative person of Thailand was 3.73 times richer than the representative person of Zambia. The simple mathematical reason for such surprising catch-up and surpass is that during these five decades Thailand’s economy was showing impressing economic growth performance as compared to that of Zambians, the average rate was 4.56% in the former while it was only 0.047% in the latter. But what is it that helped Thailand’s economy to exhibit such impressive economic performance?

Proponents of neoclassical growth theory may explain the growth gap in terms of the nations saving capacity and capital formation. But the same statistics does not show substantial difference in the saving capacity of the two economies. It indicates that during the five decades the average Gross Domestic Saving (% of GDP) in Thailand was 27.4%, while it was 26.4% in Zambia, which is very close to Thailand’s saving. Human Capital theorists may attribute the observed growth gap to slower pace of human capital accumulation. From Barro-Lee (2010) dataset, during these five decades, the average time devoted to schooling per year, as measured in change in years of schooling per year, was 0.0939 years in Zambia, while it was 0.066 years in Thailand, suggesting, contrary to theoretical expectation, Zambian’s economy was devoting more time to schooling than Thailand’s economy. In line with this statistics, a large part of the literature specially, empirical research conducted at macro level indicate that there is no relationship between human capital accumulated through schooling and per worker output growth. For example, Benhabib and Spiegel (1994), report that human capital growth has either an insignificant or significant but negative impact on per capita income growth. Reversing the direction of causation others argue that human capital accumulation is determined by economic growth since the latter determine rate of return on
education that motivate individuals to devote more fraction of their non-leisure time. The frequently given reason for the inconsistencies between the predictions of the two theories and the reality is that the underlying situations, specifically institutions, are not well organized. For example, Wolf (1955); North and Thomas (1973); North (1990), Hall and Jones (1999), Rodrick et al. (2004), Acemoglu et al. (2003) Dias and Tebaldi (2012) consider institutional quality as a primary cause of growth and view human capital accumulation itself to be endogenous to institutions, which works through economic growth. They underline the fact that good institution facilitate skill acquisition in a form of learning from others, technology transfer and inventions. Inefficient institutions on the contrary, act like an impediment factor to economic progress of nations. Most often they are characterized by weak ability to enforce rules and law and as a result lack the capacity to prevent private diversion of economic resources, public diversion like government expropriation, confiscatory taxation, and corruption. In addition to this, some writers argue that institutions are endogenous to human capital accumulations, (e.g. Glaezer et al (2004); Castello-Climent, 2008). They argue that accumulation of human capital could bring better quality of institutions and hence better economic progress and development. This study fits within the literature that examines the interrelationships of accumulation of human capital-improvement of institutional quality-economic growth by giving due attention to human capital and institution nexus. It is motivated by the puzzling result of human capital accumulation on economic growth and intends to examine a part of the view that accumulation of human capital influences economic growth through institution. The explicit point of inquiry will be why does accumulation of human capital causes improvement in institutional quality to cause better economic performances in some nations,
and it fails to cause improvement in institutional quality and economic performances in others.

For the empirical analysis the paper consider off-steady-state behavior or transitional path behavior since it is argued to open up new possibilities bringing the theory in to better conformity with observation. For this purpose system GMM estimator is employed to examine the relationship between institutional quality and human capital in the transitional path rather than assuming it away. Moreover it helps to deal with endogenity issue.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. In the next section the literature will be reviewed on possible link between human capital and institutions. In this section, whether human capital influences institutions directly or indirectly through economic growth will be reviewed. Description of the basic theoretical model that links the two variables of study and some of its implications will be considered in section three. Section four presents results from econometric analysis. In the econometric analysis panel data that employs general method of moments will be used. The last section presents concluding remarks.

2. Literature review

For policy makers, especially of low income countries, the most common development agenda on their table is how to ensure rapid economic growth (ECG) and property right. To help attain this goal development specialists recommend human capital and physical capital accumulation (HPA) and improvement in institutional quality (IIQ), which serves as a means to and an end of development.

Intuitively it indicates two types of recommendation from virtuous cycle that reinforces each other either directly or through prosperity. But the direction of causation and the starting point is somewhat controversial. A part of the literature (e.g. Lipset, 1959; Bourguignon and Verdier, 2000; Lucas, 1988;
Romer, 1990; Barro, 1999), most often, written by the proponents of human capital theory and neoclassical theory, emphasizes that ideas cause material wealth that necessitates institutions. In ECG-HPA-IIQ-ECG cyclical order this notion can be summarized as an anti-clock wise direction of causation.

Anti-clockwise virtuous cycle of prosperity
This part of the literature stresses the fact that accumulation of human and physical capital enhances the pace of economic growth and wealth accumulation through raising workers productivity. (e.g. Schultz (1962), Lucas (1988) and Romer (1990). Lucas (1988) writes, for example, there are two kinds of capital, in the system: physical capital that is accumulated and utilized in production under a familiar neoclassical technology, and human capital that enhances the productivity or both labor and physical capital.

The accumulated wealth in turn causes improvements in institutional quality (e.g. Lipset (1959), the argument often known as Lipset hypothesis. He wrote “…the more well-to-do a nation, the greater the chances that it will sustain democracy. From Aristotle down to the present, men have argued that only in a wealthy society in which relatively few citizens lived in real poverty could a situation exist in which the mass of the population could intelligently participate
in politics and could develop the self-restraint necessary to avoid succumbing to the appeals of irresponsible demagogues.” Supporting this view, Bourguignon and Verdier (2000) wrote “it must also be noted that political participation is determined by the level of income, rather than education”.

Based on empirical studies, Barro (1999) also wrote “…the cross-country evidence examined in the present study confirms that the Lipset/Aristotle hypothesis is a strong empirical regularity. In particular, increases in various measures of the standard of living forecast a gradual rise in democracy. In contrast, democracies that arise without prior economic development—sometimes because they are imposed by former colonial powers or international organizations—tend not to last.” He gives the example of some African countries and writes “For example, the political freedoms installed in most of the newly independent African states in the early 1960s did not tend to last.” Finally, the improvement in institutional quality enhances the pace of human capital accumulation (e.g. Acemoglu et al 2014). According to this cycle, the recommended factor accumulation ensures economic growth and prosperity.

However, contrary to this attractive theoretical virtuous cycle, some empirical studies put strong skepticism on the link between human capital and economic growth. In particular, macro level empirical studies conducted to investigate the relationship between human capital and income growth put skepticism on the continuity of the cycle. The studies made by Benhabib and Spiegel (1994), Sacerdoti et. al (1998), Pritchett (2001), Brist and Capilan (1999), Bosworth and Collins (2003), report that either the human capital economic growth relation is non-existent or there is a negative relationship between the two variables. Under such circumstance, the way to reconcile the data with the theory could be to think that human capital affects income growth not directly but through other intermediate factor-namely institutions, and to think the cyclical causation to go in the opposite direction or clock wise direction.
A part of the literature, usually written by institutional economists, emphasizes that ideas cause institutions that in turn cause material wealth. This part does not reject the fact that human capital influences rate of economic growth. But it considers that its interaction with economic growth is through institution. In stressing the role of institution, Tebaldi and Elmslie (2008) wrote that a model of growth that ignores the role of institutions may oversimplify the analysis and put out of sight important linkages in the dynamics of economic growth. In this line, Huang and Xu (1999), and Gradstein (2004) have made successful attempt to incorporating the role of institutions into the formal growth frameworks. This part of the literature also accepts endogenity of institutions just like the former part, but considers it endogenous not to prosperity but to human capital. It can be summarized as a clock wise direction of causation in ECG-HPA-IIQ-ECG cyclical order.

![Clockwise virtuous cycle of prosperity](image)

Fig-2. Clockwise virtuous cycle of prosperity

On the institutions endogenity Przeworski (2004) argues that return to producing, which depends on external human capital, determines the nature of institutions. He writes when returns to producing are low, those who populate political institutions prefer to engage in rent seeking. From the literature,
Acemoglu (1995); Murphy, Shleifer and Vishny (1993) also notes this view. Similarly, North and Thomas (1973, p.6) also notes, “new institutional arrangements will not be set up unless the private benefits of their creation promise to exceed the costs” Based on idea theory of value the benefits could exceed the cost only if replication of productive ideas, i.e. external human capital is made possible in the production system. Besides this, internal human capital can determine institutional quality directly, since it provides the blue prints of just institutions- like theory of social contracts.

On the institutions endogeneity to human capital, Tebaldi and Elmslie (2008) develop a theoretical model that shows stock of human capital determines both early institutions and current institutions. The model shows that the growth rate of current institutions depends on the weight (persistence effect) that historical determinants and accumulated human capital have on current institutions. Castello-Climent (2008) finds that education specifically more equally distributed education has been an outstanding determinant for implementation and sustainability of democracies during post-war period. Glaeser et al. (2004) made empirical investigation whether human capital accumulation leads to institutional improvements and concluded their investigation by reporting that human capital affects political institutions positively.

Lipset (1959) himself, even though he relied heavily on prosperity, did not reject the hypothesis that human capital determine institutional quality. He wrote, for example, “the relationship between education and democracy is worth more extensive treatment since an entire philosophy of democratic government has seen in increased education the spread of the basic requirement of democracy…education presumably broadens men’s outlooks, enables them to understand the need for norms of tolerance … and increase their capacity to make rational electoral choices. He believed that educated people are more
likely to resolve their differences through negotiation and voting than through violent disputes.

Finally, the institutions determined by human capital in their turn determine economic performances. North, 1990, p.3, wrote “that institutions affect the performance of economies is hardly controversial. That the differential performance of economies over time is fundamentally influenced by the way institutions evolve is also not controversial.” Supporting this view, Acemoglu and Robinson (2005), argues “differences in human capital, physical capital, and technology are only proximate causes in the sense that they pose the next question of why some countries have less human capital, physical capital, and technology and make worse use of their factors of production and opportunities. To develop more satisfactory answers to questions about why some countries are much richer than others and why some countries grow much faster than others, we need to look for potential fundamental causes that may be underlying these proximate differences across countries”. According to this cyclical causation the recommended factor accumulation ensures the desired goal of development.

The critical question that can be posed to this part of the literature, however, is that if the virtuous cycle functions well, why does poverty persists in some countries, while it is abandoned in other countries so quickly? In listing the candidate explanations for the persistence of poverty, Rajan and Zingales (2006) asks “Why is underdevelopment so persistent?” and notes “One explanation is that poor countries do not have institutions that can support growth. Because institutions (both good and bad) are persistent, underdevelopment is persistent. An alternative view is that underdevelopment comes from poor education. Neither explanation is fully satisfactory, the first because it does not explain why poor economic institutions persist even in fairly democratic but poor societies, and the second because it does not explain why
poor education is so persistent”. This statement implies that there is some difficulty in both parts of the literature that deserve special attention. To get better information on the reason for persistence of poor institutions, poor education and other related issues, the next section analyzes a theoretical model, from the literature, that links institutional quality to human capital after modifying it for the present purpose.

3. The framework

After arguing plausibly the fact that improvement in institutional quality depend on human capital, Rosenberg (1963) and Tebaldi and Elmslie (2008) specifies the current institutional arrangement as a function of past and current human capital stocks and time-invariant country-specific factors as

\[ Z(t) = \Gamma \int_{-\infty}^{t} h(s)e^{\eta s} ds \quad [1] \]

where \( Z(t) \) is institutional quality, \( \Gamma \) is time-invariant country-specific factors like geography and colonial legacy, \( h(s) \) is stock of human capital at time \( s \), \( \eta \) is impact of human capital on current institutions. Notice that in this specification at \( t=0 \), \( z(0) = \Gamma h(0) \), suggesting a country that started with a large stock of human capital and advantageous initial conditions may have better institutional quality in present time. This phenomenon is referred to as persistence effect and dealt with in depth by La Porta et al. (1999) and Acemoglu et al. (2001). The inclusion of \( \Gamma \) has been considered by a number of economists that argued geography (tropical climate and land lockedness) has got some role in determining a quality of institutions. On this issue Acemoglu et al. (2005), for example, argue that institutions in colony at the time of colonization were strongly affected by the colony’s geography due to disease and distance i.e. tropical disease and distance from center of good institutions. Engerman and Sokoloff (2005), Gallup et al. (1999), and Sachs (2000) also
support the view that geography affects the development of growth-promoting institutions.

Using the property of integration one can re-write equation [1] as

$$Z(t) = \Gamma \left[ \int_{t-1}^{t} h(s)e^{\eta s} ds + \int_{t-2}^{t} h(s)e^{\eta s} ds + \int_{t-3}^{t} h(s)e^{\eta s} ds + ... + \int_{-\infty}^{0} h(s)e^{\eta s} ds \right]$$ \hspace{1cm} [2]

$$\Gamma \int_{n-1}^{n} h(s)e^{\eta s} ds$$ Representing the impact of human capital accumulated from n-1 to n period on Z(t). Since $\Gamma$ is time-invariant factor, without lose of generality one can express equation [2] as

$$Z(t) = \Gamma \left[ f(h(t)) + f(h(t-1)) + f(h(t-2)) + ... + f(h(0)) \right]$$ \hspace{1cm} [3]

Applying Tylor’s linear approximation to $f(.)$ that captures the maximizing behavior of individuals, equation [3] can be written as

$$Z(t) = \Gamma \left[ (a_0'b_0'h(t)) + (a_1'b_1'h(t-1)) + (a_2'b_2'h(t-2)) + ... + (a_i'b_i'h(0)) \right]$$

Or

$$Z(t) = b_0'h(t) + b_1'h(t-1) + b_2'h(t-2) + ... + b_i'h(0) + a''$$ \hspace{1cm} [4]

where $a'' = \Gamma \left[ a'_0 + a'_1 + a'_2 + ... + a'_i \right]$ and $b_0 = \Gamma b_0'$

In econometrics terms, equation [4] can be seen as a distributed lag model for the equation suggests the current institutional quality is determined not only by the current human capital stock but also by the lagged or past stock of human capital. Most often, the parameter $b_0'$ is referred to as short run effect and $\sum b_i'$ is referred to as long run effect of human capital. From the attribute of
human capital one can impose some basic assumptions on the $b_i'$s specifically, the assumption that the marginal effects $b_i'$s do not change sign and the marginal effects decline with distance from the present. Obviously, if the blue print of institutions supplied by human capital is fair enough to protect property right or more generally is consistent with natural law the rate of decline, $\lambda$, in the marginal effects will be larger or closer to unity since there is no incentive in altering the blue print over time for it is consistent with individuals’ maximizing behavior of individuals. But if, in the contrary, the blue print deviates from fairness substantially, or is inconsistent with natural law $\lambda$ will be closer to zero since there will be frequent revision of institutions in order to make it consistent with the individuals’ maximizing behavior. Under this case the effect of a distant stock of human capital will be lesser. Assuming rate of decline to be constant, one can apply Koyck transformation that sets

$$b_k = b_0 \lambda^k \quad \text{for} \quad k = 0, 1, 2, \ldots \quad \text{and} \quad 0 < \lambda < 1$$

and substituting the parameters in equation [4] by these transformed values, one gets

$$Z(t) = b_0 h(t) + b_0 \lambda h(t-1) + b_0 \lambda^2 h(t-2) + \ldots + b_0 \lambda^k h(0) + a' \quad [5]$$

By lagging equation [5] by one period, one gets

$$Z(t-1) = b_0 h(t-1) + b_0 \lambda h(t-2) + b_0 \lambda^2 h(t-3) + \ldots + b_0 \lambda^k h(0) + a' \quad [6]$$

Multiplying equation [6] by $\lambda$

$$\lambda Z(t-1) = b_0 \lambda h(t-1) + b_0 \lambda^2 h(t-2) + b_0 \lambda^3 h(t-3) + \ldots + b_0 \lambda^k h(0) + a' \quad [7]$$

Subtracting equation [7] from equation [5] and rearranging, one gets

$$Z(t) = b_0 h(t) + \lambda Z(t-1) + a'(1-\lambda) \quad [8]$$
Notice that equation [8] captures the persistence effect of human capital with declining rate. That is the remotest human capital stock affects the present institutional quality, but with lesser degree, the degree depending on the distance of the past from the present. Besides this, the equation suggests that the time-invariant country-specific factors affect not only the parameter that captures the initial condition \( a'(1-\lambda) \), but also the degree to which present stock of human capital affects present level of institutional quality, since the constituents of the short run effect, \( b_0 \), contains \( \Gamma \).

In the empirical studies, most often, the effect of time-invariant and country-specific factors are assumed to affect only the constant terms and dummies and panel datasets are employed. However, this approach implicitly assumes that the influence of time-invariant country-specific factors on the marginal effect of human capital is non-existent or similar across countries, while it may not be the case. This issue deserves special treatment in empirical analysis since variation in \( \Gamma \) could cause variation in \( b_0 \).

Obviously, the stock of human capital is unobservable quantity that needs separate treatment.

Based on Lucas (1988), it is possible to specify stock of human capital as a function of years of schooling, i.e. \( h(t) = g(s(t)) \). Applying again Taylor’s linear approximation to human capital accumulation function, one gets \( h(t) = \varphi_0 + \varphi_1 s(t) \). Using this explicit function, equation [8] becomes

\[
Z(t) = b_0 \varphi_1 s(t) + \lambda Z(t-1) + a'(1-\lambda) + \varphi_0 b_0
\]

Or

\[
Z(t) = \beta_0 s(t) + \lambda Z(t-1) + \alpha_0
\]

[9]
where $\beta_0 \equiv b_0 \varphi_1$ and $\alpha_0 \equiv a'(1 - \lambda) + \varphi_0 b_0$

Equation [9] states that the previous level of institutional quality influence the present level of institutional quality as far as the rate of decline marginal effect of human capital is non-zero. Moreover, it suggests education influences quality of institutions as far as the marginal effect of education $\beta_0 \neq 0$. From the constituents of $\beta_0$, it is possible to understand that for a given time-invariant country-specific factor education influences the quality of institutions to the extent it helps accumulate human capital and that human capital influence institutional quality. However, it could be misleading to assume time-invariant country-specific factor to be similar across countries. Hence it is assumed here that it varies across nations $\mu^*_j = \Gamma_j \beta_0$ and

$$Z(t) = \mu^*_j s(t) + \lambda Z(t - 1) + \alpha_0$$

The next section examines empirically the role of education in improving institutional quality using equation [9] and panel dataset.

### 4. Empirical evidences

#### 4.1 Dataset and descriptive

**The dataset**

For the econometric analysis, panel data was preferred for it contains, according to Hsiao (2005), more degrees of freedom and less multi-co linearity than cross-sectional data. The panel was constructed from 166 countries ranging from 1960 to 2010 put together at five years interval. The countries were sub-grouped in to seven regions and five income groups following the World Bank groupings. The regional sub groups includes East Asia and Pacific, (EAP), East and Central Asia, (ECA), Latin America and Caribbean, (LAC), Middle and North America, (MNA), North America, (NAM), South Asia, (SAS) and Sub Saharan Africa, (SSA). The income sub-group includes, Low income,(LIN),
Lower middle income, (LMI), Upper middle income, (UMI), High income OECD, (HIO) and High income Non-OECD, (HNO).

The variables for the analysis include indicators of institutional quality, years of schooling, per capita GDP and population size. Indicators of institutional quality were taken from Freedom House (2016). The house compiles indicators on political rights and civil liberties composed of numerical ratings ranging from 1 the highest quality to 7 the lowest quality. The House indicated that the indicators assess the real-world rights and freedoms enjoyed by individuals, rather than governments or government performance per se. For the analysis the arithmetic average of political right and civil liberty was taken as indicator of institutional quality (HF). Years of schooling (ysc) data were taken from Barro and Lee (2010). Lee and Barro (20010) defined Years of schooling as the years of formal schooling received on average by an adult over 15 years old. In estimating the years of schooling, they indicated, they applied a perpetual inventory method. GDP and population size were taken from the World Bank (2015). The Bank defined per capita GDP as gross domestic product divided by midyear population. This variable was measured in constant year 2005 United States Dollars (USD).

**Descriptive statistics**

A statistics presented in table-1 indicates some regional surpass observed between Thailand and Zambia indicated in the introduction. A look at the five-decades-average of gross domestic saving rate in MNA was 22.85% while it was 15.31% in SAS. The average change in years of schooling in MNA was 0.1098 years of schooling per year, while it was 0.0861 years of schooling SAS. Despite these better performances in factor accumulation in MNA, the average growth of per capita GDP in MNA was 2.36%, while it was 2.75 % in SAS, implying there might be some other factor in determining the economic performances of the regions.
Table 1: Descriptive statistics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VAR</th>
<th>EAP</th>
<th>ECA</th>
<th>LAC</th>
<th>MNA</th>
<th>NAM</th>
<th>SAS</th>
<th>SSA</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>0.034</td>
<td>0.021</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.023</td>
<td>0.021</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DYS</td>
<td>0.090</td>
<td>0.091</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.109</td>
<td>0.076</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POPT</td>
<td>0.018</td>
<td>0.007</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.031</td>
<td>0.010</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDS</td>
<td>0.273</td>
<td>0.216</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.228</td>
<td>0.221</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRHI</td>
<td>4.141</td>
<td>2.449</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>5.129</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>4.04</td>
<td>5.07</td>
<td>3.787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRHI</td>
<td>3.906</td>
<td>2.630</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>5.147</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>4.35</td>
<td>4.38</td>
<td>3.472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YSC*</td>
<td>8.96</td>
<td>10.36</td>
<td>8.54</td>
<td>7.52</td>
<td>12.59</td>
<td>6.27</td>
<td>5.36</td>
<td>8.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>1521</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>6553</td>
<td>1236</td>
<td>5227</td>
<td>1537</td>
<td>1533</td>
<td>1111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GDPPG—per capita GDP growth rate, POPG—Population growth rate, DYS—Change in Years of schooling, GDS—Gross Domestic Savings rate, FRHI—Freedom House institutional quality indicator, *—average for year 2010, Average for year 2005

In line with the arguments reviewed in section 2, that considers human capital accumulation influencing economic growth not directly, but through improvement in institutional quality, the average indicator of institutional quality in MNA was 5.13, while it was 4.05 in SAS, suggesting better institutional quality in SAS.

More or less a similar pattern is observed between LAC and NAM. It indicates that the five decades global average of in years of schooling in LAC was 0.0957 years of schooling per year, while it was 0.0764 years of schooling NAM. Despite these better performances human capital accumulation LAC, the average growth of per capita GDP in LAC was only 1.87%, while it was 2.16% in NAM. Based on parts of the literature reviewed above one may attribute the discrepancy to institutional quality in LAC. The indicator of institutional
quality indicates that the institutional quality in NAM is more than 2.5 times that in LAC, which could be seen as a factor behind the surpass. Moreover, the reports that during 1960-2010 the global average growth rate of per capita GDP was 1.97%. This per capita GDP growth rate suggests that if the socio-economic situation that prevailed during the last five decade continues in the future the global representative person would observe doubling standard of life in the next 35 years while the representative persons of of EAP and SSA observe such economic event in the next 20 years and 68 year, respectively.

What is it that made countries of SSA lag behind so far? Is there a viable and feasible means for the countries like SSA countries to reduce this doubling time by half, and bring it down to the present time global average?

4.2. Econometric analysis

The econometric investigation of education-institutional quality nexus requires an institutional quality determining equation. For this purpose, equation [9] is considered. However, in line with Barro (1999) log-GDPP and log-POP were included. This measure will help to estimate the required parameters and test Lipset hypothesis simultaneously.

The respective panel form econometric specification of equation [9] will be

\[ Z(i,t) = \alpha_0 + \lambda Z(i,t-1) + \beta_0 s(i,t) + \beta_1 \ln gdpp + \beta_2 \ln pop + \Theta_1(t) + \varphi_1(i) + \xi_1(i,t) \]  

where \( Z(i,t) \) and \( Z(i,t-1) \) are indicator of institutional quality of present and previous time, respectively, in country i at time t for \( i=1,2,…n \) (number of countries), \( t=1,2,…T \) (number of time units), \( \alpha_0, \lambda, \beta_0, \beta_1, \text{and} \beta_2 \) are parameters, \( \xi_1(i,t) \) is error term with the property \( E[\xi_1(i,t)] = 0 \) and \( \text{var}[\xi_1(i,t)] = (\sigma_{\xi_1})^2 \); \( \varphi_1(i) \) and \( \Theta_1(t) \) are country and time specific effects respectively.
As indicated in section-3, the education-institutional quality relationships in different countries are formed in dissimilar conditions. The primary cause of the variations in the conditions is variations in time-invariant and country-specific factors. To consider such variations regional dummies, rd1-rd7, were created. Rd1=1 if the region is EAP and 0 otherwise; rd2=1 if the region is ECA and 0 otherwise and so on. Under each regional dummy, five income group dummies, I1-I5, were created. The income groups were LIN, LMI, UMI, HIO, and HNO. In this way of categorization, some income group may not necessarily appear in the regional groups, such for instance high OECD income or high non-OECD groups in SSA or SAS. All together, 22 dummies designed to capture a country’s regional and income group characteristics were formed. To capture the effect of time-invariant factors on marginal effect of education on institutional quality in each subgroup the dummies were multiplied with the corresponding years of schooling, and the institutional quality estimating equation [9] is re-specifies as

\[ Z(i,t) = \alpha_0 + \lambda Z(i,t-1) + \sum_{j=1}^{22} \mu_j \cdot s(i,t) + \Theta_j(t) + \delta_j(i) + \zeta_j(i,t) \]  

[12]  

Where \( \mu_j = d_{m,n} \beta_0 \) and \( d_{m,n} = 1 \) if the country belongs to region-m and income group-n and 0, otherwise. and other parameters and variables are as defined in equation [11].

In the estimating dynamic growth equation like equation [11] and [12] with panel data, Arellano-Bond (1991) proposed an estimator that is based on generalized methods of moments (GMM), in which the individual specific effects are removed by differencing and then using instruments to form moment conditions. Moreover they pointed out that the one-step robust approach is
preferable to one-step non-robust form and the two-step robust form. Hence to estimate equation [11] and equation [12] one-step robust variant is employed. Endogenous variables differ from predetermined variables only in that the former allow for correlation between the variable at \((i, t)\) and the error term at \((i, t)\), whereas the latter assumes correlation between the variable and the past error terms. In our case here, it is very unlikely that people determine the fraction of non-leisure time they devote to schooling by looking the error of the year, since it is not yet realized. But it is plausible if one assumes that they use past error terms in determining the time devoted to schooling. In the cases when there is a weak instrument problem in a dynamic model like equation [11] and equation [12], which is very likely in our case, Blundell and Bond (1998) propose the use of a system GMM -an extended form of the difference GMM estimator. Moreover, in line with Arellano and Bond (1991), they pointed that the inference based on the asymptotic variance matrix of one-step GMM estimators to be more reliable than the two-step GMM estimators. Therefore, equation [11] and equation [12] are estimated by employing the one-step robust system GMM estimator. In fact, this estimator requires exogenity of the instruments employed, hence to get consistent estimates from this estimator the moment conditions used in the estimations have to be valid. Thus, for the instrument validity check, here, the Arellano-Bond AR(2) test was used. AR (2) in the first difference, tests for the absence of serial correlation in the first differenced idiosyncratic errors. Accordingly, to check the validity of the instrument employed in estimating equation [11] and equation [12], test for AR(2) in the first difference is used. Using this estimator and the dataset described in section 4.1 equation [11] was estimated, and the estimation results are presented in table2.

The table reports that the Arellano-Bond test for AR(2) in the first difference accepts the null hypothesis that states the moment conditions are valid, which
holds only if there is no serial correlation in the idiosyncratic errors, \( z = 0.3005 \) \( Pr > z = 0.7638 \). That is the test confirms the hypothesis that the instrumental variables are acceptable for they fulfill the condition that they need not be correlated to the residuals.

**Table 2: One-step system GMM estimate of equation [11]**

| Model | Parameter | Parameter Estimate | Robust Std. Err. | z       | P>|z| |
|-------|-----------|--------------------|------------------|---------|------|
|       | L.HF      | 0.6556             | 0.0614           | 10.6700 | 0.0000 |
|       | Ysc       | -0.1363            | 0.0502           | -2.7200 | 0.0070 |
|       | Ingdpp    | -0.1515            | 0.0995           | -1.5200 | 0.1280 |
|       | Inpop     | 0.2111             | 0.1270           | 1.6600  | 0.0970 |
|       | Constant  | -0.1528            | 2.3822           | -0.0600 | 0.9490 |

*Arellano-Bond test for AR(1) in first differences: z = -6.439  Pr > z = 0.0000*

*Arellano-Bond test for AR(2) in first differences: z = 0.3005  Pr > z = 0.7638*

*Wald chi2(4)= 850.70Prob> chi2= 0.0000; Number of obs=901; Number of instruments = 81=

Besides these, the table reports that for the panel group the Wald test rejects the null hypothesis that states all the coefficients except the constant term are zero for the equation. Moreover, the table reports that for equation [11] the coefficient of the lagged HF, is statistically significant, \( z = 10.67 \) \( Pr > z = 0.0000 \). Based on equation [9], this statistical test result confirms the arguments of Rosenberg (1963) and Tebaldi and Elmslie (2008) that views current
institutional quality is influenced not only by current human capital but also by past stock of human capita. Regarding the subject at hand—effect of education on institutional quality, the table reports that the coefficient of years of schooling is negative and statistically significant, \( z = -2.72 \Pr > z = 0.007 \). The estimate suggests that for an increase in years of schooling by one year the indicator of institutional quality will decrease (i.e. quality improves) by 0.1363 units. This indicates that the accumulation of human capital that takes place through education has got statistically significant effect on improvement of institutional quality.

The table also has got some information concerning the Lipset hypothesis indicated in section 2. The table reports that the coefficient of \( \log\text{-GDP} \) carries negative sign, but the estimate is not statistically significant, \( z = -1.5200 \Pr > z = 0.1280 \). This result suggests that under the assumption that the marginal effect of human capital on institutional quality is independent of time-invariant country-specific factors; during the covered period of study there is no strong empirical evidence that supports Lipset hypothesis. That is based on the indicated assumption, the hypothesis that prosperity causes improvement in institutional quality has no strong empirical ground. However, before reaching final conclusion it would be a wise approach to relax the underlying assumption regarding time-invariant country-specific factors.

Furthermore, the table reports that population growth has adverse but statistically weak effect on the improvement of institutional quality. The estimator gives a positive coefficient estimate for \( \log\text{-POP} \), but the estimate is not statistically at 5% level of significance, \( z = 1.6600 \Pr > z = 0.0970 \).

To come up with the final education-institutional quality relationship while testing Lipset hypothesis equation [12] is estimated and the estimation results were presented in table 3.
Table [3] reports that, after relaxing the underlying assumption about the time-invariant country specific factors, the Arellano-Bond test for AR(2) in the first difference do not reject the null hypothesis that states the moment conditions are valid, $z = 0.2165$ $Pr > z = 0.8286$. This test results confirms the hypothesis that the instrumental variables are not correlated to the residuals.

Besides these, the table reports that for the panel group the Wald test rejects the null hypothesis that states all the coefficients except the constant term are zero for the equation. The table also reports that for equation [9] the coefficient of the lagged HF, is statistically significant, $z = 11.4200$ $Pr > z = 0.0000$. Here again this statistical test result confirms the arguments of Rosenberg (1963) and Tebaldi and Elmslie (2008) that views current institutional quality is influenced not only by current human capital but also by past stock of human capital.

<p>| Region Income Group | Parameter | Parameter Estimate | Robust Std. Err. | z       | $P&gt;|z|$ |
|---------------------|-----------|--------------------|------------------|---------|---------|
| SAS                 | $\lambda$ | 0.6020             | 0.0527           | 11.4200 | 0.0000  |
| LIN                 | $\mu_{11}$ | -0.1987            | 0.0568           | -3.5000 | 0.0000  |
| LMI                 | $\mu_{12}$ | -0.0915            | 0.0594           | -1.5400 | 0.1230  |
| SSA                 | $\mu_{21}$ | -0.1429            | 0.0644           | -2.2200 | 0.0270  |
| LIN                 | $\mu_{22}$ | -0.0598            | 0.0543           | -1.1000 | 0.2710  |
| LMI                 |           |                    |                  |         |         |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UMI</th>
<th>( \mu^23 )</th>
<th>0.1254</th>
<th>0.0587</th>
<th>-2.1400</th>
<th>0.0330</th>
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<tr>
<td>ECA</td>
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<td>-3.5800</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UMI</td>
<td>( \mu^33 )</td>
<td>-0.0687</td>
<td>0.0342</td>
<td>-2.0100</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HIO</td>
<td>( \mu^34 )</td>
<td>-0.1329</td>
<td>0.0480</td>
<td>-2.7700</td>
<td>0.0060</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HNO</td>
<td>( \mu^35 )</td>
<td>-0.1069</td>
<td>0.0578</td>
<td>-1.8500</td>
<td>0.0640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MNA</td>
<td>LMI</td>
<td>( \mu^42 )</td>
<td>0.0157</td>
<td>0.0658</td>
<td>0.2800</td>
<td>0.7820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UMI</td>
<td>( \mu^43 )</td>
<td>0.0334</td>
<td>0.0412</td>
<td>0.8100</td>
<td>0.4170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HIO</td>
<td>( \mu^44 )</td>
<td>-0.0942</td>
<td>0.0362</td>
<td>-2.6000</td>
<td>0.0090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HNO</td>
<td>( \mu^45 )</td>
<td>0.0217</td>
<td>0.0839</td>
<td>0.2600</td>
<td>0.7960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAP</td>
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<td>( \mu^52 )</td>
<td>-0.0960</td>
<td>0.0466</td>
<td>-2.0600</td>
<td>0.0400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UMI</td>
<td>( \mu^53 )</td>
<td>0.0051</td>
<td>0.0347</td>
<td>0.1500</td>
<td>0.8820</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0.0395</td>
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<tr>
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<td>LAC</td>
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<td>-4.3100</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>UMI</td>
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<td>HNO</td>
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<td>-0.1688</td>
<td>0.0482</td>
<td>-3.5000</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAM</td>
<td>HIO</td>
<td>( \mu^74 )</td>
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<td>0.0426</td>
<td>-2.2300</td>
<td>0.0260</td>
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<td>( \beta^1 )</td>
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<td>0.1088</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lnpop</td>
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<td>-0.0452</td>
<td>0.0582</td>
<td>-0.7800</td>
<td>0.4370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Constant</td>
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<td>4.0414</td>
<td>1.3326</td>
<td>3.0300</td>
<td>0.0020</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Arellano-Bond test for AR(1) in first differences: \( z = -5.6956 \) \( Pr > z = 0.0000 \)
Arellano-Bond test for AR(2) in first differences: \( z = 0.2165 \) \( Pr > z = 0.8286 \)
Wald chi2(4) = 10046.57 \( Pr > \text{chi2} = 0.0000 \); Number of obs=901; Number of instruments = 386
Test for \( \mu_i = \mu_j \) \( \text{chi2(21)} = 281.43, Pr > \text{chi2} = 0.0000 \)

Moreover, the table reports the statistical test for equality of the coefficient of years of schooling across the considered sub-groups. The test rejects the null hypothesis that states the marginal effects of years of schooling on institutional quality over all sub-groups are equal, \( \text{chi2(21)} = 281.43, Pr > \text{chi2} = 0.0000 \). The likely reason for this inequality according to equation [9] is that the
effects of time-invariant country specific factors like geography, colonial legacy etc have dissimilar effect in determining the institutional quality. The estimator gives a positive but statistically insignificant coefficient estimate for five sub groups and negative and statistically significant for fourteen sub-groups, ranging from -0.1987 in LIN of SAS to -0.0687 in UMI of ECA. On the one hand, the results supports the argument that institutional quality is endogenous to human capital and, on the other hand it supports the hypothesis that the marginal effect of schooling on institutional quality exhibits substantial variation. Besides these, the table reports that the coefficient of log-GDPP is negative, but here again the estimate is not statistically significant, z = -1.5600 Pr > z = 0.1180. This test result suggests that, based on the dataset during the covered period of study, there is no strong empirical evidence that supports the Lipset hypothesis, which considers prosperity to cause improvements in institutional quality.

In addition to these, the table reports that unlike the result in table 2, log-pop has negative but statistically insignificant coefficient, significant, z = -0.7800 Pr > z = 0.437. This sign is consistent with the result reported in Barro (1999).

5. Conclusion
A part of the literature informs that accumulation of human capital and produced capital causes income growth which in turn causes improvement in institutional quality. The improvement in institutional quality in its turn causes accumulation of human capital and produced capital. In HPA-ECG-IIQ-HPA cyclical order the direction of causation follows anti-clockwise direction. The theories and hypothesis in this part of the literature predict the existence of virtuous cycle of prosperity. However, the macro level empirical studies put skepticism on the link between accumulation of human capital and economic growth. The other part of the literature informs that the accumulation of human capital and produced capital influences improvement in institutional quality.
which in turn influences income growth. The growth of income in its turn, through influencing rate of return on education, influences the accumulation of human capital and produced capital. This part of the literature can be summarized as a clockwise direction of causation in HPA-ECG-IIQ-HPA cyclical order.

Based on the second part of the literature, this paper investigated the education-institution nexus using a theoretical model connecting institutional quality to human capital. The theoretical analytic result suggests that accumulation of human capital can cause improvement in institutional quality under some critical conditions, the conditions being determined by consistency of the blue print institutions with the just institutional blue print, and the content of human capital, particularly its content of blue print of institutional quality. Moreover, the analytic result indicates that time-invariant country-specific factors can influence the degree to which accumulation of human capital induces improvements in institutional quality.

The empirical analytic results inform that, in general, the accumulation of human capital influences improvement of institutional quality. However, it has also been observed that, in line with theoretical expectation, time-invariant country-specific factors can influence the marginal effect of human capital on institutional quality. Moreover, the empirical analysis suggested that there is no strong empirical evidence supporting the hypothesis that implies prosperity causes improvement in institutional quality.

**Endnotes**

From income ratio of two countries one can derive that latter income ratio

\[ b = \frac{y_1^0}{y_2^0} \]

is the product of initial income ratio

\[ a = \frac{y_1^f}{y_2^f} \]

and the exponent
of the difference in growth rate between the two countries $r_1 - r_2$. That is
\[ b = ae^{(n-1)(r_1-r_2)} \]
for $n$ years gap between the two reference times.

From Lucas (1988) one can derive $h(t) = ae^{\mu s(t)}$. Using Taylor’s approximation one can substitute $e^{\mu s(t)}$ by n-the order polynomial function. But in empirical work only the linear approximation was found to have significant coefficient.

6. References


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Implementation of Formative Evaluation in Striving for Quality Education Assurance: The Case of Selected Universities in Addis Ababa. By: Manaye Adela (PhD candidate in AAU) manayeadela@gmail.com /manaye.adela@yahoo.com Mob: +251-910-065090/0915655734

Abstract
Formative evaluation is a means for coming up with corrective measures in the learning-teaching process. This research targets implementation of continuous assessment of students learning outcome with respect to quality education. In doing so, selected private and public universities in Addis Ababa were in focus. It was conducted by recruiting 142 university students and Likert type questionnaire was administered. In addition, 9 instructors were interviewed. Participants were selected using multistage sampling followed by stratified sampling from college to department level. There is transparency of letting students know their result but the impediment is they show the score lately so they miss the advantage of gearing to support the learners’ progress. It was found that there is wrong practice of continuous assessment and evaluation practices among distance learners. The misuse was in terms cheating/ copying, plagiarizing assignment and project/paper works, and reluctance in attempting questions. Formative evaluation is so neglected and continuous assessment is found as not being properly practiced. Delay and failure to immediate feedback and insufficient advisory are major factors as per the students’ reflection. As assessment has equivalent role with teaching learning process in quality education, the misuse of continuous assessment and formative evaluation affect the progress and cross checking of learning outcomes that the instructors expect as per the statement of objectives in the course outline. Periodical short term
tutorial, educational measurement and evaluation trainings for teachers and better honesty policy setting are recommended. HDP shall be extensively considering measurement and evaluation aspects too. Instructors should give evaluation feedback as immediate as possible.

Key Terms: meta-quality, quality education, assessment, formative evaluation

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

Education is the basis for every aspects of once country development because all knowledgeable and skilled man powers are products of education. For the production of these knowledgeable and skilled man powers, quality education is mandatory. Hence, by now the federal democratic republic of Ethiopia-Ministry of Education/FDRE-MoE/ planned quality education policy and implement in learning institutions. In order to make an assessment about quality education the primary technique is conducting continuous assessment/formative evaluation (HERQA).

According to Thorndike (1997) typically, classroom teachers employ a wide range of instructional objectives for a particular class. Cognitive objectives may include the building of a knowledge base or the development of cognitive skills, such as reading or writing. Affective objectives involve the development of attitudes, values, interests and personal or social attributes. Depending up on the area of instruction assessing achievements of these objectives may focus on evaluation of products or performances as well as on acquired cognitive skills and information. Different methods of assessment are often required to determine if different types of objectives have been achieved by students. However, it is critical regardless of the approach to assessment, that the information collected be accurate and relevant. If the techniques used to collect information about the achievement of an objective do not yield high-quality information, decisions or actions based on those data are likely to be faulty.
The assessment of students’ learning is a not of well understood and, in most disciplines, an under – researched aspect of higher education. According to Wakeford cited in Fry, Ketteridge & Marshal, 2004, student assessment has of two main importance: first, assessment is an integral component of the teaching and learning system. Assessment may be used explicitly to guide students in their study. But also, student perceptions of what is rewarded and what is ignored by formal examination procedures will have a substantial impact up on their learning behavior and thus upon the outcomes of a course. Second, for a variety of reasons, assessment needs to be accurate. Assessment needs to be accurate for internal and external quality assurance purposes. Thus assessment may be seen as informal and formative – within the teaching process or summative – making formal decisions about progress and level of achievement. In quality assurance concerned bodies should ask the following questions within its inspections that make it clear that assessment as a central component of the teaching and learning process. How effective are assessment design and practice in terms of: clarity, and students’ understanding of assessment criteria and assignments; promoting learning (including the quality of feedback to students); measuring attainment of the intended learning outcomes; appropriateness of the student profile, level and mode of study; and consistency and rigor of marking.

1.2. Statement of the Problem
Continuous assessment signifies the progress of learners. This techniques helps to look in to the effectiveness of the method of teaching the teachers use. One of the most important tasks for classroom teachers is to insure that students achieve instructional objectives. Teachers must monitor the progress of the both the class and individual students in order to make good decisions about where to begin teaching, when to move on to the next unit of instruction, whether to re-teach the present unit, or whether a particular student or subgroup of students
needs special help to master the learning task. The quality of these decisions influences the effectiveness of the classroom instructional program (Thorndike, 1997).

A poorly constructed tool may not only be useless, but dangerous, but, certainly high-stakes tests are carefully constructed, administered, and scored. High-stakes testing - the use of tests and assessment alone to make decision that are of prominent educational, financial, or social impact. Using test to provide information relevant to this decision is usually not controversial in and of itself. What is controversial is; that in many high-stakes testing programs these decisions are based entirely or in large part on the results of a single test and whether high-stakes are valid measures of learning.

**Continuous Assessment**

A single standardized test score provides only a portion of students’ achievement over the school year; regardless of the grade level (Kubiszyn & Borich, 2003). Using data collected on a single day and from a single-test to make what otherwise would be complex, time-consuming and difficult decisions has obvious attractions.

According to Thorndike (1997) there are various categories of assessment instruments. Standardized achievement tests can be used in the placement evaluation phase to identify the current status of learners. At the beginning of the school year, when he/she is facing new class, student scores on standardized achievement test might help a teacher in planning instruction for that class. In addition teacher-made assessment instruments are part and parcel of CA implementation.

The five general methods of collecting data on the achievement of instructional objectives: paper and pencil tests; oral tests; product evaluations; performance test and portfolio assessment; and affective measures. Objective that call for knowledge about a particular subject area, the capacity to use that knowledge
to solve problems, or a general educational skill such as reading can be most reliably and validly appraised by teacher made paper and pencil test. Unfortunately most teachers made are poor measuring instrument. There are typically two problems with these kinds of instruments. First the items on the tests often do not match the stated goals of the class, and second the tests tend to have poor psychometric qualities because the items are not well written. Teacher seldom use even minimal data-analysis procedures, such as determining the central tendency or variability on their test results. As a result of these weaknesses, the information obtained from such tests may be of questionable value in making instructional decisions (Konting, Kamaruddin & Man, 2009).

In administration of CAT$^2$ Reporting Academic progress is so vital. There are three approaches to defining the merit a student’s performance to define; performance in relation to perfection; performance in relation to par (same expected or average level of accomplishment); and performance in relation to potential.

Monitoring and evaluating students’ performance during tutorials can be rather complex since many factors are involved. Some students participate more than others, perhaps because they are better prepared, or they are just more vocal. Hence, the frequency of participation by itself is not necessarily significant, but it provides a basis for a behaviorally. Quality is probably more significant than quantity, but its assessment is considerably more intricate since student contributions vary and may involve: seeking information; giving information; offering an opinion; arguing; clarifying; synthesizing information; identifying problems; applying information/formulating solutions.

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2 CAT – Classroom Assessment Test
And within each category there may be a range. For instance, the information sought for may be basic or something reflecting thought and intellectual curiosity; the information given may be mere ‘parroting’ or ‘processed’; the opinion given may be unsubstantiated or a considered one; and arguments may be based on sound or unsound premises. It may be helpful to think in terms of these broad headings: the kind(s) of questions asked; the quality of answers given (the degree to which they reflect understanding); and the ability to articulate ideas clearly and coherently. Obviously, it is not easy to monitor each student’s performance with consistent sensitivity during group work, especially with groups larger than ten or so. Assessing class participation can be quite an onerous task, especially with increasing weight age placed on continuous assessment. But difficult as it may be, the various dimensions should be kept in mind and assessed accordingly and it is important to maintain some sort of record-keeping system.

**Establishing criteria**

It seems reasonable to suggest that students should be aware of—and preferably in agreement with—the criteria by which they are assessed. Students then know what is expected and are more likely to accept a tool that they were partly instrumental in creating. Hence, some discussion between tutor and students in determining the criteria may be a good idea.

In assessing written assignments, instructors are expected to grade and return assignments promptly; make clear the rationale for the grade given; evaluate carefully and in some detail; and make the trouble to make some comments. Merely giving a grade at the end is less useful to students, and even if students do not read them with the care they should, they convey the marker’s painstaking concern.

It is unprofessional to be sarcastic and personal. Bear in mind that students generally take their work very seriously and what may be intended as gentle
mockery may be taken as scathing. Therefore, it might be better to err on the side of the conservative and eschew possibly hurtful witticisms.

**Quality Education**

According to Fry, Ketteridge & Marshal (2004, p.183) the concept underpins quality and standard related to the design, delivery, assessment and review of educational provision. Quality is used in an even broader manner and with which variability in meaning, and may refer to a number of things, including individual student performance, the outcome of an educational program, the student learning experience, the teaching experience, etc.

Quality assurance refers to the policies, processes and actions through which quality is maintained and developed. Evaluation/assessment is a key part of quality assurance. Quality enhancement refers to the improvement of quality, through dissemination of good practice or use of continuous improvement cycle.

**Quality Improvement Issues in Higher Education/Assuring Quality**

Managing and assuring educational quality is one of the key responsibilities of all educational institutions and those who work in them (Konting, Kamaruddin & Man, 2009). The term quality assurance refers to the policies, processes and actions through which quality is maintained and developed. Evaluation/assessment is a key element in quality assurance.

It is at program level where the individual will be mainly involved in ensuring the quality provision. All those who teach need to be committed to and understand the purposes and context of the programs on offer, and be aware of the elements that may comprise a ‘quality’ learning experience for students (Konting, Kamaruddin & Man, 2009).

Assuring and enhancing educational quality and academic standards can be seen as complex and multifaceted activities, but at the center of these are the individual learner and lecturer.
Quality is always a critical issue especially in higher education institutions (HEIs). It is expected that a quality higher education program could give a positive impact on human capital development of its graduates in terms of knowledge and generic skills (Fink, 2003; Walker, 2006). This down-to-earth expectation becomes increasingly contentious at a time when many HEIs are getting more scrutiny especially for public funding, resulting in generating various and often contrary spheres of knowledge (Biggs, 2003). The issue of quality becomes pertinent as the higher education sector is moving towards the third age era; a transformation from interpretation to generation, to commercialization of knowledge (Chartrand, 2008). The shift provides not only a wider opportunity for diverse people especially in developing countries to have access to higher education, but also invites eclectic and bewildering expectation of the quality of education programs that HEIs offer.

The term quality has been defined in many but contentious ways. Joseph Juran (2003) viewed quality as “fitness for use”. For Noriaki Kano (1984), quality relates to a product or service that meets customer expectation, possessing both “must-be quality” and “attractive quality”. The American Society for Quality, on the other hand, coined that quality refers to the level of customer perception upon which a product or service fulfills customer expectation. Though quality is an elusive and subjective term that defies simple explanation, especially within the framework of HEI due to the changing nature of the term “quality” itself, quality can be defined in terms of value of a product or service rendered as perceived by the customer. These definitions imply that quality improvement in HEIs is a dynamic ongoing process and, to some extent, rely on the students’ perception of the value being offered by the HEIs (Konting, Kamaruddin & Man, 2009). The HEIs, being a college or university ought to continuously improve their services based on the stakeholders’ value. Stakeholders’ perception of the HEIs is vital to improving teaching and learning as well as
facilities and services being offered. While some quarters argued that quality of the HEIs should be determined by the academic experts, most of the universities and colleges gathered information from their students as they are the ones who received the services rendered (Schneider, Russell & Niederjohn, 1995).

In an effort to continuously improve service quality, it is crucial to make assessment and evaluation. The aim is to assess the quality of the academic programs and services offered as well as the students’ satisfaction. The level of satisfaction is measured through their opinion on teaching and learning, management and facilities offered at faculties or colleges of the institution. Besides, the study also assesses students’ attributes towards learning outcomes and soft skills elements instilled through the academic studies program offered by the university (Konting, Kamaruddin & Man, 2009).

**Measuring quality education from students angle**

A value added approach is the best way to assess student learning, but higher education has not yet committed itself to developing reliable measures of the most important dimensions of a college education. There are, on the other hand, a few other possible strategies for assessing student learning that are worth considering (Bennett, 2001; Konting, Kamaruddin & Man, 2009).

**Assessing Outcomes: A Second-Best Strategy**

A second strategy for assessing quality is simply to measure the outcomes of a college education: evaluate students as they graduate (or shortly after) on the skills and capabilities they have acquired or the recognition they gain in further competition. It is possible, for example, to look at GRE scores for those students who take GREs, or to measure the percentage of students who go on to further graduate study, or to look at the honors won (Rhodes, Watson, and Fulbright) by graduates. At best, these measures evaluate the quality of an institution’s best graduates, not the attainments of all its graduates (Konting, Kamaruddin & Man, 2009).
The most frequently used outcome indicator at present is the measurement of *retention rates*. What percentage of those admitted to a particular institution continues in the program or finally earns a degree? Retention rates tell us what percentage of an institution’s students were satisfied enough to continue at a college, and what percentage received the benefit of the institution’s full program. But they do not tell us anything about what students actually learned or attained on their way to a degree. Retention rates are one useful outcome measure, but we need others. We need outcome measures that assess students’ attainments along a variety of dimensions: writing, quantitative abilities, problem solving, understanding of their own culture and of the cultures of others, development of a sense of civic responsibility, and the like. If we had such outcomes measures, we could use them in the service of measuring value added. We could simply assess student outcomes or attainments as they began college, and again as they complete their degrees (*Bennett, 2001*; Konting, Kamaruddin & Man, 2009).

**Continuous assessment and quality education**

Throughout the world there has been a move to mass higher education, associated with greater diversity of institutions and program and a large increase in the number and size of universities. This expansion of higher education has prompted the rise of a variety of modes of course delivery, including franchising arrangements with third parties under which the parent institution may exercise limited control, virtual course delivery, as well as the delivery of courses. All these developments pose challenges for the efficacy of institutional quality controls. The key customers and quality indicators are learners and their proficiency. Learners’ competency is nurtured through the formative evaluation alongside the leaning-teaching activities (*Thorpe, 2000; West, 1994; Kubisyn & Borich, 2003*)
In addition to the changes impacting the higher education sector referred to above, other new pressures are emerging, both nationally and internationally. Formal, transparent and credible systems of quality assurance help guarantee a successful future for universities in the global competency of institutions in general and graduates in particular for further activities (Commonwealth of Australia, 2000). The world’s workforce is becoming increasingly geographically fluid across national, regional and international borders due to economic globalization and the development of advanced communications and information technologies. In this context, knowledge has emerged as an economic commodity which has in turn placed pressure on existing national systems to ensure they are placed competitively in the international marketplace. There is currently a strong move throughout developed countries towards having rigorous, internationally recognized higher education quality assurance processes. These changes in organization, scale and mode of delivery have led to increased public concern about the maintenance of program quality. In response, many countries have taken steps to establish mechanisms for quality assurance in higher education. Governments must justify spending on higher education in competition with other demands for public spending. Communities whose taxes must support the system and individuals who need to be satisfied about the value and portability of their credentials all demand external validation of the quality of their investments (Commonwealth of Australia, 2000).

**Literature Implications**

Review of related literature depicted that assessment is part and parcel of the learning-teaching process for monitoring the progress meaningfully. Classroom teacher made tests are supposed to be ways through which instructors acquire information for decision making as well as for intervention. It is highly acquainted with quality also.
However, the implementation problems and misuses are supposed to be pinpointed for the purpose that continuous assessment is intended. It is this gap that issued the researchers to conduct this study.

Very often it is valuable and fair to give high credit for evaluation mechanisms as is to the preparation of plan, course outline and even learning and teaching process. Instructors may not do what they intend to do in assessment techniques on their course outline and/or plan. Continuous assessment is one of mechanisms of assessing student’s performance. As professionals assessing student’s performance continuously is very important to get continuous feedback for their improvement than covering the whole course by giving exams. That is why the government gives much emphasis and implementing in different levels of educational institutions at this time. But there is also complainant in that continuous assessment is very difficult to perform at large class when number of students in a big deal. So what? But which one weighs better cope up of class size or missing the advantage of formative evaluation?

Having all these things in mind the present research tried to explore previous researches conducted in relations to this issue, it is found to be very few especially from the perception of the students’ side.

Hence, efforts will be made to address the following research questions:

- Is there periodical follow up of learning outcomes?
- Does the use of continuous assessment techniques come up with progressive teaching-learning process?
- Do students’ believe that instructors purport to insure quality education by using proper formative evaluation (continuous assessment) techniques?
- Are instructors implementing various continuous assessment techniques of based on the nature of the course and learners' level?
Are there faulty applications of continuous assessment techniques in higher education?

Do the different continuous assessment methods stimulate and make students’ active, reflective and self-regulative in their learning?

1.3. Objectives

The general objective of the research was to assess the proper implementation of continuous assessment in higher education institutions in Addis Ababa. Meanwhile, the specific objectives are:

- Identify the types of assessment tools being used.
- Distinguish the use of proper weight for assessment tools in the implementation of continuous assessment.
- Investigate feedback loop of the instructors as per the formative evaluation.
- Distinguish challenges of continuous assessment implementation and their implication for quality education as per the outcomes from students’ side.

1.4. Significance

This research is highly valuable, timely and important in various aspects. It serves the practitioners and students to be familiar with the continuous evaluation mechanisms. Since there is scarcity of research on this issue, this study could serve as a benchmark reference for further empirical research works on the same issue. The study is also believed to be initiative for concerned bodies to give due attention for the continuous assessment mechanisms. Above all, it contributes a lot on assurance and striving for quality education.

1.5. Operational Definition

Continuous assessment: - regular follow up on the progress and attainment of learning outcomes by learners.
Formative evaluation: - ongoing assessment techniques/mechanisms to find out learning improvement and to shape the procedures.

Quality education: - the processes through teachers use student-centered teaching approaches in a well-managed classrooms and use skillful assessments to facilitate learning; the outcomes encompasses knowledge, skills and attitudes that are linked to the national goals for education and positive participation in society.

Classroom achievement tests: - assessment tools constructed and administered by instructors at course level.

2. Research Methods

2.1. Study Area/ Locale
This research is designed to be conducted in selected colleges and universities in Addis Ababa.

2.2. Population
The population of the study represents all higher educational institution (college and university both private and governmental) teachers and students in Addis Ababa. 142 respondents were recruited from four higher institutions.

2.3. Sample and Sampling
So as to recruit participants/respondents of this research stratified sampling technique which is followed by systematic sampling from strata, is used. The rationale behind this sampling technique is on the stratification and heterogeneity of different colleges and departments as well as courses.

2.4. Instruments
In order to collect the data, Likert scale type questionnaire (with open & close ended items) and interview were constructed and employed after validated and check up on reliability.

2.4.1. Construction
After intensively reading different literatures, the aforementioned tools i.e. both open ended and closed ended questions and focused group discussion guideline are constructed by the researchers.

**2.4.2. Validation/Piloting**
Pilot test was conducted in order to check the reliability and validity of the instruments. The reliability computed by Cronbach Alpha is found 0.79 which is encouraged to proceed. The validity of the instruments was evaluated and commented by other professionals in the area from Psychology department.

**2.4.3. Administration**
After piloting of the instruments, the investigator had given detailed orientation to two assistant data collectors. Then, the researchers in collaboration with these assistants administered the questionnaire to all participants. Moreover, focused group discussions were conducted by the two investigators. Finally, all data were collected and ready for scoring.

**2.4.4. Scoring**
After collecting the data, responses were scored. First, researchers checked whether there are skipped questions in all respondents’ questionnaire. Second, items of the instrument were grouped in to the same domains and they coded and fed in to the SPSS 20 computer program. Finally, data quality was assured by double data entry.

**2.4.5. Analysis**
For meaningful dissemination of the finding, technically enriched way of qualitative analysis, logical flows and narrative explanations are used with direct quotations in the data analysis procedure. Moreover, the information collected from questionnaire is quantitatively analyzed by using descriptive statistics (mean, standard deviation and tabular illustration of percentages) and inferential statistics (one way ANOVA and independent t-test). Above all, all
quantitative analysis are made with the help of Statistical Package for the Social Science version-20 (SPSS-20) computer program. Finally, to make the findings more momentous and disseminate to stakeholders conclusions and recommendations are given as per the need and usage.

3. Analysis, Result and Discussion

This chapter presents the analyses and interpretations of the data gathered from the participants (instructors and students) through a five point Likert type scale. This level of measurement has five scales represented by numbers that is: $SD =$ Strongly Disagree; $D =$ Disagree; $N =$ Neutral; $A =$ Agree; $SA =$ Strongly Agree. Items from the scale were selected and grouped together on similar theme for the simplicity of presenting and analyzing the data. The analyses and interpretations are done in relation to the research questions. To this effect, it would be more relevant to remind of the basic research questions to be treated here.

✓ Is there periodical follow up of learning outcomes?
✓ Does the use of continuous assessment techniques come up with progressive teaching-learning process?
✓ Do students’ believe that instructors purport to insure quality education by using proper formative evaluation (continuous assessment) techniques?
✓ Are instructors implementing various continuous assessment techniques of based on the nature of the course and learners' level?
✓ Are there faulty applications of continuous assessment techniques in higher education?
✓ Do the different continuous assessment methods stimulate and make students’ active, reflective and self-regulative in their learning?
This is by using Frequencies Percentages, and the. Accordingly, the data are presented in tables and analyzed through descriptive statistics (frequency, percentage, mean and standard deviation) and inferential statistics (One way ANOVA, Scheffe Post Hoc Test and independent t-test). Following each table, interpretations of data are presented in detail.

3.1. **Background of the Respondents**

The respondents gender, age and year level were not treated as variables.

**Table 1: Respondents’ background**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>College/Faculty</th>
<th>No. of respondents</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AAG1</td>
<td>SoC</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CNS</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>35.56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CEB</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>37.77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAG2</td>
<td>CEn</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CSH</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAP1</td>
<td>SBE</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IT</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAP2</td>
<td>FBE</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

48
All the respondents were second year students. The respondents are at their junior level for they had the experiences in the evaluation in their department. The faculties are preferred over departments with the assumption that there is homogeneity (Manaye, 2014) within the college/faculty in the university.

3.2. Continuous Assessment Implementation

Table 2: Presence of Periodical follows up of Students learning outcomes in the University

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/No</th>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Scales</th>
<th>SD=1</th>
<th>D=2</th>
<th>N=3</th>
<th>A=4</th>
<th>SA=5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Our institution uses continuous evaluation process rather than evaluating at the end of the program/course of study</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mean = 3.13</td>
<td>SD=1.08</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>The presence of periodical follow up in our institution help to check the achievement of learning outcomes</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mean = 3.32</td>
<td>SD=1.16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Our teachers should use various techniques in relation to the nature of the course</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mean = 3.28</td>
<td>SD=1.22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>In our institution, continuous assessment occurs frequently in teaching-learning process</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mean = 3.16</td>
<td>SD=1.21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. In current condition of our institution continuous assessment application, there is integration of different tools (project work, report, assignment, oral presentation, quizzes, tests, etc).

6. In the teaching-learning process of our institution, there is an ongoing assessment.

7. Our institution instructors give tutorial classes for needy students based on continuous assessment.

---

As it is indicated in table 1 above, 33.1% of the respondents showed disagreement on the implementation of continuous assessment whereas 23.23% are not certain as the respond that they are neutral. On the other hand, 43.6% which is below the average show their agreement level on the presence of continuous evaluation presence on the institution. In the evaluation procedure there is tendency of integrating different tools for assessment.

In the variability among institutions/colleges in implementation of CA, there are disparities. There is statistically significant differences among institutions with regard to implementation of continuous assessment in the day to day teaching processes to insure educational quality ($F_{(4,137)} = 2.14, P < 0.05$).

3.3. Feedback for Progressive Learning-Teaching Process

**Table 3: Continuous Assessment as an Advantage for Progressive Teaching-Learning Process**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/No</th>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Scales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Instructors take corrective actions based on continuous assessment when the students’ experiences don’t meet their expectations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F 13 38 37 35 19</td>
<td>SD=1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 9.1 26.6 25.9 24.5 13.3</td>
<td>D=2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Mean = 3.06</strong></td>
<td>N=3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>SD=1.19</strong></td>
<td>A=4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>SA=5</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F 16 22 46 43 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 11.2 15.4 32.2 30.1 10.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---
Instructors use continuous assessment as the most important in helping students to make progressive improvements

Mean = 3.13 SD=1.15

3  Our institution practically implement continuous assessment in the teaching-learning process

F  13  37  53  29  10
%  9.1  25.9  37.1  20.3  7.0
Mean = 2.90  SD=1.05

4  Our institution explicitly use continuous assessment to monitor students learning objectives

F  8  49  44  28  13
%  5.6  34.3  30.8  19.6  9.1
Mean = 2.92  SD=1.07

5  Results of continuous assessment help our institution students to know the extent of progress in their learning

F  18  37  40  38  9
%  12.6  25.9  28.0  26.6  6.3
Mean = 2.88  SD=1.13

6  In our institution continuous assessment techniques enable the learner to continuously review and strengthen their own understanding

F  10  24  67  25  16
%  7.0  16.8  46.9  17.5  11.2
Mean = 3.10  SD=1.04

As it can be depicted in table 2, most instructors are not giving proper feedback for the students as a result it is found that intervention on tutorial arrangement and monitoring students' learning progress is very limited.

Table 4: Practice of Continuous Assessment in the day to day Learning-teaching

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/No</th>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Scales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Large class size is the obstacle to execute continuous assessment</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Teachers in our institution are comfortable in applying continuous</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>assessment</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Teachers in our institution manage large class size not to miss the advantage of continuous assessment. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Scales</th>
<th>SD=</th>
<th>D=2</th>
<th>N=3</th>
<th>A=4</th>
<th>SA=</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>There is a strong feedback loop in the process of quality improvement</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in our institution</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>2.69</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>0.98</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Our institution use continuous assessment as an important tool to</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>improve the quality of education</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>2.99</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>In our institution continuous assessment is very important to get</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>continuous feedback about students’ improvement than covering the</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>course by giving mid and final exams</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>3.05</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>For our institution proper use of continuous assessment is tool to</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ensure quality education</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>2.96</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Continuous assessment scores in our institution show the extent of</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>educational quality</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>2.83</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was found large class size is challenge for implementation of formative evaluation. In addition, some teachers are not comfortable with routine tasks in the assessment procedure. Still instructors are trying to manage large class size to take advantage from continuous assessment for maintaining quality.

3.4. Quality Education Assurance via CA

Table 5: The Use of Continuous Assessment to Insure Quality Education
The better strategy to check the knowledge, attitude and skills attained by our students is continuous assessment. Continuous assessment is being used as quality upgrading mechanism in our institution. Instructors in our institution give academic advice and tutorial supports for the needy students that is used as an input for quality education.

It is depicted that the feedback loop is not as strong as expected to be though there is a tendency to implement continuous assessment in formative evaluation. In the tendency of using continuous assessment as an important tool to improve the quality of education, the respondents show reservation. For their institution proper use of continuous assessment is tool to ensure quality education, most respondents (42.7%) disagree (Mean = 2.96; SD=1.23).

### 3.6. Students Involvement

**Table 6: Continuous Assessment and Students’ Active Engagement**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/No</th>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Scales</th>
<th>SD=</th>
<th>D=</th>
<th>N=</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>SA=</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Different continuous assessment techniques make our students to be motivated, active, reflective, and self regulative in their learning in the institution</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>25.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Our students are interested and satisfied with continuous assessments</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>12.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>3.13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>In our institution there is active engagement of learners in the process of continuous assessment</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

53
The above table indicated students’ active engagement in continuous assessment. The highest number of the participants, 51(35.7%), M=3.15 and SD=1.25 agreed that students were motivated, active, reflective and self-regulative in their learning when teachers use different continuous assessment techniques. at the same time, the largest number of respondents, 59(41.3%), M=3.13 and SD=1.16 agreed that students were interested and satisfied with the use of continuous assessment as assessment mechanism in teaching-learning processes. On the other hand, 47(32.9%), M=2.75 and SD=1.16 participants were disagreed about the active engagement of learners in the process of continuous assessment. Moreover, 49(34.3%), M=3.22 and SD=1.04 respondents were neutral and unable to agree or disagree about the role of continuous assessment that makes students to be motivated to study very hard and enjoy their learning.

3.7. Discussion

Many research outputs or findings show the relevance of formative evaluation for quality education via distinguishing quality based on student performance and institutional effectiveness (Kubisyn & Borich, 2003; Manaye Adela, 2014; Konting, Kamaruddin & Man, 2009). In this research finding, in the interview the respondents stated that most instructors do not have table of specification or test blue print to prepare exam questions. Feedback is late for letting students know their test result so that they would have gotten chance to be in progress by adjusting their own learning method. An interesting big picture point about ways to think about assessing institutional effectiveness related to accreditation
specifically, but makes sense with regard to assessment generally. They argue that student outcomes not be considered the only marker of educational quality. A seventh challenge is to make certain that the multiple missions of the institution remain at the core of accreditation. At most institutions, some combination of teaching, research, and public service (also known as outreach, engagement) are supported. If student performance becomes too much the focus of defining quality in accreditation, the public good of the institution becomes redefined in terms of the private gain of the students. Higher education makes multiple contributions to our society, and they must be recognized in any evaluation of quality and integrity. Practically, a multiple perspectives strategy employing multiple indicators and measures of quality and effectiveness is required.

Continuous assessment is expected to be carefully implemented as formative evaluation but it is facing ample challenges. This contradicts with Bennett (2001); virtually everyone who has thought carefully about the question of assessing quality in higher education agrees that “value added” is the only valid approach. By value added we mean what is improved about students’ capabilities or knowledge as a consequence of their education at a particular college or university. Measuring value requires having assessments of students’ development or attainments as they begin college, and assessments of those same students after they have had the full benefit of their education at the college. Value added is the difference between their attainments when they have completed their education and what they had already attained by the time they began. Value added is the difference a college makes in their education. Easy as it is to state, assessment of value added is difficult to carry through (Hiltz, & Wellman, 1997).

According to research findings on the roles of the teachers in consulting and providing tutorials has a gap that the student respondents stated as there is no
sufficient support though it is expected to develop effective interaction with teachers and counselors (like classical learning); evaluate and judge your own performance; and combat prejudice and communication barriers (Asthana, 2000).

Research provides data to compare effectiveness of the teaching and learning in a great variety of situations. Learning in a high-tech, global environment presents new roles and responsibilities for both teacher and learner. In addition; there is a radical change in construction and delivery of course content. Media to facilitate interaction between and among learners, teachers, and content increases the opportunity for in-depth and meaningful learning (Guilford, 2008). Constructivist techniques support learning and teaching, self-development and self evaluation (Hiltz, & Wellman, 1997). Constructivism is an integral part of distance education. The focus is on the student and his active role in learning supported by technology. Moreover, the teacher initiates student-teacher interaction, and has communication and technological skills to effectively implement CA; teacher constructs student-centered learning with opportunities for interaction. Students are responsible for learning and responsible for contacting teacher when needed; teacher collaborates with student in self-development and responsibility; teacher provides environment, materials, and guidance for collaborative learning, interactive discussion groups, individual learning, and research; and teacher provides prompt and accurate feedback to students to facilitate learning.

The roles of students and teachers under the constructivist approach are listed above. These roles should be in the consciousness of communicators to develop effective distance education processes and resolve interaction difficulties (Hiltz, & Wellman, 1997). Teachers and students need to be responsible collaborative planners, communicators and evaluators in their distance education roles.
The development of specific and detailed strategies for the implementation of distance learning in the Sub Sahara region need to occur on a country by country basis, and, in some cases, at the institutional level. The judicious use of external technical assistance for the transfer of required distance learning expertise, the establishment of partnerships with established distance learning organizations, and the creation of distance learning consortia among institutions within the region are a number of measures that can potentially mitigate risk, reduce costs and expedite the implementation of distance learning strategies. Most importantly, a systematic and comprehensive planning process for distance learning implementation, driven primarily by needs rather than technology, can greatly assist in designing pedagogically sound and sustainable policies and programs. The study reveals that 63.7% of the respondents have shown that summative evaluation is preferable than CA for the reason that CA gives additional task for teachers and stressing to the students. This outlook is contradictory to the ample relevance of CA (Bennett, 2001).

It has been found that there is misuse of CA which supposed to been corrected in that it affects the process and outcome. The end cannot assure quality (Guilford, 2008) because it is late rather focus should be on the progressive, additive, constructive and formative manner that the emphasis is supposed to be but this is not being done is it is shown on the research finding.

The content validity of the exams matters most in the intention of assessing the cognitive, affective and psychomotor domains change. No college or university is trying to develop only a single capability in students; all are trying to develop an array of capabilities. Measurements of value added must therefore attend to a number of different dimensions of value. We probably should develop several different measures of value added, and invite institutions to select the measures that reflect their intentions as higher institution (Bennett, 2001).
4. Conclusion and Recommendation

4.1. Conclusion

Common Pitfalls in the practice of formative evaluation and/or continuous assessment that were frequently raised by student respondents are; weight, feedback, administration, scoring, and item type invariance.

Implementation of continuous assessment has great contribution on learners’ progress as well as change based on objectives. In the same way with integrated contribution stakeholder, quality education can be assured. However, to the other end in the research area, there were potential obstacles that hinder implementation of continuous assessment and quality assurance.

Classroom achievement teacher made tests often lack content validity and variety on the type of items. The proportion of number of items and the weight given are critically in doubt of enabling autonomous learning and independent performance of students.

There is researchable issue on assurance of quality education through guiding independent learning of students which seems informal and haphazard.

These are:-

- Large class size in college of engineering and technology and natural and computational science
- Lack of pedagogical and assessment skill are major gaps in misapplication of measurement tools especially for continuous assessment which affects learning outcome evaluation and later the quality of education.
- Assessment tools are not scheduled on the course outline except the weight and there is tendency to administer tools that are not initially stated on the course outline.
- Most instructors and students prefer summative evaluation for the reason that is not included in this research.
Misapplication of assessment in general and continuous assessment in particular affects evaluation, decision and later quality of course delivery which ultimately influences the quality of education in the institution level.

4.2. **Recommendations**

- Continuous and periodical assessment should be implemented by instructors as per pledge on the course outline.
- Department heads should closely make follow up on the implementation by cross checking the attitude of students and prevailing classroom atmosphere.
- Class size should be adjusted for easier and better implementation of continuous assessment.
- Training and/or forum on active learning and Educational Measurement and Evaluation should be given for all staff members including senior instructors twice a year.
- HDP should be strengthened by involvement of professionals.
- Instructors had better attain better content validity of tests and optimize the weight given for assignment, tests, quiz, projects, practicum and exams.

5. **Limitations**

Teachers were not taken as respondents in a sufficient manner. In this study comparison of the private and government institutions was not made.
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Gadaa Born Indigenous Views and Practices of Community Based Environment Management: The Tulama of East Showa in Focus.

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Abstract

This research has tried to propound the views of gadaa with nature and its practices environmental validation focusing on the Tulama of East Showa, local cultural landscapes. It is certain that the way people perceive and do something is determined by its worldview which would have left unavoidable direct and/indirect impacts upon their local natural environment, be large and/or small. Gadaa is nature centered and basic decisive factor to envisage what are embedded at the hearts of their culture and cultural landscapes. Beyond doubt, the Tulama Oromo of East Showa had never been ideal to their local envelopment and thereby that they made some unavoidable effects on environment. The findings indicate that a look into the hearts of gadaa system entails its distinct views to nature; interrelates of various elements of environment towards the totality which made its determinations clear. Results also indicate that views intrinsic and extrinsic to gadaa and the
interrelationships among various elements in the cosmos imparted an imperative lesson and input towards contemporary development efforts and dual fold nature-culture centered conservations. However, this feature of gadaa is not/little studied and covered in academic studies and discussions thereby its past and present contributions in the area towards the general development and knowledge formation is shadowed. As, it dealt with claims of human culture and values the research will combine both historical and anthropological research methodologies. The methods and techniques include gathering data through literature analysis and oral sources in interviewing elders and custodial leaders. So, the paper arrives at the conclusion and argues that a number of important gadaa values are still kept far behind without integrated into state development endeavors and seen as its collaborating agents. It recommends that there lacks holistic approach and attentions from policy makers towards nature centered cultural landscape conservation in the alarming views of modernization era, effects of globalization, modern education, expanding religions, etc eroding its autonomy.

**Key words: gadaa, nature, culture,**

7. **Introduction**

   I. **Background**

   The paper discusses on gadaa born indigenous forms of community based environment management focusing on naturalism features, views and practices embedded at the hearts of the Tulama of East Shewa cultural landscapes. To do so, the local community efforts in persuasion of culture based environment management with development will be brought to the frontline discussion through the approach to understand indigenous society along with its homegrown values, as emerging issue of the contemporary period. On the other hand, it is the approach to see and place the roles of indigenous knowledge in the circles of contemporary development agendas, mainly with related policy
document. Today, the term and concept like indigenous knowledge and its experiences are arising to the lights of development programs and academic discussion. A number of features have brought indigenous based community development distinct from contemporary modern knowhow and ways of doing with nature conservation (Edward, 2010). Indigenous knowledge is a way of thinking and doing things differently of the old as well new (Marana, 2012). Indigenous peoples have extended histories of interaction with the natural environment. Similarly, Ethiopia is home of indigenous people each having a long history as old as humanity itself (Edward, 2010). Indigenous governance system is doing distinct from the modern one that it promotes place-based consciousness of human interactions with livelihood and non-livelihood activities. Particularly speaking as to its ethos certain natural physical resources, sites and spaces unique from others form integral units of temporal and spiritual culture. The knowledge, sites and associated resources are all asset of the practicing people; produced, developed and used in common thus, collective centered wellbeing characterize its notion. The evolvement of collective mentality has emergent to community based development in which that their ways of doing with nature can be given an exemplary. Development is referring to whole rounded changes and progress in material and economic features as well as spiritual, moral, cultural and etc life aspects. Development opens the range of options in pursuit of mental and moral satisfactions and a means to achieve a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence as well. In this regard culture is the object of investigation and interest as a necessary element for the full development of people and communities (Marana, 2010; Taye, et al,. (2012). Development reflects their needs, priorities and aspirations; is achieved largely through their ownership and commitment to locally defined development goals; and is sustained when they have the capacity, confidence and opportunity to plan
appropriate strategies and mobilize resources to fulfill their development goals (White and Davy, 2012; Taye, et al., 2012). Specifically speaking community development is essentially the process through which communities address locally defined goals and achieve improvement in their quality of life. However, the question of inclusivity and holistic view to indigenous values are raised on contemporary developmental programs.

With the efforts to understand humanity in its own way and cultural context brought the study of indigenous knowledge and values emerging in all areas of life (Edward, 2010; Temesgen, 2005). Guided by some cardinal principle of gadaa which holds on and promotes precedence to collective being interests as its ultimate goal, community based environmental development distinct forms of experiences and inborn to the Tulama of east Shewa landscape is underlain for the purposes.

Community development is the process of increasing the strength and effectiveness of communities, improving people’s quality of life and enabling people to participate in decision making to achieve greater long-term control over their lives (White and Davy, 2012). As long as community development is about the progress in life of local community through those activities carried out at their locality it is more of proactive to collective wellbeing achievement. In this sense the discussion goes to whom/ which practically achieved what in between indigenous knowledge and modern exogenous values. In this regard what is expected in and among the indigenous society and along with their values is their multiple practices of which nature conservation is figured out. At the hearts of indigenous people and their interactions with the resources over their territory and driven under their cultural epistemology, there seems to be inborn values playing pivotal roles and negative effects as well. Inarguably convincing that indigenous knowhow is different from contemporary modern knowledge. But, be that as it may, the compatibility of both types of knowledge
to cooperate and support the other centering on the community interests at a high time development remained null. But, holding their difference beyond the scope of this paper, among the various areas prevalent of community development activities are environment and culture (community development, Wikipedia).

The discussion takes detail voyage to whether the views and practices of *gadaa* on nature is in pursuit of community based environment development activities underlying the local people indigenousness and having inevitable interaction with natural resources in their locality. This has again lent the issue to argue further to understand the nature of indigenous knowledge led community based nature conservation whether centered on collective endeavors and societal wellbeing. Indigenous society and their life are guided under strong inborn philosophy, sense of togetherness and they might have deep experiences in the area. With this perspective, the study pays attentions to the nature of their epistemology, their cultural ecological landscapes and the views of *gadaa* on community wellbeing. This argues that whether there are indications behind *gadaa* born values which is in pursuant of community development ethos and its views success stories, if any, relevance to contemporary development circles. Community development aims to empower and help the society to improve their social and physical environments, increase equity and social justice, overcome social exclusion, build social capital and capacities, and involve communities in the strategic, assessment and decision-making processes that influence their local conditions (White and Davy, 2012).

Today, it is an odd and irrational to plan development, whether human and economic paradigms, without the issues of environment management. Development should anticipate whole rounded change and progress in life including the cultural, spiritual and moral satisfaction. Any development
program and practices be conducted at national and/or at a grass root level by the respective organ can never be attainable and justifiable without environment conservation. Environment management is seemed to be the recurring concerns indigenous and modern views overlapped.

Whether development is meant economic and material gain, or change in human paradigm (human development) and ethical perspective (developmental ethics) and the measurement in either of them does not absolutely exclude indigenous value. Indigenous knowhow has its own contributions in all of these forms of development and areas of life, registry in economic and material forms, in human and ethical dimensions (Marana, 2010; Taye, et al., 2012).

The point that both have comprehended certain complementing endeavors to plan and organize side by side. The underlying point is, therefore, any development view and activity exclusion of human values is no longer considered as comprehensive, holistic and whole rounded ones (Taye, et al., 2012). This is one way made to see the place of gadaa born indigenous values presences and places at the hearts of state contemporary environmental policies and in doing so the approach validity would be argued.

The talks about community development is directing on how to achieve something for the collective group purposes and endeavors through the participation of local community. What the local study areas culture and indigenous values prevailed is the presence of long standing distinct mechanisms and efforts in collective spirit, security and wellbeing secured. As community based activities and development is the talk about collective action being at a grass root level, as a background sources from their cultural landscape prevails, the local study area has their own mentionable experiences on nature conservation. Sustainable community development programs are those that contribute to the long-term strengthening of community viability (ibid). People participate in local development every day through their family life, livelihood
activities and community responsibilities. There are unforeseeable activities undertaken at all level and registered irreversible positive and/ negative impacts on its local environment whether through indigenous values and/ the otherwise. The talks about collective actions and wellbeing can bring some anticipating experiences from the local populace and their culture to the lights of today. For this purpose some experiences imperative in providing a reasonable comprehensive introduction are brought into discussion. However, the overall discussion does not raise the whole experiences of gadaa with nature and attempt to cover all aspects of the incredible complex and diverse field of the relationships in the area. But, it will pick those fundamental views upon which others rested. The discussion is end up only in propounding the secrecy between gadaa and nature towards comprehensive environment development but it argues with some insignificant underutilization on its existing capacity prevalence in the areas and the way forward solutions.

8. The Rationality to Focus on Gadaa and Tulama Experiences
The discussion has targeted to some contemporary developmental programs complementing views and practices of gadaa on nature given with particular emphasis to the Tulama of east Shewa cultural landscape and their practices in community wellbeing. Tulama is one of the major branches of the Oromo moiety settled in Shawa. The Tulama geographical landscapes constitute some of the major earliest socio-political and religious centers of the Oromo (Alemayehu, 2009; xii). The Tulama of east Shewa settlement is home of many physical cultural landscapes which represents the Oromo of nation. The area is the seat of gadaa leaders and heads, consisted of numerous resources, spaces and sites of modern, historical, cultural, religious and ritual significances. The cultural ecological landscapes comprises of indigenous floras, faunas, sites, places and spaces formed and shaped through combination of human and nature induced forces.
Mentioning some of these landscapes are the Oromo annual ritual celebration, *Irreechaa* (thanks-giving) center of Lake Arsadi, the center of Gada assembly like Oda Nabe, Dongora and many other cultural-religious shows and a number of lakes and mountains. All these characterize physical natural and provide ecological, religious, ritual, economic, material and etc services. The area is center of reviving Oromo culture and Oromo Indigenous Religion tent, *Waaqeffannaa*. There is a long existed wisdom mentioning as the eight mountains of God (*Saddeettan Tulluu Waaqa*) and the six lakes of God (*Ja’an Hora Waaqa*). These include mount Cuqala, Erer, Furi, Galan, Wato Dalacha, Foyata, Hococa, and Egdu and lake Arsadi, Kilole, Bishoftu, Kurriftu, Hadho and Gindib (Alemayehu, 2009: 87; Temesgen, 2010:35). These and other indigenous floras have combined multifaceted historical, cultural, esthetic, economic and environmental values. These have been put beyond palatable economic appetites.

The research topic and sites selection has basically considered rich and fertile cultural landscape background of the Tulama. The numerous features and ecological landscapes marginally evolved in the past were retained in various forms: at the hands of elders, embedded with their day to day life activities of the society, their production system, in their memory and other practices. Since 1990s the country has entered into re-indigenization process it relatively caused to absorb periphery to the center of humanity, development policy discussions, academic and research circles, environment discourses, etc. Beyond their historical existence and cultural roles values survived and retained are seeing in the today’s light through the study of indigenous knowhow. This is again preceded by the efforts the local populace have shown, devoted and concerned to protect, conserve and promote their values. The study is part of the efforts to assist and help their revitalization, in supporting, and integrating the knowhow into modern efforts in any possible means to ensuring their survival, escaping
from further threats. Revitalization is, however, limitedly undertaken in the locality.

9. Discussion

3.1. The Oromo Culture’s Nature of Epistemology: An Overview on Gadaa

The background history to indigenous knowledge in Oromo can be highly nature dependent production system, livelihood practices of the nation, nature adaptive traditional lore, long time evolved cultural landscapes, strong affiliations with their respective culture, etc. It is now widely recognized that humans and their cultures are an integral part of the environment. Human activity affects the environment, which is then altered, in turn affecting human activities. The shape and form of the environment is dependent on its history, a history that includes humans (Marana, 2010).

Gadaa views of nature imply the religious-philosophical conception in Oromo worldview of the universe and cosmos (Gemtechu, 1997). A given people’s view towards nature is primarily determined by the types of worldview a group adopted culturally. Study indicates that African worldview is the concept of the unity of cosmos (Dereje, 2005; 2011; Samue’e 2011). This is related to the understanding how the world relates to each other— the animate and inanimate. Hanneh Kiniti cited in Samu’el (2011) puts that the African concept of cosmology is described as a universe is made up of the spiritual and supernatural realities: the human society, animals, plants, and others. Through ritual and other forms of socio-cultural symbolism traditions African society affirms that the essential unity derives from the primordial unit. The primordial unit is the assumption that whiles the universe and elements have the same source father, God (ibid: 48).

This fundamental notion of gadaa environmentalism has rooted in Oromo organic worldview of nature. The Oromo worldview is more the organic type
which recognizes natural elements alike of beings having their own values to the universe and thus, they form strong coexistence (Eshetu, 2010). This is again constructed opposite to mechanistic worldview which primarily subjected natural sources to material and economic satisfaction (Samue’l, 2011). The Oromo organic view partly lifted natural resources beyond human palatable services accessibility confining to non-economic and non-material values orientation. The Oromo indigenous knowledge systems and activities are highly observant of natural phenomenon and nature. Here one can make a remark on gadaa’s egalitarianism ethos and its inclusivity, including non-human elements. In several studies (Marana, 2010; Dereje, 2005; Alemayehu, 2009) nature conservation is seemingly a long firm practical standing of indigenous society. Jemjem (2011); Dereje (2005); Alemayehu (2009) explaining the Oromo culture witnesses several nature adaptive strategies in their production and non-production movements. They propound Oromo culture strong natural tendency. This in lines with Jamjam (2011) explained the Oromo is a naturalism society. Naturalism culture is evolving in organic type of worldview which centers on inclusion of nature and natural substances as integral of the whole which is aligned to biocentrism view. Biocentrism admits independent existence of natural resources and their intrinsic values as oppose to anthropocentric which diminishes and ends resources to human palatable utility (Taye, et al., 2010:189). This is primarily coming to understand and examine nature conservation validation of gadaa views and practices at a mid of contemporary agenda with the need for environment conservation, and those challenging factors increasingly rising on home grown values like globalization, expanding religion (conversion), exogenous cultural ascendancy western education, urbanization, etc.

3.2. Culture-Nature Blended Features and Its Desirability
What is nature meant to the gadaa system, the way it defines elements of the environment and construct in a sort of interdependent-independent interrelationships bears this discussion at a mid of contemporary developmental validation. The way it defines the relationships among various elements in the universe and its manners of correlations provide certain evidence to naturalism facet of gadaa, which the paper take anticipation.

Gadaa is meant a whole thing to the Oromo in whose hearts that similarly nature and social centeredness view made intermingling for over generations. In several scholarly works (Jemjem, 2011; Dereje, 2005; Alemayehu, 2009) the discussion on Gadaa has largely been focusing on its non-environmental roles. The dynamisms in gadaa, has never been limited and confined to its cultural and social milieu alone with that it has clear environmental and nature tendencies. Exhibiting evidences are a number of Oromo cultural landscapes, views, their livelihood and non-livelihood practices and etc, as the Tulama of East Shewa case in point.

What is nature meant to the gadaa system and which elements in the cosmos are interrelated and through what perspectives and lenses it sees organisms in the cosmos fundamentally determine the environment and discussion. Nature is the sources of everything in the universe and all elements and organisms in the cosmos are interrelated in a certain manner together that a distinct form of interrelationships among themselves and which determines others in the universe becomes evident. In briefing the relationships among various elements and organisms in the universe which are very essential and fundamental in the totality that indigenous based knowledge of environment is formed.

3.3. Etymological Linguistic Meaning of Gadaa

The first and prime thing in gadaa’s nature centeredness is rested on the origin of the term etymological linguistic definitions and its derivation from the word gaaddisa (shading) (Dereje, 2005). Etymologically, gadaa is derived gaaddisa
Shading is the environmental accession services and roles elements like trees and forests provided to inanimate and animate organisms. Environmentally, trees and forests served as a retreatment place, home and dwelling center from enemy and shaded during heat and dry air as roofing, refrigerate of temperature and getting retirement for rest. In the case of gadaa the term communicates about sheltering received under and in connection to the place and sites where by every activities of the system centered on and this is the Sycamore tree, Odaa. Gadaa is whole rounded and inclusive system of the Oromo basically conducted under the shade and roof of this sycamore tree. The term is derived from the prime shading and sheltering provisions from the natural tree and sites which has unalterable retreatment roles in environment study. The concept of being roofed and shaded under the tree which is conceptually to mediate hard weather conditions is incapable without the trees natural green and wet foliage. Inarguably, the environmental role of any tree including odaa is irrevocable that Gadaa has underlain tree’s environment roles and this is time transit and its enduring values.

In this regard Odaa has overlapped dual roles: trees shading environment services and socio-cultural valuation. Gadaa and Odaa are absolutely linked and affiliated so as to both never dissociating. This strong affiliation of both elevated the roles of odaa beyond the mere and conventional environmental retreatment roles like dwelling, escaping harsh weather condition, catastrophic and other purposes of trees but it has social justification as center of assembly, peacemaking, egalitarian governance, sacredness. This presents the coinciding view between gadaa social system and its natural attributes. Merely speaking, Odaa tree, like any floras and/ different from some other majority trees has uniquely combined social, environmental roles and ecological validation. On other hand, unique from other trees it has elevated socio-cultural value providing it with fullest and absolute protection from being used for economic
and material utility, which is palatable, caused environmental shortening and cheapening its lofty status. The elevated meaning and roles of *odaa* has given the tree with singular attentions and affiliations underlying freed from direct physical exploitation, expropriation of its resources than its protections and conservation. *Odaa*, like any other gigantic trees, has provided shading environmental purposes to animate and inanimate organisms but it is more than that it has given with magnificent places association with its ecological characteristics. *Odaa’s* magnificence elevated through its ability for greater and peculiar protections coincided with its physiological biological formation and ecological character. *Odaa’s* elegancy is pivotal in provision of shading over wider areas with its extensive growing steams, branches, broader leaves, enduring green foliage and trees climbing hordes of insects and biting gift. This in turn has underlain the sites cleanliness and free from spoiling conditions. The sycamore Odaa has provided permanent retreatment roles seemingly for the reason that it send its green leaves throughout the year and always wet. It is said to be growing in hot and mild plain ecological zones. Odaa is a giant tree grows around and closer to water and/ sufficient rain available areas and, the tree has natural capacity to attract and absorb understory water. It is mostly characterized with wet and green natural symbol. The background knowhow behind the selection philosophy is Odaa natural and nature mediating quality. So, *gadaa* is meant being shaded under most virtually green foliage sycamore *Odaa* tree. The ultimate ecological functions and roles of any trees are providing protection from excessive weather conditions. Here, the concept of being roofed under trees belly for prime retreatment purposes and seeking for protection is employed in Odaa knowledge of environment. Thus, there is a direct environmental attributes of trees underlie in *gadaa* valuing of floras. So, trees shading and refrigerating roles implied its nature adaptive strategy and
Affiliations. According to informants and another attributes of Odaa is said to have lightening resistant trees which is never strike on Odaa. Dereje (2005) goes further mentioned that after every eight years rotating and recycling of gadaa is said to be copied and replicated from blossoming period of podocarpus trees (birbirsa). Birbirsa produces blossom and gives seeds after every eight years which is even a scientifically proven up to seven years (Abdela, 2008).

3.4. The view on Nature with Some Major Elements of the Environment

The second point in gadaa’s view of nature is centering on and winding around three essential elements of environment which are considered to be fundamental in the universe and helpful in understanding about nature conservation. The three essential elements of environment believed to be forming the centric point and given with the roles in pursuit of health nature are rain (water), green grass, and milk (food). Gadaa understands nature is the combining positive result of these three elements chained with human activities without which health and wealth universe is never realized and the concept of environment is unforeseeable. Nature is defined as a dwelling for infinite elements which are organized together in a sort of cause-effect relationship to human activities. When only three of them are maintained and their relationships combined with human activity form a distinctive sort of chain which is vital in nature conservation. They all are linked together along with one’s functions and services in the totality and the whole interrelating form one entire and full cycle. Environment conservation is the positive outcome relationships among elements in nature in accordance to the organization given.

The three fundamental elements in pursuit of nature according to the gadaa ethos: rain (water), grass (green foliage) and milk (food for living organisms) positive relationships determine and ensure the universe survive. In a cause-effect relationship ties the presence of rain is basically ensuring the growth of grass which directly marks affluent ecology and foods to the herbivorous which
has turned on the availability of milk, a food for human and breast feedings/mammalian. The philosophy is basically winding around sustaining prosperous and green ecology with the availability of rain and water as a primordial source of life. The essentiality of water and rain are very basic one upon which some are direct dependent and others appeared on second level. In the whole system the divine Waaqaa (God) causes the rain dropping down and fill the universe with wet, green and fresh organism. Environment is determined upon their existence and the type of relationships they made.

Three of them are the fundamental ones in nature conservation joined by other major important elements in next formed parts of the procession. The cyclic pattern is made with absolute presence and involvement of these elements chained together in a cause-effect relationships and interconnections to a full-evolved system. The entire cyclic chain has basically integrated them split into two halves: the nature-God and social-ritual world. While the first half is the elements combination, the second one is the human ritual procession. Along with those three cardinal elements other absolute dependent group and class upon those prime existences, their survival and continuance ensured. In this regard various animate and inanimate organisms form one chain in common at the same time tied together in cause-effect relationships. As their chain relationship determine the surviving and shortening the self, other and the whole system as well. The procession combined and discussed on the inseparable roles and presence of both environment realms (natural and social) form common points without which the realization of nature centeredness view is implausible. Half part of the procession is composed and constituted by human and its actions as an important causative agent contribute good and bad. As their chain seemed to be a natural duty to every organ and the whole in general, violations of the obligation may occur particularly from human activity part, which is the integral unit of the process. Contrary to this is human
intervention negative subsequent result which will drive the cause-effect balance relationships to the otherwise and thus, why mediations through ritual practices, religious performances, legal and social sanctioning are addressed. Particularly speaking human activity is the most determinant factor of the process, in both its positive and negative terms of expressions. Human is assumed to have great role in shortening and disrupting the health function so that its destructive part will be regulated and mediated through ritual mechanisms. Here, it is underlain that every element in separate makes its own independent roles and functions in relation to and among others. One the other form of initiation and empowerment are called for mutuality as every existence sees itself as extension of the interconnections and parts of the whole and larger system than separate.

Human interferences both negative and positive effects are presumed through its behavior, actions, feelings and manners in life. Human activities are measured in terms of facilitating or making the issues goes right and normal without unnecessary interventions or not. This is again measured and determined in terms of causing greenery and/ or not.

Gadaa views of nature are signaled by adequate presence of these elements in items and amount copious as opposed to shortage. How and the way gadaa interrelates and defines the interrelatedness among three elements of the environment, centric and fundamental to envisage nature centeredness philosophy and ethos embedded at its hearts. The way gadaa organized three elements at its hearts along with other major important, to a certain degrees of understanding, prevails the inclusive nature of the knowhow. In accordance nothing is absolutely perfect to signal health nature than abundant elements and their mutual combination in endorsing one another.

3.5. Customary Cardinal Laws Nature Driven
Another point to testifying the Oromo culture naturalism feature is the cardinal laws of *gadaa*. The cardinal laws (*seera Ikkee*) of *gadaa* which is alternatively named as *seera walaabuu* are derived from events, occurrences and causalities in simulation of natural phenomenon and accommodative of nature. The major indigenous cardinal laws of the Oromo under the *gadaa* system of governance, presented in Tulama mainstream culture, are basically including the law of God (*seera Waaqaa*) and the law of earth (*seera Lafaan*). The laws of *margaa*, *bishaan*, *hora*, *tulluu*, and etc are some others made on natural resources. In this regard natural, technological and social environments are interwoven so as to pursuing one another in harmonious relationships and maintaining mutual cause and effects interrelationships. Culture has strictly followed on nature in a very positive manner and through wise adaptive strategy in which *gadaa* owns itself (Alemayehu, 2009).

**3.6. The Concept of Sacredness (*Ulfoo*) about Other Physical Sites Based Justification**

Another nature centeredness points is linked to natural physical site selections and their sacredness entitling, *Ulfoo*(ibid). Particularly elements and substances crucial to natural environment namely floras, mountains, lakes, rivers, etc are among most qualifying elements. Sites recruitment and selection are basically centered on unique features and natural magnificence of the area. Natural majesty is primarily criterion taken into consideration along with the wetness, greenness, wilderness, and resources abundance status of a site which is common to many cultures in Africa. A given area is selected and chosen for centers of *gadaa* assembly and meeting purposes centering on the areas resources abundance, multiple rounded purposes, physiological elegance, natural quality of forwardness, etc. As the result many of today existing cultural landscapes of the Tulama have presented both culture and nature features and qualities.
The concept of *ulfoo* (sacred/sacredness) are embedded with those sites, events and insignias/emblems in Tulama *gadaa* system. Cultural sites, events and their celebrations and highly respected objects and material are sacred that the concept and its practices is one way and means to promoting and elevating the concept of environment management and indicator to naturalism facet of their culture. In connection to this is the concept in their mainstream culture and philosophy, The Eight Mountains (*Saddeettan Tulluu Waaqaa*) and The Seven Lakes of God (*Ja’an Hora Waaqaa*) is one of the most prominent and popular in Tulama history and religious-philosophical life (*ibid*). The tradition has played a pivotal significant role in maintaining major mountains and lakes and their surrounding resources.

**3.7. The Conceptual Issues Embedded in Green, Wet and Fresh substances**

Another overlapping to modern exogenous environmental value of the *gadaa* is the place of green, wet and fresh natural substances and their representations in the system. Still a different mechanisms responding to nature and adapting to environment is related to their thanks giving activities conducted at varying periods and seasons within a year. Event celebrations are season based they are in favor of nature and its endorsement: wishing health, prosperity and wealth for the whole universe. Thanks’ giving is an expression for what God deserved them with sufficient rain and water causing to grow green, health, fertility, prosperity, fertilization, peace, abundance, etc. In reverse, thanking is for escaping and being secured from disaster, harm, drought, war, hunger, disorder, violation, etc. For the Oromo while the abundance of rain, grass and milk symbolize fertility, omen, etc the opposites are environmental shortening (*Eshetu, 2010; Alemayehu, 2009*). Above anything, the adequate availability of these three elements are very fundamental to sustain life, maintain healthier universe and the environment including in regulating human relationships in which culture and nature coupled together. This is the integrated concept of
development in *gadaa* in summoning the whole universe, organisms and elements into a center of unity and unanimity. In studying about the Oromo environment knowledge there needs to underlie these three basic elements in nature.

For the Oromo green, wet and fresh natural and organic substances are beyond what they appear to the modern society and, someone outside the culture. They are very fundamental symbols through their actual being form presence and involvement in non-being form. Events are incomplete and invalid without made representation in item and non-being form symbolize heath, prosperity, and fresh and omen which are what a wealth environment meant to the modern world. So, the Oromo view of environment other than acting in different way and manner from the modern exogenous knowhow, it has overlapping determinations and standing.

Another is the institution or the strategy of problems mediation and alleviation. Other than this is forewarning time and phase wherein some indication are revealed to in oddity weather conditions and with the prevalence of such signals to get time to make preparedness for early avoidance before escalating into full. The means of avoidances could be ritual celebration, spiritual religious performance and seeking another solution. Whatever the means is whether secular temporal and/ religious spiritual, its presence testify an evidence to judge on their ethos environmental justification.

10. Result

*Gadaa* is nature centered human values within which natural resources and greenery have formed strong foundational base and absolute representations. The study is necessitated through the following points. One is the actual presence of indigenous values in the locality in contributing something worth. Second is the presence of many ecological cultural landscapes for the purpose. Third is underlying the nature of their knowhow and socio-cultural organization
itself which is convenient to community development. Besides to the people’s indigenousness, there are a significant number of separate physical land having a variety in categories, resources types and covering a significant portion of their total settlement area and, hence, given with local ecological justification. Even if that they were never retained without the knowhow, in the eyes of protected sites like parks they are separate and fragile. Nonetheless, the need to understand nature in culture and the vice versa relationships bear the discussion. The argument is not merely constructed along with old aged and its historical values. But it has underlain its intrinsic nature values towards contemporary roles in building humanity considering its livening experiences and promising values functional among the populace. It has addressing a number of issues arising today and solving problems.

Before moving to the detail there needs to see the nature of epistemology which found itself on strong egalitarian ethos and principles. Gadaa primarily believe in decisions and activities taken through collective interests as to how possibly promoting community wellbeing. In this sense gadaa has a lot of shared experiences on how to promote unanimity, collective interests, sense of togetherness and the sprit to work and develop mutually to the contemporary society from within and outside the culture. This is the points where both coincide in my discussions.

From the discussion there is a number of its aspects illuminate strong nature centeredness of gadaa through which its roles in community wellbeing would make an important point. Beginning with the etymological linguistic meaning environmental cleanness, trees greening ecology, its shading, roofing and refrigerating from unpleasant weather conditions and center of retreatment are all the underlain values and pivotal in the study of environment. This is the first prime point to spell out the convincing points about the views and practices in gadaa complement contemporary developmental objectives.
What the discussion has presented is about those fundamental elements in the assertion of environment and time transitory attributes of *gadaa* along with contemporary views of development. In both terms greening ecology is the sign of maintained ecology. Nature is in portrait of green and wet ecology; the manner of approving and sanction populace behavior, feeling and action has direct and open environmental validation. *Gadaa* has underlain the impossibility to maintain healthy environment unless each and every one performs its own duty in proper manner and reserved from making intervention in the other.

The concept of environment and its management is rounding around these basic elements and upon which their relationships can be maintained. The result oscillates between the availability and shortening of rain, which determines greenery, wet, freshness, beauty, richness, and etc. The interference disturbs the natural flow of relationships and communications as human action becomes non-holistic or outside the expected standard and manner which again can make solutions. This realizes culture-nature interwoven relationships and ones conserved is determined on the partner. One never realizes itself dissociate from the other.

*Gadaa* through nature-culture centered forms of human development efforts promotes social cohesion and mobility in unanimity towards the realization of community wellbeing. As one hinges on the ultimate motto to conform unanimity between culture and nature and among human beings it limits environment determining factors like human interference beyond the expected line. As culture is an agent mediating between human and nature and towards the overall complementary services. In this regard the Tulama *gadaa* born existing cultural landscapes are the central meeting points and playing unifying roles between culture and nature in maintaining strong social cohesive purposes across other differences.
Today, it is an odd and irrational to plan development, whether human and/ economic paradigms, without the issues of environment management. Development should anticipate whole rounded change and progress in life including the cultural, spiritual and moral satisfaction. Any development program and practices be conducted at national and/ at a grass root level by the respective organ can never be attainable and justifiable without environment conservation. Environment management is seemed to be the recurring concerns overlapped in indigenous and modern society. Whether development is meant economic and material gain, or change in human paradigm (human development) and ethical perspective (developmental ethics) and the measurement in either of them does not absolutely negate indigenous driven philosophy. Indigenous knowhow has its own contributions in all of these forms of development and areas of life, registry in economic and material forms, in human and ethical dimensions (Marana, Taye, et al., 2012). The point that both have comprehended certain complementing endeavors to plan and organize side by side. The underlying point is, therefore, any development view and activity exclusion of human values is no longer considered as comprehensive, holistic and whole rounded ones (Taye, et al., 2012). This is one way made to see the place of gadaa born indigenous values presences and places at the hearts of state contemporary environmental policies and in doing so the approach validity would be argued.

a. Demerits
The study on indigenous knowhow has captured greater opportunity than before as re-indigenization and decentralization policies have entered into the political landscape and pursued cultural performance. The mountains, lakes, physical assembling sites, indigenous trees, central gadaa sites, and etc are the major significant physical landscapes and sites claimed by the local people and their tradition as sacred centers. They have dual faces: anchored culture and nature
values together in unanimity and formed unison. These cultural and environmental/ecological embedded features almost typically characterize the Tulama landscapes are also distinct from protected areas tenured by the state. They are the consequences and outcome of long time intricate process and relationships with nature, guided under the *gadaa* ethos.

But, beyond its merits indigenous knowledge is not beyond limitations and weakness. The merits and demerits both from in and out are challenging beyond words. This is varying from its nature of epistemology, issues of management, administration, evolvement, etc. As indigenous knowledge is labeled as more of particularistic than contemporary modern one which is universal.

When it is seen in the eyes of modern forms of community development approaches and its tools it might have lacking a number of significant scientific elements not known to it varying from systematic planning, organizing, decision making and evaluation. Seeing the community development tools for elevated purposes and development its endeavors are not extended beyond due to the relationships with contemporary polices in the country, mainly including cultural and environment conservation. Some of its prevailing limits are due to the relationships existing between the indigenous hold in the hands of the local people and modern state.

Those physical sites retained through its long time engagement and involvement with nature is given little attentions in policy practices of both culture and environment management endeavors. The cultural policies both at local and federal level including environment conservation plan of the country seemed to be inactive at legally protecting those sites and the knowhow through legal frame endorsement. There are no/strong legal frameworks set along with their conservation and enable them evolve into full grown ones. As the sites are parts of their long historical process and evolved values and but the cultural policy does not guarantee regulatory legal frameworks alienations rise high.
It is widely agreed that for holistic sustainability there should be devises ensuring indigenous values and enabling conditions to cop up those reducing issues further. A clear standing from the concerning body including government in setting culture regulatory frame works in the policy of the country which will empower and make the local populace assume full control and ownerships rights over their cultural ecology, their resources (both nature and culture), associated values, etc. In this regard among the various cultural landscapes except a pocket of land around Lake Arsadii the rest are openly accessible and the populace have denied the right to conduct their cultural and ritual performances. An example in this regard is Mount Cuqqaalaa, which access prohibition to irreecha tullu and the destruction of the statue of Nabee over the area. Over all, Lake Arsadii is one of the most potential centers in generating tourism based economic service, its intricate ties among culture, nature and human being are not considered.

Secondly, beyond its socio-cultural wellbeing security gadaa’s environmental pacification roles has been little covered in academic discussion.

11. Conclusion and Recommendation
It is a trend of the day that before coming into action and implementation any developmental policy planning needs to make considerable effort in contextualize local and cultural environment. As the main target of the paper is to bring human livening experiences and time transit values which served humanity across generation gadaa and its naturalist features.  

As there are various mechanisms and devises used to upholding, representing and maintaining nature in views, wishes, behaviors, and practices the manner on how to mediating problem occurs and happens is also the other aspect of the subject under discussion. The devices also include the manner and forms of regulating, sanctioning and controlling human behavior, action and views towards them. Besides to explicating nature centeredness of gadaa and the
extents that this opportunity is being exploited for community wellbeing it discusses on the various aspects of indigenous values whether they are being used and exploited for human development paradigms so that a comprehensive and inclusive type of change which corporate of local values is in apparent.

A comprehensive proactive policy framework is the best way to conserve indigenous knowledge that has helped produce, use and maintain diversity in the region. A strong sustainability connection needs to exist between indigenous and modern knowledge. Time-tested ancient wisdoms combined with modern approach can create solid foundations for sustainable development should not end at bay.

Gadaa’s revitalizing effort needs a holistic realization and approach from within and out. The grass root level society stored knowledge and skills with environment need to be collaborated with contemporary developmental agendas for common benefit ends. This, on the other hand, bears wise use of resources from over exploitation and underutilization. Beyond the unfriendly relationships scenario between the two views widened exclusionary policies indigenous knowhow demerits remained on the environment. As exclusion impedes interests, inclusion can end up to holistic mobilization of people into developmental activities. In any conditions its impacts are inevitable; both unpleasant embark and silence can no longer kill gadaa system.

The study on indigenous system is underlying the need to inform policy makers about actually existing thing at a grass root level although only little integration is made in practical sense. The Tulama is home of diverse ecological cultural and historical landscapes which are never been achieved without the views and practices of gadaa. Given by only little practical attentions in environment development circles their actual roles remained vacant, unknown, etc that they are receiving mistreatment, abuse, misuse and wastage.
There should be measures to be taken in favor of revitalization varying from policy integration in making legal regulatory frameworks to changing wrong views through curriculum in education. The way to save should include the adoption of landscape management, delineate and define their physical territory, conducting extensive study and making to be known to the public, introducing new programs like local environment knowledge, etc.

In general landscapes’ and non-negligible geographical land with their resources are not centric to environmental policy formations. This would change the status of sites and their resources administered under cultural autonomy lacking regulatory legal framework. Measures to be taken in favor of its support will elevate community development endeavors beyond its current conditions and what it appears to be now.

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The Indigenous Knowledge of Conflict Resolution Mechanisms in Federal Ethiopia: Case Study of Rayan Oromos. By: Sisay Mengistie Addisu

Abstract
Customary conflict resolution mechanisms otherwise management systems are important traditional instruments to ensure peace, order and security and thereby maintain stability in the country in general and in the concerned society in particular. Above all systems of customary conflict management have their own established customary tribunals which have a good potential to reduce delay of justice, as "Justice delayed is justice denied." As they are more accessible to members of the concerned society and less costly, the members of such society frequently opt to use these traditional systems of conflict management. Besides, customary conflict management help to avoid the sentiment of revenge between the disputing parties and among their close relatives. However, such kinds of system of conflict management by themselves have their own weaknesses (disadvantages) and create a negative influence up on certain members of the society and sometimes contradict with modern laws. Because of this, customary conflict management in some cases also transgresses the constitutionally guaranteed rights of members of such particular society like that of the right to movement and presumption of innocence. In Raya-Rayuma there are many types of customary laws and traditional conflict management systems that are highly influenced by the Oromo Gada system. The reason is the whole Raya-Rayuma was controlled by Awash Oromos since 16th century and developed the Gada system harmonizing with its indigenous knowledge of conflict management. These customary conflict management tribunals basically use the same principles and procedures of conflict management and traditional
practices including the arrangement of customary tribunals. The Rayan bylaws and their customary tribunals have also similar arrangements and follow the same conflict management procedures as well as apply common moral and cultural values of Rayan community. The Rayan system of conflict management mainly focus on settling the conflicts and redressing the victims of the same as well as have a great role in governing the Rayan society in order to live in peaceful and stable manner in its respective locality although there is a need of some legal and administrative adjustments. The objective of this research is therefore to examine the strengths and weaknesses (advantages and disadvantages) of such system of conflict management by referring some literatures and conducting field work in the area and concerned.

Key words: Rayan Oromos, Customary Tribunals, Revenge, Conciliation, conflict management

1. Introduction

In any kind of society conflict will happen and hence it is impossible to stop although usually human beings can minimize its damage or extent of destruction, so is in Rayan Oromos. Because of this, the Rayan Oromos mainly use their indigenous knowledge of customary conflict resolution mechanisms. This knowledge helps them to maintain their internal solidarity and belongingness among themselves and create durable peace and order in their locality. It also helps them to strengthen their smooth relationship with the neighboring people of mainly Afar nationality, Tigray and Amhara nations. This indigenous knowledge of customary conflict resolution mechanism of Rayan Oromos also plays an important complementary role in maintaining peace and order among the society as well as it helps to maintain a strong tie with the concerned organs of government institutions although the support of those administrative agencies is not as such commendable. Customary conflict resolution mechanism of the Rayan Oromos is also a very decisive instrument
for the people of Raya to live with a stable manner and maintain its smooth relationship with its neighbours.

The word Raya refers to both the name of the area and the distinct identity of the people of the same. It is also located mainly in both southern Tigray and north east part of Amhara national regional states. Therefore, the people of Raya have their own characteristics in terms of culture, religion, customary conflict resolution mechanisms and psychological makeup as well as ritual practices among others. Hence this paper tries to reveal the important instrumentality of the deep-seated traditional institutions of Rayan Oromos in maintaining peace and stability as well as fostering cohesive coexistence among Rayan Oromos and with their neighboring peoples.

The main objective of this paper is therefore to investigate whether the indigenous knowledge of customary conflict resolution mechanisms of the Rayan Oromos has been practiced and being practiced in the area helps to the concerned community and comply with the fundamental principles of the constitution of the country and other state made laws. In order to meet this objective and carry out the research, the writer of this piece employs mainly qualitative research method using primary and secondary data sources.

Of the techniques, interviews and personal observations served as the main source of primary data. Besides, the secondary data sources were both published and unpublished material. Therefore, the writer of this paper mostly uses both descriptive and analytical method to develop this research paper based on history, law, custom and the existing social realities and practices of the Rayan society.

The paper mainly comprises five sections, the first section talks about theoretical and conceptual frameworks of law in general and its related concepts in particular. In this section the nature and definition of law, the relationship between customary law and state made laws and test of recognition of
customary caw are dealt with. The second section mainly focuses on Historical Background of Rayan Oromos and the nature, sources, management of conflict and the role of customary law in maintaining peace and stability is discussed under section Three.

The notion, jurisdiction and mode of execution of the customary tribunals of Rayan Oromos are dealt under section Four. Section five discusses about strengths and weaknesses of customary conflict resolution mechanisms in light of the state made laws and tries to find out the existing gap between state made laws and customary practices of Rayan Oromos. Finally, conclusion id drawn and recommendations are forwarded.

**Section One: Conceptual and Theoretical Framework**

This section deals with the background of the study, definition of law and its nature in general, the position and arguments of different schools of thought in particular are shortly discussed as well as the researcher's position towards the issues under discussion is clearly incorporated under this section as well. Besides the relationship between positive (state made) laws and customary laws as well as test of recognition of customary law are sufficiently dwelt with.

**1.1 Background**

Ethiopia has adopted a new constitution in 1995, which recognizes legal pluralism and alternative dispute resolution mechanisms. The new constitution also laid dawn federal system of government structure at national level in the country that can be considered as a good base for the full acceptance and implementation of customary laws and traditional practices that are not contrary to the constitutional principles. Customary rules and practices are responsible in handling cases in the given area and se

These traditional dispute resolving mechanisms are also applicable by elected or selected elderly people or religious leaders/fathers. Thus, every member of a given society supposed to respect these customary rules and practices that are
developed by the same society and regarded the social control as the asset of the society. Rayans too have their own developed customary rules and traditional practices that are significantly serving as a normative legal instrument in resolving conflicts among individuals and between groups. The Rayans customary laws have different nature (approach) from other dispute settlement systems that take place in the country.

Accordingly, this fact initiates this writer to conduct his research work on this more or less untouched area of customary conflict resolution mechanisms in order to examine customary laws and practices of Rayans and subsequently to recommend solutions to the existing problems in the area. Hence it is obvious that problem exists everywhere in social life although the degree of the problem may vary from place to place and from society to society. Hence the legal system of a given country is expected to be problem solving as well as the practices those take place in the country should also be legally acceptable and effective in resolving the problem of the society. Normally customary rules are unwritten and kept in the memory of a few elders and religious leaders as they pass through oral communication from generation to generation. And these are implementing in different areas of the country. However, it is usually left to those peoples who are using the customary rules and traditional practices.

1.2 Definition and the Nature of Law

There is no one and the same definition of law. This term is open to different interpretation and definition. Because of this we do not have a single definition of law in the world that is acceptable at international level. That is why some writer strongly forwards the following statement "law can never be defined with equal obviousness, however, it could be said that the adherents of the legal institution must never give up the straggle to define law, because it is an essential part of the ideal that is rational and capable of definition…”
However, law can be described as a rule of human conduct, imposed upon and enforced among the members of a given state. According to natural law perspective "True law is right reason in agreement with nature; it is of universal application, unchanging and everlasting." Moreover, it should be just in order to be considered as law and respected by the people who use that law. The law must also fulfil moral validity, because "there is an essential, conceptual, logical and necessary connection between law and morality." St. Augustine on his part clearly stipulates that an unjust law is not law at all. So for naturalists moral validity is one and the strongest requirement.

People are by their nature social animals desiring the companionship of others, if so some forms of social order are necessary in order to make sure that the social relationship must be smooth and free of disturbance. In this regard H.L.A. Hart stipulates that "Law is clearly a device for social control, a device for getting people to do things they would be unlikely to do if left to personal inclination alone." Therefore, from the aforementioned definition of law one can undoubtedly say that law is the most important instrument to ensure such kinds of social interactions and to live as well as to work together in an orderly and peaceful manner. Professor Hugh E. Will's on his part defines law in the following wider and stronger position. According to him law is scheme of social control which, by means of legal capacities backed and sanctioned by legal redress, delimit personal liberties for the protection of social interest.

From this definition we can understand that law is a tool for the body that has a legal capacity that such legal capacity could be also gained through coup, revolution or democratically arranged election. So the main massage of the aforementioned definition of law that we will perceive from is in its nature law can restrict personal liberty in the name of the interest of the society and there is a sanction imposed against the wrong doer if that wrong doer, whether a person or a group of persons violates that law which may be legitimate or not.
In other words according to Hugh social interest prevails over individual interest since that social interest has got a legal support and the victim of the wrong doing should get remedy in whatever forms if there is damage caused by that act. Sociologists too define law in the same way. According to them law is a social force and its function is that of imposing norms of conduct or patterns of social behavior on the individual will. For Savigny law is an expression of the most important expressions together with language of the 'spirit of a people. Hence according to Savigny law is not simply a collection of rules rather it has its own wide scope as the emphasis is given to the spirit of the people in whatever way expresses that law.

Moreover, Roger Cotterrell shares Savigny's definition of law as he clearly states that law is much more than collection of rules or judicial precedents. It also reflects and expresses a whole cultural outlook of a given society. Besides, sociologists strongly believe that law is not a unique instrument of social institution rather unnecessary tool for maintenance of societal interest. According to them there is a belief in the non uniqueness of laws, a vision of law is considered as one method of social control.

They also reject that the belief of naturalism that an ultimate theory of values can be found, they see the reality as social construct with no natural guide to the solution of many conflicts. Sociological jurists also strongly believe in the importance of harnessing techniques of the social sciences, as well as the knowledge culled from sociological research, towards the erection of a more effective science of law. This definition clearly shows that law is a part of social science and it needs an intensive scientific research by sociologists in order to have an effective legal validity.

The world book of Encyclopedia defines law as a set of enforced rules under which a society is governed. Law is of the most basic social institutions and one of the most necessary instruments. So according to this book no society could
exist if all people did just as they pleased, without regard for the rights of others. And nor could a society exist if its members did not recognize that they also have certain obligations towards one another. On the other hand positivists believe that law is not God given, divine in its nature and it does not govern all nations as well as peoples in the same manner as naturalists slogan propagates; rather it is manmade and different from nation to nation and from society to society based on their cultural value, socio-economic development and other reasons as law is the product of social interaction for positivists. According to Positive school of thought "Law is an assemblage of signs declarative of a volition conceived or adopted by the sovereign in a state, concerning the conduct to be observed by persons who are supposed to be subject to his power." Furthermore, law is an exclusive, systematic and unified hierarchical ordering of normative propositions, which can either be looked of either from the top downwards as depending from sovereign command or from the bottom upwards. Law for Marx is an instrument for the ruling class since the ruling party enacts it for its own purpose rather than to serve the society at large. "The Marxist doctrine of law as the tool of the ruling classes carried out by the state as the executive committee of the ruling class, leading to a strongly positivist and instrumentalist perception of law." In other words law comprises all the principles, rules and enactments that are applied in the courts and enforced by the power of the state. From the positivists’ point of view, we can safely conclude that law is a creation of human beings and it is an instrument governing the society in order to make smooth the social relationship. And it is also exposed to change when necessary as societal development is not static rather it is dynamic process. However, according to naturalists, it is a sin to try to alter this law, nor is allowable to attempt to repeal any part of it. Therefore, it is impossible to abolish it entirely.
According to naturalists’ concept of law "There will not be different laws at Rome and at Athens, or different laws now and in the future, but one eternal and unchangeable law will be valid for all nations and times and there will be one master and ruler, that is, God, over us all, for he is the author of this law, its promulgator, and its enforcing judge." When we examine the views of both natural and positive schools of thoughts there is a clear contradiction between the two, which is irreconcilable by any means. Their contradiction as mentioned above clearly seen in terms of who made that law? Who is responsible for enforcing it? Is it changeable at any time based on societal needs? Whether it governs the nations and peoples in the same manner or not and other definitional as well as in terms of validity requirements they are using.

So the positive definition of law and its conceptual analysis seems plausible when compare with natural law theory as it is manmade and open to discussion and change. However, the positive definition of law does not fully as well as properly reflects the real societal behavior and the interest of the whole existing as well as future societies. Moreover, it lacks strong support from the people concerned as it is a tool mainly for sovereign power and ruling classes rather than the people as a whole at large as customary law do.

1.3 Relationship between State Made Law and Customary law

‘Deeply rooted custom is observed as a statute, not undeservedly, and this is what is called law established by usage." For since statutes themselves bind us for no other reason than because they have been accepted by the judgment of the people, then deservedly those things which the people have approved without writing will bind all." Both Customary and state made laws should be the reflection of a given country socio-economic development, cultural values, and political interactions.

And they are also laws, which have to a certain extent binding nature, as they are accepted norms by that particular society though the degree of acceptability
and binding nature differs. Moreover, technically, both laws have their own different characteristics in terms of development, acceptance and the position they possess upon the same society. Hence state made law comes from intentional declaration of certain body that has a power or capacity to legislate it. Because of this a statute derives from the pre determination of human beings that have political power to formulate it.

In other words, statute is enacted by the decision of a legislature, or legislative body and it also comes into being at a determinate time; carrying a date which tells us precisely when it became effective and mark off the time in the past when it did not exist. Its terms are to be found in the words of a statute itself."

Whereas customary law comes into existence spontaneously as well as in an unconscious manner through a long period of time the society practiced. It has no definite legislature rather develops from the society's practical application of things and day today forwarded opinions, repeated activities as well as socio-economic interactions of the same. In this regard Lon L. Fuller clearly stipulates that:

Custom is not declared or enacted, but grows or develops, through time. The date when it first came into full effect can usually be only within broad limits. Though we may be able to describe in general the class of persons among whom the custom has come to prevail as a standard of conduct, it has no definite author; there is no person or defined human agency we can praise, or blame for its being good or bad.

Customary law therefore consists of customs accepted by members of a certain community as binding among themselves and its rules are created by the actual, visible critical behavior of the group, and most importantly, by the internal aspect by which people consider the conduct or particular behavior to be dictated by an existing rule by notion of right and wrong, ought, must and
should. Furthermore for Austin all laws consist, directly or immediately, of rules laid down by a sovereign power enjoying the habit of obedience within a given society. However, customary law is a general conviction of law; hence it corresponds to what people generally do. People conform to customary law because it is the law failure to conform would be an unacceptable deviant act contrary to such law. From the above conceptual explanation of both state made and customary laws we can understand that they have the same function in maintaining peace and stability as well as social relationship and control the deviant behavior of individuals so as to make smooth interaction among the people concerned. A statute may contain a preamble explaining the evil it was intended to avert or the good it was designed to promote.

But customary laws are not first brought into being and projected to regulate the people. The purpose of such rules never comes to explicit expression. Therefore, from the aforementioned statement we can safely conclude that customary law comes into existence through practical application of a society's different values, and it does not have a pre planned activities that consciously intends to govern future situations.

However, positive law (state made law) mostly intends to solve the existing problems as well as devotes to facilitate the future conditions of a country and its people unlike customary law. Customary law can be however an important source of state made law as it is one of the very crucial social values. In this regard some writer clearly stipulates that the colonial authorities subordination of customary law into the body legal. The aspiration was to promote genuine legal pluralism rather than a stratified dualism with one source dominant and other subservient. In the new order customary law was to be a primary source of law. Abera Jembere on his part also clearly stated that "In Ethiopia during the codification process in 1960s the customary law-so to speak, "the pure
peoples' law was largely scrapped." In other words though customary laws and practices have their own important role in governing the concerned societal relationship and can serve as source of statute in the modern legal system their status would be determined by the will of the sovereign power.

1.4 Test of Recognition of Customary Law

Law can be imposed from above by some coercive authority, such as a king, a legislature, or a Supreme Court, or law can develop; from the ground as customs and practice evolve. When law imposed from the top, authoritarian law typically requires the support of powerful minority; however, if law developed from the bottom up for example customary law strictly requires widespread acceptance of the concerned society. Furthermore, customary law is recognized, not because it is backed by the power of some strong individual or institution, but because each individual members of a certain society recognizes the benefits of behaving in accordance with other individuals' expectations - given - that others also behave as he expects.

Alternatively, if minority coercively imposes law from above, then that law will require much more force to maintain social order than is required when law develops from the bottom through mainly mutual recognition and acceptance. The aforementioned statement shows that customary law can easily be recognized by the concerned society than positive law. Because customary law develops with mutual consents of the society practicing it as well as customary law has a strong support from the societies at large as it mostly reflects the people's interest and day today life of the community.

However, the state made law requires imposition upon the society as it does not necessarily consider the agreement of the people concerned though it depends according to the type of the government follows legislative policy. As the source of recognition of customary law is reciprocity, it is also the basic source for both the recognition of duty to obey law and law enforcement in a customary
law system. Fuller in this regard states that “… the relationships within the society must be sufficiently fluid so that the same duty you owe me today, I may owe you tomorrow; in other words, the relationship of duty must in theory and in practice be reversible.”

Customary law can be also recognized by positive laws as well. "Customary laws may be given recognition in almost all areas of law, public and private." The only requirement it needs in this case is not to be contrary to the constitutional principles of a given country as well as international human rights conventions. For instance, Article 27 of the ICCPR clearly states that governments are duty bound to recognize the existence of customary laws and practices as well as to promote their importance since they are not contrary to human rights principle. To strengthen this situation seminar held under UNESCO in 1965 strongly urged that:

Recognition of the importance of maintaining permissible legal traditions in fields such as laws of succession, marriage and dietary law... nothing should be prohibited unless it threatened the freedom of others or was contrary to public order, morality or health in the sense of constituting an offense to the law or conflicts with the technological, social or economic advancement of the nation as a whole.

Besides, Article 9 of the constitution federal Ethiopia impliedly recognizes the customary law and cultural practices so long as they are not contrary to the same. In this regard sub Article 1 of the same provision clearly stipulates that "… any customary practices that are inconsistent with this constitution shall be invalid." Moreover, Article 34 (5) of the same constitution clearly stipulates its stand towards customary law by saying that this constitution shall not preclude the adjudication of disputes relating to personal and family laws in accordance with religious or customary laws, with the consent of the parties to the dispute. Furthermore, Article 78 (5) of FDRE constitution underlines that pursuant to
sub Article 5 of Article 34 the House of Peoples’ Representatives and State Councils can establish or give official recognition to religious and customary courts. Besides, it extends its guarantee by imposing an obligation on the government stating that government shall have the duty to support, on the basis of equality, the growth and enrichment of cultures and traditions that are compatible with fundamental rights, human dignity, democratic norms and ideals, and the provisions of the constitution.

From the aforementioned provisions of FDRE constitution we can infer that there are several customary laws and practices in the country and some of them are consistent with the principles of the constitution and the government can give due recognition and strong support for customary laws as they are more accessible for the society. On the other hand customary laws have also been described as that which is recognized as law by members of a particular group or society as they are mirrors of accepted usage of that particular society. So giving recognition and support to such customary laws and their tribunals which are not contrary to the constitutional provisions, based on their important role is a wise action as far as the present situation is concerned.

Because such customary laws and cultural practices are serving in several societies and communities as an alternative means of conflict resolution mechanisms and as a problem solving legal instruments. And they are also increasingly being used in various dispute resolution practices like tort claims, divorce actions; other individual and group conflicts that would likely otherwise involve formal court litigation.

**Section Two: Nature, Source and Management of Conflict**

This section mainly deals with nature, source and management of conflicts in general and it also emphasizes on the customary conflict resolution mechanisms being practiced in Raya Oromo in particular. Moreover, this section discusses the process of conflict resolution held in the area, preventive measures being
taken by the traditional institutions, and the ways of implementation of the
decisions of such customary tribunals of the same. It also devotes to evaluate
customary laws and practices in light of the laws of the country in general and
the FDRE constitution of 1995 in particular.

2.1 Nature of Conflict
Conflict is usually understood as situation catering for discomfort or stress of
individuals with more than two incompatible interests. It is also inevitable
phenomenon in all human society’s sphere of life since the entire life of
mankind is manipulated by the prevalence of conflict within the society when
people set opinion against opinion, run interest against interests. On the other
hand conflict has been seen as kinds of link existing between, at least two parties
and as a means of expression of dissatisfaction or disagreement of these parties
have in the fields of conflicts.
To this effect some writers strongly believe that conflict is used as a means to
cause or modify interest groups, unifications or organization and designed for
achievement of some form of unity in the society via resolution of divergent
dualism away from the society. In other words, every interaction among the
members of the society is meant association which is impossible to be
conducted by a single individual alone rather entails cooperation of men to up
the interaction.
Conflict also plays an important part in creating threat among the members of
a given society and to the group at the time when conflicting parties hate each
other which exposes the group’s preservation to the danger so that the tension
between intra-group antagonism and group continuation gives rise to persistent
conflict. Of course such disputing parties may have objective interests or
conflicting interests demanding abrogation for the interests of other disputant
which in turn leads to violence in the absence of any controlling devises. Thus
from the aforementioned statements one can easily understand that such kinds
of conflicts may threaten the unity of the society and call any form of resolution mechanisms to avert the conflicting situation and maintain the smooth relationship of the same.

Conflicts within the society are therefore prevalent in many forms and they may exist between individuals, families or between groups ranging from verbal abuse to physical violence including death of parties to the conflict. Therefore, conflict can either be individual or group in its nature. In this regard Louis Kristberg who is the proponent of the aforementioned statement clearly stipulated that in social life, conflicts are inherent and inevitable, hence they occur within and among organizations, communities, social classes and even countries.

2.2 Sources of Conflict

Conflict is an inescapable phenomenon in every sphere of life of the society either industrious or non-industrious. Because of this, such kind of conflict emanates from various sources and thus it is impossible to escape from conflicting situation and also enumerate exhaustively the causes as sources of conflict. For example individual conflicts may stem from his/her enthuse to power like the need to be a village head man or between different groups from need of resources control like the right to water or to pasture or boundaries. Besides there is also want of possession on land, abundant of interests of man, sentiment of honor and self-esteem, demand of resources (water, grazing land etc.) are usually the main reasons for hostility and source of antagonism within the society to come about. In other words, Thomas Hobbes has clearly indicated three principal causes of conflict which includes the aforementioned situations in the nature of human being that is competition made for gain, difference for safety, glory for representation/esteem. Societal interaction is an additional element for conflict to take place when the parties contesting are not subjected to the same common authority. As a result, hate, envy, need, desire and
competition manifested within such parties gives rise to unnecessary conflict which can destabilize the society at large. Particularly, unnecessary competition over the scarce resources of the society ensues serious conflicts and brings a disastrous result among the societies. Besides, availability of diversified culture within the same society and when a certain group demands to dominate the culture of the other conflict might be erupted. Change in a certain society also alters the existing pattern of social, cultural and economic relations and thus transformation of a society can produce conflict when some members of the existing society become reluctant to the new developments and insist on the changing environment. Another important source of conflict is strong demand for social justice; power and authority of certain part of the concerned society as well as the domination of the other segment of the same society may create disputes. Moreover, economic interest disparities and the continuation of such disparities cause conflicts among the society. Therefore, disparities of economic interests, diversity in socio-cultural pattern of the society, political antagonism, scarcity of resources, demand for social justice, societal change and the need to maintain special social status etc are the main sources of conflict and they contribute to break out conflict within the same society or between different groups of the neighboring community.

2.3 Conflict Management: Short Overview

Conflict management involves certain stage of controlling or resolution of the existing conflict. The very motive behind conflict management in general and resolution of conflict in particular is therefore “Longing for peace”. There are certain techniques which are important for the resolution of conflict and they essentially reflect the needs of the world community. They commonly serve to handle cases of conflict among or between the societies. These are mainly known as judicial process, arbitration, conciliation, mediation or good office
and negotiation. In judicial process the power to decide on the case rests on the authority of the judiciary which response cannot be predicted with high degree of certainty. Arbitration on the other hand is the settlement of disputes by voluntary participation of third party based on the existing laws of the country whose decision is however remains binding on the parties of the dispute like that of the judiciary.

In conciliation, activities that lead the disputing parties to an agreement are mainly performed by third parties involvement. Such activities focuses to obtain and clarify facts that cause such conflict and finally directs some recommendation to the disputing parties which may acceded or rejected by the same disputing parties. Mediation is also one of the alternative dispute settlement mechanisms referring to wide range of third party intervention, especially when the dispute is more serious and the parties are not totally willing to meet for negotiation.

This mechanism necessitates the fulfillment of two important conditions i.e. existence of willing and qualified mediators on one hand and the mediator should be acceptable by both disputing parties on the other. Hence if the mediator is accepted by parties to the conflict, the mediator leads the situation to the agreed solution through compromise. Negotiation may be used to include non-judicial and arbitral processes like conciliation as well as mediation, but for simplicity, be it restricted to the process of exchange between the disputing parties in the absence of any kinds of third party mainly having some regard to the common interest while conflicting interests are prevalent.

Moreover, good offices can be also considered as part of alternative conflict resolution mechanisms that help the disputing parties to get an opportunity to discuss on the matter without strict intervention of third party. The good office organizer can observe their discussion and ensures the appropriate as well as useful procedures of negotiation with a limited role in providing comfortable
places for meeting or in certain situations serves as chair person of the same meeting, but it could not pass a resolution to be imposed upon the disputing parties. Therefore, the effectiveness of conflict management relies mainly upon the results of dispute resolution efforts and the positive impact of such effort on the relationship of the disputing parties.

Accordingly most of the aforementioned techniques usually fail to resolve the existing conflict since most of them involve third party and leads to compromised solution of the conflicting parties and this situation never satisfy both disputants equally. Considering this the international community seeks to develop procedures that help to promote approaches to “increase the size of the cake” so that all conflicting parties can avail themselves to the benefits of alternative conflict resolution mechanisms. From the aforementioned statements we can understand that conflict persists whether it is easily manageable or not. In this regard Paul Buchanan strongly noted that “we shall never banish conflict. Indeed it is wrong heeded and blind of us to think that we should. Rather conflict must be controlled and utilized profitably in order to create more and better cultural means of living and working together.” This statement reveals that absolute avoidance of conflict from the society is unthinkable but it is possible to regulate in such a way that it can create conducive environment to the society both for peaceful living and working conditions.

2.4 Roles of Customary Laws in Maintaining Peace and Stability

Customary law plays a tremendous role in maintaining the solidarity of a given society since social behavior is required to conform to the rules of custom for which each member of the society felt bound. Because fidelity of the rule of law demands the government to abide not only by its “verbalized and publicized” rule but also respects the justified customary laws of its citizens. Besides, it serves as a gap filling instrument in situations where the legislation
of the state permits certain area of societal interest to be covered by customary law. For example the continental law leaves spheres of commercial law and civil law on marriage, family, and succession for the application of customary law. As it is part and parcel of continental legal system Ethiopia too permits the limited application of customary law in civil matters so long as it does not contravene the provision of the constitution and civil code of the country as one can easily understand from the simple reading of both legal instruments. Because for instance Civil Code of Ethiopia clearly says that “unless otherwise expressly provided all rules whether, written or customary previously in force concerning matters provided for in this code shall be replaced by this code and are hereby repealed.”

That means the phrases “concerning matters provided for in this code” limits the repeal provision only to matters regulated by the same code. Hence customary law is still applicable in Ethiopia on matters falling out of the ambit of the civil code unless they are inconsistent with other legislations. When we see this statement and the provision of the same code the repeal is not total as the later permits the application of customary law as it provides that unless otherwise expressly provided.

Because of this, there are some ways by which the application of customary law comes to picture. As mentioned above customary law plays an irreplaceable role not only in maintaining peace and order in the concerned society but also it helps to supply important inputs in law making process of a country, filling gaps of state made law and in interpretation of the same.

So considering the role of customary law is a very important precondition for policy makers and practitioners of both federal and regional state governments. Particularly customary law and its traditional tribunals contributes more in resolving the existing conflicts in harmonious and smooth manner in preventing
further conflicting circumstances as they are part and parcel of the society and their decision and advising is highly respected by the concerned society.

**Section Three: Historical Background of Rayan Oromos**

In the forgoing sections attempts were made to briefly discuss the nature of law and its definition in relation to the status of customary laws including the Nature, Source and Management of Conflict. This section mainly focuses on historical background of *Rayan* Oromos since it has its own impact on the present day conflicts that take place among *Rayans* and between the neighboring peoples of Afar nationality and Enderta of Tigray nation as well as on the method of conflict resolution they are practicing. The name Raya otherwise Raya-Rayuma is the combination of the former Rayana Qobo and Rayana Azebo Awuraljas.

Because of this currently it represents southern Tigray and northeast part of Amahara national Regional States. That means when we talk about Raya we are referring to the specific area situated in both Tigray and Amhara National Regional States. The present day Raya-Rayuma covers the area that was known previously by the name Doba, Angot and Qeda. According to Professor Merid Wolde Aregay “In the more fertile plains of Azabo, immediately to the south of Wajarat lived the pastoralist Doba… The Doba spread in to the plains of the nearby provinces of Angot and Qeda … immediately to the east of Baguna and South of Azebo plains was Qeda, comprising the mountains of Zabul and the surrounding low lands.”

He further describes the area that the lowlands were inhabited by the Doba and other pastoralists related to them… Angot, relatively the largest of these provinces, began somewhere near to the Alamata River. Alamata Town was the political centre of the former Rayana Qobo Awraja and now the capital city of Raya-Alamata woreda of Tigray Region. Therefore, one can assume that the Doba people lived in the present day Raya particularly, in the then Rayana
Azebo Awuraja, whereas, certain parts of Angot and the whole Qeda people lived in the former Rayana Qobo Awraja. Before Baeda Mariam came to power the area was not effectively administered by central governments. However, during Baeda Mariam (1468-1478) the government had shown an interest to occupy this area and he led an expedition as well as subjected to him its some Islamic population of the area. When King Baeda Mariam conducted this expedition he used the two well-known regiments named Jan Qantefa and Jan Amora. Making their base at mount Zobel, these regiments looted and destroyed the whole indigenous people of Doba. Later on after acknowledged the king's power the Dobas were converted into Christianity and they were rewarded by the king in the form of cattle for their return into Christianity and loyalty to the king. Hence the king stationed his strong regiments there so as to maintain effective control over the area.

Later King Libne Dingil (r.1508-1540) found a temporary sanctuary in this area under discussion during the wars of Ahmad Gragn and according to tradition the emperor kept cattle during his stay in the area. Because of this the place that the king had been stayed has given the name **Atse Beret** by the people living in the area. However, the king had fled to Tigray after he made unsuccessful attempt of fighting against Ahmad Gragn’s aggression using Fitawrari Tushu of Afar. And then Ahmad Gragn had got an opportunity to control Yeju and the people of Doba as well as camped on mount Zobul. This situation allowed the Oromo people to occupy the region as they were moving towards the eastern part of Ethiopia.

The Oromos were divided into two main groups known as Barayntuma and Borana and they had also many sub clans of the two main groups and hence Barayntuma only had six sons called Kereyu, Merewa, Ittu, Akechu, Worentesha and Humbana. According to Aleqa Taye Humbana is the father of Rayana Azebo who became the clan chief of that particular group. Today the
name Rayana Azebo serves as the name of the main part of Raya as indicated before. On the other hand Abera Gessesse on his part clearly stated that the word Azebo was derived from the Christian chief known as Azebo who was defeated by the Oromos.

Therefore, Azebo's origin seems to some extent arguable although both writers have agreed on his ascendants, as they believe that the ascendants of Azebo are part of Oromo nation. Getachew Meresa on his part clearly stipulates that “Abera's argument must be more plausible than Aleqa Taye's for none of Barayntuma's sons except for Merewa did actually go to the area under discussion. It seems that it was only Merewa, not the rest of Barayntuma's sons, who came to this area”. The name of Merewa still serves as the name of the western part of Raya, and the people living in that specific area strongly believe that he is the forefather of the present customary conflict resolution mechanisms applicable in Raya-Rayuma.

However, the Rayan Oromo found themselves in between two distinct peoples with different culture, language and political system. These were Amhara and Tigray peoples and they had powerful religious and strong military traditions. But the Oromos were administering themselves using the leadership of elderly people among them. Traditional belief collected by C. Conti Rosni revealed that the most famous Oromos who were considered as leaders of the native Oromo were came from "Hawash" the original place of Oromo migrants and their name were Kube Abba Bona around Qobo, Abba Seru at Alamata, Wodajo Mengesha around Dayu, Bori Yaya at Worabaye, Wodi Dime at Tulus, Waya Galmecha around Mohoni, Hambul Galla at Zobul and descendants of Liben Ali around Worqe.

These names of the elderly peoples and their destinations possess the same name even now adays either as the name of the locality or a person living in that locality. In this regard Trimingham stated that Tribes [the Oromo]
travelling up the Hawash ascended into the Danakil depression… and those by the Ala and Golina are the Raya. Ala is the river, which serves as a borderline of Yeju and Rayana Qobo Awrajas. Golina is also a river, which is found still in Rayana Qobo Awraja particularly near to Qobo Town. As these Oromo migrants were traditionalists, they retained some of their own ethnic and cultural values which express their identity though they were surrounded by highland Christians of Amhara and Tigray peoples and low land Muslim Afars. However, the original and strong cultural way of life becomes assimilated with native people of the area as well as through time they lost some of their traditional self governing system. Moreover, according to Getachew Meressa through time, however, they adopted ways of life of their neighboring people, the Tigreans and the Amhara. And because of this continuous assimilation, the Oromo of Raya have lost their ethnic cohesiveness, and either Tigrigna or Amharic language replaces the Oromo language. Traditionally, the Oromo people are known for their popular and republican political system that is called the Gada system. The Raya Oromo too, still maintaining this tradition although it is not strong as it was before. They were trying to administer their own affairs through the leadership of elders whose number was not fixed as such. The most elderly person of every group had the right to participate in the affairs of the whole community. A leader was elected from within the group on the basis of the following attributes that “Old age with superior wisdom or judgment, outstanding intelligence, reputation and responsibility acquired while leading successful raids, wealth in cattle and influence extended kinship. Hence one had to fulfill one or all of the attributes to be elected the leadership of his community.” These elected elderly people were responsible to administer justice and other political affairs of the society. Hence the Raya Oromo too followed this
traditional self-administering system since then and until they significantly assimilated with neighboring native peoples Amhara and Tigray. The whole organization of the Gada system of Raya Oromo was therefore called **Gada Merewa.** This was a committee of elders elected by the people living in the area and who are the same ethnic group. As mentioned above Merewa is the son of Barayntuma who is one of the two main groups of Oromo migrants and came to settle in the area under discussion.

**Section Four: Institutional Development of Rayan Customary Conflict Resolution**

In *Raya-Rayuma* as mentioned above, Zewold, Keflo, Senyesegad, Mezard, Tedla and Gebre Medhin are the most renowned and commonly recalled customary tribunals having their own local and judicial jurisdiction. Gebre Medhin and Tedla are responsible for Tigrigna and Afan Oromo speaking Rayans whereas others are for Amharic speaking people of Rayan society. Zewold, Keflo, Senyesegad and Mezard are considered as chiefs of Chawa regiments of *Baede Mariam* (r. 1468–1478) and his father Zerayakob (r. 1434-1468). The narration in the chronicle of *Baede Mariam* is backed by strong belief in the tradition that those forefathers are said to have come from Gonder particularly from Jan Amora.

Moreover, oral tradition in *Raya-Rayuma* clearly states that Zewold, Keflo, Senyesegad and Mezard were brothers and the eldest of all was Zewold followed by Keflo, Senyesegad and Mezard. Because of this Zewold became the supreme customary tribunal of others based on his age status, and according to the tradition this hierarchy was continued until the 1970s. On the other hand in 1899, Tedla who was the son of *Dajiazmach Gebre Wahid* of Tigray became a dominant figure in *Raya Azebo* of Charcher Woreda after assimilating himself with the native Rayans.
From 1899 on, he has taken the name of the former customary councils of elders and even he has got an unexpected acceptance by Rayans unlike his unpleasant action of the society and considered as a respectful man. Then after, the name Tedla serves as a name of such customary tribunal. The supreme council of Tigrigna speaking Rayans was/is called Abogereb (Father of the river) conceptually, it refers to a body of persons who are elected or selected by the people directly in order to resolve serious community problems which could not be easily resolved by such individual tribunals.

However, due to the rise of revolt in 1935 in Raya, which is known as “First Wayane Movement”, the government of Emperor Haile Slassie disintegrated the existence of Tedla and Abogereb considering their function as part of the movement and to the extent taking them as an instance of organized opposition party. Later when the Dergue regime came to power it allowed the people of Raya to exercise their customary practices including their traditional conflict resolution mechanisms using their customary tribunals.

Nevertheless, this permission or recognition of such customary laws and practices was not genuine rather superficial and has not continued for a long. According to Rayans the Dergue regime did not give any attention to such customary tribunals’ activity rather strengthening its organizational structure in the area so as to control the Rayans in effective manner.

Even though as mentioned above these customary conflict resolution mechanisms along with their institutional set ups were endangered, they were not totally dissolved since they had got strong support at grassroots level. Sometimes, the government law enforcement agencies give support when their role is needed and seem very necessary in resolving conflicts, especially if the conflict seemed out of government’s control.
Section Five: Strengths and Weaknesses of Customary Conflict Resolution Mechanisms

This section deals with mainly the strengths and weaknesses of customary conflict resolution mechanisms in general and its comparative analysis with the modern legal system of the country in particular. As mentioned elsewhere, customary conflict resolution mechanism has its own important and positive contribution in protecting the interests of the concerned society by maintaining peace and stability. Moreover, customary laws and their tribunals are more accessible to the conflicting parties and less costly as well as they have conducted the open trial system in the speedy manner compared to regular court proceedings.

However, they have also some drawbacks when we see their traditions and customary practices in light of modern laws and regular court litigations. The Rayan Oromos customary conflict resolution mechanism has significant contribution in maintaining peace, security and stability in the area as well as in resolving the existing disputes in amicable way, and in developing problem solving methods. Nevertheless, it is not free from problem as it follows traditional way of conflict handling systems. Therefore, the strong and weak sides of Rayan Oromos’ customary conflict resolution mechanisms are the following.

5.1 Strengths of Customary Conflict Resolution Mechanisms

Customary conflict resolution mechanism in most cases fulfils the requirement of access to justice, which is guaranteed as fundamental rights of Ethiopian peoples, under Article 37 (1) of the FDRE constitution and other substantive and procedural laws. Because in customary system of conflict management justice is always made in each localities of Rayan community and judges are elected or selected by the people concerned through direct participation of every individuals of Rayan society.
Moreover, it avoids unnecessary delay of justice as there is no any bureaucratic procedure in such customary laws and tribunals rather everything may be resolved within a short period of time at their village and using their own vernacular. Hence people of such specific locality are not required to bring legal advisor and language translator as well as to wait a long period of time so as to get solution for such particular case. Furthermore, justice is made less costly in the case of customary conflict resolution mechanisms since such customary tribunals entertain cases without fee which is necessary for court proceedings. The parties can appear with their own case and answer before such tribunals and present their case orally. Besides, this traditional conflict resolution mechanism allows direct participation of the people concerned living in the area. These customary tribunals are also trying to perform their function in the open trial. Hence everyone of the Rayan community can attend the proceeding and even be invited to give his/her own suggestions about the process in general and on the present case in particular.

The processes of open trial conducted by these customary tribunals coincide with the requirement of access to justice required in modern legal systems. Hence these customary tribunals and their traditional conflict resolution mechanisms are contributing a lot in resolving disputes at their locality of conflicting parties and facilitate access to justice for them that is required and guaranteed by international human rights instruments as well as Ethiopian constitution and other substantive and procedural laws of the country. In addition, these customary practices support the law enforcing government institutions in maintaining peace and stability in the whole localities of Raya-Rayuma and their neighboring peoples.

Customary laws and traditional practices found in the area have ability to stop the existing conflicts and make them cool down as well as avoid the sentiment of revenge than the government institutions do. For instance if there is a murder
committed by someone and the murderer is caught by the police and brought to a court of law, the court after examining the case and proved his guilt it will punish him. However, the sense of retaliation is still there and the dispute between the victim's and the other party's relatives would continue unless the elders intervene and attempt to settle such problem through traditional way. Therefore, customary conflict resolution mechanisms and its customary tribunals are very important institutions in avoiding the sense of revenge and unnecessary consequences of conflicts. In other words, it also meets the purpose of maintaining peace and stability between the disputing parties in particular and it helps to achieve the aim of the criminal law that underlined under Art 1 of the 1996 Penal Code of federal Ethiopia.

5.2 Weaknesses of Customary Conflict Resolution Mechanisms

The right to movement and the right to choose residential area guaranteed by the constitution and Civil Code of Ethiopia are highly affected sometimes by the decision of such customary tribunals. Because in some cases, if customary tribunals believe, it is necessary, or if relatives of the victim request to be exile, the perpetrator will be obliged to leave his locality for certain period of time or for good by the order of elders. Criminals may also be set free from prosecution and punishment by the decisions of customary tribunals. Because if the problem is once resolved through *erq* (conciliation), the elders immediately trying to challenge the court proceeding either directly by requesting the public prosecution office to withdraw the charge instituted against the perpetrator or through hiding evidences and ordered witnesses not to give their testimony in favor of the prosecution in the court proceeding. If witnesses disobey the elders' order and testify against the perpetrator, they will be excluded from social interaction since they are disobedient of the elders' order and violates the norms of *Rayan* society.
According to heads of justice Bureau of the Amhara national regional state and North Wollo High Court the main problem of such elders is their reluctant position towards the suspected criminals of traditionally resolved conflict. Those elders do not want a suspect criminal to be prosecuted since the problem is once resolved through the efforts of such customary tribunal. The punishment given by customary tribunals is not deterring and rehabilitating the wrong doers rather it punishes their pocket and not the evil mind of the same. Thus, those who have enough wealth may involve in conflict and commit crime repeatedly as they have much money to pay the compensation decided by such tribunal. Besides, the compensation payable to the victim is not directed to only against the pocket of actual offender although he is identified but also the relatives of him actually did not directly or indirectly involve in the commission of that specific offence. Because of this, we can conclude that customary tribunals fail to individualize punishment against the offender. In most cases the members of such tribunals are not aware of modern criminal laws that are found in the country and they would not care of human rights of a person that guaranteed by the constitution of the country rather they only seek to settle the existing problems through peaceful and amicable manner and give remedy to the victims of such conflicts. Although the members of customary tribunals are elected directly by the people concerned and perform their duty permanently at least one day in a week, there is no any kind of incentive for instance per diem for them and even nothing budgetary support for their day to day activities from both the people and the government institutions. Due to this reason elders that are part and parcel of such customary tribunals sometimes become less sensitive to the cases brought before them especially for individual disputes.

Generally what the writer of this paper observed and realized in this study is that the organizational structure of these customary tribunals that are found in the whole Raya-Rayuma were/are more or less participatory and democratically
formulated. They also perform their function based on the established customary laws and traditions ratified by the assembly and approved by the people concerned through their direct participation in their respective locality.

**Conclusion and Recommendations**

Customary conflict resolution mechanisms help to ensure peace and security thereby to maintain stability in the country in general and in the concerned society in particular. As stated above it is also accessible to members of the society. Above all such customary tribunals’ activities reduce delay of justice, as "Justice delayed is justice denied." And customary conflict resolution mechanisms help to avoid the sentiment of revenge among the disputing parties. Moreover, it assists to reduce the load of courts as it entertains many cases otherwise would be brought to regular court proceedings.

However, customary conflict resolution mechanisms have their own defect and sometimes contradict with modern laws and court proceedings as they support suspected criminals not to be prosecuted since customary tribunals resolve the problem. The other shortcoming of this system clearly seen is trespassing of the constitutionally guaranteed rights like that of the right to movement and presumption of innocence. In *Raya* there are almost the same customary laws and traditional practices irrespective of the existence of many customary laws and tribunals. These by laws and customary tribunals have similar principles, procedures and common moral order.

Moreover, in treating cases and solving problems in *Raya-Rayuma*, the procedure and conduct of hearings throughout the area remain the same. Generally, the *Rayan* customary conflict resolution mechanisms mainly focus on settling disputes and redressing the victims of the conflicts. Therefore, the *Rayan* traditional methods of problem solving and customary laws have a great role in governing the *Rayan* society in order to live and work in its respective locality in peaceful and stable manner.
Conflict is complex, dynamic and part of life of a society. Hence conflict transformation needs a holistic and multifaceted approaches and efforts. Conflict transformation basically aims to reduce violence as well as bring about sustainable peace, stability and order. It too, requires a great and continuous effort in all spheres, at all levels of social structure and with all stakeholders. Conflict transformation is therefore an ongoing process of changing relationships, behaviors, attitudes and structures of the society from negative to a positive situation.

As conflict is dynamic and its transformation is ongoing process learning is a vital component to bring behavioral change upon the concerned society and its traditional institutions. Therefore, the concerned governmental institutions and non-governmental organizations in general and educational institutions in particular should give due attention to these customary rules and their traditional tribunals. They should also make an effort to identify the negative practices from the useful traditions and thereby maintain their positive role. Moreover, awareness creation in the society, through education and training in general and the members of such customary tribunals in particular is an essential task to be performed by those concerned federal, regional, and local governments.

Furthermore, the support of government law enforcement agencies and other non governmental institutions as well as individuals should be strengthening these customary tribunals by giving skills to the elders. Finally giving due attention to these customary laws and their tribunals means facilitating the justice system, speedy trial and access to justice to the people living in that specific locality.

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The Role of Language Pluralism in Promoting Multinational Integration and Equitable Development in Federal Ethiopia.

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Abstract.
The monolingual old assumption, backed by public policy, for the promotion of multinational integration and equitable development has been rebutted by multinational federalists and multiculturalists, both in the West and in the rest. In Ethiopia too, the state official monolinguicism, which oppressed and suppressed non-official languages for a century, was seen as one of the bedrocks of deep-rooted poverty and human rights violations thereby threatening the country even to disintegrate by the late 1980s. Self-determination (and language rights) demands, which became the cornerstone of the 1995 Constitution of Ethiopia, broke out in 1960s spearheaded by the Ethiopian Student Movement (ESM) sawing the seeds of the current multi-ethno-linguistic federal experiment aiming to enhance multinational unity of, and equitable development among, "nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia". The question remains whether or not the current Ethiopia's language policy experiments have brought multinational integration and equitable development. Consequently, the post-Dergue politics and public policy researches had to face the challenges of searching for a (new) functional nexus between language
pluralism on the one hand and multinational unity and equitable development on the other hand in Ethiopia, which this paper attempts to address. To this end, both primary and secondary data are utilized. For qualitative analysis and interpretation purposes, multinational federal theories and theoretical debates surrounding language functions are used. The finding shows that federalism, if founded on language pluralism principles, had potentials of promoting multinational integration and equitable development in multinational countries. Moreover, Ethiopian politics of language suggests that there are competing language policy alternatives to foster multinational integration and equitable development—the ruling party approach, the one-language-one-country and the multiple-language language policy perspectives. Finally, the finding substantiates that, since 1991, Ethiopia has been experiencing enormous language pluralism (autonomy) for regional development; but it also has a long way to go in order to materialize the constitutional vision of multinational integration and equitable development at the federal level, which requires language pluralism.

Keywords: Ethiopia, federalism, language, multinational integration

1. **Introduction**

The role of language pluralism in promoting multinational integration in multilingual society and thereby guaranteeing equitable socio-economic development is one of the least studied areas. For instance, Yonatan T. Fiseha (2009) compares language rights regimes in South Africa and Ethiopia at a very general level and suggested the potential of re-introducing Amharic as an “official language” or “as a cohesive force” both at the federal and regional levels (ibid: 519). For him, only Amharic promotes multinational integration in Ethiopia at both levels. Yonatan did not even question the current status of Amharic which came about through linguistic impositions and injustices of the
past; he instead endorses history of inequality as advantage and opportunity for the language in question to thereby retain its old status.

Finally, Yonatan tends to underestimate the inequitable development effects of a monolingual government in a multilingual society like Ethiopia by saying “It is not at all clear how the language policy will have the effect of compromising the capacity of individuals from a non-Amharic-speaking group to access the state, thereby continuing their historical marginalization. In fact, the reverse seems to be true in present-day Ethiopia (2009: 521). As opposed this shallow claim, a simple look at the federal employment annual reports can tell us the consequences of the monolingual federal government. On average, about 50% of the federal employees continued to be Amharas: “If the two major ethnic groups, Oromo and Amhara, are to be compared with regard to access to federal government employment opportunities across years, the latter are hired three times do the former mainly for linguistic reason” (Milkessa Midega, 2011: 154).

Yared Legesse tried to explain this unfair access to federal developments of non-Amharic speakers this way: “Focusing on their own languages ... might lock non-Amharic linguistic groups up in regional politics and matters since Amharic is the language of the federal government and business in Addis Ababa where the bulk of the government's currency circulates” (p.215). Thus, it appears important to pay better attention to examine the potentials of language pluralism in promoting equitable development and multinational integration through analyzing the existing literature as well as conducting language policy impact assessments using empirical, historical and comparative perspectives.

Ethiopia is a common-home to multiple diversities; however, as is formally highlighted, the polity is constituted of particularly the “Nations, Nationalities and Peoples” (Preamble of the Constitution of Ethiopia, 1995). One of the defining elements of the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia, according to the constitution (Article 39), is a shared language. So,
language as an identity marker is recognized. It is also one of the bases used to reconfigure Ethiopian state into a federation of nine member states (Article 46). The other, but very important, general language policy response to the linguistic plurality of the society is provided in Article 5 of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia’s (FDRE) Constitution (1995). It states that all Ethiopian languages enjoy equal state recognition. It however selects Amharic as the sole working language of the Federal Government of Ethiopia, while offering the member states the opportunity to choose their respective working languages. There are several confusions surrounding the interpretation of this constitutional provision. The first misunderstanding is related to the implication of ‘equal state recognition' particularly for multinational integration. In a country where language inequality was the prevailing principle of language governance, affirmative action for the historically disadvantaged languages is common after independence (see for instance, the South African Constitution, 1996: Article 6). Equal status declaration therefore may inevitably favor the already privileged language unless affirmative action precedes it, which affects the country's unity. The other confusion is associated to the clause ‘working language of the federal government’. Some wrongly see it as a “national language of Ethiopia”, others take it as an “official language of Ethiopia”, and still others write it as a “working language of Ethiopia”. “Why only Amharic” question is also being widely discussed from equity and unity perspectives. All these confusions shall be discussed later in this piece.

Accordingly, the paper is organized into four general points of discussions. It starts by casting a light on the notion of linguistic pluralism and the role of language in society. Second, it tries to find conceptual links between languages, multinational integration and federal equitable development in comparative perspectives which further helps identify the social inequality and disagreement causes of monolingual government of multilingual societies. The
third section of the paper offers a brief historical outline of Ethiopia's one-language-one-country policy (1855-1991). Section four, which is the main analysis part of the paper, discusses the current federal monolingualism and its inequitable access to development effects, the regional language developments, as well as the prospects of multinational federal integration of Ethiopia.

Methodologically, data are collected from both primary (four interviews and one focus group discussion with government officials, experts, elders and opposition leaders on purposive sampling) and secondary document analysis. For the data analysis and interpretation, a brief theoretical lens on language roles in society and multinational integration within federal theories is constructed.

2. Linguistic Pluralism and the Role of Language in Society
The word plurality literally refers to co-existence of diversity, such as ethnic, linguistic and religious groups. For scholars of federalism, “pluralism” mean an ideology or political theory that emphasize the value of promoting distinctive identities such as ethnic, language, region or religion, implying that public policies should promote social diversity (Connolly, 2005). Diversity is approached not as a threat but as a resource. In this regard, it is related to multiculturalism. To this end, political processes maybe divided into policy areas to accommodate group diversity (the relative power of central government versus state or local governments) (Elazar, 1987). The federal arrangement of self-rule and shared-rule does also mean self-rule and shared-rule in the languages of their respective preferences. Therefore, in linguistically diverse society, federalism tends to promote linguistic pluralism. In this section, four competing assumptions on the role of language in society including primordialism, instrumentalism, cognitive and social constructionism are discussed. This paper does not aim to delve into presenting the controversies or seemingly unending debates between them. It rather briefly touches upon very
important aspects of the debates which are believed to be explaining the
Ethiopian languages politics and policy contexts from equitability and unity
perspectives.

(1) Primordialism: “A people without a language of its own are only
half a nation [...] to lose your native tongue [...] is the worst badge of conquest”
(Thomas quoted in Edwards, 1984: 2). As could be understood from this classic
primordialist quote, the symbolic identity marker role of language in society is
emphasized. Primordialists tend to treat language as natural and inevitable
phenomenon: “Language is not invented, nor is it a matter of choice. It is a
gradual constitutive legacy, or... language and the nation are natural
organisms” (Williams, 1984: 188). Abraham Demoz further argued that “A
language is in a sense a flag representing a particular nationality” (1990: 71).
By taking the imperial language policy of Ethiopia as a case study, Abraham
arrived at a conclusion that “there is a sense in which we can say that in most
societies a person is what he or she speaks (emphasis added)” (ibid: 71).
According to notable sociolinguists such as Fishman (2001a), those who
continue to use a language for its symbolic meaning speak of its “sacred
heritage,” their “roots” or “the language of their forefathers,” as a result of
which many continued to die defending it.

There are tendencies among the primordialists to equate language with
ethnicity. Herder, for instance, radically poses essentialist question: “Has a
nation anything more precious than the language of its fathers?”(quoted in
Edwards, 1984: 2). As to whether language is the sole symbol of ethnicity,
Fishman (1977: 25) has pointed out the likelihood:

Language is the recorder of paternity, the expresser of matrimony and
the carrier of phenomenology. Any vehicle carrying such precious
freight, indeed, is precious in and of itself...Anything can become
symbolic of ethnicity, but since language is the prime symbol system
to begin with and since it is commonly relied upon so heavily (even if not exclusively) to enact, celebrate and ‘call forth’ all ethnic activity, the likelihood that it will be recognized and singled out as symbolic of ethnicity is great indeed.

Language thus could be singled out as a symbol of ethno-national identity.

Thus, conflicts over language status and choice tend to take the shape of conflicts over identity and symbolic matters. The theoretical implication of this perspective is obvious: the necessity to extend equal recognition and supports to, and development of, all languages, and affirmative action to historically disadvantaged languages, for better harmonious co-existence (unity) of multilingual societies. The major critique against the accounts of primordialists was advanced by instrumentalists who, for example, say a child with certain ethnic identity may happen to know a different mother tongue which is not the language of its ethnic group.

(2) Instrumentalism: Language is treated as a mere means of communication, according to instrumentalist version of language usages. Language is not an identity marker, proponents argue, but is rationally chosen for material, "nation-building"/"multination-building" or other purposes (Lagerspetz, 1998). Language can thus be changed at any time through personal conscious choices or imposition by systematic state policy. Lopez (quoted in Gebre Hishe, 2008: 13) found that since “language shift doesn’t imply anything about loosening ethnic bonds”, language maintenance was not even required for maintaining one’s ethnic identity.

A more moderate primordialist instance was presented by Eastman (1984: 259) who suggests that despite the fact that language is one of the defining features of ethnicity, ethnic identity does not always coincide with the language used. He maintains that the relationship between language and an ethnic identity is one of association: “A particular ‘associated language’ is a
necessary component of ethnic identity but the language we associate ourselves with need not be one we use in our day-to-day lives” (ibid.). Instrumentalists could be criticized on many grounds such as from minority rights, language rights, and indigenous rights points of view. It is usually accused of ignoring group identity questions. Even if instrumentalists press on the functional roles of languages, they predominantly fail to recognize language as resources or means of getting access to such resources as political power, employments, media, wealth, national pride and education derived from the official status of a chosen language (Weinstein, 1983).

(3) **Social constructionism:** The third approach to defining the roles of language in society is known as social constructionism. It has to do with the usage of one or two language (medium of communication) to create or construct an artificial society, some call it "language for nation-building". Building a society or a nation on the basis of one language criteria goes as far back as Westphalia Treat of 1648 which brought up the notion of nation-state theory. It is usually referred to as one-language-one nation-one state approach of nation-building, i.e., one language for national unity. Fernand de Varennes observes that “using the language of one ethnic group as the language of government and administration is often seen as part and parcel of nation-building” (2006: 1). A notable study in this regard was presented by K.W. Deutsch who defines a nation as “people who have learned to communicate with each other and to understand each other well beyond the mere interchange of goods and services” (1953: 65). Moreover, Talleyrand claims that “the unity of language is the fundamental condition for the unity of the state” (quoted in Weinstein, 1983).” So, in many cases, language is seen as means of social cohesion and national integration.

Those social constructionists who propose one language for national unity have been challenged by the practical unity in language diversity as
experienced by many multilingual federations and non-federations (Elazar, 1995). A serious pitfall of this approach was uncovered by Walker Connor (1972) in his argument that *nation-building* was partly *nation-destroying*. In the US context, constructionists had believed that “the key to equal opportunity for non-English speakers is a shift to English as rapidly as possible” (Ricento, 2006: 7). Therefore, according to this group of rather assimilationists, policies that might encourage non-English speakers to continue to rely on their native languages, such as “bilingual education, bilingual ballots, etc., are actually hindering their chances of achieving social equality” (ibid.). As a response to this, Thomas Ricento (2006: 4) discusses the notion of linguistic imperialism where “big” languages – such as English – expand its functional jurisdiction across the country or the world, “in killing other languages.” In contrast, Brian Weinstein (1983) points out that “the strongest elite or government cannot decree a language out of existence or into existence, at least in its spoken form” while assimilating linguistic groups for political expediency purposes. Thus, one-language-for-national-integration approach of social constructionists goes against language human rights.

(4) *Cognitive role*: Finally, language in society has a cognitive role in sense that mother tongue “facilitates thinking and action for individual” (Carroll, 1964: 4). The structure of mother tongue language channels thought and cognition for efficiency and accuracy: “thinking aided by language is called reasoning” (ibid: 93). Therefore, an attempt of preventing members of a national group from using their language, for instance, in the court may amount to an attempt of preventing them from precise thinking, reasoning and action.

To conclude, the assumptions on language functions are not totally exclusive of each other. Primordialists use language for communication as well. But they do not stop there; they argue that language signifies ethno-national identity which they do not compromise. There are scientific findings which
firmly establish that our mother language structures our thinking, speeches and arguments. Instrumentalists build their arguments on what they perceive the weaknesses of primordialist roles of language. Social constructionism shares arguments with instrumentalism and primordialism for language is instrumental to build a (multi)nation.

For the purpose of Ethiopian context, language has been functioning as a means of communication, symbol of ethnic identity, instrument of nation-building, and regulator of human thought. An excerpt from the work of Eastman appears worth quoting: “When we stop using the language of our ethnic group, only the language use aspect of our ethnic identity changes; the primordial sense of who we are and what group we think we belong to for the remainder remains intact” (Eastman, 1984: 260).

The debate between the assumptions has made language one of the most indispensable, politically negotiable resources in the contemporary political discourse, which is likely true for Ethiopia as well. The role of language in Ethiopia has been debated from all perspectives discussed above (Dirribi Demissie, 2011; Mesfin W/Mariam, 1999). For instance, Mesfin Wolde-Mariam argues that “strictly speaking language is an instrument of communication. But there are people who attach very strong feelings to their languages as manifestations of their identities. It is not useful to argue against such purely subjective feelings (1999: 31). Other scholars observe that “language is a key defining feature of each group” of nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia (Assefa Fiseha, 2012: 438). Historically, Ethiopian regimes had attempted to build one nation using Amharic language throughout the empire state; however, the current regime recognized equality of language both as means of communication and symbol of identity, as is argued in other section of this paper.
2. Language, Multinational Integration and Federal Equitable Development

Tocqueville observed that “the tie of language is perhaps the strongest and the most durable that can unite mankind” (quoted in Laitin, 1977: 3). True, speaking the same language unites people. But that may not often work in multilingual societies. It is universally agreed (by UNESCO) that in multilingual countries, the protection of language rights can serve to unite plural societies, whereas violations of such rights can trigger and inflame nationalistic conflicts (Kontra et al, 1999; de Varennes, 2012; Patten & Kymlicka, 2003; Rannut, 1999). It is often argued that lack of language rights is one of the causal factors for ethno-national movements, group conflicts and instability particularly in multilingual countries (Paulston, 1997). When it comes to group conflicts over the status, usage, equality and rights of their languages, federalism, in terms of accommodative language choices, is believed to advocate language rights, thereby promoting multinational integration (Mitra, 2002).

Language choices are ought to promote language rights and equitable developments in all domains of language use. Fishman (2001a) divides these language for development domains into powerful domains (including employment, higher education, mass media and government institutions) and less-powerful domains (include family, friends, neighborhood, community and pre-school or elementary education). Language determines who should (and should not) be able to have access to both domains (Weinstein, 1983). According to Eerik Lagerspetz (1998), expanding bureaucracies (public and private), cultural developments, political participation, and many roles and professional developments are open to the people only if they have a perfect, or nearly perfect, command of the chosen language. Brian Weinstein (1983: 3) points out that “the ability to manipulate worlds in order to persuade the voters is one method to obtain and hold on to power; we admire oratorical and writing
skills as gifts”. That shows the chosen language role as a unique resource to those who possess it as determined by language policy.

2.1 Language Policies in Multilingual Federations

Language policy of a given jurisdiction is part of the public policy which regulates the functions of, and statuses given to, each language. More generally, a language policy could be designed and implemented with an overt legal status (de jure) or covert language politics and practices (de facto) (Bender, 1985). The concept of language policy, for the purpose of this paper as well, is mainly related to decisions, rules, regulations and guidelines about the status, use, domains and territories of languages and the rights of the speakers of the languages under question (Schiffman, 2005). It is therefore a policy subset of planning, language planning, which determines the relative language status within a polity. It determines the nature of inter-language relations on the one hand, and state-language relations on the other hand. In this regard, there are confusions as to the usage of such terminologies as “official language”, “national language” and “working language”, which should be briefed at this juncture.

An ‘official language’ is usually understood as a language that is given “legal recognition of an elevated status” in a particular administrative unit or jurisdiction (courts, parliament and administration) (de Varennes, 2012: 4). In addition, official status can also be used to give a language (often indigenous) a legal status, even if that language is not widely spoken. This is so because official status is connected to the wider political issues of sovereignty, multinational integration, and the rights of indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities, including immigrant communities in development matters (Patten and Kymlicka, 2003). On the other hand, the term ‘national language’ especially when used in the very constitution of a jurisdiction, raises the language in question to the status of national identity, national flag and national anthem
(Mputubwele, 2003). Thus, the term implies that any one “who does not know or use the so-called national language is somewhat less than loyal or patriotic and that his or her status as a national of the country is somehow deficient” (Abraham, 1990: 73-74). Finally, a ‘working language’, also known as a procedural language, is a language that is given a unique legal status in a jurisdiction or an organization as its primary means of communication (de Varennes, 2012). It is simply the language of the daily correspondence and conversation in an organization since it often has members with various differing language backgrounds. For a given organization or a state, a working language may or may not also be an official language or a national language depending on approaches employed to promote social unity and equality (Abraham, 1990).

Usually, literatures on Ethiopia regard Amharic as a ‘national language’ of Ethiopia, other times as ‘official language’ of Ethiopia. These terminologies frequently appeared to have been confusing for elites of political parties as well (TVO, April 2015, Election Debate). The tendency of regarding a working language as a national one could be argued as the policy legacy of the imperial regimes of the country, for the clear fact that the federal constitution of Ethiopia designates Amharic as the working language of the Federal Government (FDRE 1995, Art.5). Therefore, contrary to the past language policies of Ethiopia, the new federal and regional constitutions of the country provide a ‘working language’ policy model. Amharic is not the working language of Ethiopia, but of the Federal Government since regional states, special zones and some special districts have adopted their own working languages. Ethiopia has several working languages. Fernand de Varennes identified that “countries such as Canada, India, and Ethiopia have a much larger number of official languages once one considers the regional/provincial languages: around 50 for India, 11 for Canada, and 8 for Ethiopia” (2012: 11).
All languages in Ethiopia are officially declared equals and are national languages.

Furthermore, there are also confusions among the society as well as scholars on the applications of bilingual or multilingual working language policies. For Mengistu Arefaine, for instance, “each and every Ethiopian should learn at least three or four languages depending on how many languages are going to be added to Amharic as working languages of the federal government for the future” (2015: 23). This means that, if the federal working languages of Ethiopia are four in number, according to his understandings, citizens would learn all of them. However, international experiences show that working languages by definition are not the languages that each citizen should learn, but the languages that the government should use to provide public services according to the language preferences of the people in question (de Varennes, 2012). For instance, the Government of the Republic of South Africa has 11 official languages that do not imply that every South African has to know all of them. The European Union (EU) has 24 official languages, which does not mean that EU citizens are expected to know all of them. In Canada, citizens are expected to learn either of the two official languages or for bilingual offices, both. Article 5 of the Bolivian Constitution (2009) lists 37 languages as its unitary state’s official languages. What makes Bolivian language policy so special is that it has included extinct indigenous languages in the lists of declared “official languages”.

The declaration of 37 languages as “official languages” does not in any way show that Bolivians should learn all of them. It instead refers that all native nations and peoples receive public services in their own respective local languages. So, adding one or more languages to the working language of the federal government does not imply additional burden or imposition over the rest of the citizens. It only means that the federal government exercises it powers
and responsibilities in one of the chosen languages in accordance with the language preferences of the people in question. Citizens are expected to know one or two of the working languages as may be required by the constitution.

The underlying philosophy of multilingual governments is that it is not the attitude in speaking one language but it is the attitude in providing public services in many languages depending on the need of a particular people, which promotes social cohesion and equitable development in multilingual societies. Multilingual provision of public services include, among others, education in mother tongue (UNESCO, 2005), courts proceedings, administration, mass-media, health services, and other state duties in mother tongue languages. Based this basic principle, Canada has bilingual Federal Government (English and French); Switzerland has three official (Germany, French and Italy) and four national languages (Germany, French, Italy and Romansh); Belgium designated three working languages (Dutch, French & Germany); South Africa has endorsed eleven official languages; India has had two Union Government working languages (Hindi and English), Nigeria opted for its former colonial language (English).

2.2 Monolingual Governments in Multilingual Societies: Social Inequality & Conflicts

The choice of one language as a government working language of a given jurisdiction, where language diversities and potential language struggle for similar status exist, would result in challenging consequences: social inequality and disagreements. Alan Patten and Will Kymlicka, for instance, observe that:

[T]he very process of selecting a single language can be seen as inherently exclusionary and unjust. Where political debate is conducted in the language of the majority, linguistic minorities are at a disadvantage, and must either invest the time and effort needed
to shift as best they can to the dominant language or accept political marginalization (2003: 16).

Similarly, Abraham Demoz (1990) contends that as soon as one language is designated the working language of a jurisdiction, it thereby gives a major competitive advantage to the native speakers of that language. Therefore, selecting only one working language for a government of a multilingual society does not guarantee equal opportunity in state development activities.

As a result, language choice questions at the shared-rule can have audible resonances for the broader issues of federalism: local participation, power sharing, equitable development and multinational integration. Language problems limit citizen’s fair access to state resources: It can “erect or tear down barriers to power, wealth, and prestige at the center of a political system” (Weinstein, 1983: 100). Turgeon and Gagnon suggest that “the inability of members of a linguistic minority to be served in their own language can lead to serious challenges to the legitimacy of the state” (2013: 407). The legitimacy crisis of the state due to under-representation of the groups whose languages were not chosen, suggests policy revision so as to build a more inclusive state that is equitable as well as united. That is why Canadian language policy was reformed as argued by the Canadian Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Government of Canada, 1969: 95):

The possibility of national disintegration has forced a re-examination of the linguistic policies of the Public Service. The debate is no longer about efficiency, merit, patronage, and representation, but rather between thoroughgoing reform and schism. Change is imminent and no institution requires reform more urgently than does the federal administration.
In a nutshell, choosing only one working language for official purposes in multilingual societies would cause social inequality and instability.


In this section, we shall see how one-language-one-country policy of the past led to social inequality, thereby causing national disintegration of Ethiopia (Eritrea seceded in 1991). The modern multilingual Ethiopia was built mainly through wars of conquest and occupation (Teshale Tibebu, 1995). Language policy was central to the making of modern multiethnic Ethiopia (ibid.). As a result, there are now more than 80 languages spoken in Ethiopia that can be categorized under different language families (i.e. Semitic, Cushitic, Omotic, Nilotic). Of these languages, the major five include Afaan Oromo (33.8%), Amharic (29.6%), Somali (6.1%), Tigrigna (5.9%) and Sidama (4.0%) languages (CSA, 2010). Despite this diversity, previous regimes of Ethiopia had oppressed non-Amharic languages: “During the reign of Menelik II, who expanded the Ethiopian empire to today’s borders, Amharic was given a new status as a symbol of unification for the people in the multilingual Ethiopian society” (Meyer, 2006: 120). Amharic language was imposed upon all nationalities that were forcibly incorporated into the empire state, and thus Amharic linguistic imperialism implemented. Language conquest and language defeat evidently dehumanized all of the conquered nationalities.

Linguistic homogenous policy was the primary aim of the language policy of the imperial regime of Ethiopia. The imposition of Amharic on the various ethno-linguistic groups in the empire state was designed as a primary tool of ‘one nation-building’ project (Donham, 2002). Amharic was promoted as “lesanenegus” (the language of the king) (ibid.). Tedla Haile (1930) specialized (M.A. thesis) on the national unity creation lessons from French
colonial assimilation policy for Ethiopia and recommended the following policy:

The policy of assimilation should be at the top of our reforms; for, without the union of the Amhara and [Oromo], it is impossible to visualize the future with certainty or enthusiasm. The two peoples who are allowed to evolve separately will end up forming two different, and perhaps antagonistic, nations (quoted in Bahru Zewde, 2002: 132-133).

That was assimilation policy as a means of national integration. As to who is to assimilate who, Tedla has no doubt: “It is for the [Oromo] to become Amhara (not the other way round); for the latter possess a written language, a superior religion and superior customs and mores” (ibid: 132). Then, in 1933, Sahle Tsadalu, the then Minster of Education decided the following:

The strength of a country lies in its unity, and unity is born of (common) language, custom, and religion. Thus, to safeguard the ancient sovereignty of Ethiopia and to reinforce its unity, our language and our religion should be proclaimed over the whole of Ethiopia. Otherwise, unity will never be attained…Amharic and Ge’ez should be declared official languages for secular as well as religious affairs and all pagan languages should be banned (quoted in Bahru Zewde, 2002: 140).

Thus, the imperial regime of Ethiopia intensified its linguistic assimilation policy and practices through various means such as formal education, religious institutional teachings, army establishments, public services and others. Lionel Bender (1985) considered the entire socio-linguistic policy substance and processes of the empire of Ethiopia as a formal Amharization.

The Italian intervention (1936-41) only interrupted the imperial linguistic policy of homogenization project (ibid.). For instance, Italians built
schools which used non-Amharic languages as medium of instruction in the non-Amhara regions. Mekuria B. (1997: 98) wrote:

They [Italians] were interested in winning the trust of non-Amhara peoples through the elimination of the Amhara claim to superiority over them. Therefore, employment of Amharas in government offices and using Amharic language in non-Amhara territories was prohibited. Afaan Oromo, Kaficho, Somali and Adare languages were used as medium of instruction in government schools in the South. In Addis Ababa schools, Afaan Oromo and Amharic were used.

Whatever the motives one may associate with Italian colonial language policy, Ethiopia had briefly experienced language policy pluralism.

Following the defeat of Italians, Haile Selassie restored his power in the country and re-introduced his linguistic homogenization policy. One of the laws he passed for this purpose was the Imperial Decree, No. 3 of 1944 which required Amharic to become the exclusive medium of instructions throughout Ethiopia (Government of Ethiopia, 1944). Article 125 of the revised Imperial Constitution of Ethiopia (1955) declared that “the official language of the Empire is Amharic,” and accordingly, Amharic became the language of administration, courts, mass-media, health services and medium of instruction in schools throughout Ethiopia. Not only it became the instrument of public service delivery, as Alelign Aschale observes, “Amharic had been regarded as a language of national symbol and unity” (2013: 1).

One of the leading causal factors for the outbreak of the Ethiopian Student Movement (ESM) was the quest for language equality and justice (Donham, 2002). Walelign Makonen, a leader of the ESM of the 1960s, is often quoted: “To be a ‘genuine Ethiopian’ one has to speak Amharic, to listen to Amharic music…In some cases to be an ‘Ethiopian’ you will even have to change your name” (1969: 6). Therefore, the 1974 Ethiopian Revolution and
the subsequent wars by national liberation movements were partly caused by the language factor.

The Derg military rule did not peacefully respond to language questions of nationalities. It rather opted for mainly military responses to language autonomy questions. Thus, no genuine language policy reform was made. Lionel Bender states it as “a defacto continuation of the old policy of Amharization” (1985: 276-77). The Derg Constitution of Ethiopia declared that “in the People’s Democratic Republic of Ethiopia the working language of the state shall be Amharic” (1987: Art 116). Even though this provision reviewed the status of Amharic to the “working language of the state”, it generally allowed the continuity of Amharic linguistic hegemony across the empire state of Ethiopia. Art 2(2) of the same Constitution stated that “the People’s Democratic Republic of Ethiopia shall ensure the equality, development and respectability of the languages of nationalities.” This clause only provided lip service for the age-old language questions. As Lahra Smith correctly argued “Amharic knowledge remained a prerequisite of political or economic participation,” and language policy thus remained virtually unchanged.

In nutshell, literatures on the status of Amharic languages during the previous Ethiopian regimes (1855-1991) could be categorized under three general interpretations: language of national unification, language of national oppression, language of national colonialism (Bahru Zewde, 2002; Merera Gudina, 2003; Assafa Jalata, 2007).

4. Ethiopian Federal Monolingualism, Regional Language Development and the Prospect of Multinational Integration

The current Ethiopia’s language policy foundation was laid down during the transitional period as the de facto federalization policy began in 1991 with the adoption of the transitional charter. Put differently, the current ethno-linguistic based regional states and their respective language policies were already in
practice before the new federal constitution came into effect in 1995. The late Prime Minister of Ethiopia, Meles Zenawi, when the Transitional Charter was ratified in 1991, made the following speech (quoted in Aalen, 2002: 40):

The key cause of the war all-over the country was the issue of nationalities. Any solution that did not address them did not address the issue of peace and war… People were fighting for the right to use their language (emphasis added), to use their culture, to administer them-selves. So without guaranteeing these rights it was not possible to stop the war, or prevent another one coming up.

This quote implies that the protection of language rights was taken as one of the politically significant issues for the new government of Ethiopia. As a result, language became one of the factors used to delimit the territorial boundaries of the fourteen regions of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) (see Proclamation No. 7/1992). The 1995 constitution of the country formally endorsed by in large the transitional language policies and practices, however by reducing the number of the transitional constituent units from fourteen to nine. Thus, in the making of the borders of the member states of the federation (Art 46), special zones and districts, the language factor has been determinant.

Even though the current language policy of Ethiopia particularly at the regional level has radically changed from the past, this does not imply that the country has a comprehensive language policy document. Nonetheless, language laws, rules, principles and regulations are her and there in separate documents: federal and regional constitutions, education policy, cultural legislations, media laws, and other legal documents.

2.3 Federal Monolingualism & Inequitable Access to the Federal Developments

The Federal Constitution of Ethiopia as a mega-policy of the country clearly stipulates the language policy guidelines and principles. The key clause remains
Article 5 (FDRE, 1995) which states that: “All Ethiopian languages shall enjoy equal state recognition. Amharic shall be the working language of the Federal Government. Members of the Federation may by law determine their respective working languages.” First, the “equal state recognition” clause signifies the national status that all Ethiopian languages should enjoy. Thus, it is constitutional to say that all Ethiopian languages are today national languages, for which, the knowledge of one indigenous language is a prerequisite to be an Ethiopian citizen (Government of Ethiopia, 2003). Second, the role of Amharic, as a ‘working language’ of Ethiopia, is limited to the Federal Government since the regional governments have their respective working languages.

Moreover, the cultural policy of Ethiopia (2003) highlights its commitments to promote multilingual developments in this way:

[All] the languages…, literature… of the nations, nationalities, and peoples of Ethiopia receive equal recognition, respect and chance to development. Creating a favorable situation to carry out scientific research and inventory of the languages, oral literature…of the nations, nationalities, and peoples of Ethiopia and make them useful in development endeavor, providing the necessary professional assistance to the various nations, nationalities and peoples while making their choice of language.

The other policy document which deals with language rights is the Federal Education and Training Policy (2002) which provides "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". The 1994 Ethiopian Education and Training policy has also promised that “Students can choose and learn at least one nationality language and one foreign language for cultural and international relations.” Federal media such as EBC (Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation)
has had its own language usage guidelines. In general, these and other policy
documents provide language policy directions on the use and status of
languages at the federal level.

The working language of the federal government has been only Amharic. It means that “as the federal government has only one [working] language, there is no territorial limit to its use - but this is only true in relation to matters falling within federal jurisdiction” (de Varennes, 2012: 15). The choice of Amharic has often been justified on an ‘accident of history’ advantages (“betarik agatami”) (Minutes of Constituent Assembly, 1994). But it is known that Amharic was imposed and promoted across the country at the expense of non-Amharic languages (ibid.). Since Amharic became the sole working language of the empire state by design and conscious state policy, the idea of ‘accident of history’ thus seems disingenuous. The historical advantages accrued to Amharic that came about through linguistic injustices should not have been used as criteria for language choice. According to Idil Boran (2001), if there was inequality between languages, then providing equal status will work in favor of the already advantaged language and reinforce the existing relational inequalities. The case of Ethiopia shows that historically suppressed languages are not given federal affirmative action. The South African Constitution (1996) provides affirmative action benefits for those historically disadvantaged indigenous languages. Following the designation of French as the other co-equal working language of the Canadian Federal Government, there was 'the language normalization process', aimed at elevating the status of the newly chosen language (Yonatan, 2009: 507). Selecting only one federal language in multilingual society like Ethiopia would obviously discriminate non-native speakers of the chosen language. Thus, it causes inequitable access to federal developments, i.e. participations in bureaucracy, parliamentary debates, courts and media, schools, hospitals and others (Abera, 2009; Milkessa, 2011). For instance, the following table shows the inequitable access to the federal Government of ethnic groups.

Table 1: Inequitable Access to Federal Institutions of ethnic groups (2003-2008)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
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<td>----------</td>
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<td>--------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amhara</td>
<td>23964</td>
<td>52.65</td>
<td>25141</td>
<td>54.4</td>
<td>24753</td>
<td>46.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oromo</td>
<td>8149</td>
<td>17.90</td>
<td>8719</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>9206</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tigrayan</td>
<td>3423</td>
<td>7.52</td>
<td>2968</td>
<td>6.43</td>
<td>3533</td>
<td>6.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guraghe</td>
<td>2148</td>
<td>4.75</td>
<td>2101</td>
<td>4.56</td>
<td>2222</td>
<td>4.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walaitta</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>687</td>
<td>1.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidama</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>0.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somali</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>5337</td>
<td>11.73</td>
<td>4607</td>
<td>9.95</td>
<td>10152</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1801</td>
<td>3.96</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>2027</td>
<td>3.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>45514</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>46184</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>52833</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


According to the government reports, on average, the Amhara controls 50% of the Federal Government manpower, while the Oromo, the largest group of Ethiopia, gets only 18% of it. This unfair access to federal socio-economic development is the result of the Amharic-only language policy of the Federal Government. As we can see, the percentages of Tigrayan's and Guraghe's access to federal employment are greater than their percentage share of population. The federal share of Somali and Sidama are at a critical stage. As to the civil service participation of Somalis, there is an opinion that believes that they are
not even employed in their own regional state, let alone in the Federal Government. Whatever the cause might be their marginalization speaks loud. In conclusion, if some nationalities are under-represented or under-served at the federal level due to language problems, the very purpose of the federation, i.e., shared-rule and shared economy might be threatened.

Furthermore, Abera Degefa(2009) observes that English has, without any constitutional ground, tended to become a *de facto* working language of the federal institutions. It is also argued that “English has gotten an increasing power over Amharic in Education since the introduction of modern education, and in business, since the enthronement of the incumbent political power” (Amsalu, 2010: 1). It is practically true that the contemporary education policy of Ethiopia provides that “English will be the medium of instruction for secondary and higher education” (Article 3.5, MoE, 1994). Thus, the importance of English as a means of communication appears to have been rising than ever before among the literate citizens of Ethiopia as higher educational institutions expand rapidly.

The federal language policy of Ethiopia could further be critiqued for the constitution does not select a specific language for the conduct of intergovernmental relations (IGR) in the federation both vertically and horizontally. The practice, however, shows that Amharic is a *de facto* working language of IGR. For instance, the Indian Constitution identifies a working language for IGR: “The language for the time being authorized for use in the Union for official purposes shall be the official language for communication between one state and another and between a state and the Union”(Article 346, 1950).

In conclusion, the federal language policy seems to have brought mixed results: (1) the concept of ‘working language’ seems to have been deliberately chosen to imply ‘a mere means of communication’ or to imply all
Ethiopian languages are equally national languages; (2) one language choice (using its historical hegemonic status as a special criterion) in a multilingual society would not serve all citizens equally and fairly affecting the unity of the federation.

2.4 Regional and Sub-regional Language Developments
Pursuant to Article 5(3) which offers member states the opportunity to choose their own working languages, and reinforced by Article 39 (2) which states every nationalities of Ethiopia with the right to speak, to write and to develop its own language (FDRE Constitution, 1995), the constituent units of the federation have adopted their respective regional language policies in their respective regional constitutions. The application of the current regional language policy, however, precedes the official declaration of the federal constitution as discussed above. Thus, one may argue that the new constitution in 1995 only legalized the *de facto* regional language policies the Transnational Government of Ethiopia.

**Table 2: State Member Working Language**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regional No.</th>
<th>Member States</th>
<th>Working Language/s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tigray</td>
<td>Tigrigna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Afar</td>
<td>Afar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Amhara</td>
<td>Amharic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Oromia</td>
<td>Afaan Oromo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Somali</td>
<td>Somali</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to this table, regions recognized to be constituted of diverse linguistic groups selected Amharic as their working languages for convenience purposes. There are five regional states which opted for non-Amharic working languages. Harari remains the only bilingual regional government in Ethiopia. The federal constitution mentions nothing about language policy of Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa; however, both city charters select solely Amharic as their working languages despite their multilingual and multicultural compositions.

As far as sub-regional language policy is concerned, different working languages are adopted at the special zonal and wereda levels, especially, in the South Nations, Nationalities and Peoples (SNNP), Benishangul-Gumuz, Gambela and Amhara Regions. For instance, Article 5 of the revised Constitution of the SNNPRS (2001) provides that “All languages in the region shall enjoy equal state recognition. Amharic should be the official working language of the regional state. Zones and special woredas may determine their respective working languages in their own councils.” Accordingly, some of the SNNP sub-regional working languages include, “Sidama Afo, Kambata, Kafinoono, Hadiyyisa, Gamonso, Gofa, Wolayta, Dawro, Silti, and Gedeo” (Aleign Aschale, 2013: 3). Therefore, Amharic is not the working language of the region, but it is the working language of the regional government.
The practice of language policy of a given jurisdiction should be analyzed in terms of its effects on school medium of instruction, languages of administrations, councils, courts, media and others. For instance, different regional states have freely chosen different scripts for usages. For the languages including Amharic, Tigrigna, Gurage, and Harari, Ge’ez script have been developed, whereas for the languages such as Afaan Oromo, Somali, Sidama, Afar, Gamo, and many others, Latin alphabet is preferred.

Diverse languages have been developed for primary schools in Ethiopia as a result of the education and training policy that endorsed primary education to be given in nationalities’ languages (MoE, 2002). Consequently, “there are twenty one languages, excluding Amharic, which are currently used as media of instruction at primary school level” (Alelign Aschale, 2013: 3). In this regard, except for Tigray and Addis Ababa, all regional states and city administration of Dire Dawa provide primary schools in more than one nationality language (Heugh et al., 2007). This means, Tigray and Addis Ababa’s public primary school medium of instructions are only Tigrigna and Amharic respectively.

Amharic language is being delivered as a subject everywhere in Ethiopia because it is the sole working language of the Federal Government of Ethiopia. As a result of this, except in Amhara Region, Addis Ababa City Administration and other cities where only Amharic and English (bilingualism) are being taught, all regions and Dire Dawa have been practicing the policy of trilingual education provision (mother tongue, Amharic & English). This shows that citizens in some areas required learning only two languages, while the rest had to learn three languages.

In addition to education, regional governments, special zones and weredas admins have selected their own working languages (of councils, civil services, media, and courts). Moreover, the regional governments’ working
languages are sharing airtimes from the federal broadcasting media such as EBC. The overall impact of the new regional language policy of Ethiopia since 1991 is that non-Amharic languages got the space to develop for which the major mother tongue distributions radically changed. For instance, according to the 1994 census, Amharic was the biggest mother tongue (32.70%) followed by Afaan Oromo (31.58%); however, the 2007 census showed a shift of linguistic order which made Afaan Oromo the biggest mother tongue in Ethiopia (33.8%) followed by Amharic (29.3%), Somali (6.2%), Tigrigna (5.9%), Sidama (4.0%)(CSA, 1994; 2007). In fact, today, the working language of the Federal Government is not the biggest mother tongue of Ethiopia.

In conclusion, Ethiopia retained monolingualism for the jurisdiction of the centre (continuity), while promoting regional language pluralism (radical change from the past).

5.3 Language and the Prospect of Multinational Federal Unity in Ethiopia 
Since the introduction of federalism in Ethiopia, the significance of language for the promotion of national unity has remained an aspect of national political controversies interpreted in various ways. Put differently, which language(s) have to be chosen at what level of government for the national integration purpose remains the major policy controversy. Avoiding subtle variations, four competing approaches can be identified on the role of language in promoting multinational federal integration in Ethiopia: the ruling party, the one-language-one-country, the multiple-language and the colonial language.

(I) The ruling party approach: According to the ruling party approach, pre-1991 Ethiopia was characterized by linguistic inequality due to the official promotion of Amharic hegemony over the rest of languages. It argues that non-Amharic speaking nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia were forced to abandon their languages, and fluency in Amharic was made the symbol of civilization. The previous regimes’ efforts to linguistically
homogenize Ethiopia did not result in national integration but instead caused social mistrust and civil wars (ibid.).

This perspective contends that Ethiopia’s national integration problem was resolved by the overthrow of the Derg and by the adoption of federal constitution in 1995. The EPRDF believes in principle that at the core of the current multinational unity is the free will as well as equality of nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia.\(^1\) The ruling EPRDF party advances that nothing has gone wrong in the selection of Amharic as the sole federal working language because it was chosen only as a means of communication designed neither for the promotion of oneness among Ethiopians nor for disintegration (ibid.). Generally, the proponents of this perspective advance that national consensus was brought through the current monolingual federal and diverse regional language policies.

(2) The one-language-one-country perspective: This approach to the promotion of national unity in Ethiopia is typically advocated by unitarist Amhara political forces such as the Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD), the Unity for Democracy and Justice (UDJ), the All Ethiopian Unity Party (AEUP), Ethiopian Democratic Party (EDP) and other Moa Anbessa forces. This group accuses the EPRDF of dividing the unity of the country along what they call “bezer/race”, language, “neged/tribe”, “gosa/clan”, and ethnicity. To restore their version of 'national unity', they suggest geographical federalism than the current ethno-linguistic based federalism. They tend to focus on the role of Amharic as a symbol of overarching identity of Ethiopia and recommend it to become at least a co-official language of Member States (Yared, 2009; Yonatan, 2009). This approach basically opposes the current regional mother tongue language policies in general and adoption of Latin alphabet in particular which it says hurts national feelings (hagerawismet).\(^1\)

This approach claims that only Amharic promotes national feeling and
prevents what it calls “mandertagnenet” (localism); which means non-Amharic languages are thought to work against unity of the country (Mesfin W/Mariam, 2012: 67). Yonatan Tesfaye(2009) argues that to create one political community with a distinct constitutional identity requires forging an overarching loyalty, identity and democratic space using one language (i.e., Amharic) out of the diversity in the country. This is similar to Sahle Tsadalu's political stand: "to safeguard the ancient sovereignty of Ethiopia and to reinforce its unity, our language and our religion should be proclaimed over the whole of Ethiopia" (quoted in Bahru, 2002: 140).

Finally, this approach puts that the best way to maintain and promote multinational integration is to abandon the current language based federalism and to restructure regions based on geography or other non-ethno-linguistic criteria. The one-language-one-country approach does not criticize the current monolingual federal government but recommends Amharic to become a co-working language of the regional states (Yonatan, 2009).

(3) The Multiple-Language Language Policy Alternative: This is the third approach to multinational integration discourse in Ethiopia. It advocates multilingual government for multilingual society. Political representative of this model has been the Oromo Federalist Congress (OFC), a member of the Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum (Madrek). The political program of Madrek states that “In addition to Amharic, the language spoken by large number of population of the country shall be designated as the working language of the Federal Government” (2008: Article 6). Federal language policy should promote equal access to federal resources, power, prestige, education and generally to the state development activities. Merera Gudina argues that since the day modern Ethiopia was created, it has been thought that one language, one culture, one religion; one flag would promote unity of the country. However, the reverse has been proved that it had never brought
national integration (ibid.). It caused disintegration. The multiple-language approach contends that the choice of Amharic at the federal level neglecting the other competing languages will never promote unity and social cohesion.

This approach seems more federalist than others because it suggests two or more federal working languages to promote multinational consensus and unity. It supports the current regional mother tongue language policy. Bulcha Dammaksa stresses that “Afaan Oromo and Amharic are natural for the Ethiopian unity to come.” While protesting against the Addis Ababa Master Plan in 2014, 2015 & 2016, one of the several demands of the Oromo protests was “Afaan Oromo to be the other working language of the Federal Government”. Mengistu Arefaine suggests that "at least Afaan Oromo, Tigrigna, Somali should be adopted, in addition to Amharic, as working languages of the federal government" (2014: 41). Mengistu opts for multilingual federal government to promote equitable development among groups.

(4) Colonial language perspective: There is a perspective which argues that it is highly unlikely to bringing about multinational integration and equitable development in Ethiopia through language pluralism. According to this approach, Ethiopia has always been a colonial state. This group, usually known as ‘colonial thesis’, continued to view Amharic as ‘colonial language’, and recommends for ethno-linguistic total independence (Asafa Jalata, 2010).

Finally, it seems that the ruling party is reacting to some of these critiques. Some of the websites of federal institutions have recently started to report its activities in four languages: English, Amharic, Afaan Oromo & Tigrigna. If these developments suggest the future prospect of language pluralism at the federal level, then, the third competing viewpoint discussed above will be proven successful.
5. Conclusion

This paper has argued that Ethiopian federalism has essentially turned the old assimilationist policy that was meant to build one-language-one-country. This is because of the constitutional equal recognition extended to all languages of Ethiopia as national languages, and the concomitant freedom given to regional states to develop their respective working languages. Practically, Amharic is no more the sole official language of Ethiopia; it instead is the procedural language of the federal institutions. Now, there are several working languages of Ethiopia—Federal Government working language of Ethiopia (Amharic), Tigray Regional Government working language of Ethiopia (Tigrigna), Afar Regional Government working language of Ethiopia (Afar), Oromia Regional Government working language of Ethiopia (Afaan Oromo), Somali Regional Government working language of Ethiopia (Somali language), Harari Regional Government working languages of Ethiopia (Harari and Afaan Oromo), and the other four (Amhara, SNNP, Benishangul-Gumuz and Gambela) regional governments working languages of Ethiopia (Amharic). The federal working language is also Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa city administrative working language of Ethiopia (Amharic). There are also several special zonal and district working languages of Ethiopia. Thus, the practice of language policy of Ethiopia since the introduction of federalism has resulted in one federal, five regional and many zonal and district working languages of Ethiopia. Therefore, Ethiopia has several working languages.

From the historical comparative policy analysis, the current Ethiopian language policy could be placed between continuity and change: continuity due to the retention of Amharic as the sole working language at the centre without any affirmative action offered to those historically disadvantaged languages on the one hand, and radical transformation from the past due to the sub-national language pluralism, on the other. Amharic has been retained at the federal level
on “historical accident” account, which neither could be sustainably taken as a
democratic guiding principle in the choice of working language in multilingual
federations nor aims to rectify historical linguistic injustices perpetrated against
non-Amharic languages in the past. From comparative international
experiences, Ethiopia’s choice of the working language federal government
seems unreasonable and potentially arbitrary for the simple fact that, now,
Amharic is no more the largest mother tongue of Ethiopia.

The finding shows that Ethiopia has not yet prepared a comprehensive
language policy document. Like in any other multilingual countries, in Ethiopia
too, language functions as a symbol of identity, means of communication and
thinking (working language is also part), and nation-building purpose. English
language remained a *de facto* working language of the Federal Government. In
order to promote multinational integration and equitable access to central
developments, this paper finally suggests that democratic, reasonable and fair
language policy be considered while choosing working languages in
multilingual federations. Especially the linguistic demographic factor might be
helpful for the future language planning of Ethiopia both at the federal and
regional levels in order to respond to some of the compelling demands. The
concept of the working language should still be understood correctly; and the
working language of the conduct of IGR needs to be legalized. If Ethiopia
selects, for instance, additional two or three languages as co-working languages
of the federal government, that does not imply in any way that citizens should
learn all the four working languages as the working language policy experiences
of multilingual countries show. Besides to their own mother tongue languages,
citizens may get the opportunity to learn one additional indigenous language
from among the working languages as may be required by the constitution or
other law. It means that all citizens would learn only three languages
(nationality language, one working language and English) as majority of
Ethiopian citizens have already been doing since the coming into power of the current regime. Having two or more federal working languages would not only enhance the right to obtain government services through the medium of one's own language and improve participation in the federal government, but would upgrade horizontal inter-regional social mobility, multinational integration and equitable access to federal cakes. A federal language policy reform would in turn contribute for the success of a language policy reform for regions where linguistic minorities demand linguistic accommodations. In a nutshell, Ethiopian federalism itself must above all be seen as a process.

6. References


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