Evolution of modern education in Ethiopia: A comprehensive review of the historical literature during the imperial periods

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ABSTRACT

Ethiopia undertakes inordinate opportunities and significant challenges to shape its education system. To fully comprehend Ethiopia's education, it is necessary to understand its history. Thus, this article examines Ethiopian education during the imperial periods, focusing on historical trends, growth patterns, external and internal cultural challenges, and colonial influences that hindered the education transformations. Furthermore, it tries to reflect the bitter truths of imperial governments sacrificed to advance education for nation-building that prudish politicians have covered in the dust in the last decades. It also assesses efforts and support Western partners provide to enhance education in Ethiopia.

Keywords: traditional education, Indigenous education, religious education, secular education, imperial governments, colonial influence, bitter truth

INTRODUCTION

Education is a process by which humans use it as a vital tool to transfer socially constructed experiences from generation to generation. There are two commonly known forms of education: traditional and modern. Traditional education is the form of education intended to pass on the values, manners, skills, customs, and desirable social practices from generation to generation necessary for the survival of society. The onset of different forms of traditional education (cultural, indigenous, and religious) in Ethiopia is mysterious. Nevertheless, it has an ancient foundation as society has used it to shape their lifestyles. Traditional education in Ethiopia still has potential and is provided in different forms to socialize children with their indigenous knowledge, cultures, and religious matters. In Ethiopian culture, empowering children with indigenous knowledge, culture, and religion is the shared responsibility of the family, socially recognized elders, and religious leaders.

One of the dimensions of traditional education in Ethiopia is religious education. For instance, the Ethiopian Orthodox church contributed inspiring assets such as exceptional rhetoric scripts (Sabian alphabet), numbers, calendar, astral, and medical bases that made Ethiopia unique among Sub-Saharan African countries; and one of the eighteen countries which have their scripts, numbers, and indigenous cosmological knowledge in the world. Generally, traditional church education is the foundation of literature and is reserved as the cultural heritage and passed it to generations. It has been a fantastic avenue in providing literacy to many children and equipped them with the initial tools of learning which contribute to further education. Notwithstanding its importance, traditional education in Ethiopia was highly conservative, very far from using science and technology; and it blocked the introduction and advancement of scientific philosophies into the country's education system (Melesse & Bishaw, 2017).

At the offset of the 19th century in Ethiopia, one of the significant events was the victory of the battle of Adwa through the exceptional leadership of Emperor Menelik II. This

phenomenon has laid down the foundations to start modern education in Ethiopia. Thus, modern education in Ethiopia was started during the reign of Menelik II (a figure of Ethiopian & African Liberation) due to the recognition of the country in the world via the victory of the battle of Adwa on fascist Italians. Hence, the admiration of the Ethiopian victor over the Italians in the battle of Adwa in 1888 increased international recognition for the country. As a result, several countries expressed their interest in starting diplomatic and international relations with self-defended African countries, which entombed colonialism's ideology in the land of Africa.

Recognizing these facts, emperor Menelik II (Father of Ethiopians) was highly convinced about modern education's importance in connecting the Ethiopian people with other brothers and sisters in the world. Emperor Menelik recognized education as an indispensable tool to create quality human capital which can respond to the demands of globalization in social, economic, political, and technological activities that Ethiopia has opportunities to familiarise itself with other nations. Therefore, this literature review aims to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the development of the education system in Ethiopia in two imperial eras, such as Menelik II and Haile Selassie. The review is more focused on and includes the policy and governance of the education system, the curriculum and structure of education, the subjects to be taught at different levels, the mediums of instruction, recruitment and selection of teachers, the teacher training and development strategies, the school leaders' recruitment, selection, and placement, the school leadership training and development. Specifically, it presents the efforts made by imperial governments to establish and advance Ethiopian education. The article also scrutinises the internal cultural barriers and external colonial influences that hindered the development of secular education in Ethiopia. It also assesses Western partners' efforts, supports, and misconceptions in enhancing modern education development in Ethiopia. Moreover, the article reflects the bitter truths covered in the dust by ethnocentric ideologists that both imperial governments sacrificed for nation-building and contributing to sustaining and developing the Ethiopian education system.

METHOD

This review used several secondary sources of information because it aims to review the literature to assess and describe a variety of facts that are not well addressed and described to create a comprehensive understanding of education development, particularly in imperial governments in Ethiopia. In this article, the most vital components of the education system, such as philosophical and historical foundations; policy and governance systems; curriculum and its structures; school organization and management; medium of the instructions; teacher and school leaders training and development strategies; assessment, evaluation and certification, and other relevant issues that have not addressed assessed by other scholars. A few scholars are interested in reviewing the Ethiopian education system focused on some areas. For example, a few of them focused on the history and philosophy of education; others are interested in reviewing teacher training; others are also interested in understanding policy and governance structures; others are interested in seeing leadership dimensions, and so on. So, these fragmented approaches to organizing literature didn't give a comprehensive picture of the development of the education system and its contribution to the nation and inter-nations building and harmonious relationships between each and among components of the education system. Thus, this article aims to create a holistic picture of the development of the Ethiopian education system, particularly in two imperial periods.

The data was compiled heavily from secondary sources, such as education policy documents, proclamations, research reports, scientific journals, official reports, national education sector development programs, and historical books. As teachers and researchers in Ethiopian public universities, the authors of this article drew on their observations and experience. In addition, a review of academic and professional literature was used to conduct a detailed analysis of Ethiopian education policy, teacher education history, and school leaders' training and development.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Findings

A glimpse of Ethiopian education during Menelik II's reign

As the introductory section indicates, modern education in Ethiopia began during Menelik II's reign. The fundamental reason of Emperor Menelik II for introducing secular education into Ethiopia was the irreversible need to cope with the opportunities and challenges of globalization at the beginning of the 20th century. As indicated in the introductory section, emperor Minilik II recognized that whether the Indigenous or religious education did not satisfy the needs of the political, economic, technological, and foreign relations and maintained the popularity of the country (Wagaw, 1979; Tefera, 1996). Among the prevalent conditions, the formation of a centralized government; the establishment of diplomatic relations with other countries; the commencement of construction of the Franco-Ethiopian railway that linked the country with the neighboring country; the demand for mechanics and technicians to introduce modern means of communication such as telephone, radio, and postal system and many others required trained people, (Wagaw, 1979).

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

Underpinning the secular education development in Ethiopia, Emperor Menelik II also used the strategy of the education system, which was founded on legal grounds by endorsing education law or policy. Recognizing this truth, Menelik issued the first historic education proclamation in 1906. The proclamation is the first written education law or policy that provided legal ground for introducing modern education into the country. The first historic education proclamation was stated as follows.

> *"In other countries, not only do the younger citizens learn, even more, they make new things. All Ethiopian children, including boys and girls aged six years or more, must attend the school. As for parents who would not send their children to school, when the former die, their wealth, instead of passing to children, will be transferred to the government. My government will prepare the schools and make the teachers available" (Mengistie, 2020).*

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

The proclamation gave equal educational opportunities to girls and boys in the system. Therefore, it is possible to say that one step forward in the education system is that the traditional educational system in Ethiopia was exclusively male dominated. Societies that are not educating their children are considered a society living with humiliation, and living without education is

considered a harmful practice. The additional inspiring concept we must recognize from the proclamation is that high emphasis has been given to technical and vocational education. Therefore, it is possible to say that the proclamation hoped to enhance all-rounded development for Ethiopian children. Another interesting connotation we have to understand from the proclamation is that education is compulsory and free to all school-aged children.

Although several preparations have been made, much was not achieved in Menelik's reign. In 1913, after the emperor's death, only four schools such as Menelik II School in Addis Ababa, one school in Harar, one school in Dessie, and another school in Ankobar (the place where Menelik II was born), were established in Ethiopia. While the proclamation approved that the attendance of schools was free, parents were not interested in sending their children to school because they were under the strong influence of the clergy from the Church (Wagaw, 1979). The achievement of these schools was in addition to foreign languages, moral education, Ethiopian history, Geˁez, reading, and writing are the parts of the curriculum. However, all subjects were brought directly from France. As a result, it was neither relevant to the Ethiopian context nor recognizing the existing realities and indigenous knowledge of the Ethiopian society, (Mengistie, 2020).

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

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

Like Menelik's proclamation, empress Zewuditu's education proclamation has very important concepts that hope to develop modern education in Ethiopia. Some of the important points of the proclamation have been discussed below.

The proclamation emphasizes the motto of education for all. The priests and church leaders endorsed the central intent and responsible individuals to lead the education system. Education was mostly non-formal type without uniformity and curriculum; also, was mainly focused on reading and writing. Among the strengths of the proclamation was its emphasis on practical, technical, and vocational education to transform the lives of society. Therefore, technical and vocational education is considered a basic tool to improve the economic advancement of youth. In recognizing the importance of technical and vocational education, the proclamation highly emphasized that a family who is not training their children with technical education is considered a murderer who made the individual disabled. The proclamation also greatly emphasises education's humanitarian, moral, and ethical dimensions. Basic education was compulsory for those age groups between 7-21 years old.

The type of education envisaged in the proclamation was more of the traditional church education type than in its form of modernity, which intentionally happened to mollify the opposition of the public (Tefera, 1996). Thus, it was no longer effective in developing education in Ethiopia. From the above proclamations, it is possible to understand that education was mainly focused on reading and writing. The curriculum was borrowed from the Western, and it was mostly of languages; the teachers were expatriates; the medium of instruction was French, and the content of most of the other subjects dealt only with Western experiences and ideologies, which was not relevant to the Ethiopian context, (Tefera, 1996). Recognizing the fact that Ernest Work in 1931, as cited in Pankhurst (1972), recommended that Ethiopian children should be educated in their languages and teachers, training the Ethiopian teachers and write the Ethiopian

textbook for Ethiopian students, expansion of primary, secondary and tertiary education in Ethiopia.

The literature discussed in the preceding sections is ostensible that in the dark age of Ethiopia, where they were isolated from other brothers in the world due to illiteracy, emperor Menelik II made surprising efforts to modernize Ethiopia by introducing modern education into the country. The history of Ethiopia tells us that, apart from introducing secular education into the country, Emperor Menelik II has made irreversible breakthroughs and contributions in defining territorial integrity, national unity, and sovereignty for Ethiopia. Furthermore, working with his Ethiopian brothers and sisters and using his devised leadership quality, he has made commemorative history for all human beings by discarding the anti-humanitarian colonialism ideology on the land of Africa. Regarding the modernization of the education system in Ethiopia, although he has not achieved it due to rigid cultural and religious creeds, he has laid down irreversible milestones by opening the eyes of all Ethiopians towards education and contributing much to today's Ethiopia.

A glimpse of Ethiopian education during Haile Selassie's reign

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

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

Education during the Italian occupation (1936-1941)

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

Also, Markakis (1974) stated that the fledgling system of state education was completely demolished, students and teachers were dispersed, the meagre collection of educational materials was scattered and destroyed, foreign teachers left, and the school buildings were commandeered by the Italian army, (Teferra, 1996). After destroying the educational system that started in the country, the Italians attempted to establish an educational system of their own. Accordingly, the educational ordinance was issued in 1932 for the East African colonies (Pankhurst, 1972). Accordingly, the Italian army has established two different kinds of educational institutions i.e. schools for the "National" (Italians) and schools for the Colonial Subjects (Ethiopians). The schools for the colonial subjects were controlled by the governor to ensure the fascist ideology was pursued (Pankhurst, 1972). The education ordinance stated that the medium of instruction

should be local languages. Accordingly, Amharic, Tigrigna, Oromigna, Kafficho, and Somali were used in the different regions (Teferra, 1996). This was, however, done not for pedagogical or cultural values but rather to promote their "divide and rule" policy of colonialism. Thus, it is possible to infer that the Italians destroyed the newly emerged educational system and tried to install one that they thought would sustain their colonial rule.

The British period (1942-1950)

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

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

The American period (1951-1974)

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

The major change, however, was adopting a series of five-year plans aimed at controlled expansion in education (Pankhurst, 1972). The emphasis was not on offering wider educational opportunities but on producing limited personnel to meet the manpower needs of the country. However, expected change was not achieved, for instance, in primary education by 1961, which was the end of the first five-year plan. Only 6.6% of the eligible children attended primary school (UN.ECA, 1961). Thus, the Ministry of Education organized a committee to evaluate the educational program and make recommendations. In 1962, the committee devised a plan 1980 a country to achieve 82.8% of primary education, 19.2% second education, and 1.9% college education. Conversely, the government rejected the proposals as they were too expensive and unrealistic for the country's economy. Instead, it chose to concentrate on its five-year national education development plan, focusing on limited manpower training rather than expanding education (Mengistie, 2020).

In the late 1960s, students, parents, and teachers expressed widespread dissatisfaction with the government, which called for basic changes and reforms in the education system (Tefera,

1996). In response to these demands, in 1969, a National Commission for Education to study and recommend that a review of the entire education sector be made, and the government accepted (Pankhurst, 1972). In 1971, an agreement was signed with the International Development Agency (IDA) to finance a project called "Education Sector Review", which was aimed to conduct a comprehensive assessment and draw suggestions to bring change and improvement in the Ethiopian education system (Tefera, 1996). The "Education Sector Review" was planned and conducted by the broad participation of Ethiopian experts. This phenomenon was the first step in reflecting Ethiopians' capacity in planning and educational policy formulation (Tefera, 1996). However, the imperial government was a failure to build a sufficient consensus around these changes. Also, before introducing change by decree, there was a widespread negative public reaction to the proposed reforms. As a result, this public reaction played some role in precipitating the revolution in 1974 (Tefera, 1996).

Curriculum changes & development

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

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

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

For the second time, the modern education curriculum was developed in 1949. In this curriculum, the structure of education changed from 6+6 to 8+4 to overcome language problems, particularly English difficulty as a medium of instruction at the primary level and the desire to extend elementary education (Mengistie, 2020). The language of instruction became English starting from Grade 4. Apart from subjects in the first curriculum, the second curriculum included social science and humanities and technical and vocational education subjects with a high emphasis on engineering, mechanics, electricians, agriculturalists, artisans, and experts. Having approved this curriculum between the years 1949 and 1963, all primary and secondary schools have been implementing it. However, throughout its implementation process, the stakeholders

identified serious problems such as still not considering the Ethiopian situation, focusing only on the formal type of education, and pupils learning both foreign languages and content at the elementary level, they had difficulty grasping either (Mengistie, 2020; Negash, 1996). Thus, to solve these problems then, the government has planned to revise the curriculum for the third time.

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

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

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

Teacher training and development

We have a detailed discussion regarding modern education Menelik II, where the system was highly characterized by a series of problems. Menelik has faced problems with planning for teacher training and has serious challenges in establishing even primary schools in Ethiopia. Thus, it was impossible to think about teacher education in Ethiopia then. After Menelik's death, Empress Zewuditu's government collapsed, and no progress was made in teacher training and development. According to, Semela (2014), the history of teacher education began in Ethiopia after the collapse of the Italian occupation in 1941. Having collapsed the Italian occupation, the reconstruction of the education system in Ethiopia began with Britain's support. So, Emperor Haile Selassie recognized the fact that rapid expansion of education was unrealistic unless Ethiopia created its local capacity. Thus, that was the correct time to begin reform in teacher preparation (Simela, 2014). As a result, the 1st historic teacher training program in the compound of the Menelik II School was inaugurated in 1944 (Simela, 2014). Following it, an independent and formal teacher training institution (TTI) was established in Addis Ababa in 1946 (Kelemu, 2000). Until the early 1970s, the system had been modestly expanded with the opening of three new TTIs in Harar, Dabre-Berhan, and Jimma Towns, Semela, (2014). Also, Simela has noted

that three more diploma teacher training colleges were launched between the late 1960s and 1970s, such as Kotebe College of Teacher Education, Bahirdar Academy of Pedagogy, and Alemeya College of Agriculture.

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

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

The school leadership training and development

School leadership training in Ethiopia has a similar history to teacher training and development. Within the imperial reign, Ethiopia's school leadership training and development has three phases. The first phase has a similar background with the opening of the 1st Menelik II School in Addis Ababa. The arrangements for hiring teachers and school heads have been made between Menelik and the church leaders. As a result, the first Coptic teachers and their headmaster were hired from Egypt (Negash 1996). Hence, Egyptian instructor Hanna Saleb initially directed the first school in Ethiopia (Menelik II) (Pankhurst, 1998). In 1925, Doctor Werkineh Eshete was the first Ethiopian who was assigned as the school director to lead the Teferi Makonnen School in Addis Ababa, (Wagaw 1979). From the onset of secular education till 1935, the responsibilities of managing and leading schools and other educational institutions were mostly executed by Coptic and French head teachers (Bishaw & Lasser, 2012). Recognizing this fact, Ernest Work proposed that building the schools by local staff was the priority area he suggested to the government (Shibeshi, 2008). However, no actions were taken during that time because it failed to appreciate its necessity by people, the incapability of the education system, and political instability, especially the fascist Italian impacts on the education system (Areaya, 2008; Shibeshi, 2008). Consequently, many of the school directors' positions were held by expatriate staff (Asayehgn, 1979). Likewise, many of the advisory positions in the Ministry of Education were occupied by expatriate staff.

Starting from the second half of the 1940s, the development of the school leaders of Ethiopia was in progress as Ethiopians started to graduate from teacher training schools. It started with the graduation of 24 Ethiopians in 1946 (Gemechu, 2018). As the only trained Ethiopian teachers in the country, they were called upon to perform various duties such as administration, accounting, and community leadership, in addition to their teaching responsibilities' (Wagaw 1979). The principal job started as supervising teachers when those in the position were

responsible not only for a single school but also for the education system (Ali, 2012). This development could be considered as a second phase in the developmental stages of school leadership in Ethiopia in Emperor Haile Selassie's reign.

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

In 1950, the school leadership training program started for the first time at the American University of Beirut, as it has experience in providing leadership training with good structure and arrangement (Shibeshi et.al, 1995). In the same period, educational administrative personnel and inspectors' training also started in the Teacher Training Institute (TTI) in Addis Ababa (Wagaw 1979). Accordingly, experienced teachers who graduated from TTI were recruited to a six-week inspection training program. At the end of the same year, 24 inspectors graduated from the program (Wagaw 1979). The training was discontinued in 1953 until more inspectors should be needed' (Wagaw 1979). The program reopened in 1955, and teachers and head teachers attended a one-year inspection course at Haile Selassie I school, which was later called Kokebe Tsibha School (MoE 1994).

Likewise, in 1962, one-year and summer in-service training programs for elementary school directors and supervisors were also established at Haile Selassie I University (Asayehgn, 1979). Educational personnel having two or more years of experience were recruited to join the leadership training program so that, after completing the training, they would become better educational leaders and agents of change (Asayehgn 1979). Preparation of the school directors program continued in training the primary and secondary school directors and supervisors (MoE 1994). The education leadership training program also started in the early 1970s at the Bahir Dar Academy of Pedagogy, today known as Bahir Dar University (Gemechu, 2018). These are the facts about the leadership training and development recorded in Ethiopia in the imperial era.

Discussion

This literature review indicates that Ethiopia's traditional education system has two forms: indigenous and religious education. Indigenous education has the role of socializing children via teaching the social norms, values beliefs, etc. Parents and elders were responsible for educating their children. On the other hand, religious education was responsible for inculcating the canon of a particular faith and developing the followers morally. Thus, religious education has an organized and hierarchically structured education system involving reading, writing, computing, and singing. The teaching methods, for instance, in Church education, were oral memorization and reaction, and evaluation was based on checking mastery of orally learned materials (Gemechu, 2018). Nevertheless, of their significance, neither of the Indigenous and religious educations alone contributed to social transformation, economic development, regional and international integration, political and diplomatic collaboration, and technology and innovation inculcation in Ethiopia. Furthermore, these types of education systems alone did not contribute to the country's introducing itself to other world countries, providing its unique assets to the world, and nation-building (Yulifar & Aman, 2023). Educational thoughts about Ethiopia should primarily emanate from its social, political, cultural, economic, and educational contexts. The failure to develop the Ethiopian education system based on indigenous and religious educational experiences highly affects its relevance (Mengistie, 2020).

Recognizing that Emperor Menelik II, the Ethiopian liberation hero and the figure of the African liberation movement, has struggled with internal and external forces to introduce modern education into Ethiopia. This is because he had recognized and committed to changing the world through education and educated people. In realizing his vision, one remarkable phenomenon was called the battle of Adwa, where Ethiopians took over the Italian army. Through the process, the

Ethiopians had an opportunity to open their door to modern education, which was installed in the 19th century (Ali, 2012). Modern education in Ethiopia began in 1908 through Menelik II's excellent leadership in responding to several national and international interests. Ostensibly, emperor Menelik II was greatly convinced about the importance of modern education to connect Ethiopia with another world as it is an obligatory tool to create quality human capital which can respond to the demands of globalization in social, economic, political, and technological activities that Ethiopia has opportunities to familiarize itself with other nations. Also, the Emperor was politically motivated to establish a central government, and there was a need for educated people to establish diplomatic relations. At the same time, new types of communication services such as telephone, postal system, radio, and rail transport were needed for trained manpower.

Although there was opposition, especially from Church leaders, against the introduction of modern education, some schools were opened from 1908 to 1935 in different areas of the country. These schools and students discontinued their formal activities from 1936 – 1940 due to Italy's invaded Ethiopia. When Ethiopia restored its independence in 1941, it embarked on reopening the schools considering education to be the key factor to development. The curriculum content was dominated by Western cultures, which were irrelevant to the Ethiopian context. First, it was influenced by France, followed by Britain and America. Even though the curriculum underwent different changes and reforms at different times, it has not become relevant to the Ethiopian context. It could not serve the purpose for which it was expected.

Regarding teacher training and development, Emperor Menelik II faced serious challenges to begin teacher education in Ethiopia. As a result, nothing was done regarding teacher education and training. After defeating the Italian occupation and the reconstruction of the collapsed education system, Emperor Haile Selassie began teacher education and training in 1944 in Ethiopia. Following its introduction, the Emperor Haile Selassie government laid down an important milestone for Ethiopian teacher education, training, and development programs. This period was considered the 'Golden Age' for teaching careers in the Ethiopian education system. However, the teacher training programs were unsuccessful at all levels in dealing with Ethiopia's shortage of qualified teachers.

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

Although the educational reforms in Ethiopia were initially generated by Ethiopian forces like Menelik II, later, it was taken over by foreign powers who used education to inculcate their political interest and ideology into Ethiopian society. The central reasons for foreign domination are closely associated with Ethiopia's economic, political, and national security and dependence. On the other hand, we appreciate and give high respect and value to those foreign brothers for their efforts and support in modernizing Ethiopia's education system.

Moreover, in that Dark Age, both emperors forwarded their efforts to modernize the Ethiopian education system. Thus, Ethiopians and other brothers in the world should recognize and give high value to the efforts made by both governments to advance Ethiopian education. In reviewing the literature in this article, we also understand that there were bitter truths that were covered in the dust by prudish politicians, divide-and-rule ideologists, and fraud ethnocentric ideologists that both imperial governments sacrificed for nation-building and contributing to sustaining and developing the Ethiopian education system still today.

Also, the historical disorders of the educational practice in Ethiopia still contribute to the unbalanced development of education in the country. This is the result of emphasizing the

direction of the political elites to achieve their short-term political goals at the expense of larger Ethiopian societies (Bishaw & Lasser, 2012). As a result, these trends in education have cost the country, and Ethiopia looks like it is in today's shape. So, this is a time to lay a foundation and reasonable paradigm shift for the Ethiopian system to make it relevant with appropriate access and quality to transform Ethiopia into a middle or high-income country through defending invisible hands of neo-colonialism, ethnocentrism, corruption, prudish political ideologies; and promoting growth and live-together ideology of the 21st century. We hope this article also suggests that educational advisories, policymakers, textbook writers, donors, and so on did not adequately deal with Ethiopians wonderful indigenous knowledge. Today, these scenarios led Ethiopians to be victimized by foreign policies and indirectly dependent on them. Bearing this in mind, Ethiopians come together to invest knowledge, resources, time, and energy to make the education system realistic for their country and contribute to advancing the Ethiopian social system.

CONCLUSION

Ethiopia's traditional education system consisted of indigenous and religious education, each serving distinct social and moral functions. However, neither system alone contributed significantly to national development, international integration, or technological advancement. Recognizing these limitations, Emperor Menelik II played a crucial role in introducing modern education in the early 20th century, motivated by the need for national development, diplomatic relations, and technological progress. Despite opposition, particularly from religious leaders, modern education gradually expanded. However, it was heavily influenced by foreign powers, leading to a curriculum that was not fully aligned with Ethiopia's social and cultural realities.

Today, Ethiopia faces challenges due to historical inconsistencies in educational policies and the political manipulation of education. To move forward, the country must establish a relevant, accessible, and high-quality education system free from the negative influences of neo-colonialism, ethnocentrism, and corruption. A paradigm shift is necessary to ensure that education serves national development, preserves indigenous knowledge, and fosters social cohesion. The responsibility lies with Ethiopians—policymakers, educators, and society at large—to invest in a realistic and sustainable education system that advances Ethiopia's progress and self-reliance

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