# FINAL REPORT
# STUDY ON MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION
# IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN ETHIOPIA


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Kathleen Heugh, Team Leader
Carol Benson
Berhanu Bogale
Mekonnen Alemu Gebre Yohannes

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CONTACT DETAILS OF RESEARCH TEAM

Dr Kathleen Heugh
Education, Science and Skills Development
Human Sciences Research Council
Private Bag X9182
Cape Town 8000
South Africa
+27+21+466 7841
kheugh@hsrc.ac.za


Dr Carol Benson
Centre for Teaching and Learning (UPC)
Stockholm University
S-106 91 Stockholm, Sweden
+46+816 4262
carol.benson@upc.su.se


Dr Berhanu Bogale
Chairman, Department of Foreign Languages and Literature
Institute of Language Studies
Addis Ababa University
PO Box 150410 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
0911 206780
bbogale@yahoo.com


Mekonnen Alemu Gebre Yohannes
Faculty of Education
Mekelle University
Tigray
Ethiopia
mekoalegb@yahoo.com

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# Acknowledgements

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY[1]

The purpose of this study on Medium of Instruction (MOI) in Primary Education in Ethiopia was to explore existing language learning models in Ethiopia and make evidence-based recommendations for language education policy and practice in Ethiopia. Two international and two national researchers with professional experience in language education policy and planning, as well as in, first, second and foreign languages in education were contracted by the Ministry of Education (MoE) with pooled donor funding to conduct this wide-ranging investigation of policies, practices, attitudes and beliefs across the decentralised regions and city administrations of the country.

Over a two-month period, the research team visited many parts of the country, applying a range of methodologies both qualitative and quantitative. The team conducted semi-structured interviews and/or focus group discussions with regional education bureau (REB), zonal, and woreda education officials, teacher training institution or college (TTI/TTC) deans and instructors, parent teacher association (PTA) members and other parents, primary and secondary school directors and department heads, school teachers, practicum (student) teachers and students. Many of these stakeholders completed detailed questionnaires regarding their attitudes, experiences and beliefs about language in education. Approximately 100 classroom observations were carried out at the primary and secondary levels, with a focus on rural primary schools at grade levels where instruction in the mother tongue, national language (Amharic) or the international language (English) was initiated or concluded. Educational reports, statistics and other data were collected nationally and from the regions, and National Assessment figures were compiled and analysed with regard to language of instruction.

The team drew on the international literature and research in regard to medium of instruction, mother tongue, bilingual and multilingual education. This includes the most relevant research in sub-Saharan Africa as well as that in other international contexts. The points of reference included the existing education legislation in Ethiopia as well as the international frameworks including UNESCO's Millennium Development and Education for All goals to which the MoE subscribes.

Finally, the team conducted a workshop on 30 November 2006 to discuss preliminary results of the research and gather feedback from regional educators and MoE leaders that would help ensure and facilitate the accuracy, finalisation and acceptance of this report.

The main findings are presented first by region or city administration, as there is a range of practices that correspond in varying degrees with the MoE language education policy as established in 1994. The federal policy calls for use of the mother tongue as medium of instruction (MOI) throughout primary 1st and 2nd cycles, i.e. from Grades 1 through 8. It also calls for teacher training to be in the MOI of primary schooling. At this time, only the Oromiya region and the Afan Oromo streams in Amhara region are completely consistent with this policy. Tigray and Somali regions are reasonably consistent because they use the mother tongue as MOI for all 8 years of primary schooling, but both use English as MOI for 2nd cycle (diploma) teacher training even though teachers trained for this cycle of primary will be teaching in the mother tongue.

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[1] An Amharic version of the Executive Summary is available under separate cover.

Some regions initially introduced mother tongue medium throughout primary but later reduced mother tongue medium in some subject teaching in Grades 7-8 in order to introduce English medium prior to secondary school. For example: in the Amhara and Harari regions, as well as the Amharic streams in Somali, the mother tongue is MOI for all subjects except Mathematics/Sciences, and in Dire Dawa it is used only for the teaching of Civics in Grades 7-8. The mother tongue has been completely removed as MOI from the Grade 7-8 curriculum in Addis Ababa. Finally, Gambella and SNNPR have no mother tongue MOI in 2nd cycle primary education, and Afar and Benishangul Gumuz have not had mother tongue medium at any level of primary (though Afar is used in alternative basic education and Benishangul Gumuz is now running pilots).

Regarding the teaching and learning of Amharic as a subject for speakers of all languages, there is great consistency with MoE policy across the country. Whether they start the teaching of Amharic from Grade 5 (in Oromiya and in Afan Oromo streams in Amhara region) or from Grade 3 (in other regions), all regions teach the national language as a subject according to MoE policy, which does not specify the beginning level or grade for the study of this language as a second language. The main concern noted is that second language teaching materials and methodology for Amharic are not always applied in contexts where they are needed.

The study of English as a subject begins at Grade 1 in all regions, precisely as federal policy states. Although the policy does not require or recommend that English should be used as MOI in primary school, and with the exception of Oromiya, Somali and Tigray regions, all other regions have adopted English as MOI at some point in upper primary schooling. Many have brought English medium into Grades 7-8, to varying degrees: in the Amhara and Harari regions, as well as the Amharic streams in Somali, English is MOI for Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry and Biology; Dire Dawa is using English to teach all subjects except Civics; and Addis Ababa and Afar are using English as MOI for all subjects. Benishangul Gumuz, Gambella and SNNPR use English as MOI for all of 2nd cycle primary schooling, beginning at Grade 5.

Interviews and questionnaire results demonstrate that there is a great deal of public pressure put on REBs to use English as MOI in primary schooling. There is a widespread belief that using English as MOI will help students gain the language competence that they need to deal successfully with secondary school, broadcasted plasma lessons, and the National Assessment at Grade 10 which are all in English. There is exceptionally high aspiration towards English as a language of higher education (including teacher training) and as an international language that is associated with modernity and future success.

However, classroom observation and assessment data demonstrate that English MOI does not necessarily result in better English learning; in fact, those regions with stronger mother tongue schooling have higher student achievement levels at Grade 8 in all subjects, including English. Students who learn in their mother tongue can interact with the teacher, with each other and with the curricular content in ways that promote effective and efficient learning. These findings are fully supported by international literature on language learning and cognitive development, which show clearly that investment in learning through the mother tongue has short, medium and especially long term benefits for overall school performance and for the learning of additional languages.

The MOI for teacher training should match the MOI teachers will be using because teachers themselves need to develop their mother tongue skills, as well as the technical and pedagogical

vocabulary and language structures needed to convey concepts in their subject areas.  We found that teachers who had not been trained through the mother tongue tended to believe that their language could not be used to express mathematical and scientific ideas, particularly at the upper primary level, while those who had training in their language knew it was quite capable of expressing abstract thought.

Meanwhile, despite implementation of the countrywide English Language Improvement Programme (ELIP), teachers throughout the system have extremely limited competence in the English language, and extremely limited exposure to English outside the classroom.  Few can cope with the demands of teaching English as a subject, and even fewer with the challenges of using English to convey curricular content.  There is a large gap between aspiration for English and what is possible within the socio-economic and educational realities of the country.  The team attributes this to what is known as a 'washback' effect, where there is a cumulative and knock-on effect of one policy decision that generates a set of occurrences and beliefs. These, in turn, exert pressure towards a further set of actions. In this case, the 'washback' effect of promoting English language learning has been to make people question use of their own languages and lose focus on what is best for promoting teaching and learning.

From the perspective of this analysis, the current MoE policy of eight years of mother tongue medium schooling is one of the best on the continent and promotes sound educational practice. The decentralised system favours adoption of appropriate models and practices, and there are significant human and linguistic resources in the regions that can be built upon to support mother tongue as MOI throughout primary schooling and teacher training.  We present a range of recommendations with various scenarios based on a trilingual model for Ethiopian primary education: mother tongue, Amharic as the national or second language of education and English as the international or foreign language. Most important is the proposal that a special Department or Centre for the Promotion, Development and Use of Ethiopian Languages in Education should be established within the MoE to support the policy through curriculum development, teacher training and leadership in mother tongue based schooling.

It is also recommended that Amharic as the national language and English as international language are taught by adequately trained and qualified personnel using appropriate materials. Teachers of English should be required to demonstrate appropriate (i.e. advanced) levels of competence through a system of standardised assessment.

The team recognises particular challenges in regions where there are numerous minority languages, e.g. SNNPR. The recommendations include short and medium term scenarios for such circumstances, but satisfactory decisions will need further careful research and planning at least in SNNPR.

It needs to be emphasised that the primary objective of quality education is the delivery of education which will best allow students to achieve high-level academic proficiency across the curriculum. The language education policy and practice should be to support this objective. High-level academic literacy and proficiency in the languages, which will be most useful to students in their lives beyond school, is one of the secondary objectives. In Ethiopia, students need high-level proficiency in the language/s of the immediate and regional community, Amharic as the national

language and English as the international language. Equally important as a secondary objective of the education system is high-level proficiency in mathematics, and the natural and social sciences.

While the objective of high-level proficiency in English by the end of the schooling period is likely to remain an educational priority in the near future, resources need to be focussed towards policy and management practices that will best achieve this. A thin dilution of resources, spread too widely across the entire Ethiopian school system, can only result in a diluted and unsatisfactory achievement in English language proficiency for the majority of learners. This is largely because English does not function as a mother tongue or a widely used second language in Ethiopia. It remains a foreign language for the majority of the population.

A dilution of resources towards improving the quality of English language teaching, across the entire education system also has the unintended consequence or washback effect of limiting students' academic achievement across the rest of the school curriculum. There are no shortcuts to high-level academic achievement and high-level proficiency in an international language, or foreign language (English in this case).

There is considerable evidence from within the Ethiopian education system, that the high level of investment in teaching and assessing students through the medium of English has a very low rate of return to the system. Given the evidence from the international and other recent African research in addition to that found in Ethiopia, the team presents a strong argument that similar amounts of investment in mother tongue education are likely to produce a much greater positive return to the teaching and learning processes, school performance and throughput.

Constructive interventions can reduce and even reverse the washback effect of the current aspiration to English. For example, overall academic achievement can be emphasised more than English proficiency at secondary and higher education levels. This can be achieved by using assessment methods that are bilingual (Ethiopian language plus English) or use Ethiopian languages mainly. Plasma programming could be continued with bilingual or Ethiopian language versions. English teaching could be delayed in (taken out of) the lower levels of schooling until specialised teachers can be trained to appropriate levels of competence. The important point is that students can only learn what they can understand and therefore they can only learn through language/s which they can understand.

The team concludes with the following simple but apt words from Ekkehard Wolff:

'**Language is not everything in education but without language everything is nothing in education**' (Wolff 2006).

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# ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| ABE | Alternative Basic Education |
| EFA | Education for All |
| ENBA | Ethiopian National Baseline Assessment of Grade Eight Students |
| ERGESE | Evaluative Research of the General Education System of Ethiopia |
| EB | Education Bureau |
| FL | Foreign language |
| ICDR | Institute of Curriculum Development and Research |
| ILO | International Labour Organization |
| L1 | First language/mother tongue |
| L2 | Second language/Language of wider communication |
| MOI | Medium of instruction |
| MoE | Ministry of Education |
| MT | Mother tongue |
| MTE | Mother tongue education |
| NGO | Non-governmental organisation |
| NOE | National Organization for Examinations |
| OECD | Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development |
| PISA | Programme for International Student Assessment |
| PS | Primary school |
| SNNPR | Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region |
| SS | Secondary school |
| TGE | Transitional Government of Ethiopia |
| TT | Teacher training |
| TTC | Teacher training college |
| TTI | Teacher training institute (phasing out) |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization |

# CHAPTER 1:  INTRODUCTION

The Ministry of Education (MoE) is currently engaged in the third Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP3) (2005-2010) and has prioritised the international education framework concerns of Education for All (EFA), particularly *quality*, *access* and *equity* in the education system. At the same time, the MoE is reviewing its education policy, including its language education policy, as well as teacher education within the Teacher Development Programme (TDP) and the ESDP3 itself (which has a focus on finance, curriculum and women's leadership in education).

A mid-term review of TDP, completed in June 2006, identified language education, particularly the medium of instruction issue as one which required a detailed study of its own. This study has therefore arisen directly in response to the mid-term review, but it coincides also with the drafting of the new Education Policy Act, to be finalised in the first quarter of 2007, and also with the Joint Review Mission (JRM)'s evaluation of ESDP.

## 1.1  Purpose and background of the study

The purpose of this study, according to the terms of reference, is to explore the existing models of language acquisition and learning in Ethiopia and determine which are more effective, in order to make evidenced-based recommendations for language education policy. A key concern is to identify which language/s should be used as medium of instruction (MOI) and at which level/s of the school system.

Language education policy, particularly in regard to the medium of instruction in primary education, is a key factor which can either facilitate and optimise access to the content of the curriculum or block learning, preventing both access and equity. The history of language education policy and practice across the continent has been a troubled one, but recent years have seen a series of studies that offer valuable new insights to assist policy makers and officials charged with implementation. Ethiopia has a particularly interesting and instructive history of language education, one which offers some extremely positive examples along with other less positive ones for other multilingual countries to consider. Historical and comparative perspectives are useful lenses through which to examine the effects of policy and implementation, and these will be employed in this report.

African societies and governments have a tendency to believe that there are more complex and diverse language education issues in their countries than in others. The truth is that each has a rich linguistic and cultural diversity, a diversity which has often been ignored or even denied by its education system.  While it is possible to learn from the challenges and solutions found elsewhere, because of its own particular circumstances, each country must, in the end, find its own way.

Languages are used in a wide range of contexts in Ethiopia. There are significantly large Ethiopian languages (Oromifa, Amharic and Tigrinya) as well as numerous smaller languages[2]. For historical reasons, Amharic plays a role as the sometimes contested yet functional lingua franca of the

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[2] See Chapter 4. There are sometimes different orthographic systems and names currently in use for languages in Ethiopia, e.g. Afan Oromo and Oromifa. In this report, we use the different versions as they are found in use in the country.

country. English is highly prized as a language which may offer access to higher education and international opportunity; however, it is foreign to most, and is known and used only by a small minority of the educated economic and/or political elite. The practical diffusion of English in Ethiopia is limited to fewer functional domains than in many other African countries where the language enjoys similarly high status, aspirational value and use.

The current language education policy, which has been in place since 1994, accords high practical status to the mother tongue as medium of instruction, particularly at the primary level; transition to English at Grades 5, 7, or 9 depending upon the region; and the learning of Amharic as a subject by speakers of languages other than Amharic. The policy for most students, therefore, is trilingual (also known as multilingual) based on the mother tongue, Amharic as a national language, and English as an international language. The findings of contemporary research support extended educational use of the mother tongue, and the addition of other languages through bi- or trilingual policies. This means that Ethiopian language education policy falls broadly within the parameters of "best policy" in terms of multilingual developing countries. However, as is the case in many other countries, implementation is not always aligned with actual policy. There are always special circumstances, attitudes and other impediments which need to be identified and dealt with in order for policy to work efficiently and get the best return on investment. One of these is clearly the issue of how English can be used effectively alongside Ethiopian languages to support good teaching and learning of the curriculum.

A main concern of the MoE at present is the practical implementation of a workable language policy which will support the *equitable* delivery of *quality* education to which all have *access.* The goal of quality education is to facilitate optimal cognitive development of the pupil through schooling (UNESCO 2005). Research demonstrates that there is a continuum of interrelated connections between language and cognition, moving from the development of 'social language proficiency' to 'academic language proficiency' and then to academic achievement (Gottlieb 2003, following Cummins 1984, 1992 etc.). It is essential to ensure that the language education policy and its implementation take students along this continuum. Language education policy which is designed to satisfy these major concerns in addition to gender and minority concerns is dependent upon the following:
- o participation and buy-in of key stakeholders, including civil society;
- o participation of university departments of languages and linguistics for development of local languages;
- o language development agencies supportive of education interests;
- o development of learning materials and dictionaries/glossaries;
- o provision of appropriate teacher education;
- o realistic consideration of the costs and timeframes involved; and
- o implementation plans with monitoring and evaluation mechanisms.

The objectives and tasks of this research consultancy are described in the Terms of Reference, which can be found in Appendix A.

## 1.2 Organization of the report

This study has taken into account the newest research on language education in multilingual contexts. This research is evidenced-based and not reliant on anecdotal or self-reporting evaluations. The most immediately relevant but not only example is the recent UIE-ADEA study on mother tongue and bilingual education in Africa (see Alidou et al 2006). This and prior work by members of the research team (across Africa and other international as well as Ethiopian contexts) has provided the theoretical and practical underpinnings for our investigation to be carried out across the decentralised regions of Ethiopia.

A thorough review of international research and theory on language acquisition, second and foreign language teaching, where this is relevant to conditions in Ethiopia, is included in this study. Our findings are presented and analysed in relation to what is currently known about how students can develop optimal language skills to facilitate retention and throughput in their educational careers, and our recommendations, while considering practical issues, are grounded in pedagogical explanation.

Chapter 2 explains the methodology we adopted for this study, followed by Chapters 3 to 4 which give the international and then Ethiopian theoretical and historical background. The findings are presented first by region and then countrywide in Chapter 5, along with the results of national assessments interpreted with respect to medium of instruction. Chapter 6 provides our analysis of the findings, and in Chapter 7, we offer a set recommendations, arising from the study, for improving language education policy and practice in Ethiopia. The report concludes with Chapter 8 which sets out several possible scenarios for the implementation of language educational models which, arising from this study, are advised for different contexts across the regions in Ethiopia.

# CHAPTER 2:  MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

As discussed in the introduction and in our Terms of Reference, the overall purpose of this study is to explore existing language learning models in Ethiopia and elsewhere and make evidence-based recommendations for language-in-education policy and practice in Ethiopia.  This has guided our decision-making related to methodology and site selection, as well as the design of this entire report.

## 2.1  Objectives and justification

The team was tasked with providing empirical evidence related to language use and more specifically medium of instruction issues in primary education in Ethiopia and the implications for educational quality; we have added access and equity because they are concerns of the MoE and because they are closely related to the use of learners' home languages and cultures. The evidence provided, along with our analysis in the context of international theory and practice and an understanding of Ethiopian experience, form the basis for making recommendations to the MoE and to the regions regarding the most effective language education models and practices, including implications for short-, medium- and long-term measures.

The MOI data collection followed to the Terms of Reference (ToR) requirements as follows:

1. Map out current policy and practice in each region regarding languages used as MOI and taught as a subject at the primary level (including ABE).
2. Identify key language issues in teacher education in each region, assessing the quality and effectiveness of teacher training with respect to MOI.
3. Analyse the effectiveness of the models in operation in each region (possible correlation with efficiency, learning outcomes and classroom interaction).
4. Make a preliminary assessment of the most effective methods for optimal performance and return on investment, including:
    o when and for how long should the mother tongue (or another familiar language) be used as a medium of instruction and taught as a subject;
    o when and how should English be introduced as a subject and as a medium of instruction;
    o what reforms should be made with respect to language in teacher training (pre-service and in-service), teaching materials and learning conditions;
    o which management models and courses of action would be recommended to transform the current system.
5. Assess the short- and medium-term cost implications of the recommendations.

This section describes the research design both as it was originally planned (from about August of 2006) and as it developed throughout the period between 25 September, when the national consultants began the work, and 30 November, when the workshop was conducted in Mekelle with representatives from the regions and central level.

## 2.2  Choice of regions and sites for research

The original design of the study was framed by the two international researchers prior to the consultancy to include the city of Addis Ababa and five regions as indicated in the Terms of Reference (ToR) namely, Afar, Amhara, Oromiya, SNNPR and Tigray.  Our aim was to get as much information about each region as possible, but there was some concern that the time was too limited to investigate such a large part of the country.

The travel plan was re-worked by the two national researchers, Berhanu Bogale and Mekonnen Alemu, prior to the arrival of the international researchers in Ethiopia.  In discussions with State Minister Fuad Ibrahim, with Ato Bizuneh Takele at the MoE and with other stakeholders, Berhanu and Mekonnen were tasked with developing the plan further based on their insider knowledge as well as on time and logistical constraints.  They advised the addition of three regions, despite time constraints, with the following justifications:

- o Gambella region: This region uses English as MOI from gr. 5, but showed the lowest student assessment (2004) results at gr. 8, which would seem to indicate that earlier English does *not* get better results.

- o Harari region:  This region, as described by State Minister Ato Fuad, former REB head and president of the region, uses three different languages as MOI (Harari, Afan Oromo and Amharic), and showed very high student assessment (2004) results for gr. 8, which would seem to indicate that attention to mother tongue *helps* students.

- o Somali region: This region uses Somali as MOI in gr. 1-8, yet showed one of best levels of student achievement in English at gr. 8 on the national assessment, which would seem to indicate that English achievement does *not* rely on using English as MOI.

Because some areas still had to be excluded owing to time and logistical constraints, the following were unfortunately left out of the study for the following reasons:

- o Benishangul Gumuz region: This region, like Afar which was already included in the sample, uses Amharic as MOI for students from all language groups; we did not know at the time that the REB had already taken steps to begin mother tongue use in the 1st cycle of primary schooling.

- o Dire Dawa city administration: At the time, we believed that this city administration, like Addis Ababa which was already included in the sample, uses Amharic as MOI for students from all language groups; we did not know at the time that Afan Oromo and Somali are used as MOI up to Grade 6 for all subjects and in Grades 7 and 8 for Civics.

Since that time we have learned more about this region and city administration, both from documentation and from the participation of regional bureau representatives in the workshop on 30

November 2006, and it is clear that they both have unique features that would have been useful to explore further had time permitted. One limitation of this study that applies to all regions is that we had varying amounts of time and opportunity to collect information, therefore much of the data is impressionistic, i.e. could not be seen as statistically representative of all regions. Nevertheless, we have collected a considerable bank of various data, and this exceeds the ToR requirements and what had been originally planned. We are confident, therefore, that we are able to offer an effective overview and one that is as accurate as possible of the state of languages and medium of instruction in primary education in Ethiopia. The next section describes how the data were collected and analysed.

## 2.3 Methodology and instruments

While the amount and quality of the data collected ultimately depended on time and availability of key informants, we aimed to get a range of data from each region visited. The main part of the data would be qualitative, because we needed to learn from education personnel at all levels about regional policies and practices and people's attitudes toward them. However, we also aimed to distribute written questionnaires and collect documents and statistical data that could be triangulated with results of the descriptive data to determine whether or not we had formed the correct impressions and sufficiently understood the oral information given to us by our informants. Since Ethiopian languages dominated many discussions and interviews as well as classroom discourse, the national researchers were relied upon for interpreting the data while the external researchers undertook most of the writing up of field notes which were then shared amongst the team and cross-checked for accuracy. Our recording methods and write-ups followed patterned templates designed specifically for this study.

The following are the principle means of data collection that we used, and for each we describe our justification.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with REB, zonal, and woreda education officials, TTI/TTC deans and instructors, PTA members and other parents, primary and secondary school directors and department heads, school teachers, practicum (student) teachers and students. In some cases, we were also able to speak with regional and community leaders such as Women's Bureau representatives. We selected as needed from lists of possible questions that were guided by our objectives as discussed above, and had been piloted in Addis at the beginning of the fieldwork, but we also added our own questions as issues arose. All interviews were audiotaped, videotaped or recorded in detailed handwritten notes, and which were later transformed into field notes. The objective of the interviews was to determine regional policy and practice, respondents' attitudes toward these, and any other issues relevant to language education.

Focus group discussions were conducted with many of the people mentioned above, when they were in small groups. The objectives were the same, to explore educational practice related to language education policy and discover people's attitudes toward these. Focus groups enabled people like parents and students to hear each other's thoughts and agree or disagree with them, allowing for lively debate at times. We found that more open questions often generated relevant information, so discussions took directions of their own.

Classroom observations were conducted in primary and secondary schools in both urban and rural settings, with the agreed focus on the medium of instruction in rural primary schools since we believe that language issues are most influential outside the city. We piloted an observation checklist, and while this was used in the first half of the fieldwork, it was not used in the second because of different data collection preferences of team members. A common purpose of the researchers was the need to make global observations of classroom conditions, classroom language practices, materials availability and what student notebooks revealed about teaching and learning. In the end, we had observed at all levels, but depending on the regional policy, we tried to focus on grade levels where the teaching of particular languages began or where the policy involved a shift in medium of instruction, for example:

| Level | Grade | Rationale |
|---|---|---|
| Primary 1st cycle | 1 | Methods and levels of beginning literacy in the MT<br>How the mother tongue functions as MOI (or the other language, if the MT is not used)<br>Methods and levels of beginning oral and written English & Amharic as the national language |
| | 4 | Methods and levels of MT literacy & MOI<br>Methods and levels of Amharic and English |
| Primary 2nd cycle | 5 or 7 | Where there is a transition to English MOI, how it is done and the implications for classroom interaction (e.g. for maths and science) |
| | 8 | Where there is no transition, check methods and levels of all languages as subjects and MT as MOI at end of primary |
| Secondary | 9 | Adaptation of students and teachers to English MOI for all subjects<br>Methods of teaching (and plasma) used and their relationship to language & learning |

However, the team also observed classrooms where students in other grades were being taught (e.g. Grades 2, 3, 6, 11). Classroom observations were recorded mainly through note taking, and at times through audio- or videotape recording, and then transformed into written field notes. The team members often discussed their impressions informally following the school visit, which led to deeper insight and analysis as well as additional questions for the REB, woreda or zonal representatives who often accompanied us. The MoE facilitated our visits by providing us with authorization to visit regional schools, and we were welcomed and in most cases escorted by local educational officials to the schools, we requested. In two cases, REB staff escorted us, which was especially helpful because we could continue our discussions of policy and practice along the way.

Questionnaires were administered to the same target groups as the interviews, i.e. to education officials, educators, parents and students. The original questionnaires contained both closed and open-ended questions on language policy and practice, attitudes, self-reported competence, and the languages of teaching, training and testing. They underwent their first change early in the study based on piloting and input from stakeholders and team members. The long versions were used in Harari, Somali and Gambella regions, but required careful and intensive administration by the team members in order to ensure that respondents understood the purpose of the questionnaire and particular items. While in the field in SNNPR, we cut down the number of questions, in order to focus on those items which had at that point revealed themselves to be most

essential mainly because of time constraints. (See Appendix H for English versions of the questionnaires.) The results of the selected questions were tallied (in the case of the quantifiable answers) and summarised (in the case of the open-ended questions), and have been triangulated with interview and classroom data to provide details for the findings (see Chapters 5 and 6).

Data from the regions were requested at the beginning and end of this study. First, a written survey schedule was faxed to the regions in early October (see Appendix H for the regional survey). In addition, focal people were requested from each REB and invited to Addis Ababa for a meeting on Saturday 7 October. Unfortunately, because of the short time frame only two representatives were able to come to the meeting: one from Tigray and one from SNNPR. When we still had not heard from other regions later in October, Ato Bizuneh Takele followed up with them by faxing the survey again, and we requested the information from regions we visited. At the time of this report, we have received the information from Tigray, SNNPR, Amhara and Oromiya regions. Fortunately, we were able to get the most essential information we were missing, i.e. the regional policy on primary MOI and languages as subjects, at the final workshop on 30 November. We conducted one workshop session where representatives from each region reviewed what we had written about their policy and practice and gave us oral and written feedback, including some important corrections.

Document analysis has also formed a part of this study. Most of the documents referenced in the ToR have been consulted, as well as MoE reports, assessment results and even some studies, reports and policy documents from the regional bureaus. In addition to these, the team drew upon a wide range of other Ethiopian and international literature and currently relevant research. All four researchers have specialised in research and development work relevant to this study. Mekonnen Alemu's M.A. thesis (2005) on mother tongue education in Ethiopia, Berhanu Bogale's work in English as a foreign language in Ethiopia, Carol Benson's research in bilingual education in many international contexts including African countries, and Kathleen Heugh's experience in language education policy, planning and the economy of language in sub-Saharan Africa, collectively provided a rich background for the study. Our main disappointment was not to be able to get access to the latest pilot national assessment data (2006), which is currently being analysed at NOE. These data, according to one statistician, show similar trends to the 2004 results. We understand that these data would have strengthened the qualitative evidence but we were not able to verify this in time for the completion of this report.

Gender and equity
A residing concern of the team was the issue of gender and equity in the schooling system. The team therefore paid particular attention to taking note of the extent to which gender and equity issues were addressed at each educational site visited. In particular, the team made note of gender related issues within classroom discourse, school attendance and attrition, and the representivity, or lack thereof, in regard to senior women educators and officials. Where gender data did not appear to be in evidence at each site, the team would request such information. Retention of girls in education is a key indicator of breaking the cycle of inter-generational transmission of poverty (e.g. McCain and Mustard 1999). The team therefore was concerned about collecting data which might indicate the effect of language related issues in relation to girls' education, wherever possible.

## Workshop

At the end of the data collection phase a participatory workshop was held and to which representatives from all of the regions, the MoE and the pooled fund donors were invited. This was an important means for getting feedback, not only from all of the regions and both city administrations, but also from MoE officials and other stakeholders. The workshop, held in Mekelle on 30 November to coincide with other education meetings that week, was designed to get feedback on our preliminary findings and analysis to better shape them into a report that could be agreed with and used by the MoE (see workshop programme in Appendix F).

## Report-writing and final analyses

The report-writing process followed closely the requirements of the ToR. During early meetings between the team and the MoE and other stakeholders, the team was asked to pay attention to the implications for possible revisions to the education legislation arising from recommendations of this study. Although we were not able to collect the same amount of data from each region, we did collect a range of data from across the country that have been assembled into the findings in Chapter 5, first region by region and then countrywide. The actual data collected by region is listed in Appendix C, and Appendix D describes the activities of the four researchers throughout the research period. A completed report was submitted to the MoE on 23 December 2006, however, because the role of language in either facilitating or blocking successful learning in school education, the team requested additional time to engage in further editing of the text of the report in the hope that as many ambiguities could be clarified as possible. In the end, a report of this nature needs to be seen as a work in progress. The team has finalised the report while understanding that it has presented what it can at this time and new developments both in Ethiopia and elsewhere will inevitably offer further information and insight.

# CHAPTER 3:   LANGUAGE EDUCATION CONSIDERATIONS FOR ETHIOPIA:
## A Review of the International Research

In this chapter, the current literature in African and international research and knowledge of: language policy and planning; language acquisition (learning); and economics of language education, is discussed as it has relevance to language education developments and decisions in Ethiopia.

## 3.1 Language policy and planning

### 3.1.1 Language policy and language planning or language management

Nowadays, many countries have language clauses included in their national constitution. This is almost always the case for countries which have diverse and multilingual societies. Usually, however, the constitutional clauses on language do not provide sufficient guidelines for the interpretation of language policy across the different domains of both government responsibility and civil society. In countries where language policy is not clearly spelled out, different sectors of society interpret policy in different, often contradictory, ways. Increasingly, over the last 20 to 30 years, it has become clear that language policy needs to include a clear set of principles which explicate the constitutional clauses, to indicate which languages are recognised for official purposes (e.g. in legislation, in government communication, in national, regional and local administration and in education). Language policy itself however is insufficient guarantee that the different sectors of government or civil society will understand how best to implement policy. This means that in order to ensure effective and consistent implementation across all sectors, it is important for government to develop a set of clear regulations and guidelines for language policy implementation. These, in turn, need to include the responsible agents, timeframes, budgetary considerations, and a monitoring and evaluation component.

The implementation of language policy is usually referred to as language planning or language management. Language planning is understood to include at least three elements:
- o Status planning – which involves decisions about which languages are to be used for high status functions like legislation (Acts of Parliament); national, regional and local government; in formal education etc.
- o Corpus planning – which involves the development of written language (orthography, dictionaries, terminology development, standardization of the spoken forms in written form).
- o Acquisition planning – which involves the development of language learning programmes, learning materials, and translation.

A language plan, therefore, should have each of these three elements. However, successful implementation usually requires further criteria:

- o Participation of civil society in the process of decision-making.
- o Advocacy or awareness raising about the approaches which are likely to offer educational success within the local, regional and national contexts.

- o A realistic timeframe which sets out short, medium and long term objectives tailored to respond with some flexibility toward regional and local circumstances.
- o A budget which has taken into account the cost-benefits of different approaches to education and the returns on investment which these are able to deliver.
- o Monitoring and evaluation of policy and implementation in order to respond promptly to necessary modification, changes, and up- or down- scaling.

## 3.1.2 Language education policy and planning in Africa

Many of the continent's most respected scholars of languages and linguistics (e.g. Obanya 1999, Bamgbose 2000, Ouane 2003) point out that the implementation of language policy in Africa (i.e. language planning) does not follow logically from the actual policy. In other words, it is often the case that there is a mismatch between a well-considered language policy and a poorly thought through language plan. In other words, the actual language learning programmes (acquisition planning) and limited development of indigenous languages (poor corpus planning) result in a *de facto* process whereby the language policy is undermined or simply not implemented. A recent *Stock-taking study of Mother tongue and Bilingual Education in Sub-Saharan Africa*, for the UNESCO Institute of Education (UIE)[3] and the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) (Alidou et al. 2006), shows that for the last 100 years educators and linguists have insisted that mother tongue education (MTE)[4] is necessary for students to be able to succeed across the whole school curriculum. Yet, most countries in Africa follow practices whereby MTE is limited and there is emphasis on a too early transition to one of the international languages (English, French, Portuguese or Spanish), and this leads to underachievement.

The literature on post-colonial developments, especially in Africa, demonstrates that colonial language policies tend to be replicated post-independence. In the case of Ethiopia, of course, there has been no history of colonial conquest, other than the short-lived Italian occupation in the 20th century, and therefore no colonial policy to replicate. Nevertheless, language policy as it emerged across sub-Saharan Africa in conjunction with the emphasis towards the powerful international languages have left an imprint on the public perceptions about what may or may not be the appropriate choices for Ethiopia. For the last 20 years, language experts have thought that governments have been largely responsible for the wrong policies for Africa. While this is sometimes the case, there are also instances where governments have developed language policies which are progressive and ones which should be able to deliver successful, equitable and accessible education. The language education policy in the Ethiopian Education and Training legislation of 1994 is one of these.

In order for policy to be implemented, there need to be plans for implementation and the strategies put in place to manage language in education. However, in many countries, not only in Africa, education authorities either do not establish clearly thought through planning processes or the implementation plans are incompatible with the policy (e.g. Akinnaso 1991, Obanya 1999, and Bamgbose 2000). A difficult question which has puzzled analysts for some time is: 'How does government come to adopt the wrong practices?' Spolsky (2004) has suggested that the language experts may have to accept some responsibility for offering governments poor or inadequate

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[3] Recently renamed, the UNESCO Institute of Lifelong Learning (UIL).
[4] MTE is the process whereby the mother tongue is used as the main medium of teaching and learning,

advice in terms of how best to realise the language policy goals and objectives. Spolsky's suggestion follows serious criticism of language learning programmes in bilingual, multilingual and developing contexts in recent years (e.g. Tollefson 1990; Phillipson 1992; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000; Stroud 2001, 2002; Wong-Fillmore 2004).

Such influences, in combination with pressing domestic concerns which change with different political scenarios, affect the Ethiopian situation at present. The research team, which undertook the study on Mother tongue and Bilingual Education (Alidou et al. 2006), investigated the concerns raised by the Spolsky and others in relation to whether or not language experts were offering good or poor advice to governments, and whether or not they have been contributing to the delivery of the wrong models in African countries. The schematic diagram below illustrates the relationship, as found in Africa, between the language and education experts and how these, in combination, influence policy and planning decisions. [5]

<div align="center">

**Current International Phenomena:**
**wrong language education models, theory, methodology, research**

</div>

| Higher Education → | Programme Providers & Publishers |
|---|---|
| • Linguistics | • financial interests |
| • Languages | |
| • Education | ← ← |
| ↓ | |
| Informs | Programme Evaluations |
| • Curriculum & Policy | • Doubtful evidence |
| • Learning Programmes | • Unreliable |
| • Teacher education | ↓ |
| • Materials production | ↓ |
| → → → | ↓ |
| | Education Decisions |
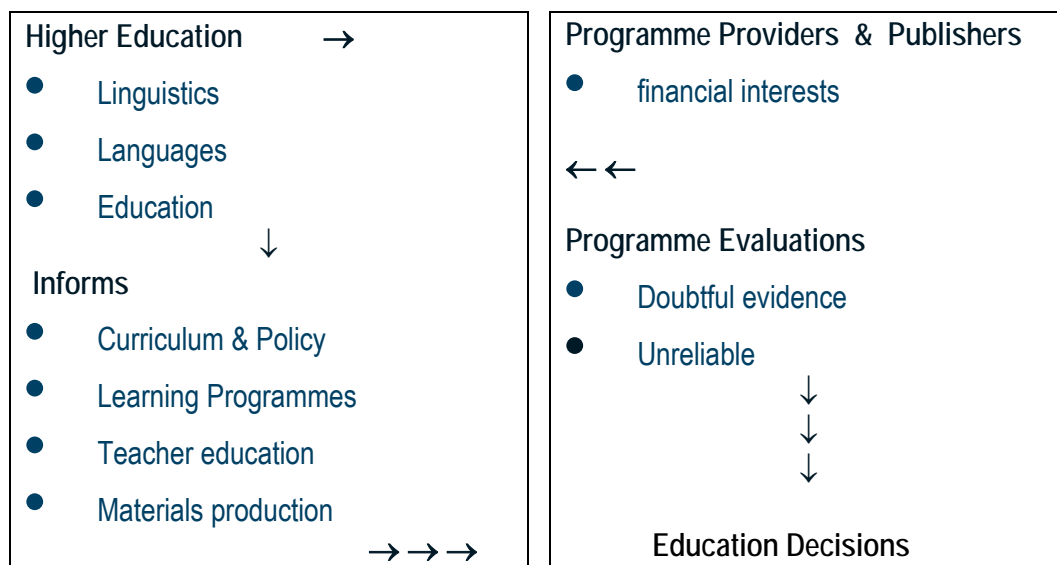
The education systems of Africa have largely turned towards Europe and North America for guidance about their language education policies and practices, particularly in relation to the use of the international languages English, French, Portuguese and Spanish. Colonial administration, accompanied by education systems (even if delivered to a small African elite), were serviced by programmes and materials (textbooks) designed in Europe for students who lived there. Largely

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[5] Diagram developed for the National Language Workshop for the national Minister of Education and the provincial counterparts in South Africa, 31 July 2006 (Heugh 2006c).

these were brought to Africa and used in different contexts where the language competencies of students do not match or resemble those in Europe. The practice in Africa of making use of programmes and materials designed in European contexts, where the international languages are dominant and where they are spoken and used by majority populations in their daily lives has not facilitated educational success in Africa. Essentially, most African countries have engaged and continue to engage with the wrong language educational models. They are using ones which match neither the educational nor the language needs and aspirations of the learners, their parents and broader society. Since independence, direct control of Africa by the former colonial powers has been replaced by more subtle forms of indirect control. Phillipson (1992), Mazrui (2002), and several other scholars from the continent, point out that the use in Africa of educational programmes and materials designed for European students, continues a form of neo-colonial social, educational and economic dependency and control. Mazrui, particularly, urges that a multi-pronged plan needs to be activated in Africa, to ensure that the models and programmes which can work in Africa are identified and shared across sub-Saharan Africa. The plan includes research conducted by African scholars who are very well informed by international research, but who also have a very clear understanding of how the contexts of the continent require educational responses which are different from those in Europe, North America, and Asia.

### 3.1.3 Language Education Policy in Africa – since the 1953 UNESCO Report

One of the most influential reports on language education, the UNESCO *Report on the Use of the Vernacular Languages in Education* (UNESCO 1953), provided the international education context with a clear pedagogical principle, namely that school pupils need to begin their formal education in the mother tongue (MT). From the available literature and research evidence at the time, it was thought that it would take about two to three years to establish strong MT reading and writing skills, and that it might be possible and advisable to change over to the use of one of the international languages, e.g. English, French, Arabic etc., from the third or fourth year of school. We now know through newer research on language and learning (see below) that it takes between six to eight years to learn enough of a second language in formal school environments before this language can be used as a medium of instruction.

Until 1965, most former British Colonies used four to six years of MT medium followed by English medium. In those days, missionaries and highly trained MT speakers of English taught small numbers of students, often from the upper echelons of African society. The combination of teachers who were MT speakers of English plus the small elite group of students resulted in educational success. In the former Francophone or Lusophone (Portuguese colonies), the colonial administrations were not supportive of MT education (MTE) and expected the few elite students to have their education entirely through the colonial language. Consequently, most school children have not been able to understand very much of what was required of them in the classroom and only a very small percentage of people in the former French or Portuguese colonies (mainly in West Africa, Angola and Mozambique) have completed both primary and secondary school. This means that a very small percentage have academic expertise and expertise in an international language.

At this time in 2006 most countries in sub-Saharan Africa use 1 - 3 years MT followed by English, French or Portuguese medium. This constitutes progress in the Francophone and Lusophone countries, where zero use of MTE is being changed to accommodate one, two or three years of

MTE and bilingual programmes (e.g. MT and French) and this is a change in a positive direction. However, there is reverse (negative) planning in Anglophone countries where MTE has been reduced from 4 - 6 years to fewer than 4 years. Whichever approach is undertaken, MT continues to be phased out too rapidly as the medium of instruction and the academic achievement of students is poor and disappointing. Across the continent we find that the education systems of most countries continue to demonstrate the following:

- o Poor levels of literacy achievement
- o Poor numeracy/mathematics and science achievement
- o High failure, repetition and drop-out rates
- o Wastage of expenditure on education models which cannot succeed in Africa.

Only a few students can and do succeed in a rapid change to the use of a second or foreign language as medium of instruction.

### 3.1.4 Current research: Implementation of policy through different language models

In this report, we refer only to those models which have direct relevance to the situation in Ethiopia. There have been many studies conducted in different African countries over the last few decades which have researched different literacy, mother tongue and bilingual education programmes and models. Many of these studies include anecdotal reports, self-reported data, and research instruments which lack validity and reliability. In addition, evaluations of interventions are frequently compromised though inept or inappropriate relationships between the programme provider and the evaluator. In other words, many of the studies and evaluations are neither independent nor scientific. The recent UIE-ADEA stocktaking study, which was prepared ahead of the meeting of African Ministers of Education during the ADEA Biennale in Libreville, Gabon, March 2006, offers the most up-to-date analysis of current language education policy, models and programmes.[6] The UIE-ADEA study found that:

- o Students in initial mother tongue and early bilingual programmes followed by a transition to French, Portuguese, or English by Grades 2 or 3, show positive achievement over Grades 1 to 3 (e.g. Benson 2000, Hovens 2002). This early success has been (mis)understood by some researchers and many other education stakeholders to suggest that early transition to the international language is a viable option in Africa. There are countless evaluations of such programmes which show the early success e.g. in Mali (Traoré 2001), Niger (Halaoui 2003) and Zambia (Sampa 2003).This achievement, however, starts to slow down in Grades 4 and 5. By Grades 6 any positive effect of the early mother tongue programme seems to wear off and learners' achievement starts to decline as found, for example, in Mali (Traoré 2001), Niger (Halaoui 2003) and Zambia (Allsop et al 2005). This phenomenon has also been found and very carefully documented in recent longitudinal studies of learners in different kinds of mother tongue and bilingual programmes in North America (Thomas & Collier 1997, 2002). We now know that

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[6] This part of the report for the Ethiopian Ministry of Education draws substantially from Heugh 2006a & b in Alidou et al (2006). The entire report is available electronically and therefore only a summary of the findings is presented here.

language interventions need to be tracked longitudinally at least as far as Grade 6 in order to see the durability of their impact on achievement of learners in the school system. It cannot be assumed that the positive effect of initial mother tongue and early transition to a second or foreign language as medium extends further than about Grades 3 to 4. Claims of success beyond Grade 3 and which are not substantiated by evidence to Grade 6 should not be viewed as reliable.

o No early-exit (from the MT) and transition to a second language (early-exit bilingual) model has been able to demonstrate lasting educational achievement for the majority of pupils in countries anywhere in the world. Only very few select students have ever been able to thrive educationally in such educational situations, and only when the teachers have 'native-like' or 'near native-like' proficiency of the second language, and class sizes are small (Alidou et al. 2006).

o The Six Year Primary Project in Ife, Nigeria (1970-1976) shows that 6 years of MTE accompanied by very well trained teachers, specialised teaching of English as a subject, and new effective text books (learning materials) is sufficient to ensure that students can succeed in 6 year MTE programmes in well-resourced, optimal conditions (e.g. Bamgbose 2000, 2004).

o More than 50% of learners never get to secondary school in African countries. Low enrolment, high repetition and dropout rates contribute to this. Although so few students remain in the system to the end of secondary, there has been no systematic study which has examined the extent to which the use of a medium of instruction, which neither students nor teachers can understand well, impacts on attrition vs. retention in the system.

o In countries where there is a high throughput rate in secondary, like South Africa, there have been studies which do show the correllation between high levels of achievement and mother tongue education, and low levels of achievement and premature use of a second language as medium of instruction. For example, from 1955-1975 when African language speaking students had 8 years of MTE followed by transition to mainly English medium the overall pass rate at the end of secondary increased to reach 83,7% in 1976, and pass rate in English as as subject reached 78% in 1978. However, the number of years of MTE decreased from 8 to 4 years from 1977, and this was followed by a serious drop in achievement in English as a subject and across the entire curriculum. The pass rate in English as a subject fell to 38,5% by 1984, and by 1992 the average overall pass rate for African students at end of Grade 12 dropped to 44% in 1992 (Heugh 2003). More recent evidence is discussed below.

o Earlier research on bilingual education in South Africa in the 1930s and 1940s shows that students who have MTE throughout primary school plus bilingual (MT plus a second language as two mediums of instruction / dual medium in secondary school) can outperform students in MTE only programmes. In other words students gain academic and cognitive benefits from such programmes (Malherbe 1943). Additional research demonstrated that there were benefits in regard to social cohesion associated with these bilingual models. After 1948 the South African government phased out dual medium education and there were noticable signs of social fragmentation after this.

- The early research on dual medium education in South Africa has been followed by longitudinal studies of Ramirez et al. (1991) and Thomas & Collier (1997, 2002) in North America. These later studies confirmed the findings of the Malherbe study more than fifty years earlier. Students in two-way immersion / dual medium bilingual models of education, can benefit from dual medium education. Where there are learners who speak both languages in the same classroom, dual medium education can facilitate higher levels of achievement of students than they would normally expect in MTE only classrooms.

- Other evidence from students in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as Afrikaans speaking students in South Africa, show that learners who study in MTE throughout and also have very good teaching of a second or foreign language as a subject for at least 8 years, can develop very high levels of proficiency in the second language by the end of secondary school. They can develop sufficiently high levels of proficiency in the second language, i.e. English, in order to study through this language at university.

### 3.1.5 Summary : models which work in African settings[7]

The findings of evidenced based research in Africa, are consistent with those which emerge from scientific studies from elsewhere. A careful examination of the existing research on models of language education which have been tried out and are currently practiced in Africa shows us, both from African and other international data, that :

- Six years of MTE, followed by transition to a second language, can succeed under very specific and well resourced conditions.[8]
- Eight years of MTE, followed by transition to a second or foreign language, can succeed under less well-resourced, but nevertheless adequate conditions in Africa.
- MTE throughout primary followed by dual medium education can work in situations where both languages are used by students in the local community, and where there are students from the two different language backgrounds in the same classroom.
- MTE throughout primary and secondary plus very well resourced teaching of the second/international language as a subject may best prepare students for entry to university and the use of the international language as a MOI in study beyond school (university, teacher training etc.).

## 3.2 Language learning theory and research

Internationally, and particularly in Africa, there are shortcomings in the research, theory and practice of language teaching. This arises as a result of divergent directions taken by the various branches of linguistics: sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics and applied linguistics, over the last decade or two.

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[7] There is a significant body of literature on various different types of bilingual education models in other parts of the world, including those in very well-resourced conditions, like Canada, where immersion French and English programmes have been run for some, but not the majority of, students for the last 30 years. Since such models are not considered appropriate or applicable to Ethiopian or other African conditions they are not reviewed here. However, they can be traced in the literature survey for the UIE-ADEA report (Alidou et al. 2006).
[8] One of these is that the L2 should be widely used for official functions in society.

### 3.2.1 Linguistics and Language Learning

The following is a brief explanation of those aspects of linguistics which are important in order to understand the academic fields which inform language education.[9]

*Sociolinguistics* is the field of sociolinguistics which explores the relationship between language and society, language and power, language policy, and how different linguistic communities make use of and manage the linguistic rights and resources at their disposal.

*Psycholinguistics* includes the study of how people learn language/s and the relationship between language and cognition (thinking). It is an important area of study if one needs to understand how children learn their mother tongue and second languages used in the immediate or local environment. It is an important area of study if one needs to understand how children and adults learn second languages in more formal contexts like a school setting. The study of second language acquisition (SLA) is particularly important in African contexts where students are expected to learn through a second or foreign language which is not learned in the local community, but within the restricted domain of a formal classroom setting.

*Applied linguistics* includes the study of how to teach languages. It includes a focus on the methodology of language teaching, the design of language teaching programmes, textbooks and other learning materials. In recent years, the second and foreign language teaching programmes [e.g. Teaching English as a Second Language /TESL and Teaching English as a Foreign Language/TEFL] has become a very large industry in Britain, the USA and Australia. Similar developments have occurred in France with French Second Language and in Portugal with Portuguese Second Language industries.

### 3.2.2 Gaps between the branches of linguistics

It needs to be stressed that TESL or ESL (involving the teaching of English as a second language) is not the same as SLA (second language acquisition, involving the learning of a second language). However, these two terms are often confused or used interchangeably by people who work with education and educational decisions.

Adequate or successful *language planning* needs to draw from all three branches of linguistics. It needs to draw from the language policy decisions about which languages will be used for particular purposes in the education system. Therefore, it needs to draw from *sociolinguistics*. It also needs to draw from *applied linguistics* in order to meet some of the requirements of corpus planning, materials production and course design. Finally, it needs to draw from *psycholinguistics* and second language acquisition in order that the learning programmes are closely connected to what is currently known about how languages are learnt in formal educational contexts.

What has happened is that the three branches of linguistics have become increasingly specialized over the last twenty years and they have developed along divergent paths. A movement towards

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[9] The explanations which follow have been tailored to the needs of this particular study and are not intended for scientific or specialised academic documents.

what is known as critical linguistics, involving socio- and applied linguistics since the early 1990s has drawn scholars away from psycholinguistics particularly in the Anglophone world. The study of psycholinguistics and second language acquisition (SLA) became unfashionable in the English speaking world (e.g. Street 1995, Martin-Jones & Jones 2000, McNamara 2001). In the meantime, the SLA research in this field has continued, particularly in Scandinavia, Germany, Netherlands, Eastern Europe, Israel and in some institutions in Canada and the USA (e.g. De Keyser 2003, Doughty 2003, Hyltenstam & Abrahamsson 2003, Kroll & Sunderman 2003).

Unfortunately, many of the specialists working particularly in ESL (English Second Language) lost touch with SLA developments and thus programmes have been designed for the teaching of ESL without the necessary context of understanding the contemporary research in the area. This is particularly the case in regards to language studies in African multilingual contexts.  It has been assumed that language teaching methodologies used in MT contexts are equally valid in second or foreign language contexts. However, it is important to note that there are significant differences between language learning in first, second and third or foreign language contexts:

> The field of SLA is, on the whole, interested in describing and understanding the dynamic processes of language learning … under conditions other than natural, first language acquisition (Norris & Ortega 2003: 718).

The indications are that whereas the acquisition of the first language (L1) or mother tongue (MT) may accommodate an extensive range of implicit language learning processes, the learning of a second language in a formal school setting requires an accommodation of explicit teaching (e.g. De Keyser 2003, Doughty 2003). This is particularly the case for communities where: there are low levels of community literacy, limited access to written materials beyond the school, and where the L2 of formal education is used in restricted domains, and there are few opportunities for L2 learners to communicate directly with L1 speakers (see also Gegeo-Watson 2004, and Valdés 2005). Textbooks and other learning materials available to L2 learners show that somehow learners are expected to be able to read cross-curricular text in the L2 when this is pitched at a literacy and cognitive level way beyond the second language proficiency of the students (and often also of the teachers).

### 3.2.3 Defining the language acquisition/learning terms in African contexts[10]

A brief explanation of terms used in language education, as they are relevant to African education systems follows:

*Mother tongue (MT) = First Language (L1) = Home Language (HL)*
Most people use the term mother tongue to mean the first language / home language of the student. Everywhere in the world, students who study in their mother tongue are better able to learn to read and write efficiently, understand mathematical concepts, and develop high levels of academic competence, than those who are not able to study in the mother tongue. In multilingual countries in Africa, many children grow up in bilingual or even multilingual communities, and the mother tongue may actually be a bilingual or multilingual mother tongue (i.e. these children have a repertoire of languages which allows them to use any or all of these languages for high level communicative functions.) This means that in some instances students come to school with

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[10] The terminology is defined here specifically for the purpose of educational contexts in African countries, not for high level academic functions.

bilingual / multilingual competencies which may mean that they have a multiple mother tongue competency upon enrolment at school.

## Second language (L2)

In most parts of the world, people learn a second language which is widely used in local, regional or national contexts. This L2 is used for several purposes in society and often functions as a lingua franca to bridge communication gaps between different linguistic communities, and is used regularly in places or contexts like local government offices, hospitals, shops, radio, TV etc. This language can be used as the language of learning and teaching or medium of instruction (MOI), especially when it follows on from sound MTE. Under certain circumstances, where there are high levels of multilingualism (many small communities using different languages living in close proximity to one another) it is possible for students to attend school in a second language which is closest to the home language or one which the learner already knows well.

## Third language (L3)

This term is not as well known as its companion terms, L2 or foreign language (FL). It refers, however, to an additional language, which is often used in another local or regional community. In multilingual contexts, school systems often require students to learn a L3 as a subject.

## Foreign language (FL)

Languages which are considered to be significant for international communication are often highly prized in African countries. In the former colonies of Britain, France and Portugal, these languages have become fairly widely used in high level governance, upper levels of the economy and higher education in the main administrative centres (e.g. in Dakar, Maputo, Nairobi and Johannesburg). However, they remain very far removed from most people in smaller towns and rural areas. In countries which did not experience a long British colonial history (e.g. Ethiopia and Namibia) the preferred international language, English, is known by so few people that it remains a foreign language. The functional use of a foreign language is limited in civil society. It may be used for very high-level functions, e.g. legislation, university education, and international affairs. However, the FL does not function as a viable lingua franca in the everyday lives of people (e.g. in: hospitals, clinics, police stations, other local government offices, shops; on radio and TV). It is extremely difficult / unlikely that such a language can function as a viable language of teaching and learning at school level.

## 3.2.4 Gaps between early literacy and academic literacy: language policy and curriculum weakness across Sub-Saharan Africa

Recent research is showing clear signs of serious weakness in the understanding of how children develop strong literacy skills (e.g. Pretorius 2002, Pretorius & Ribbens 2005). The popularity of the communicative approach to language teaching places great emphasis on listening and speaking skills. Although the communicative approach places equal weight on reading and writing, it has certainly become obvious in some Southern African countries, that teacher educators and teachers have come to understand the communicative approach as placing more emphasis on what Cummins (e.g. 1984, 1992 etc.) has called 'basic interpersonal communication skills' or BICS. Less emphasis is placed on the academic reading and writing skills of students. Yet it is these which are the highly prized language skills that will either open the gates to higher education or remain as impenetrable barriers to access and equitable participation at higher levels in Africa.

Literacy programmes place emphasis on learning to read simple narratives in the first two to three years of school. This is usually in the MT elsewhere in the world. Towards the end of the third or fourth year of school, literacy in MT loses emphasis in African countries. The curriculum, however, requires students to be able to read increasingly complex texts from Grades 4 onwards, and students are expected to 'read in order to learn'. The texts across the curriculum include complex language structures, tenses and hypotheses, which are seldom found in simple readers. Students who continue to study in MT experience difficulty in managing to adjust to the complex texts across the curriculum from Grade 4 onwards. For those students who are expected to change from MT to another language as medium of instruction at the same time or within a year or two, the academic literacy and cognitive leap which has to be made is almost impossible. Macdonald (1990) demonstrated that students, who make the change in medium, from an African language at Grade 5, have at best about 700 words in English, yet they are expected to manage to learn with a curriculum of at least 7000 words in Grade 5. Apart from only having about 10% of the vocabulary items they need, students do not have a sufficient grasp of the linguistic structure of the language. It is simply impossible for students to learn effectively or even at all when they do not have the necessary language skills to do so.

### 3.2.5 Gap between learners who study in the MT and those who switch to English medium

The research in Africa, discussed above, shows that most programmes which offer MT / bilingual literacy followed by transition to second / international language indicate that learners are making similar kinds of progress between Grades 1 and 3. Progress slows down sometime in Grade 4 and then disappears by Grade 6. This evidence has been clearly shown elsewhere. The following graph, adapted from a longitudinal study of Thomas & Collier (1997) involving 220 000 students in the USA shows what can be expected of students performance across the entire school system.[11]

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[11] Adapted by Marise Taljaard, HSRC, 2006.

Table 3.2.5:

**Reading levels of English second language learners in English**

Dual medium - pupils from 2 language backgrounds, reach the norm for L1 by Gr 6, and ±61% by Gr 11-12
Dual medium - pupils from same language background, reach norm for L1 lerners by Gr 7
Late-exit MT transition to English reach ±39% @ Gr 6, 40% by Grade 11-12
Early-exit MT transition to English reach ±38.5% @ Gr 6, 35% by Grade 11-12
English only, plus L2 content reach ±38% @ Gr 6, 34% by Grade 11-12
English only reach 37% @ Gr 6, 24% by Gr 11-12

61-62%
52%
40%
35%
34%
24%

**Elementary**
expect
Gap
closure for all

**Middle**
expect
Little/no gap
closure for most

**High School**
expect
Gap
increase for many

GRADE 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

*[graphs adapted from: Thomas & Collier, 1997: 53; consistent with findings in SADC and South African studies, 2002 - 2005]*

Although the Thomas & Collier study was conducted in the well-resourced conditions of schools in the USA where teachers are well trained and have university qualifications, class sizes are small, and students have learning materials, second language learners do not succeed in early transition to English. The only students who do achieve and even outperform students who study only in the MT, are those students who are in longer MT programmes which are accompanied by strong teaching of the second language as a subject ; or MT for at least 6 years plus dual medium bilingual education from Grades 7 onwards.[12]

It is not surprising therefore that students in Africa who do not enjoy the well resourced conditions of education in the USA, do not achieve in similar programmes on this continent. In fact they fare less well. What we now know very clearly from both the African research and that from other, better

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[12] There are two exceptions to this: English L1 speakers in French immersion programmes in Canada (see Helle 1995); and Asian students who immigrate to other countries and have been found to exhibit extraordinary academic success no matter which programme they enter. However, there remains no system-wide example of success in L2 or FL mainly education systems.

resourced school systems, is that students require a minimum of 6 years of MTE plus very good, 'native-like' teaching of a the L2 (English) before it is possible for large numbers to succeed in a system which changes over to L2 English medium. We also know from the South African research and other research in Guniea Conakry (late 1970s) as well as Somali during the 1970s, that 8 years of MTE, under less well-resourced conditions may also be sufficient preparation for students to be able to make the transition to English or another second or foreign language.

### 3.2.6 What happens where there is an early transition to the L2?

In the Thomas & Collier graph shown above, it is clear that the achievement of students who change to L2 MOI early slows down during Grades 4 – 5 and that from about Grade 6 their achievement begins to go on a rapid decline. Alternatively, the gap between their achievement and that of students in MTE programmes increases dramatically.

The recent  study of the Southern [& Eastern] Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality II [SACMEQ II] which assessed literacy levels of Grade 6 learners in 14 Southern and Eastern Africa countries shows that:

- o   55%+  students have not attained the minimal level of literacy;
- o   only 14, 6% have reached the desired level of literacy (Mothibeli 2005).

Most students in these countries are in early-exit from MT and transition to L2 programmes. Only students in Tanzania have an African language, Kiswahili, throughout primary school. If only 14, 6% of students have reached the desired level of literacy, one can predict that only this small cohort has any meaningful access to secondary school. The rest are likely to drop out of school and hence the system is geared towards extensive wastage.

Systemic assessment in South Africa shows further correlations between low achievement and L2 medium by Grade 6, and higher achievement and MTE in language and mathematics. In the graph below it is clear that students who study in their MT outperform those who study in the L2 on the literacy / language assessment. The gap between the two cohorts of students is narrowest in two provinces where the MT speakers are also from rural and very poor socio-economic grouping. Even when students come from such communities, MTE is still a significant indicator of achievement.

Table 3.2.6a: South African Grade 6: MOI achievement by home language and province (DoE 2005: 77)



Legend: ♦ Home language same as LOLT    ■ Home language different to LOLT

Home language same as LOLT: EC 64, FS 81, GP 74, KZN 77, LP 56, MP 71, NW 66, NC 58, WC 65, National 69

Home language different to LOLT: EC 29, FS 32, GP 45, KZN 32, LP 25, MP 34, NW 33, NC 40, WC 38, National 32
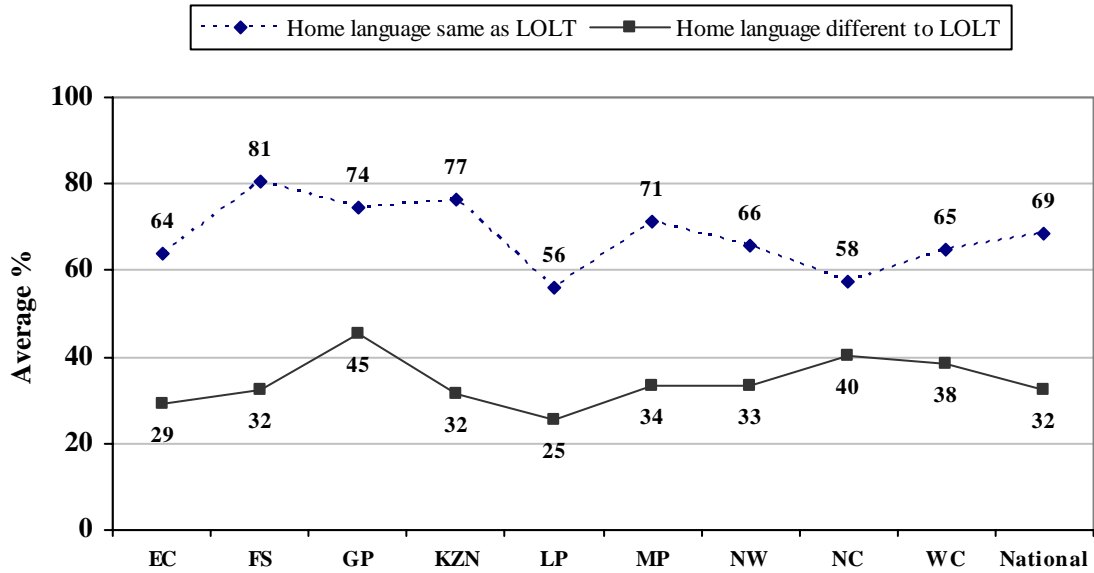
[For clarification, in the tables below: LOLT = language of learning & teaching = MOI Note gap in achievement of MT and non-MT student achievement.]

Achievement in mathematics follows a similar pattern, those who learn in MT achieve significantly better than those who do not study in the MT. Again also, those from rural and very poor socio-economic conditions, but who also study in the MT, continue to outperform those who come from similar conditions but who study in the L2. See Table 3 below.

Table 3.2.6b: Mathematics achievement by home language and province (DoE 2005: 82)



Legend: ♦ Home language same as LOLT    ■ Home language different to LOLT

Home language same as LOLT: EC 45, 63, GP 55, 54, LP 46, 54, NW 48, 36, WC 44, 48

Home language different to LOLT: EC 23, 26, GP 28, 23, LP 19, 24, NW 23, 26, WC 27, 23
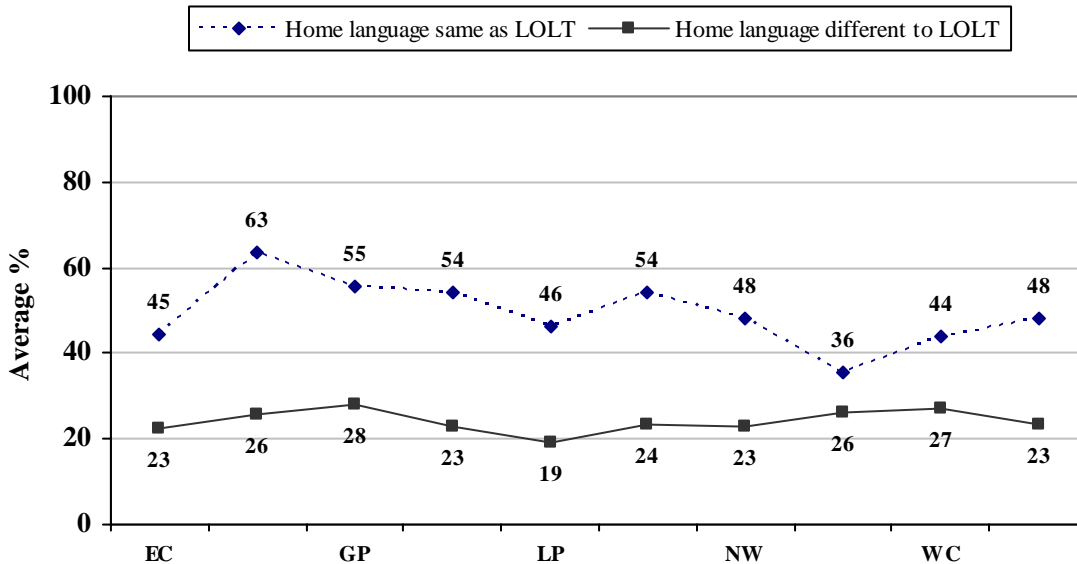
Preliminary findings from a study of 75 000 Grade 8 learners in one province in South Africa during 2006 illustrate further information which is important for education planners to note:

Table 3.2.6c: Comparison of achievement: multiple choice & constructed response items (Heugh et al. 2006)
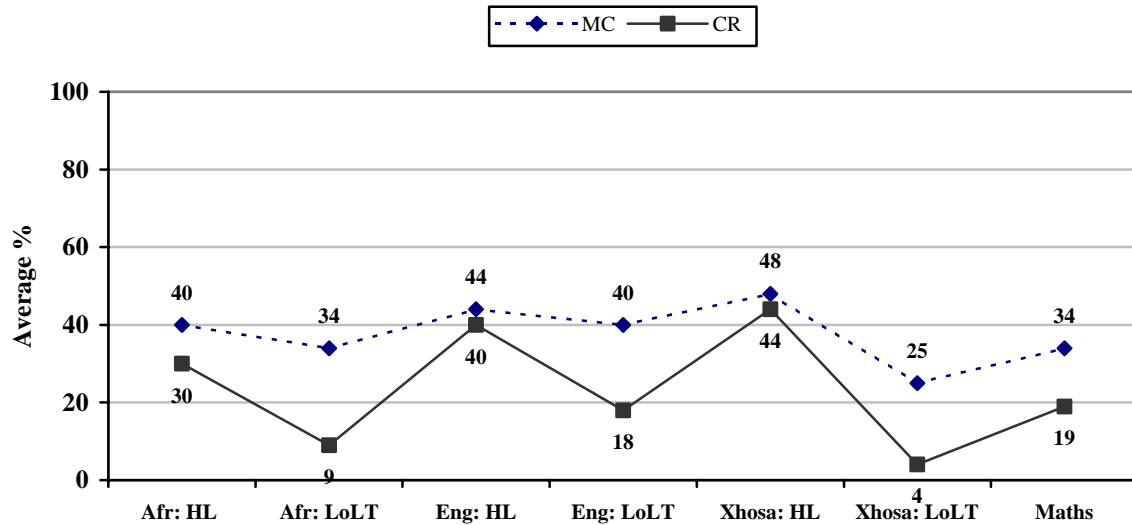


There are three significant issues to note in the graph above. Firstly, there is a significant difference in achievement between student responses to multiple-choice questions and the responses to constructed response (open-ended) items. Secondly, students were better able to answer questions designed to measure their knowledge and understanding of their own mother tongue as a subject. Thirdly, they were less able to answer questions which were based on reading material from other areas of the curriculum. This helps us to understand the degree to which students can use the MOI for making meaning of the broader curriculum.

Close analysis showed that students at Grade 8 level had trouble in providing well-constructed, logical sentences and answers to questions. They were better able to construct logical sentences when answering questions which would normally be found in the mother tongue as a subject curriculum. They were less likely to be able to construct logical responses to questions which applied to reading material in other subjects across the curriculum, especially when tested in a language which is not the mother tongue.

When they needed to answer questions, based on a passage which would normally be found in history, geography and biology textbooks or learning materials, their ability to offer well-constructed and logical answers declined considerably. The students whose responses were weakest of all were the Xhosa MT speakers who were reading and answering questions in their L2, English. These students only scored an average of 4% on this test for the constructed response items linked to text across the curriculum. This means that the students did not understand the language of the material across the curriculum and could therefore not respond adequately to this. The next lowest achievement came from MT speakers of Afrikaans who are predominantly from very poor, rural communities plagued with social problems.

The relevance of this research for Ethiopia is that it illustrates the difference between what is possible in the mother tongue and what is not possible when a language other than the mother tongue is used as MOI across the curriculum at Grade 8. These data should be compared with the data from the Ethiopian national Grade 8 assessments in Chapter 5, section 5.2.

### 3.2.7 Significance of the findings from the recent studies in multilingual, settings

In both the SACMEQ II and the South African studies, students who are MT speakers of African languages, have had a maximum of three years of MTE followed by a switch or transition to English (sometimes Portuguese or French) medium. In both studies, students in Grade 6 who are studying in their L2 have very poor levels of achievement in literacy / L2 language (usually English). The achievement in English is so weak that they are unlikely to be able to understand very much of the whole school curriculum from this point onwards. In fact, they are likely to fall further and further behind. The Grade 8 study shows that L2 students (Xhosa speaking students with English MOI) have serious difficulty with reading and writing when faced with text that they would find in history, geography and biology textbooks. Although the Xhosa students achieved fairly well in their MT, Xhosa as a subject (48% on multiple choice questions and 44% on open ended questions) they only achieved 25% on multiple choice questions based on language across the curriculum in English, and 4% on open-ended questions, also in English, in this section of the test. This means that they will understand very little of the curriculum where it is taught through English as a second language at this point and there is little reason for these students to remain in school. On the other hand, their achievement in their mother tongue as a subject shows that they are able to function relatively successfully in this language.

The pieces of a puzzle, which can now be pieced together, are found in the following studies involving both different language education models and closer examination of the relationship between language and cognition:

- o The early study on dual medium and MTE education in South Africa (Malherbe 1943) shows that MTE throughout primary followed by dual medium education in secondary can assist students to achieve better than MTE-only MOI in secondary.
- o The Six Year Primary Project in Nigeria (e.g. Bamgbose 2000) shows that 6 years of MTE plus good teaching of English as a subject is sufficient in very particular and well-resourced African settings.
- o 8 years of MTE followed by English medium for African students South Africa (Heugh 2003) is sufficient in somewhat less well-resourced conditions.
- o African language speaking learners who switch from MTE to English MOI by Grade 5 know and can use only about 10% of the necessary English vocabulary and sentence structure they require for the curriculum at that point. This results in high repetition and dropout rates (Macdonald 1990).
- o The longitudinal studies in the USA of Ramirez et al (1991) and Thomas & Collier (1997, 2002) trace student performance in different language education models per grade, and show that only those with at least 6 years of MTE can catch up with MTE-only students. Similar to the findings of the Malherbe study, those who have 5-6 years of MTE followed by dual medium / two way immersion education also overtake MTE-only students in language and mathematics in secondary school. [These studies were conducted in very well resourced systems in the USA, which are not like those found in Africa.]

- The SACMEQ II study (Mothibeli 2005) shows extremely poor student L2 literacy achievement in Grade 6. This is a multi-country study where most students have switched to L2 MOI too early (by Grade 3-4).
- The Grade 6 study (DoE 2005) and Grade 8 study (HSRC 2006) in South Africa compare MTE and L2 students' achievement in literacy/language and mathematics. There is a significant gap between students who study in MT and those who study in L2.
- The Grade 8 South African study shows the gap between academic literacy in the second language when assessed as a MOI across the curriculum, and the academic literacy in the mother tongue as a subject. This study also shows us that academic language required of subjects across the curriculum is more difficult than the academic language needed for language as a subject. Therefore, the use of a language which is not the MT for subjects across the curriculum increases the level of difficulty of these subjects considerably.

What these studies show us is that students need at least 6 years of MTE in well-resourced conditions while they are also taught the L2 by highly competent (near-native like speakers) of the L2, before they are ready to switch to L2 MOI. They also show us that in less well-resourced situations, students can also achieve well where they have 8 years of MTE accompanied also by very good teaching of the L2 as a subject. Under these conditions, students could make the transition to English medium education and achieve well in secondary school. We also know from the experience of Afrikaans MTE students in South Africa and students in many countries of Central and Northern Europe that MTE throughout primary and secondary plus very good teaching of a L2 or foreign language, like English, prepares students sufficiently well to be able to study through English at university or college.

### 3.2.8 Quality education provides optimal opportunity for cognitive development

The purpose of education is not to teach any particular language. It is to facilitate the 'optimum cognitive development of learners' [13] and to provide access to a broad curriculum which includes, at the very least: literacy/language and mathematics. There is no short cut to the provision of quality education, access and equity. In order for students to succeed in formal education, they need to develop strong academic literacy in order to comprehend and grapple with the entire curriculum. First and second language acquisition research shows a continuum in the relationship between language and cognition (thinking skills) from informal and social uses of language to increasingly more complex academic uses of language in order that high levels of academic achievement can be reached, as illustrated below (informed by the work of Cummins 1992, Thomas & Collier 1997, Gottlieb 2003).

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[13] The 2005 Education for All Global Monitoring Report identifies "learners' cognitive development as the major explicit objective of all education systems" and the primary condition for quality education (UNESCO, 2004: 19).
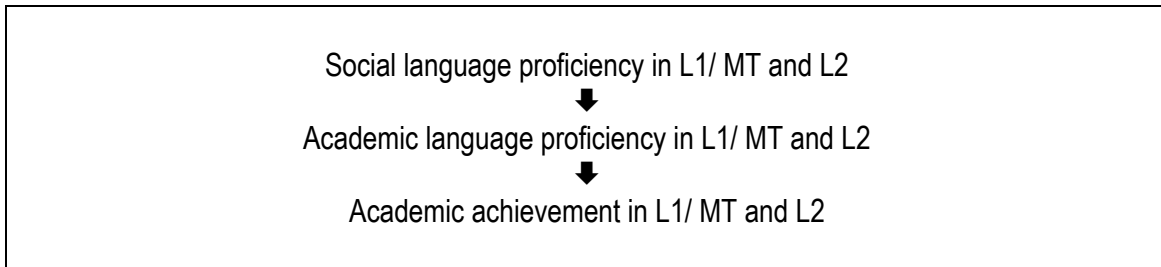
<div style="border: 1px solid black;">

Social language proficiency in L1/ MT and L2

⬇

Academic language proficiency in L1/ MT and L2

⬇

Academic achievement in L1/ MT and L2

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'Language is not everything in education but without language everything is nothing in education' (Wolff 2006).

Another way of seeing or understanding the relationship between language and cognition, especially in bilingual or multilingual settings is captured in the diagram below. Successful and the optimum cognitive development of learners in bilingual or multilingual African settings is dependent upon solid mother tongue or first language development and consolidation followed by very sound development of the second language which is added to mother tongue development, but does not replace the mother tongue for cognitive development.

L1

L2
development

Optimum Cognitive
Development
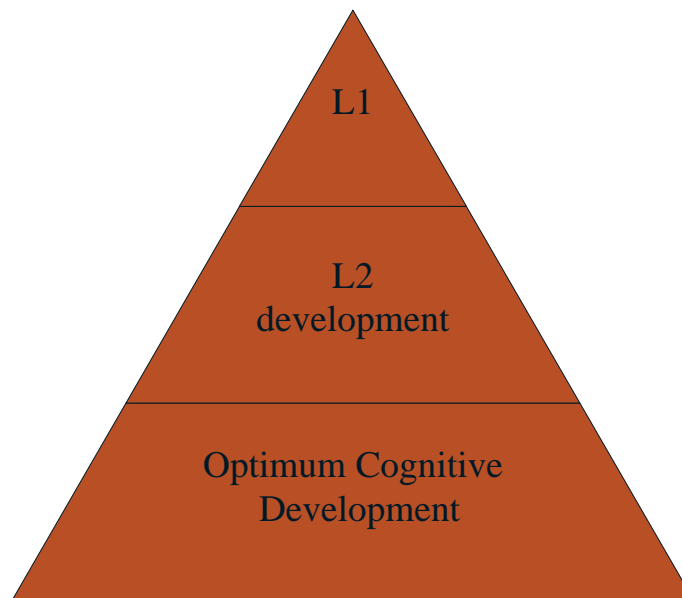
## 3.3 Costs and the Economics of Language Education[14]

One of the key issues which concern governments and education advisors in multilingual African situations is that of cost. It is assumed that the delivery of an education system which makes use of several indigenous languages will be more expensive than a L2-only or L2-mainly system. Sometimes it is even considered that a FL-only or FL-mainly system is an appropriate choice. What most governments in Africa have not yet calculated is the cost of education systems which are designed (by mistake) to fail the majority of students. There are significant costs in attempting to resource and pay for expensive interventions, which may be the wrong ones, or ones which cannot deliver the desired outcomes, especially when neither students nor teachers can use the language through which these interventions are supposed to be communicated.

> Fifty percent of the world's out-of-school children live in communities where the language of schooling is rarely, if ever, used at home. This underscores the biggest challenge to achieving Education for All (EFA): a legacy of non-productive practices that lead to low levels of learning and high levels of dropout and repetition. In these circumstances, an increase in resources, although necessary, would not be sufficient to produce universal completion of a good-quality primary school programme (World Bank, 2005).

The economics of education is a relatively new field of study and few economists have explored the full range of indicators which affect educational success and failure. Most of the economists who work in education do not understand the relationship between language and learning and therefore they have not fully explored the cost-related issues which arise from the efficiency or lack of efficiency of different language models across education systems.

### 3.3.1 Cost-effectiveness
At the moment, there is *no scientific evidence which demonstrates* that in the medium to long-term:
- o the use of African languages in education is more costly than the use of the former colonial languages; or that
- o the use of the former colonial languages is more cost-effective than the use of African languages in education.

If we consider the evidence we do have, however, it becomes clear that in Africa, we continue to invest in programmes which are designed to fail. This is most definitely neither cost-effective nor economically wise. It is therefore necessary to change from a dysfunctional approach to one which may offer a good return on investment.

> You learn only what you understand….without changing the language used to teach, basic education can be neither effective nor efficient. Language difficulties result in higher dropout and repeater rates that cannot be reduced (Bergmann 2002: 4).

Although governments frequently cite cost as the prohibitive factor, as mentioned earlier, there are no studies which show that models which replace the MT are in fact cheaper. We can only compare costs and work out if one model is indeed more expensive than another if we use the same criteria for measurement. The table below includes a list of items related to the implementation of formal school education and which incur costs. This is framed in terms of UNESCO's Education for All goal of providing *quality education.*

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[14] This section of the report including tables is a shortened version of Heugh (2006b) edited for this study.

Table 3.3.1 : Implications for Costs in the delivery of Quality Education Models in African countries

| | English/French/ Portuguese/ Spanish only [i.e. L2/FL] | Initial African language literacy + early transition to E/F/P/S [L2/FL] | Late exit MTE, & transition to E/F/P/S [L2/FL] | Strong/additive bilingual: MTE + E/F/P/S to end of secondary |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Curriculum Design | Costs will be the same across all models | | | |
| Training teachers to implement curriculum | Costs will be the same across all language models. This includes upgrading of expertise – so that teachers are sufficiently competent to teach the content of their grade or subject area specialisation | | | |
| Improving teachers' own language and academic literacy skills | Many teachers do not have adequate academic literacy skills or proficiency in the language of learning and teaching. In order to meet the Education for All goal of *Quality* education, teachers need further education and training so that they have the necessary language and literacy skills and resources to provide *quality teaching*. | | | |
| Equipping teachers with appropriate literacy & language for teaching subjects | All language and subject teachers need to understand their own role in developing literacy and appropriate language proficiency across the curriculum. All teachers need training so that they can help their students develop the necessary literacy and language expertise for each subject or grade level. See further cost implications in Table 2 below. | | | |
| Textbook design | Textbook design is a once-off cost, but different language versions will require additional layout costs (see Vawda & Patrinos 1999). | | | |
| Textbook production & provision | The same number of textbooks is required, no matter which model is selected. Where several different language versions are required, as long as the print-run exceeds 15 000-20 000, the additional per unit cost is minimal (Vawda & Patrinos 1999)[15] | | | |
| Orthographic development | None if E/F/P/S only used | Each language selected for use in education requires the development of orthography. Many African languages have a long written tradition. Many others do not. The development of orthography is not necessarily expensive, and can often be shared across borders. Community participation and work in organisations such as SIL and NACALCO (in Cameroon) have been accomplished with minimal expenditure. | | |
| Terminology development | Use of E/F/P/S only – appears to be the cheapest option since the terminology is borrowed from Europe/northern contexts. | Initial readers in ALs; textbooks from Grade 4 onwards all in E/F/P/S – minimal terminology development required, therefore appears to be the second cheapest | African language textbooks to Grade 6; then L2 only. Additional terminology across the curriculum required in those African language/s selected for the system | African language terminology developed to the end of secondary school – apparently the most expensive option |
| Translation | None required if materials originated in L2 are used. If learner-centred materials (those originated in African society) are used, then they require translation into L2 | Translation only required for early readers (see previous column) | Translation of all textbooks to Grade 6. | Translation of texts to end of secondary. |
| Teacher salaries | Same costs | | | |
| Classrooms | Same costs | | | |
| Assessment | Same costs | | | |

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[15] This is a generous estimate. In an earlier version of this study, Vawda & Patrinos (1998) record the following: "production economies would be maximized between production levels of 5, 000 and 10, 000 materials".

What the table above shows is that many of the costs are the same across the different language models. The only differences occur in the areas of orthography development if there are no existing orthographies, terminology and translation. These together could be regarded as the costs required in the production of different language versions of textbooks.

In an exceptionally useful study, Vawda & Patrinos (1999) show that the additional costs are mainly in relation to possible teacher education and materials production costs. The table above, however, assumes that the EFA goal of quality education implies a general need for improved teacher education. Achieving quality requires additional teacher education costs anyway. It does not matter which language model is being implemented, teachers require further training in their subject area, the level/grade in which they specialise, and their own language and literacy proficiency. A discussion of textbook provision and teacher education will follow in that sequence.

### 3.3.2 Cost-implications: Textbook production in African Languages

Patrinos & Velez, (1995) and Vawda and Patrinos (1998, 1999) have written a great deal about the costs of textbook production in indigenous languages in Guatemala, Senegal and the Gambia. The additional costs, as identified also by several other authors, are surprisingly lower than most of the second language/international language lobby believes. These studies show that the additional costs in relation both to textbook and teacher training are less than 10% of the budget allocation for these parts of the whole education budget. The additional publishing costs are in relation to the written use of African languages and include necessary language tools for textbook production as follows:
  o orthographic development (where necessary);
  o terminology development, or translated explanations of terminology, or a combination of both;
  o translation of text books (and school exit assessment instruments where applicable); and
  o African language versions of textbooks.
In the table above, the per unit cost of textbooks becomes insignificant when the print run exceeds 10 000, and even print-runs of 5 000 are viable.

### 3.3.3 Cost implications: Teacher education

We can work out what it would take to prepare teachers currently in the system to implement existing or new curriculum to meet the EFA goals. We can do this comparatively in relation to each of the different language models we have considered in the report. This example therefore focuses on in-service education.

If we examine very closely the implications for teacher education of different literacy/language education models for / in use in African countries, we find data which may surprise many senior education officials. Currently the situation in most countries is such that teachers are not sufficiently well trained or prepared for the classroom (see e.g. Benson 2004a). New curriculum changes are being implemented in many countries. This means that there needs to be changes in pre-service teacher education programmes and in-service teacher education provision in order to ensure the successful implementation of the curriculum.

Even where new curriculum change is not being attempted, teachers remain largely under-prepared or under-qualified in the majority of schools in sub-Saharan Africa. The logical step, whether in relation to old or new curriculum implementation is that most teachers require further training in Africa. In addition, it is clear the pre-service training programmes need to be overhauled, changed or adapted. Continued expenditure on dysfunctional systems is wasteful. Reinvigorated teacher education is a priority in order to meet the Education for All goals, especially in relation to *Quality.*

Table 3.3.3: Teacher Education per language education model[16]

| L2/FL only | Early-exit MTE, transition to L2/FL | Late-exit MTE, transition to L2/FL MOI | Strong/additive bilingual (AL + L2 medium) | AL/MTE medium throughout + specialist L2 subject |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 100% [17]teachers from Grade 1-12 require upgrading of their proficiency in English/French/ Portuguese or Spanish. | 75% all teachers (all who teach Grades 4-12) require upgrading of proficiency in E/F/P/S. | 50% of all teachers (all who teach from Grade 7-12) require upgrading of proficiency in E/F/P/S | 50% of all teachers (all who teach from Grade 7-12) require upgrading of proficiency in E/F/P/S | 15% of teachers (only the specialist teachers of the L2 as a subject) require upgrading of E/F/P/S proficiency |
| 100 % teachers: L2 language & L2 literacy methodology across the curriculum | 100% teachers: 25% L1, 75% L2 language and literacy methodology across the curriculum | 100% teachers: 50% L1 & 50% L2 language and literacy methodology across the curriculum | 100% teachers: 50% L1 & 50% L2 language and literacy methodology across the curriculum | 100% teachers: 85% L1 & 15% L2 language and literacy methodology across the curriculum |
| 100% teachers require content and curriculum upgrade training – cost the same across all models  – cost is the same | | | | |
| Expected student achievement 20% in L2[18] | Expected student achievement 30-35% in L2 | Expected student achievement 50% in L2 | Expected student achievement 60% in L2 | Expected student achievement 60% in L2 |
| Cost | Value[19] | Cost | Value | Cost | Value | Cost | Value | Cost | Value |
| highest | lowest | high | low | medium | good | medium | high | lowest | high |

If the objective is a functioning well-planned education system, there will be implications for teacher training/education. If teacher education provision is planned to support a functioning system and then mapped out according to different language models, then it becomes obvious that the use of African languages is less costly in the medium to long-term than English, French, Portuguese or Spanish dominant models.
   o   Firstly, teacher education requirements regarding curriculum studies, content knowledge and classroom methodologies incur the same or equal costs across all language models.

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[16] See Heugh 2004, 2005 for full discussion of this table.

[17] These % figures are used to illustrate proportions. Obviously there will always be some competent and well trained teachers in the system. But proportionately, 100% of those who are not proficient in the L2 will require in-service training etc. The same principle applies to the rest of this table.

[18] Expected achievement as indicated in table3.2.5 above (see also Thomas & Collier 1997).

[19] Value is determined here by the projected achievement levels evident from the available research.

- o Secondly, it does not cost more to train teachers in Africa to teach through the languages they know and speak well. It costs more to train teachers to use a language in which they do not yet have an adequate proficiency.
- o Such teachers first have to learn the language through which they are required to teach and develop a high level of academic proficiency in this language. This takes time.[20] Time equals financial cost.

Usually, those who argue that mother tongue education is too costly have completely underestimated the impact of the medium of instruction. They assume that teachers currently in the system are competent in the language they are supposed to use for teaching. They do not realise or sufficiently understand that the teachers cannot perform the impossible. They cannot teach through languages in which they do not have the required level of academic literacy.

A frequently cited argument, about centralised teacher education provision, is that it is difficult to train teachers through several different languages in the same institution. The default option is to provide training only in the foreign/international language of wider communication [ILWC]. A recent World Bank newsletter offers some advice on this:

> …Where there are many languages, formerly centralized approaches to teacher development and deployment will need to be modified. To address this challenge, countries can decentralize the recruitment of teacher candidates and pre- and in-service teacher training can be managed regionally rather than centrally (World Bank 2005).

The decentralisation of teacher education and support should not be linked only to language education issues. The issue extends across every facet of teacher support. Current, centralised approaches to teacher education are not adequate. Teachers on the periphery are left without sufficient support. Other conversations about in-service teacher education and support recognise that there need to be regional and local structures in place. These are likely to better support the pursuit of quality education and are pre-requisite conditions for successful curriculum implementation and monitoring. They would also better resource the literacy and language development requirements of all teachers. To link decentralised teacher education or support only to the language and literacy issues would not be appropriate.

### 3.3.4 Simulated cost-benefit calculations for multilingual education provision

One of the few economists who is also a language expert, François Grin, has worked extensively at costing multilingual policies and implementation plans for example in the European Union, Canada, New Zealand, Ireland and South Africa. Appendix G includes useful simulated cost-benefit exercises which Grin (2005) has developed for use in African education systems. In essence, the increased investment is unlikely to exceed a 5% education budget increase. Within five years, this increased cost would be recovered through lower repetition and within seven years there is likely to be a positive return on investment. From a language education planning perspective, the following 10-point plan has been developed as an illustrative guideline for education authorities on the continent (Heugh 2006b).

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[20] In South Africa, this would mean that about 280 000 of the 350 000 cohort of teachers would require a minimum of 200 hours of in-service, direct contact (not distance) language proficiency tuition. This is a huge undertaking and costly. In countries where English is a foreign language, teachers may require far more than 200 hours of contact time to improve their proficiency in the language.

Table 3.3.4: A Ten Point Cost-Efficient Plan: Optimize use of African languages in education

| | WHAT | WHO | TIME | COST: same or more |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Language education policy | Small consultative informed team: use African experts | 2 months – electronic discussions; 2-3 meetings | Same as for any education policy/language policy development |
| 2. | Implementation Plan | Smaller informed team | 2 months | Same as for any policy implementation |
| 3. | Public support | Education officials and experts via public media; formal & informal communication | Start immediately; keep public up to date with the debates; engage public participation in debates. | Public media responsibility; & same state expenditure costs as for any government policy. |
| 4. | Language Technology: terminology | Small team of experts to engage in capacity development | Speeds up timeframe for delivery | New costs but inexpensive, replicable, electronically accessible. |
| 5. | Translation technology | University departments of African languages to re-tool/skill where necessary | Fast - can reduce translation time by 50%; can be used for textbooks and electronic resources - download assessments, worksheets etc. | Inexpensive software investment. Time reduction = cost reduction. |
| 6. | Language development units | African universities - prepare students for orthographic, lexicographic, terminology and translation development expertise | Start training 2007 | State invest in re-skilling university trainers and establishment of language development units; develop business plan - should be self-funding in 5-10 years. |
| 7. | Dictionaries | Identify institutional affiliation (e.g. university/ies; government department; non-profit independent structure) | On-going – long-term project | State investment/annual allocation. |
| 8. | Multilingual materials | a. Publishers – domestic; b. Specialist teachers can also produce these electronically. | a. Publishing timeframes require careful scheduling. b. Use of electronic education bank for storing teacher generated materials is faster and can be used almost immediately | a. Publishing: Cross-border collaboration reduces outlay costs and speeds up return on investment. b. Electronic bank of materials – minimal costs. African owned publishing houses can recover costs and grow business in Africa |
| 9. | Teacher Training | Re-tooling/skilling of teacher trainers; share available African expertise | Fast-track capacity development, thereafter timeframes same as for regular provision. | Minimal costs for initial design of new programmes, soon becomes normal recurrent costs. |
| 10. | Total Investment - additional expenditure on education budget for 5 years | | | 1%-5% [21] recoverable and reduces overall expenditure over medium term (5 years). Medium to long-term prognosis – economic benefits to each country. |

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[21] Countries where orthographies and other language development units already exist can expect 1% increase; where there are no orthographies, the costs could escalate to 5%.

### 3.3.5 Conclusion

Inadequate economic theory allows governments to fall back on systems which show little return on their investment. What we know is that the current models of education do not make best use of the languages through which children and their teachers understand the world. In other words we offer education which is largely without meaning. This education is expensive and has a very low rate of positive return. With a little additional expenditure (current analysis indicates that this may vary between 1% - 5%) on education which makes greater use of local languages and provides better tuition of the international language, the investment is likely to be recovered within five years (7 years at most) through lower repetition and the implications of higher throughput rates. [22]

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[22] It is unlikely that the additional costs would reach 5% even initially. The biggest cost in South African education is salary costs, and this remains the same no matter which language model is used.

# CHAPTER 4:  HISTORY AND CONTEXT OF LANGUAGE EDUCATION POLICY IN ETHIOPIA

## 4.1 Historical overview of language use in education in Ethiopia

Schooling in Ethiopia was introduced in 1908. Since then the Ethiopian education system has moved from exclusive use of English (foreign language based monolingualism) to exclusive use of Amharic (Ethiopian language based monolingualism) in the 1960s, and currently to a multilingual policy. This section will provide a brief historical overview of the use of Ethiopian languages in the education system. Below, we will try to assess key transformational causes of educational policy in Ethiopia from foreign language based monolingualism (mainly English) into indigenous language based monolingualism (Amharic), and in 1991 into multilingualism (based on mother tongue education).

### 4.1.1 A brief sociolinguistic survey of Ethiopia

Ethiopia is a mosaic of geographic formations, ethnicities, languages and dialects. The country has a surface area of 1,127,127 square kilometres with elevations ranging from 100 meters below sea level in the Dallol Depression to 4,620 meters above sea level in the Ras Dashen Mountains. According to the World Bank (2006) [23], the population of Ethiopia is 74,777,981 as of July 2006, making the country the second most populous in Sub-Saharan Africa. A majority, 85 percent, make their living in agriculture.

Linguistic and ethnic diversity is another significant distinguishing feature of the country. Different sources show that the country is comprised of no fewer than 80 ethnic groups with distinct languages and/or dialects and cultural features (GOE 1998, Levine 1974, Young 1997). The major ethnic groups include Oromo (40 %), Amhara (30 %) and Tigray (10 %) (World Bank 2003). The latest published census data of the country (conducted in 1994) states that speakers of the three major Ethiopian languages (Afan Oromo, Amharic and Tigrinya) constitute 70% of the entire population (Abebe 2004). The table below provides the major languages, in this case with more than 200,000 speakers, as per the 1994 census and as analysed by Hudson (1999). The 2004 census data, however, should be used for planning purposes when available.

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[23]   http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/AFRICAEXT/ETHIOPIAEXTN/  Date downloaded: 28 Nov 2006. It needs to be noted that different data sources offer different numbers of speakers of Ethiopian languages. The Ethnologue data and the latest national census data offer divergent numbers of speakers. However, we acknowledge that there are different sets of data with other statistics, and it may be necessary for a comprehensive sociolinguistic survey of the country to be undertaken in the near future for accurate planning to be undertaken.

MAJOR ETHIOPIAN LANGUAGES (numbers of Mother Tongue Speakers) 1994 CENSUS

| No. | Language | Mother Tongue Speakers according to 1994 census data | Ethnic Group members |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Afan Oromo | 16 777 975 | 17 088 136 |
| 2 | Amharic | 17,372,913 | 16 010 894 |
| 3 | Somali | 3,187 053 | 3 139 421 |
| 4 | Tigrinya | 3,224,875 | 3 284 443 |
| 5 | Gurage | 1 881 574 | 2 290 332 |
| 6 | Sidama | 1,876,329 | 1 842 444 |
| 7 | Wolayata | 1,231,674 | 1 268 445 |
| 8 | Afar | 965,462 | 972 766 |
| 9 | Hadiyya | 923,957 | 927 747 |
| 10 | Gamo | 690 069 | 719 862 |
| 11 | Gedeo | 637,082 | 639 879 |
| 12 | Kafa | 569,626 | 599 146 |
| 13 | Kambata | 487 654 | 499 631 |
| 14 | Awingi | 356,980 | 397 494 |
| 15 | Dawro | 313 228 | 331 477 |
| 18 | Gofa | 233 340 | 241 340 |

(adapted from Hudson 1999: 89-108)

Despite the linguistically diverse ecology of Ethiopia, developing a multilingual education policy has taken some time. Monolingualism, or the idea of one nation - one language, which was a reflection of the western concept of nation-state, was for a long time the political norm because of the belief that one language would keep the country united.

4.1.2 Language in education and Imperial Ethiopia (1908-1974)

The history of modern / western schooling in Ethiopia dates back to 1908, when Menelik I Primary School was established in Addis Ababa. However, the introduction of secular education into the country was not a swift process, for it was critically opposed by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, which believed that schooling would distort the social and religious values and norms of the society and / or the church. Thus, this first school was primarily limited to teaching European languages such as English, French and Italian, with the belief that these languages would be important to keep the country sovereign by providing the country with elites which could negotiate the interests of the country through the so-called international tongues (Tekeste 1990).

Edward Jandy, an American education expert who served Ethiopia in the 1940s, describes his observation of one of the schools in the country that "…the pupils had to learn a foreign language (English) from textbooks with illustration materials alien to their own cultures" (Ibid). Ngugi wa Thiong'o describes the socio-cultural effect of such foreign linguistic and cultural use as a "disaster for the peoples of the world and their cultures" (Ngugi 1993, cited in Phillipson 1999:203). Besides, although school enrolment increased, provision of textbooks especially to the primary school level

was almost non-existent until 1960 because local publication was almost impossible. Similarly, although there were few textbooks for secondary education, these materials being the same as those used in Britain were socially and culturally alien to the students (Tekeste 1990). Above all, the teachers who were foreigners were also alien to the students, their languages and their cultures.

However, a few exceptions can be mentioned in relation to the use of local languages in Ethiopian primary education. For example, in Swedish and American missionary schools, mother tongues were used before European languages at the primary level (McNab 1988). In addition, in 1935, when Ethiopia was occupied by fascist Italy, there was an attempt to introduce an ethnically based language policy into the country. By 1938, an Italian proclamation put the country into six divided administrative regions with languages of education as follow:

Table 4.1: Language policy in Ethiopia during the Italian Occupation (1935-1941)

|   | Administrative Region | Language of instruction |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Eritrea | Tigrinya and Arabic |
| 2 | Amhara | Amharic |
| 3 | Addis Ababa | Amharic and Oromifa |
| 4 | Harar | Harari and Oromifa |
| 5 | Sidama | Oromifa and Kafficho |
| 6 | Somali | Somalia |

(Source: Adapted from Pankhurst 1974)

This language policy was not put into full effect except in Eritrea, which had been a colony of Italy for about fifty years. According to Young (1997), this policy was implemented in Tigray for very few years, only until the emperor regained power in 1941. This was so because firstly, such a policy was understood as a separatist movement which was thought to lead the country into division (McNab 1988). Secondly, according to Tekeste (1990), this short period represented a disruption of the education system, where even government schools had stopped functioning. Finally, this period was not conducive to the occupiers running education systems, because they were busy fighting different oppositional forces in many corners of the country.

When Italy left the country in 1941, English regained the status of being the dominant language of instruction at all levels of education until 1958/59, when Amharic was officially declared the language of instruction of primary education (Grades 1-6). This was an immediate result of the promulgation of the 1955 Ethiopian constitution which stipulated that Amharic be the official language of the country (McNab 1988, Tsehaye 1997).

A study was conducted by the Department of Research and Curriculum Development in the 1960s to analyze the effectiveness of English as a language of instruction at the primary level. This study found that the following were the causes for the change of language of instruction at the primary level from English into Amharic:

> [C]hildren were being handicapped by having to learn in a foreign language which more than 60 percent of them would not need to use after leaving school. Another reason given was that much of the content of the

courses was incorrectly or inadequately conveyed, partly because of the language barrier (Habtemariam 1970:14).

Thus, the 1955/58 language policy gave one indigenous language, Amharic, the higher status of being an academic language, and it also offered a partial linguistic and cultural freedom from the hegemony of English language and culture in the entire education system. The implication of this policy was to provide a partial linguistic and cultural relevance by bridging the linguistic, cultural and content gap between the children's home and the school, at least for speakers of Amharic. This enabled Amharic-speaking learners to begin from the known and learn through a familiar language, which is considered more pedagogically sound than to begin from the unknown and learn through unfamiliar language.

On the other hand, this language policy of the imperial government was criticised and opposed because it had the goal of assimilation, because it favoured the use of only one language throughout the country despite its linguistic diversity.

### 4.1.3 Language in education and socialist Ethiopia (1974-1991)

The last few years of the Haile Selassie regime were full of political turmoil due to opposition movements from university students and other intellectuals, in particular, and from the society at large. The causes of the opposition were both political and social. One of the slogans that students and intellectuals called for was "land to the tiller" so as to give all peasants equal rights of usage of the land. The other question, which is quite important to this study, was the right to use and have recognised all ethnic languages and cultures. This question is quite commonly addressed as one of the long-standing issues of the Ethiopian nationalities.

In relation to the latter question, the university students' movement led by Walelign Mekonnen, one of the most articulate and talent student leaders, claimed that the position of the movement was "a prelude to the anticipated armed struggle which was to organize and educate the masses for action toward liberation that would take full account of the question of nationalities and languages" (The Struggle 1969).

These and other basic political and social based student questions, which were widespread throughout society and the military, resulted in massive protests at Addis Ababa University and throughout the capital, leading to the overthrow of the Emperor from power in 1974. Consequently, the military junta promulgated the following:

> The right of self-determination of all nationalities will be recognized and fully respected. No nationality will dominate another one since the history, culture, language, and religion of each nationality will have equal recognition in accordance with the spirit of socialism….Given Ethiopia's existing situation, the problem of nationalities can be resolved if each nationality is accorded full rights of self-government. This means that each nationality will have regional autonomy to decide on matters concerning its internal affairs. Within its environs, it has the right to determine the contents of its political, economic, and social life use its own languages and elect its own leaders and administrators to head its own internal organs (Ethiopian Government Programme, cited in McNab 1988:83-84).

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According to the above government programme, Ethiopian nationalities were given the right on paper to use their languages for educational, cultural, historical and other purposes. Nevertheless, the government policy in practice was not, in its later proclamations, different from the previous one. The only exception was the fact that the government employed no fewer than fifteen languages as languages of instruction in non-formal education, for the national literacy campaign.

> Language policy for formal education has remained unchanged despite social revolution in Ethiopia. There have been no experiments with using nationality languages other than Amharic in the lower levels of primary education as might have been expected given the Post-Revolution nationalities policy (McNab 1988:184).

In reality, the government made Amharic the language of instruction and administration, and the only language taught as a subject at all levels of education. This was despite the fact that studies conducted by the MOE-ERGESE showed that Amharic in the primary and English in the junior and secondary education as languages of instruction were seriously affecting the quality of education, as illustrated in the quotation and the table below.

> The medium of instruction has two dimensions. The first that affects early school life of children is the use of Amharic in predominantly non-Amharic speaking ones…ERGESE[24] noted that Amharic has affected the teaching and learning process at the primary level. [However]…ERGESE recommended that an additional period be assigned for Amharic….Concerning English…ERGESE pointed to the urgent need of replacing English with Amharic in the secondary schools…( Tekeste 1990:52).

Table 4.2: Does the language of instruction (Amharic in the primary schools and English in the secondary schools) create problems of understanding for the pupils?

| Respondents' Occupation | Primary Schools | | Secondary Schools | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number of respondents | % agreeing that Amharic causes difficulties | Number of respondents | % agreeing that English causes difficulties |
| Teachers | 50 | 42% | 61 | 92% |
| Schools Directors | 27 | 48% | 43 | 75% |
| Unit Leaders | 17 | 18% | 55 | 65% |
| Awraja[25]    Ed. officers | 12 | 42% | 12 | 50% |

(Source: Table 7, Final Report of ERGESE Project, MOE 1986, cited in McNab 1988)

The above table illustrates that Amharic and English, functioning as languages of instruction in the primary and secondary schools respectively, were believed to be causing communication barriers, which hindered smooth transmission of knowledge in the classroom. The table below shows that student performance in science was significantly affected by the use of Amharic as a language of

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[24] ERGESE or Evaluative Research of the General Education System of Ethiopia represented government research conducted during the socialist regime with the objective of determining the quality of education of the country.
[25] Awraja is a local word meaning county or district.

instruction for students whose mother tongue was not Amharic, especially when compared with the use of Amharic as a language of instruction for students whose mother tongue is Amharic.

Table 4.3: The impact of the use of only Amharic on Science achievement scores of students whose mother tongue is Amharic versus students whose mother tongue is not Amharic

| Subject | Grade | Mean achievement score of Amharic mother tongue | Mean achievement score of non-Amharic mother tongue | Differences |
|---------|-------|--------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Science | 1st | 79.23 | 69.13 | 10.10 |
|         | 2nd | 77.51 | 67.69 | 9.82 |

(Source: MOE 1987c:29, cited in McNab 1988:152)

In short, the imperial and socialist regimes were similar in that both ran monolingual policies of education; although research results conducted by both governments showed that educational quality was hampered by the use of Amharic and English as languages of instruction at the primary and secondary levels of education respectively. Both governments ran essentially assimilationist policies, because both employed only Amharic as a language of instruction and administration with the belief that it would be the best way of forming cultural integration and national unity.

## 4.1.4 Language in education and present-day Ethiopia (since 1991)

With the demise of the Dergue in 1991 and owing to sustained resistance from various political factions, Ethiopia went through significant social and political changes. The coalition force, EPRDF and other opposition parties constituting the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) first proclaimed the rights of every nation and nationality of Ethiopia to use and develop its languages and cultures (TGE 1992). This was further strengthened and confirmed in the Ethiopian constitution of 1994.To put this into effect, the Ministry of Education of Ethiopia proclaimed a new Education and Training Policy in 1994, which, among many other aspects, put the use of mother tongues into primary education (Grades 1-8). In relation to the quality and relevance of the past education system, the government described it as follows:

> In the last 30 years [or more] the objective and relevance of education in Ethiopia has become questionable. Though the curriculum was broadly based on international standards its usefulness to the objective situation in Ethiopia is contentious. It is generally agreed that the impact of modern education on the day-to-day life of the society has been negligible (TGE 1994:1).

With the coming of EPRDF into power, Ethiopia was transformed from a single party military based political system into a 'multi-party' and multiethnic political system. It underwent another change, from a centrally controlled government system into a decentralised administrative system, as a direct result of the newly constituted federal political system. Finally, Ethiopia made a radical shift from a monolingual and monocultural policy of education and administration into a multilingual and multicultural system.

Many reasons have been given for employing multilingual policies in education and administration in the Ethiopian socio-cultural and linguistic ecology. One important point commonly mentioned is

that multilingualism avoids socio-cultural and linguistic domination of one ethnic group by another. A multilingual policy is understood as a way of mechanism to solve the cultural and linguistic hegemony of one group in relation to others.  It is believed that multilingualism is the best way of solving the long-standing nationality questions of the right to use languages and recognize cultures for any purpose people wish.

In short, the language policy as stated in the present government's constitution and education and training policy can be summarised as follows:

Figure 4.1: The 1994 language policy in relation to the Constitution

| Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (1994) | Education and Training Policy (1994) |
| --- | --- |
| Article 5:  All Ethiopian languages shall enjoy equal state recognition. <br> ▪ Amharic shall be the working language in the federal government. <br> ▪ Members of the federation may by law determine their respective work languages. <br> Article 39:  Rights of Nations, Nationalities and Peoples: <br> ▪ Every Nation, Nationality and People in Ethiopia has an unconditional right to self-determination, including the right to secession. <br> ▪ Every Nation, Nationality and People in Ethiopia has the right to speak, to write and to develop its own language; to express, to develop and to promote its culture and to preserve its history. | 3.5 LANGUAGES AND EDUCATION <br> 3.5.1 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. <br> 3.5.2  Making the necessary preparation, nations and nationalities can either learn in their own language or can choose from among those selected on the basis of national and countrywide distribution. <br> 3.5.3. The language of teacher training for kindergarten and primary education will be the nationality language used in the area. <br> 3.5.4  Amharic shall be taught as a language of countrywide communication. <br> 3.5.5 English will be the medium of instruction for secondary and higher education. <br> 3.5.6 Students can choose and learn at least one nationality language and one foreign language for cultural and international relations. <br> 3.5.7  English will be taught as a subject starting from Grade one. <br> 3.5.8  The necessary steps will be taken to strengthen language teaching at all levels. |

The following table illustrates what the Education and Training Policy of 1994 clearly stipulates with respect to the use language/s in the Ethiopian education system.

Figure 4.2: Language use and function as stipulated in the 1994 Education and Training Policy

| | Languages | Level of Education | Function |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Mother tongues/ Nationality languages | Primary (Grades 1-8) | Medium of instruction (MOI) |
| 2 | Amharic | --- | As a subject and language of countrywide communication |
| 3 | English | From Grade 1 | As a subject |
| 4 | English | Secondary and higher education (from Grade 9) | Medium of instruction (MOI) |
| 5 | One more nationality and foreign language | --- | As subjects, for cultural and international communication |

Bearing these changes in mind, there are wide ranging arguments questioning whether the use of mother tongues in education in a decentralized political system are being implemented in accordance to the national educational objectives as they are stated directly or indirectly in the 1994 policy and the Ethiopian Constitution. There are concerns about the role of nationality languages; for example, according to George (2002:18), "Parents in SNNPR viewed the nationality languages as diminishing the value of education for their children.  They were not clear on the benefits of the language policy and were outraged by perceived outcomes of its implementation." The same author reports that parents were concerned and outraged that the policy might negatively affect their children. They feared that their children would:

- o be unable to speak Amharic,
- o be unable to communicate in English,
- o fail the 8th Grade examination, and
- o be confused by the textbooks.

Others contend that:

- o The use of many languages as languages of instruction instead of the use of Amharic as a language of instruction is expensive in terms of financial and human resources.
- o The use of "less developed" Ethiopian languages in education (rather than a well-developed and international language like English) is a disadvantage to students' cognitive development, with regard to international educational standards.
- o The use of mother tongues as languages of instruction in upper primary education (Grades 5-8) instead of English detracts from students' English language achievement.
- o The use of Ethiopian languages, including Amharic, as languages of instruction for higher-level sciences and mathematics in Grades 7 and 8 might be educationally disadvantageous for students who join secondary education in which only English is the medium of instruction.

Because of such commonly held beliefs, it is important to examine the practical implementation of the medium of instruction policy at the regional level, and to assess the effectiveness of the various models used in primary education today.  It is also important to examine the educational

achievement implications of the use of the mother tongues.  Finally, we need to investigate the quality implications of the match or mismatch between the MOI at the 2nd cycle of primary education and the MOI for teacher training for that level.

## 4.2 History of English in Ethiopian education

With the introduction of modern education in the early 20th century, the foreign languages that were operating in the country were mainly Italian, French and English.  With the defeat of Italy during World War II, the Italian language was eliminated from the competition. This competition became fierce between French and English in the first quarter of the 20th century, with French mostly taking the upper hand. The coronation of Haile Selassie as emperor of Ethiopia in 1930 was preceded and followed by the opening of many schools that used both French and English as languages of instruction. However, during the Ethio-Italian War of 1935-1941, most of these schools were closed and their books and teaching materials destroyed.

The reintroduction of English in the education system is closely related with Ethiopia's struggle to regain its independence during WWII. The British had made a considerable sacrifice to help Ethiopia fight against the occupying Italian army. The Emperor of Ethiopia and the people in general were grateful for the assistance they got from Britain. According to Spencer (1984), this led the Emperor to follow the British way of doing things. Mengistu Lemma, a British educated scholar, quoted his father, Aleqa Lemma, as saying: "We had to learn their language because they were the ones who helped us expel the Italians" (Mengistu 1996).

Both governmental and non-governmental schools played significant roles in the spread of English in education in Ethiopia.  Almost all of the curriculum and teaching materials, especially for high schools, were imported from Britain. According to Tekeste (1990: 4), "Secondary teachers had relatively fewer problems in locating teaching manuals, since they were the same as those used in Great Britain". Ethiopian students were encouraged to sit for the same examinations, as would students in Britain. Ethiopian students were also allowed to sit for the College Entrance Examination in the USA.

The main reasons for the reintroduction of English in the Ethiopian education system may be summarised as follows:

- o  the assistance the country received from the British government in forcing out the Italian army;
- o  the administrative and financial assistance received from the British government;
- o  the fact that most of the higher officials in the Ministry of Education have English educational backgrounds; and
- o  the general lack of trained teachers and teaching materials in the system.

Therefore, it was not surprising that, "a decision was made to introduce English as a subject … and to make it the language of instruction in most subjects commencing with the fifth year" (Markakis 1974:174).

The attitude and motivation on the part of the great majority of Ethiopian students was favourable for the rapid acceptance and expansion of the English language in the education system. Students

were to be educated in English and should have a fair level of proficiency to get good jobs. According to Bowen et al. (1976: 622), "The ultimate end for which English prepares a student is a job placement, mostly in government service, where both English and Amharic are used as languages of interchange and reporting". English was the key to securing a good job. The same authors wrote that those who had good command of the English language were those found in the university and later in higher government posts and private business.

Shortly after the end of the Second World War, schools and colleges were opened. The Ministry of Education and Fine Arts also issued a curriculum policy which, according to Teshome (1979:72) stated that there was "a gradual transition to English after Grade three in the teaching of other subjects". Thus, English was used as the medium of instruction in primary school, until it was replaced in the early 1960s by Amharic. When the Amharic policy was put into place, English became the medium of instruction for most of the subjects taught in Grades 7 and 8. English was also the language of instruction at secondary level and in teacher training institutions.

According to Tekeste, between 1961 and 1974, "up to 40 per cent of the secondary school teachers were foreigners, mostly Indians. As Peace Corps came for free and were much cheaper than the Indian teachers, the Ethiopian government chose quite naturally the free supply of secondary school teachers" (1996:21). The situation both economically and politically soon forced the Ethiopianisation of schools. Various problems arose with the introduction of these changes. As Tekeste (1990:22) has noted, "the overwhelming majority of secondary teachers stated that using English language as a medium of instruction created great difficulties both for themselves and their students".

English is more of a foreign language than a second language in Ethiopia. This is mainly because English is used so infrequently in daily life outside the classroom and students do not have the opportunity to learn the language informally. The designation of English as a "second official language" of the country is, thus, according to Stoddard, misleading. The role of English in Ethiopia, at least outside the educational system, resembles more closely that of countries where English is considered a foreign language (e.g. Sweden) than that of countries where it is considered a second language used relatively widely as a lingua franca (e.g. in some urban settings in Nigeria).

Thus, the main way students have been expected to learn English has been by using it as a medium of instruction. Some scholars have questioned the extent to which students can be successful in using English as a medium. Based on his field surveys in the mid-1980s, Stoddard had the following to say about the English language ability of the vast majority of students in Ethiopia:

> Students do not possess sufficient English even to understand what they hear from their teachers or read in their textbooks, let alone to participate actively through their own speaking and writing. … as a result of the inability of students to function through English, the quality of teaching and learning in schools has been very adversely affected. At best, it means that mere rote learning often prevails, with no critical and creative participation of students, and little enough of even simple comprehension by them of what they are being told. And at worst it means that some – possibly many – students whose English is not sufficient even for rote-learning spend most of their class hours copying down notes that the teacher has written on the blackboard, and transforming them in the process into complete nonsense. In such a

situation it is no longer appropriate to call English a medium of instruction; rather it has become a medium of obstruction (Stoddart 1986: 18-19).

According to some researchers (e.g. Dendir 1981), the main reason for student failure in the secondary school is the inability to study through the medium of English and because of problems with English.

Many writers agree that there was a sharp decline in the standard of English of students and teachers in the 1970s and 1980s. Tekeste has summarised the effect of using English as a medium of instruction as follows:

[The use of English as a medium of instruction] from grade seven onwards has been extremely negative. The foreign medium has functioned as a barrier between students and their relatives at home. The generation gap became even sharper because of the medium of instruction, which turned school children into more sophisticated and infallible "semi-gods." Most of those who left school before 1974 believed themselves to be the unspoken leaders of Ethiopian society (Tekeste 1990:54).

Different writers suggested solutions for the English language problems observed before 1994, at which time the current Education and Training Policy was put into effect. According to Rogers (1969:26), "Ethiopian education may need a new hole started, a hole labelled 'Don't start teaching English until Grade 7". Stoddart (1986:19) suggested "…replacing English as a medium and restricting its teaching as a subject". Stoddart strongly advised the Ethiopian Government to "adopt a determined stance" in this direction. According to Stoddart, the government:

…will have to ensure that students and parents fully realize that no one who is likely to need English later will be disadvantaged by the new policies. Indeed, a major aim of the proposed changes is to ensure that those who need English will attain higher levels of proficiency in it than they do at present. Perhaps one slogan might be 'later English means better English'! Another might equally be 'later English means better science, mathematics, geography, etc.)' for continuing and non-continuing students alike (Stoddart 1986:19).

Since the introduction of the new Education and Training Policy in 1994, English has been taught as a subject as of Grade 1 in all regions, without exception. Apart from this, regional governments may determine their own policies on language of education in Grades 1 to 8. Thus in some regions local languages are used as MOI in Grades 7 and 8 (e.g. in Oromiya, Somali, and Tigray regions), in others English is still used as MOI for non-language subjects (e.g. Gambella, SNNPR), and yet in others English is partially used as MOI to teach science and mathematics (e.g. Amhara Region). From Grade 9 onwards, however, English is the sole official MOI, with the exception of teacher training colleges.

The teaching of English in primary 1st cycle (Grades 1-4) is done by teachers trained at teacher training institutes (TTIs). They are trained for eight months, after completing Grade 10, in the methodology of teaching the different subjects. These teachers are expected to handle self-contained classes in which they teach all subjects to one group of students. English language teaching in primary 2nd cycle, beginning at Grade 5, is conducted by teachers who study English as a major field of study or who major in an Ethiopian language and minor in English. Teachers for Grades 7 and 8 are normally expected to have a diploma from a teacher training college (TTC). English for secondary school students is taught by teachers who have a university degree in

English. To earn a university degree, trainees need a minimum of four years of study, of which the first year of study used to consist of intensive language training meant to compensate for their deficiency in the language.  Recently, however, the freshman programme was done away with, the assumption being that students undergo two years of preparatory study – in Grades 11 and 12. However, students in Grades 11 and 12 are often taught English by teachers with three years of university education.

Most college and university instructors have Master's degrees or training beyond the M.A. Addis Ababa University has so far been the only university in the country to train teachers at the M.A. and Ph.D. levels.

In sum, the teaching of English as a subject in the first cycle of primary is seriously under-resourced. The teaching of English as a subject and its use as a medium of instruction during the second cycle of primary, is also seriously under-resourced. In both instances, teacher under-preparedness is a major challenge.

# CHAPTER 5:  FINDINGS FROM THE RESEARCH ON MOI IN ETHIOPIA

This chapter presents the findings from this research on medium of instruction across Ethiopia in both tabular and descriptive form.  We begin with a summary table that characterises the situation as we understand it in each region.  We then go into detail region by region, discussing MOI policy and practice, people's attitudes toward these, effective practices, areas of potential difficulty, and recommendations.  Next, we summarise the overall trends across the country, along with the similarities and differences between regions, using as our frame of reference the national educational language policy.  Finally, we present the findings of national assessments in terms of language of instruction.  Further analysis of these findings is presented in chapter 6 of the report.

## 5.1  Policy and practice in each region

As discussed in the methodology section, our aim was to get as much information about each region as possible, but given time and logistical constraints we were not able to visit every region, nor could we collect the same kind of data from every place we did visit.  We have supplemented field data with information from the regions themselves as well as other written and oral sources, and provide rich descriptions and examples wherever possible.  Table 5.1 summarises the policy in each region, beginning with the reference point of the MOE educational language policy.

Table 5.1: Languages of instruction used in primary schooling and primary teacher training, by city administration or regional state

Key: MOI = medium of instruction, TT = teacher training, ABE = alternative basic education

| Regional state | MOI at Primary I | MOI at Primary II | | MOI TT for Primary I | MOI TT for Primary II |
| | | ( Grades 5-6) | ( Grades 7-8) | | |
| *MOE POLICY* | *MOTHER TONGUE* | *MOTHER TONGUE* | *MOTHER TONGUE* | | *MOTHER TONGUE* | *MOTHER TONGUE* |
| Addis Ababa (City admin) | Amharic | Amharic | English | All content subjects | English | English |
| Dire Dawa (City admin) | Amharic Af.Oromo Somali | Amharic Af.Oromo Somali | English | All subjects except Civics | Amharic | English |
| | | | Amharic Af.Oromo Somali | Civics | | |
| AFAR | Amharic Afar (ABE) | Amharic | English | All content subjects | --- | --- |
| AMHARA | Amharic Awingi Hamittena | Amharic Awingi Hamittena | English | Sciences & Maths | Amharic Awingi (planned) | English |
| | | | Amharic Awingi Hamittena | All subjects except Sci/ Maths | | |
| | Af.Oromo | Af.Oromo | Af.Oromo | All content subjects | | |

| REGION | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| BENISHANGUL GUMUZ | Amharic | Amharic | English | All content subjects | Amharic | English |
| GAMBELLA | Nuer Anguak Meshenger | English | English | All content subjects | Nuer Anguak Mesenger | English |
| HARARI | Harari Af.Oromo Amharic | Harari Af.Oromo Amharic | English | Sciences & Maths | Harari Af.Oromo Amharic | English |
| | | | Harari Af.Oromo Amharic | All subjects except Sci/Maths | | |
| OROMIYA | Af.Oromo Amharic | Af.Oromo Amharic | Af.Oromo Amharic | All content subjects | Af.Oromo Amharic | Af.Oromo Amharic |
| SNNPR | Amharic Dawro Gamo Gedeo Gofa Hadiya Kembata Kafinono Kontigna Korete Sidama Silti Wolaita | English | English | All content subjects | Amharic Dawro Gamo Gedeo Gofa Hadiya Kembata Kafinono Kontigna Korete Sidama Silti Wolaita | English |
| SOMALI | Somali | Somali | Somali | All content subjects | Somali Amharic | English |
| | Amharic | Amharic | English | Sciences & Maths | | |
| | | | Amharic | All subjects except Sci/Maths | | |
| TIGRAY | Tigrinya | Tigrinya | Tigrinya | All content subjects | Tigrinya | English |

(Updated from table in Mekonnen, 2005)

In this section, we will take up the situation in each region, discussing regional policy and practice, its consistency with MOE policy, and people's reasoning and attitudes toward the regional situation. We will describe effective practices we encountered, indicate areas of potential difficulty or concern, and provide a brief analysis for the region. We include the two city administrations of Ethiopia for comparison purposes, and will begin with the capital city.

### 5.1.1  ADDIS ABABA (city administration)

*City administration policy/practice:* Amharic is the medium of instruction in the city in Grades 1-6 for all learners regardless of their home languages. To our knowledge, no other Ethiopian languages are used in public primary education. Beginning this academic year (2006/07), all instruction in

Grades 7 and 8 is through the medium of English.  Prior to this year, mathematics and the sciences were taught in English, while Amharic was used for all other subjects.  Primary teachers for 1st and 2nd cycles are trained in English.

Addis Ababa city model

| Language | ...used as MOI | ...taught as a subject |
|---|---|---|
| Mother tongue (L1): Amharic (Other major languages are Afan Oromo, Gurage & Tigrinya) | 1-6 (for L1 and L2 learners) | 1-8 (for L1 and L2 learners) |
| Other Ethiopian language ( L2) | --- | --- |
| English (FL) | 7-8 | 1-8 |

*Consistency with MOE policy*:  The Addis Ababa city practice is consistent up to Grade 6 with MOE policy for mother tongue speakers of Amharic, but not for mother tongue speakers of other languages unless they are bilingual (i.e. have already been exposed to Amharic) by the time they enter school.  Exclusive use of English for Grades 7 and 8 is not suggested in MOE policy.  The language of teacher training for both cycles is English, which is not consistent with federal policy or with the MOI for primary Grades 1-6.

*Reasoning and attitudes:*  We did not encounter anyone who mentioned concern that Amharic is not the mother tongue of all students; when this question was discussed at the workshop, we received this written feedback: "The City Education Bureau believes that Amharic is a home language for all students."  Regarding use of English as MOI for Grades 7 and 8, city officials justified the practice during our interviews by citing lack of resources in other Ethiopian languages and the need for English as an international language.  Their written feedback from the workshop defended the practice by saying they had responded positively to public demand, having faced "high pressure from the society." Yet they as well as TTC educators expressed strong concerns over the level of English of incoming as well as outgoing teacher trainees, and said that the ELIP programme has "not been enough" for teachers who do not have an opportunity to practice English outside the training courses.  The request for an expanded ELIP programme was reiterated at the workshop.

Based on our interviews, lack of understanding of English is seen as a problem that should be dealt with by introducing English as MOI sooner in the education system. One reaction to limited understanding of English at the TTC is a proposal by the English Language Improvement Centre to prohibit teacher educators from using "the vernacular," which they say is "killing English." However, most teacher trainers interviewed acknowledged that code-switching between Amharic and English was common practice at the college, for pragmatic reasons.  Most of the department heads we talked to at one primary school wanted English MOI to be introduced earlier, in Grade 5. Meanwhile, however, they admitted that teachers regularly interpret into students' languages or code-switch (i.e. switch back and forth between languages) to compensate for their lack of understanding when lessons are delivered in English.

*Observations:*  As teachers had told us, we observed regular interpretation or code-switching from English to Amharic in the classroom.  We also found that students had difficulty copying English notes from the board, and their notebooks demonstrated that they did not understand what they wrote because words were missing letters and running together, there were many illegible sections, and so on.  For example, a 7th grade student's physics notebook read:

> We study Physics because it enables us to: 1. Toga in an understanding of… 3. understand princaPles… 4.  Do a ctirtie s to for mulate and to… 5. becamia ware of varity…

In this context, the plasma lessons we observed (to which this and other students will be exposed within two years) are nearly impossible for students to understand.  For example, we observed a Grade 9 plasma lesson where no one (including a member of our team) could take down the notes at the speed required by the plasma timer.  Attempting to help the students, the live teacher was talking more slowly than the plasma teacher and both voices became difficult to hear and therefore difficult to understand.

*Analysis:* Though we only observed in two primary schools and one secondary, because of their large numbers of students who speak languages other than Amharic as the mother tongue, it was puzzling that no one mentioned what happens to children whose mother tongues are not Amharic. The assumption appears to be that city children are exposed to Amharic and can acquire it readily even if it is not spoken in the home. This may or may not be true, and the matter may need to be investigated further.

Addis Ababa is undoubtedly a point of reference for much of Ethiopia, so the clear difference between the city and national policy is striking and sends a message of "do as we say, not as we do."  Like the Harari and Amhara regions, Addis Ababa has introduced English in Grades 7 and 8, in absence of the research and preparation that should precede this type of change, as it is inconsistent with federal policy.  It is interesting to note that REB officials and a TTC dean felt that ELIP is not enough even in Addis to reach the aspired level of English for teaching and learning. We also learned that having to write assignments in English is such a challenge for teacher trainees that they may resort to plagiarism by downloading material from the internet, making it difficult for instructors to assess trainees' true   performance. One experienced teacher trainer offered his analysis, that in recent years, teacher trainees "passed through the college untouched" by which he meant that they did not learn very much, and certainly left unprepared for the responsibility of classroom teaching.

Some might argue that the difficulty of using English as MOI is at least partially compensated for by the availability of supplementary educational materials in the stores, though it is unlikely that many students and teachers can afford to buy these.  It is possible that some students and teachers have more exposure to English communication than in the regions, but again it is unlikely that this benefits more than a small minority.  Although code switching is commonplace in both schools and teacher training institutions, the logical use of bilingual methodologies, to systematise this process has not yet been considered.

### 5.1.2 DIRE DAWA (city administration)

*City administration policy/practice:* Dire Dawa offers primary schooling from Grades 1 to 6 in Amharic, Afan Oromo and Somali.  English becomes the MOI for all subjects except Civics in Grades 7 and 8, while Civics is offered in Amharic or Afan Oromo.

Dire Dawa city model:

| Language | ...used as MOI | ...taught as a subject |
|---|---|---|
| Mother tongue (L1):<br>Amharic<br>Af.Oromo<br>Somali | 1-6 all subjects,<br>7-8 Civics only | 1-8 for MT speakers |
| Amharic (L2) | --- | 3-8 for speakers of Af.Oromo/Somali |
| English (FL) | 7-8 all subjects except Civics | 1-8 |

*Consistency with MOE policy directives*: The Dire Dawa city practice is consistent with MOE policy up to Grade 6, but has adopted English as MOI for most subjects in Grades 7 and 8, which is not consistent with MOE policy.  There is no government teacher training in Dire Dawa, but the private colleges offer certificate programmes through Amharic and diploma programmes through English, i.e. there is some mismatch between the language of training and the MOI in lower and upper primary.

*Analysis:*  We were not able to visit Dire Dawa, nor did we receive the data requested by fax in October, but members of the bureau who attended the workshop informed us of their policies and practices with regard to Afan Oromo and Somali.  We were also told that Afan Oromo is used at about 28 ABE centres, and that of the 59 government primary schools under the bureau's responsibility, 39 are in rural areas.  It appears that the bureau is attempting to use children's mother tongues as much as possible, so the only concern would be their having adopted English as MOI for most subjects in Grades 7-8, as in quite a few other regions.

### 5.1.3 AFAR REGION

*Regional policy/practice:* Amharic is the only MOI used in Afar region from Grades 1 through 6. Afar is taught as a subject from Grade 1.  Beginning at Grade 7, the MOI for all subjects becomes English.

Afar region model:

| Language | ...used as MOI | ...taught as a subject |
|---|---|---|
| Mother tongue (L1):<br>Afar | --- | 1-4 |
| Amharic (L2) | 1-6 | 1-8 |
| English (FL) | 7-8 | 1-8 |

*Consistency with MOE policy*:   This regional policy is only consistent with MOE directives for speakers of Amharic; speakers of Afar (the seventh largest language community in Ethiopia) are not able to learn through the mother tongue.  There is at least an opportunity for Afar speakers to learn their language as a subject from Grades 1 to 4.  We did learn that Afar medium is being used for ABE (Alternative Basic Education), so ABE is more consistent with the federal directives than regular regional schools.  We also learned at the workshop that the REB wishes to implement Afar schooling from Grades 1 through 8 but needs to prepare the curriculum based on MoE policy.  We were told that there is a relatively recently formed institute known as the Afar Language Studies and Enrichment Centre, which may be a good resource for the region.

*Reasoning and attitudes:* The general sentiment from Afar speakers seemed to be that Afar should be MOI in the 1st cycle of primary instead of Amharic, but that English should be MOI in the 2nd cycle.  At an urban secondary school serving speakers of Afar (about 50%), Wolaita, Afan Oromo and Amharic, we talked to a group of ten students who said that 6 years of English as a subject do not prepare them for English MOI Grade 7; they suggested starting English from Grade 5 or putting stronger emphasis on English teaching as a subject.  Five of these students who were Afar native speakers suggested that Afar be used as MOI from Grades 1 to 4 instead of Amharic, and a sixth wanted Afar to be MOI through Grade 8 for better understanding. They also suggested that Afar be taught as a subject in higher grade levels, i.e. beyond Grade 4, and that Amharic be given as a subject only. They said they use different languages at home but have no problem using Amharic.

We also talked to three representatives of the Girls' Club who were speakers of different languages but supported Afar for 1st cycle primary schooling. They told us they had submitted a proposal for a rural community development project to teach Afar literacy to community members.

We visited a rural community whose new school was recently opened, and learned that community members are asking for evening classes to learn (in order of priority) Afar, Amharic, mathematics, civics and English.  For their children all suggestions involved using the mother tongue: "Afar and then English," "Afar Grades 1 to 4 and English from Grade 5," or even "Afar and English medium [bilingual] to the end of school."

*Observations:* We were only able to observe secondary classes and these confirmed what the students said about having difficulty understanding the English MOI, especially from the plasma teachers.  Our review of random students' notebooks confirmed that copying of notes does not mean understanding; for example, a sentence from a Grade 11 student's notes on Business read: "Suppose one after noon on you was to school you foot hungry it you have resource many you head…" Regarding plasma lessons, one secondary teacher we interviewed said that their school runs plasma in the morning but teacher-taught classes in the afternoon (which is paid for by parents), and even though teachers give extra tutoring on the weekends to both groups, last year's assessment results were much higher for the afternoon shift.

*Analysis:*  We were not able to observe any primary classes taught through Amharic, but we are concerned that it may be used as if it is all students' mother tongue.  Some secondary students told us they could use Amharic but that it could be a problem at the primary level, since most speak Afar as a mother tongue.

We were told that one challenge to providing MT medium schooling is lack of trained educators who are competent in oral and written Afar, but we did meet Afar speaking teachers so there are human resources to build on.  In addition, the existence of ABE in Afar means that the region could adapt ABE materials for use with 1st cycle primary students as a beginning.


## 5.1.4  AMHARA REGION

*Regional policy/practice:* Until recently, the Amhara region was using Amharic as MOI through Grade 8 for Amharic L1 speakers.  According to REB officials, two years ago they gave in to perceived parent pressure to bring English medium instruction into Grades 7 and 8. Because many educators defended the mother tongue, a compromise was reached that English would become MOI only for physics, chemistry, biology and mathematics, while Amharic would remain MOI for all other content areas.  Last year (2005/06) this policy was put into practice in Grade 7, and this year (2006/07) it has begun in Grade 8.

To our knowledge there are two other mother tongues used in Amhara region.  For speakers of Awingi, we understand that the mother tongue is used as MOI up to Grade 6, with a switch to Amharic and English as MOI for Grades 7 and 8.  For speakers of Afan Oromo, the mother tongue is MOI in Grades 1-8, following the model of Oromiya Region.  It may be noted that Amharic mother tongue speakers are the only ones in the country who do not learn another Ethiopian language; all other speakers learn Amharic as their second and national language.

For primary teacher training in the 1st cycle, training has been done only through Amharic until this year (2006/07), but we understand that Awingi is about to become the MOI of training at Debre Markos TTC; there may be plans for other languages at other TTCs but were not able to verify this. The MOI of 2nd cycle training is English.

Amhara region model:

| Language | …used as MOI | …taught as a subject |
|---|---|---|
| Mother tongue (L1):<br>  Amharic | 1-6 all subjects, 7-8 all subjects except physics, chemistry, biology and mathematics | 1-8 |
|   Awingi | 1-6 | 1-6 |
|   Afan Oromo<br>  Hamittena | 1-8 | 1-8 |
| Any Ethiopian language (L2)? | --- | No L2 for Amharic speakers<br>Amharic for:<br>  Awingi & Hamittena speakers: 3-8<br>  Af.Oromo speakers: 5-8 |
| English (FL) | 7-8 physics, chemistry, biology, mathematics | 1-8 |

*Consistency with MOE policy:* The regional practice of mother tongue MOI Grades 1-8 for Afan Oromo speakers is consistent with federal policy. However, the new policy for Amharic, Awingi and

Hamittena speakers that brings English medium into Grades 7 and 8 for some subjects is less consistent with the policy.  When it comes to teacher training, the regional policy for 1st cycle (certificate) training is consistent for speakers of Amharic and presumably for speakers of the other languages as well.  For 2nd cycle teacher training, however, regional policy is inconsistent because the MOI was changed to English in 2005/06 despite the fact that the mother tongue is MOI for all 2nd cycle subjects except the sciences and mathematics in Grades 7 and 8 for speakers of Amhara and Awingi.

*Reasoning and attitudes:* We were told by REB and TTC officials that the Grade 7-8 policy was changed after public debate, during which many educators defended the use of mother tongue to the end of primary schooling for understanding of content. Parents (particularly, the elite), however, were anxious for English to begin earlier because it becomes the medium of all instruction in Grade 9.  Reference was made to Addis Ababa, where English has recently been made MOI for Grades 7-8, and (mistakenly) to Tigray region (which has not in fact adopted English at this level; see below).  None of those interviewed were aware of any studies done on what parents want in terms of the mother tongue or how the change might impact on  student performance at upper primary levels.  An official statement of the Amhara Regional Cabinet (2005) read: "Although we believe that using the mother tongue is correct and appropriate, because there are pressures from society we are forced to use English and Amharic in Grades 7 and 8" (our translation).

From what we learned, some teachers regret the decision to bring English into upper primary schooling. For example, a cluster school supervisor told us that Grade 7-8 teachers wish they were teaching through Amharic again because they are finding it difficult to teach through English (which was verified by our observations).  Further, when we asked some rural parents in Tis Abay if they would like their children to learn in English or Amharic and at which levels, their response was "whatever is best for the students."

To explore the teacher training issue, we asked TTC and REB educators why the 2nd cycle MOI was changed to English when teachers use the mother tongue for all subjects in Grades 5-6 and all except mathematics and sciences in Grades 7-8.  One answer was that the syllabi come from Addis in English; another answer was that they thought English would be the most challenging aspect of the policy to implement because of teacher competence, so they chose English for all 2nd cycle training.  At the TTC the following was admitted: "Since we changed to English [last year], students find it very difficult to express themselves and they are not confident… so the participation of students is limited and decreasing."  There is at least one course in the diploma programme called "Teaching stream subjects" where the MOI is English but trainees can plan lessons and special projects in the appropriate languages, i.e. the languages they will be using in the classroom.

We tried to explore the possibility of Amharic speakers learning another Ethiopian language, but the immediate response was "which language", demonstrating a concern that they would be forced to learn a particular language.  The concept of offering optional language study in another Ethiopian language seemed difficult for respondents to imagine, though one policymaker mentioned a couple of widely spoken languages and said that they would be useful for work at the grassroots level.

*Observations:* From our school observations, one of the most pressing issues in the region is the lack of materials, particularly at the upper primary level, where neither rural nor urban schools had student books (except one for the teacher) in most subjects. The new regional decision bringing English into Grades 7-8 requires mathematics and science textbooks written in English but there are none to date. Teachers told us they were using an outline from the region, translating the old materials from Amharic to English, and/or using their own (English language) reference materials purchased in Addis. It appears that this lack of materials might be traced back to the Bureau and the fact that there is no curriculum department. When we asked we were told that they do not need a curriculum department because they get their materials from Addis. At the workshop this was corrected, however; we were told that the syllabus comes from Addis but is translated into the region's languages at the TTCs, i.e. the TTCs prepare the curriculum for the region.

There was one interesting practice that we observed in an urban primary school, where a local surplus of diploma holders has allowed the school to organize specialist English teachers (those with particular interest or qualifications) for the lower primary grades to relieve the self-contained teachers for that subject. However, this does not seem to be a widespread practice in the region due to budget limitations.

*Analysis:* There are some issues of concern in the Amhara region. First, three different people with whom we spoke (two post-primary educators and a policy maker) appear to have misunderstood the new Grade 7-8 policy, telling us that English is the MOI for *all* subjects in Grades 7-8. While people at the Bureau feel the policy is clear, the fact that the same notion was expressed by a secondary teacher and a teacher educator made us wonder how well it is understood. Another issue of concern is that the policy seems to have been changed before materials could be prepared, which has put both students and teachers in the difficult position of having little support for Mathematics/Science content or for the English needed to teach and learn that content. We were concerned that the REB lacks a curriculum department, but there seems to be a system in place where the TTCs develop the curriculum; it would be interesting to know how this is functioning relative to the other regions. Finally, we have noted an apparent lack of interest in or awareness about learning another Ethiopian language, which would have the potential to promote understanding of other Ethiopians and interest in Ethiopia outside the region.

## 5.1.5  BENISHANGUL GUMUZ REGION

*Regional policy/practice:* Although we were not able to visit the Benishangul region, we did talk to a few people about the situation there and had access to some yet unpublished research findings on languages in education there. As in the Afar region, which shares the distinction of having the lowest student assessment performance in the country, there is no mother tongue education yet in government primary schools. However, in non-formal education (NFE) and some religious schools there is MT use, and language specialists have told us from SIL (Summer Institute of Linguistics), a faith-based NGO, that the REB is very interested in developing MT models for primary level in the region.

Benishangul Gumuz region model:

| Language | …used as MOI | …taught as a subject |
|---|---|---|
| Mother tongue (L1): Amharic (no MT yet for others) | 1-6 --- | 1-8 --- |
| Amharic (L2) | 1-6 | 1-8 |
| English (FL) | 7-8 | 1-8 |

*Consistency with MOE policy*:  The policy in this region is not consistent with MOE directives for speakers of any language.  The Amharic speakers, who make up approximately 20% of the population of the region, get mother tongue instruction for 6 years instead of 8.  Speakers of other languages (Jablawi/Berta, Gumuz, Afan Oromo, Shinasha and others) must learn through the national language as if it is their mother tongue (instead of learning Amharic as a second language) and then through English, which is inconsistent in both cases with federal policy.

*Reasoning and attitudes:* We have been told that the difficulties are due to "capacity limitations" in terms of teachers and curriculum developers.  However, we were assured that the REB and regional government are "highly committed" to implementing the mother tongue policy and intend to provide mother tongue instruction in Grades 1 to 4 in Berta, Gumuz, Shinasha and one other language.  With the support of SIL, a faith-based NGO, studies have been conducted on the four languages, new, Latin-based writing systems have been agreed, 30 teachers who are native speakers have been trained in the writing systems, and a series of awareness-raising workshops has been conducted.  The languages are being tested as MOI in 11 primary schools of the region. Budget support is urgently needed for teacher training and for textbook preparation and printing. The REB is reportedly taking two measures related to teacher education: one, limiting admission to the certificate (10+1) teacher training programme at the TTC to mother tongue speakers of these three languages; and two, upgrading ABE facilitators to certificate level.

## 5.1.6  GAMBELLA REGION

*Regional policy/practice:* In Gambella region there are three languages used as MOI in the 1st cycle of primary schooling: Nuer, Anguak and Mezhenger. English becomes the MOI as of Grade 5, and the teacher training matches this, i.e. 1st cycle primary teachers are trained in one of the three local languages and 2nd cycle primary teachers are trained in English.  Those from outside Gambella attend either Nuer or Anguak medium schools.

Gambella region model:

| Language | …used as MOI | …taught as a subject |
|---|---|---|
| Mother tongue (L1): Nuer Anguak | 1-4 | 1-10 |
| Mother tongue (L1) Mesenger | 1-4 | 1-8 |
| Amharic (L2) | --- | 3-8 |
| English (FL) | 5-8 | 1-8 |

*Consistency with MOE policy directives*:  Because the Gambella regional policy does not allow for mother tongue as MOI in the 2nd cycle, it diverges considerably from the MOE directives. The change to English as MOI at Grade 5 allows for only four years of English study as a subject, which is unlikely to prepare students for academic use of English unless, as some claim, students are exposed to English outside the classroom; their English competence would need to be tested to confirm the claim.  The MOI of 2nd cycle teacher training does match the MOI of 2nd cycle primary schooling because both are English, although this does not represent the intent of federal policy.

*Reasoning and attitudes:* According to REB officials, if regional governments have the right to decide on the MOI, then the model currently in place in Gambella should continue because people are happy with it. The main reason we were given for beginning English MOI at Grade 5 is to better prepare students for English MOI at the secondary level, a reason echoed by local language specialists and public officials including representatives of the Women's Bureau.  Another reason given by school directors was that there is a shortage of teachers who speak the local languages as well as a shortage of materials.  (According to the REB, this shortage of 1st cycle teachers who speak Nuer and Anguak was relieved at the end of November by the graduation of "more students than needed." It was not explained how schools will compensate for the part of the curriculum which students have missed since the beginning of the year.)

Most teachers appear to agree with the current policy, saying that by the time students reach Grade 9, they will have "no problem" learning all subjects in English.  No one claimed to have evidence that this is so; rather it seems to be a generalised hope.  According to REB officials, Amharic was used as a MOI at the primary level for more than half a century, but even then it was difficult for students to deal with the English medium at the secondary level. One REB educator told us that he disagrees with the current policy, and feels the best MOI for Grades 1 to 6 would be the mother tongue because children understand better when they are taught in their mother tongue. However, he felt that English should become the MOI at Grade 7 because students face a shortage of reference materials in the mother tongue.

According to TTC educators who speak local languages, students were forced to learn in Amharic in the past, but the problem was that there are "too many letters" in Amharic that do not represent sounds in Nuer and Anguak.  It was reported that current forms of writing these languages use appropriate letters to represent their sounds so that students "do not have any psychological problem" and can easily understand lessons given in the MT.  These TTC educators said that parents are very happy about the new curriculum and about the use of Nuer and Anguak as MOI in Grades 1-4.  This would seem to lend support for mother tongue as MOI up to at least Grade 6, yet there was strong opposition on the part of some native speakers, the reason being that students might have difficulty in the future (at Grade 9). The TTC staff members we interviewed felt that the "language problem" at Grade 9 should be dealt with by beginning English MOI in the 2nd cycle of primary schooling.

A similar ambivalence was found at the primary school level. While teachers reported that students have problems understanding lessons in English in Grade 5 and "a lot of hard work is required" at that level, two school directors said they wished that English could be used as MOI from Grade 1 with the mother tongue taught only as a subject, to prepare students as private schools do for the level of English required by secondary education.

In reference to policies in other regions, representatives of the Women's Affairs Bureau said they felt that the problem in some other regions is that students learn in mother tongue from Grades 1 to 8 and then find it difficult to cope with the English medium when they reach Grade 9. They added, "Whether we like it or not, the world is becoming one" and therefore students should learn English.

*Practices observed:* In Gambella it appears that one issue affecting mother tongue instruction at the lower primary level is a shortage of teachers who are native speakers of Nuer and Anguak. Teachers who do not know the language of instruction very well reportedly use Amharic. This shortage appears to be caused by the greater opportunities for Nuer and Anguak speaking teachers to get better positions, e.g. at offices in the regional administration, often after only a year of teaching. This is apparently a problem at the teacher training level as well, making the training of native speakers difficult and depriving non-native speakers of any exposure to Nuer and Anguak, the languages to be used as MOI in the schools where they will teach upon graduation. (We do not know how many non-native speakers are in teacher training programmes, but obviously it is best to recruit native speakers and those who are highly competent already, as TTC programmes do not offer additional language training.)

Another issue discussed by informants is the lack of mother tongue education for students who do not speak Nuer and Anguak because their families migrated to Gambella from other regions. Thus far they must learn through one of the local languages, but two primary principals mentioned that parents and teachers have been "complaining" but it is beyond their capacity to find a solution. They have requested help at regional meetings but so far no response has been given. It is their impression that most non-locals are sending their children at great expense to private English medium schools, where students are believed to gain better English language ability.

A final issue that was raised concerns the level of Amharic learned by primary students. Despite the fact that (as mentioned above) many teachers are non-native speakers of Nuer and Anguak and prefer to use Amharic, students reportedly, find it difficult to read in Amharic even at Grades 5 and 6. This may reflect inadequate teaching methodology for Amharic as a subject, but in addition, there may be differences in student attitudes. For example, it was reported that Anguak speaking students had little problem expressing themselves in Amharic, while Nuer speaking students had a more positive attitude toward speaking English. In fact, Nuer speaking students we observed in upper primary seemed to speak relatively better English than we observed among other students or in other regions, and the same could be said for teachers.

*Analysis*: One effective practice is that language competence in Nuer, Anguak or Meshenger is not only a requirement for teaching in the appropriate schools; it is also a requirement for being trained at the TTCs. It appears that some effort on the part of the REB and TTCs is being put into recruiting and training more native speakers of these languages, despite the difficulty in keeping qualified teachers in their positions. The problem of losing Nuer and Anguak speaking teachers to other posts demonstrates that there is a demand for their language skills, but it also means that it may be difficult to retain trained teachers. However, we were told at the workshop that there is no shortage of teachers who are native speakers, so it seems that the supply meets the demand. A positive development in Gambella is that despite Nuer, Anguak and Mesenger being languages spoken by small minorities, the languages have been developed as subjects to the end of primary and into secondary in two cases. This serves as an example to other regions where languages with larger numbers of speakers have not yet been developed this far.

As in other regions, the attitudes expressed in this region clearly reflect people's concern that students learn adequate English to prepare them for successful secondary schooling. However, it seems that there is still an understanding that the mother tongue is useful for teaching and learning, as evidenced not only by Nuer and Anguak supporters but also by the speakers of other languages who are demanding mother tongue schooling.

## 5.1.7 HARARI REGION

*Regional policy/practice:* Three mother tongues—Harari, Afan Oromo and Amharic—are used as MOI in the Harari region from Grades 1 to 6. For Grades 7 and 8 the MOI is English for Sciences and Mathematics and mother tongue for the other content areas. For primary teacher training in the 1st cycle there are three different streams for the three MOI, but for 2nd cycle teacher training the only MOI is English.

Harari region model:

| Language | ...used as MOI | ...taught as a subject |
|---|---|---|
| Mother tongue (L1):<br>    Harari<br>    Amharic<br>    Afan Oromo | 1-6 all subjects, 7-8 all subjects except physics, chemistry, biology and mathematics | 1-8 |
| Amharic (L2) | --- | 3-8 |
| English (FL) | 7-8 physics, chemistry, biology and mathematics | 1-8 |

*Consistency with MOE policy*: The language education practices in Harari region primary schools are consistent with policy to the end of Grade 6. Since English takes over as MOI for physics, chemistry, biology and mathematics in Grades 7 and 8, the Harari regional policy is not entirely consistent with federal policy in the last two years of primary. When it comes to teacher training, the 1st cycle MOI matches the three mother tongues used as MOI in the lower primary and complies with MOE policy, but as in other regions there is a mismatch of MOI for 2nd cycle training and the MOI in upper primary school for all.

*Reasoning and attitudes:* In this region there seems to be consensus between educators and teachers that primary schooling should be in the mother tongue. The majority (19 of 23) of teachers and teacher trainers who completed our questionnaires said that students are only ready to use English by Grades 7-8 and not earlier, i.e. they support the current regional policy. REB officials expressed their strong belief that a change to English at Grade 7 is better rather than a change at Grade 9; they told us that students who learn only in the MT to Grade 8 do not have enough English to take the Grade 10 examinations. When we asked for evidence that MT learners perform less well than those who switch to English sooner, they were not able to present any, but suggested that more research be conducted. (See section 5.2 on assessment for evidence to the contrary, i.e. that stronger mother tongue programmes tend to get better results.)

Regarding the contradiction between MOI in 2nd cycle teacher training and the MOI at the upper primary, REB and TTC educators explained that the region is saturated with teachers. Apparently, many of those who register at the college are not expecting to teach in Harari region but are more likely to go to Afan Oromo or Amharic speaking areas to teach. They also said that the English medium is necessary for student teachers to read and use reference material which is only available in English, including materials on teaching methodology. Finally, they said that offering diploma level training in English fulfils teachers' aspirations of upgrading their skills. Having said this, TTC teachers also told us that to be sure their trainees have understood lessons well, it is necessary to explain in the mother tongue (Harari/Afan Oromo/Amharic). We also learned that having to write assignments in English is such a challenge for teacher trainees that they may resort to plagiarism by downloading material from the internet, making it difficult for instructors to assess trainees' true performance. Of serious concern was information volunteered and then confirmed several informants that the communicative language teaching methodology introduced during the ELIP training had been misinterpreted by teachers and teacher trainers. They now believed that they had been empowered to use 'broken English' when teaching English as a subject and when using it as a medium of instruction.

*Observations:* Of all the classes we observed in Ethiopia, those in the Harari region appeared to have the best student : teacher ratio. REB officials told us the average there is 30:1. This has to do with what the REB officials call an over-supply of teachers. Apparently each self-contained class in primary cycle 1 has 1, 5 teachers, i.e. one teacher and an assistant shared with another class. The assistant teacher is specifically required to assist with reading and writing development, including English as a subject. The REB reported that class size in the region does not go above 50, which is also relatively low.

It is interesting to note that students in this region may be exposed to a variety of Ethiopian languages. A 1st cycle teacher in a Harari medium school told us that his students are trilingual in Harari, Afan Oromo and Amharic. If they do not understand his lesson in one of the languages he switches to another, and if the message is not yet clear he uses the third. This represents a constructive solution to teaching and learning in a multilingual context, and offers opportunities to explore other options for managing multilingual teaching and learning situations.

One effective practice that we observed at one urban school is the use of two languages as MOI on a shift basis, e.g. organizing students by mother tongue. (This is also done in Somali region; see below.)

*Analysis:* It is unfortunate that regional policymaking has apparently been done without research on whether or not an earlier shift to English would help students do better at the secondary level. Apparently, some parents already believe that earlier English MOI is better. We learned that people are moving their children from Oromiya region to Harari region so that their children can learn in MT but also begin English MOI in Grade 7. According to one school director, 150 of the 520 students in Grades 7 and 8 have come from outside the region because the English medium starts at Grade 7.

## 5.1.8 OROMIYA REGION

*Regional policy/practice:* Afan Oromo is used as MOI from Grades 1 to 8 and in the training of teachers for both primary cycles. Amharic is taught as a subject from Grade 5. Teacher training for both 1st and 2nd cycle teachers is done through the medium of Afan Oromo (or Amharic, the latter stream for speakers of Amharic as a mother tongue).

Oromiya region model:

| Language | Medium of instruction | Subject of study |
|---|---|---|
| Mother tongue (L1) | 1-8 | 1-8 |
| Amharic (L2) | --- | 5-8 |
| English (FL) | --- | 1-8 |

*Consistency with MOE policy*: Educational language practice in Oromiya region is entirely consistent with the national policy in both cycles of primary schooling and in all teacher training. This region begins the study of Amharic as a subject at Grade 5, which is later than in most regions, but it is still consistent with federal policy requiring study of the national language during primary schooling.

Like the teaching of Amharic to students speaking other languages, Afan Oromo is apparently taught as a subject to all students in the region. This is consistent with MOE policy (as well as with international cases like Nigeria and India where regional or state languages also known as "languages of the environment" are required second languages for residents).

*Reasoning and attitudes:* According to a research report done by the Oromiya Education Bureau (OEB, August 2005) Afan Oromo became the official language of the region and MOI for primary Grades 1-4 in 1992; the next year its use as MOI was extended to the end of Grade 8. The report made a number of evidence-based arguments, among them these two:

    1. The use of Afan Oromo as MOI from Grades 1 to 8 is causing no problems; on the
    contrary, it is very important to ensuring the quality of education.
    2. English language proficiency is weak even though English is taught as a subject from
    Grade 1. This is true even where English is the MOI for Grades 7 and 8. The problems are
    teacher competence and methodology, not the mother tongue.

In a focus group discussion we had with REB representatives, all stressed the need to use Afan Oromo as MOI even beyond Grade 8, because they have seen that students participate actively in class discussions and learn better through the mother tongue. They feel that Afan Oromo could be used at higher levels because there are general reference materials available such as dictionaries and glossaries, an opinion that was echoed in the report, which had surveyed 8 of the 11 zones in the region. Officials we talked to in one zone supported this view and mentioned the experience of countries like Russia, Japan, Germany and Sweden in using their own languages and not English to develop. We heard this again from a TTC vice dean, who added other justifications of mother tongue use: pedagogical, rights-based, and in the case of Afan Oromo, the fact that it is spoken by 30 million people. He added, "We don't need research—we witness that students are very good in Afan Oromo classes and poor in English—there is a big difference."

Regarding English, REB educators supported the current model of studying English as a subject, saying that if appropriate methodology could be used students would have sufficient English by secondary level.  This does not appear to be the case now, as a woreda official told us students are finding the transition to English MOI in Grade 9 very difficult, and this is putting pressure on policymakers to begin English as MOI some time during primary schooling.  The same woreda official felt that earlier use of English as MOI was justified to allow for student mobility and shortage of books written in the mother tongue.  The idea of promoting English learning by making it MOI was echoed by two different groups of parents we talked to, who said their children found it difficult to cope with the English medium by the time they reached Grade 9. The repetition and failure rate because of this is very high, they said, and in the current system their children have only two years in English as a MOI before they sit for the national exam; their suggestion was to introduce English MOI in Grade 7.  (Note that this perception is not based on evidence;  REB officials told us at the workshop that their study indicates that repetition and dropout rates decreased dramatically as a result of using Afan Oromo as MOI.)  Some student groups we talked to supported Afan Oromo as MOI while others wanted English medium in the 2nd cycle, so there are definitely mixed feelings about this in this region despite relatively strong support for the mother tongue.

The regional policy of teaching Amharic starting at Grade 5 (rather than at Grade 3, which is done in most other regions) has also been a topic of debate.  In a focus group discussion with rural primary teachers, we were told that they supported Afan Oromo to the end of Grade 8 but would suggest beginning Amharic study earlier to facilitate learning.  However, REB educators support the current policy, saying that the differences in script are best learned once students have consolidated skills in Afan Oromo.

Regarding 2nd cycle teacher training, one REB educator was concerned that some instructors may mix Afan Oromo with Amharic, where it would be better to give all content and methodology courses in competent Afan Oromo. At one TTC we learned that the REB and the six TTCs of the region work together to prepare materials, especially modules translated and "refined" based on the materials received in English from the Ministry. According to a TTC dean, their selection criteria are: performance at the secondary level, national exam results (tested using English), results on "our own aptitude test" (in mathematics, English & other subjects), Afan Oromo competence, and finally results of an interview in Afan Oromo. There are special admission requirements for women to achieve a female: male ratio of 50:50.

As in other parts of the country, training of teachers for primary 1st cycle has been taken over by private TTCs, and we visited one in the region.  This private TTC, which trains both certificate and diploma-level teachers using Afan Oromo as MOI, appeared to be in close touch with the REB and other TTCs.  It had a well-equipped library full of books for primary Grades 1 through 8 written in Afan Oromo; in fact, we saw more books (and photocopies of the books) at this library than we had seen in the schools.

*Observations:* In the Afan Oromo medium classes we observed, students were eager to give answers to questions asked by the teachers. Most of the classes were very interactive and students did not have problem reading from their books or answering questions correctly.  In one Grade 1 mathematics class we observed, students had been asked to make numbers out of cardboard and the teacher was discussing the activity with them.  One boy raised his hand and asked her if the numbers could have been made out of straw instead of cardboard.  This type of

thinking and sharing is clearly made possible by use of a language in which students and teachers are competent.

*Analysis:* Starting Amharic as a subject at Grade 5 may seem late in comparison with other regions, but MOE policy does not state a grade level and the region has justified its decision by citing the need to consolidate mother tongue literacy.  There are significant differences between Afan Oromo and Amharic, in terms of both linguistic distance and Latin vs. Ethiopian writing systems, which might lend support to an earlier start; we were told that when children move to other areas, they are placed in Grade 1 or Grade 3-- lower than their true grade levels-- because of their limited competence in Amharic. Like English, however, the issue may be one of using more appropriate methodology rather than of changing the timing.

## 5.1.9  SNNPR REGION

*Regional policy/practice:* In the South the mother tongues of many groups are used as MOI but only in the 1st cycle of primary education. The languages used in lower primary are listed alphabetically in the model below. For the 2nd cycle, only English is used as MOI, but students whose mother tongues are Amharic, Gedeo, Gofa, Hadiya, Kembata, Korete and Sidama study their languages as subjects through Grade 8. (Please note that there may be some discrepancies in the names of languages.)

SNNPR region model:

| Language | …used as MOI | …taught as a subject |
|---|---|---|
| Mother tongue (L1):<br>Amharic*<br>Dawro*<br>Gamo*<br>Gedeofa*<br>Gofa*<br>Hadiya*<br>Kabena<br>Kafinono*<br>Kembata*<br>Kontigna*<br>Korete*<br>Sidama*<br>Silti<br>Wolaita* | All are used as MOI<br>Grades 1-4 | All languages marked with * are taught as subject in Grades 1-8;<br>Silti – Grades 1-4 |
| Amharic (L2) | --- | 3-8 |
| English (FL) | 5-8 | 1-8 |

*Consistency with MOE policy:*  The practice in SNNPR does not allow for mother tongue as MOI in the 2nd cycle, meaning that it is not consistent with MOE policy, though speakers of most languages are able to study the mother tongue as a subject throughout their primary schooling. Like in Gambella, the shift to English as MOI at Grade 5 is probably too soon for students to understand the academic content; and unlike Gambella, there is little indication that students are

exposed to English outside the classroom.  The MOI of 2ⁿᵈ cycle teacher training does match the MOI of 2ⁿᵈ cycle primary schooling because both are English, but this does not represent the intent of federal policy. There has been a recent change to earlier English medium in Arba Minch Teacher Training College.

*Reasoning and attitudes:*   According to a TTC official, the regional model was decided by politicians and has no basis in research. Another reason given was the difficulty in recruiting 2ⁿᵈ cycle teacher trainees from all of the necessary language groups, though this does not explain why English was chosen instead of taking at least the existing language speakers.  We learned at the zonal office that the TTCs do train enough speakers of at least some of the languages (including Gamo, Gofa and Wolaita) at the diploma level, although there is reportedly a shortage of teachers who speak Sidama.  However, this argument was also mentioned by REB educators, who told us that they sent a report to the SNNPR Administration about two years ago giving the following reasons for choosing English as exclusive MOI for the 2ⁿᵈ cycle:
  - o  There are 56 languages in the region, some mutually intelligible, and 13 are used in schooling.  Many have even been used as MOI through Grade 6, but because others were only used to Grade 4 this was considered "unsystematic".
  - o  Having used English as MOI for diploma training for some time despite the fact that 2ⁿᵈ cycle teaching should have been in the mother tongues, teachers lost competence in using their own languages as MOI.  Therefore they need more training on orthography, as well as the meaning and use of some technical words.
  - o  Lack of trained teachers in some mother tongues Difficulty of providing the second cycle of the primary teachers qualified with diploma and speakers of all the languages used as mediums.
  - o  Lack of financial resources to elaborate, publish and purchase textbooks and educational materials in the local languages, which grow more costly in terms of material and human resources as they are used at higher levels of education. Publishing costs are higher for producing small numbers of materials in many different languages.
  - o  Students, teachers and parents want English as a medium from Grade 5.

From our discussions with teachers in the region, it was apparent that they indeed support the English medium policy.  A group of teachers at a Sidama school told us that parents are happy that their children are learning in their native tongue, but they are also happy that the medium for the second cycle has become only English. According to these teachers, parents believe learning in the mother tongue is economically disadvantageous to their children, and see Amharic-- and better yet English-- as languages that are good for future employment.  Meanwhile, the same teachers admitted that using English as a medium creates problems for student understanding and they must often interpret into the mother tongue.  A large group of teachers at a Wolaita school echoed this sentiment and, when asked why they did not support their own mother tongue, said that they were marginalised by the prior education system and they wanted to have the same access to English as speakers of other languages.

Meanwhile, however, staff at a zonal office told us they are working with REB and TTC experts to develop the languages more. The curriculum development staff in the zone is very busy developing materials along with the woredas; at the zonal office we saw new teachers' guides and student textbooks in progress for environmental science in Gamo and Gofa.  In addition, we learned that they have asked the government for funds to develop Gamo and Gofa materials for study of those

languages as subjects at the secondary level.   Finally, the REB participants in the workshop assured us that the regional policy is not permanent but rather dynamic, and that "as long as inputs are improved, the policy on the MOI can be changed."

*Observations:* We were able to observe rural schools for speakers of Gamo, Wolaita and Sidama. In all schools there were severe shortages of books, and we were told that not enough books could be printed due to budget problems.  An effective practice we encountered is the appropriate placement of teachers based on their mother tongues, which zonal and woreda staff told us was no problem.

*Analysis:* In this region, fear of further marginalization appears to lead to negative attitudes toward people's own languages and overly positive attitudes toward English and Amharic. As a TTC administrator commented, "To be educated used to mean speaking Amharic very well; now it means speaking English, and only those who cannot afford private schooling are sending their children to mother tongue medium schools."  People may also be worried about the quality of schooling for their children, which may be a valid concern given the large class size and lack of learning materials we observed. "The main reason for the declining quality of education in government schools is not the language; it is the method of teaching" said the same TTC administrator, "but parents think it could be the language problem." Teachers and senior school management staff at a secondary school indicated that although the ELIP programme had assisted in improving teachers confidence in speaking English, and even using 'broken English' in the classroom, this confidence had worn off within a few months of the course having been completed.

Another issue of concern is how the region justified removing mother tongues from the 2nd cycle of primary schooling.  Because not all were used up to Grade 6, policymakers thought it was better to replace them all with English.  Using each of the 13 languages up to the level of schooling possible would be more consistent with MOE directives, provide students with more learning opportunities, and contribute toward development of each language to higher levels.

A final issue of concern in the South is that the earlier inconsistency of MOI at the TTC level, i.e. using English for 2nd cycle training, was actually one reason for the region to change the MOI at the upper primary school to English. Teacher training is normally designed to train teachers with appropriate skills and competencies for the school system in which they will work, but in this case, the region allowed a de facto language policy at the college to influence MOI for schoolchildren.


## 5.1.10  SOMALI REGION

*Regional policy/practice:* Two languages are used as MOI in Somali region: Somali for mother tongue speakers and Amharic for those whose mother tongue is not Somali. While the Somali language is the only MOI for Grades 1 to 8, Amharic is used up to Grade 6 for all subjects but in Grades 7-8 is replaced by English for Sciences and Mathematics.  As in some other regions, teacher training for 1st cycle teachers is in the mother tongue, but for 2nd cycle training the MOI is English.

Somali region model:

| Language | ...used as MOI | ...taught as a subject |
|---|---|---|
| Mother tongue (L1): Somali Amharic | 1-8 1-6 all subjects, 7-8 all subjects except physics, chemistry, biology and mathematics | 1-8 |
| Amharic (L2) | --- | 3-8 for Somali speakers |
| English (FL) | 7-8 for physics, chemistry, biology and mathematics for Amharic speaking students | 1-8 |

*Consistency with MOI policy:* For Somali speakers the regional practice is consistent with federal policy because it uses the mother tongue as MOI up to the end of primary education.  However, for Amharic speakers it is not consistent due to early entry of English as MOI for physics, chemistry, biology and mathematics in Grades 7 and 8.  In relation to the MOI used at the TTC level, as in some other regions the divergence from MOI policy comes in the training of 2nd cycle primary teachers, because they will be teaching in mother tongues for all subjects except science and mathematics, but the MOI of their training is English.

*Reasoning and attitudes:* Educators, teachers, and PTA members all expressed support for Somali mother tongue MOI for primary education. As an REB official put it, "In Somali of course it is the constitutional right of everyone to learn through the mother tongue."  According to the same informant, the high dropout rate at the beginning of secondary schooling and other difficulties are caused by the use of English as MOI at Grade 9.

The different policies for Amharic and Somali speakers have caused Somali students to become anxious about learning through English earlier to keep up with their peers. At one school, some students in the Somali medium stream have asked to change to the Amharic stream so that they can learn science and mathematics through English alongside their colleagues. The principal told us this is because English is important for secondary schooling.  He also said that there is a problem at Grade 9 in terms of learner readiness for the English medium, and that this is exacerbated by the use of and reliance on plasma programmes. Another school director mentioned plasma as well, saying that students find it "difficult to adapt" to the plasma lessons. The earlier switch to English is believed by many to be important to help learners understand both school and plasma lessons in English in Grade 9, but no one gave an indication that starting in Grade 7 actually has been found to help.

Our discussion with secondary school PTA members raised two points of discussion common in the region: the language competence of the students and that of the teachers. That PTA includes formally educated parents who, having observed classes, have told the principal that some of the teachers are "no better" than the learners in either the subject matter or in English. The teachers have apparently even admitted this. Most secondary school teachers in Somali do not have the appropriate level of qualification, e.g. they do not have the appropriate university degrees.

We were told that most people prefer English as MOI and, if they are able, send their children to private schools that use English as MOI: "Even some villages have private schools." However, one school principal observed that these private schools teach children "conversational English, and as a result they do not develop strong reading and writing skills." He further argued that in the Grade 10 examinations, most Somali students who have been to regular state schools achieve better results than those students who have been to the private English medium schools.

In a discussion we held with Grade 9 students, we were told that these were the main concerns that affect the quality of their education:
1. The shortage of textbooks.
2. The limited supply of teachers and (at least from the student point of view) the low level of qualification/training of the teachers.
3. The need to enhance student proficiency in English.

*Practices observed:* In this region we both observed and were informed that there are strong PTAs which are continually engaged in discussion with school management about curriculum and other educational issues.  It appears that at least for the Somali speaking community these PTAs support mother tongue schooling, and it would be interesting to know whether or not these groups help keep students from going to Amharic medium streams so that they can begin studying through English in Grades 7-8.

An effective practice that we observed at one urban school is the use of two languages as MOI on a shift basis, e.g. organizing students by mother tongue (as found in Harari region; see above).

*Analysis:* It seems there are two strong but opposing views held by the same people in this region. The first is that of support for mother tongue primary schooling in Somali as a right; the second is that of starting English medium schooling in upper primary to prepare students for secondary schooling.  There may be an advantage to having a relatively homogeneous community of Somali speakers on both sides of the border, though the current conflict would make cooperation highly unlikely.

## 5.1.11  TIGRAY REGION

*Regional policy/practice:* Tigray region uses Tigrinya as MOI for all primary education from Grade 1 to Grade 8. Amharic is taught as a subject as of Grade 3.  Training of 1st cycle teachers is also given through Tigrinya, but the training of 2nd cycle teachers is now done exclusively through English.

Tigray region model:

| Language | …used as MOI | …taught as a subject |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Mother tongue (L1): Tigrinya | 1-8 | 1-8 |
| Amharic (L2) | --- | 3-8 |
| English (FL) | --- | 1-8 |

*Consistency with MOE policy*:   The regional policy for Tigrinya medium primary schooling is completely consistent with federal directives, and the same goes for training of 1st cycle teachers through Tigrinya.  The training of 2nd cycle primary teachers, however, is now the most inconsistent in the country, because English is the MOI, yet graduates will be teaching all subjects in Tigrinya.

*Reasoning and attitudes:* Most of the teachers and educational personnel we interviewed feel that the mother tongue is an appropriate MOI for primary schooling.  This was reiterated by REB staff at the workshop.  Meanwhile, however, many educators we talked to contend that waiting until Grade 9 for English to be used as MOI is becoming a challenge.   We heard two reactions: some suggested that the mother tongue be extended upward into higher levels of study, while most suggested that English become the MOI from Grade 7 so that students would be introduced to it earlier. Regarding actual use of English as a MOI in Grade 9, most reported that students are not able to understand lessons in English, especially the plasma lessons. Their feeling was that the approach to teaching English must be improved.

In relation to the large gap between the MOI of 2nd cycle teacher training and the MOI in upper primary, we were not able to determine who had made the decision for English instead of Tigrinya. Bureau officials were cognizant of the mismatch but reluctant to act on it; indeed, we heard of a disagreement among Bureau officials regarding the appropriate MOI for Special Needs education to be introduced at one of the TTCs.  A discussion with educators at one TTC revealed that although the MOI had been Tigrinya, as of this year the medium for all diploma-training programmes would be English. Again, no one there could tell us who was responsible for the decision; they even admitted that no one had specifically told them to teach through English.  The reason they gave was that the syllabi and curricular materials sent by the ICDR were in English, and that time and lack of budget for the effect prevented their translation into Tigrinya.

One TTC vice dean whom we interviewed admitted that students were not able to understand their training through English. One problem was related to the practicum, when they are assigned to nearby schools and should write portfolios about their experiences.  "Last year the language of portfolios was English and they were very limited, with lots of copying. This year we changed the language of portfolio writing to Tigrinya, and they can express themselves without a problem."  He showed us a number of long, creative looking portfolios written in Tigrinya.

We got another opinion from five 2nd cycle practicum teachers we interviewed at one rural primary school.  They insisted that they were interested in teaching through English despite the fact that they had great difficulty understanding what we asked them and we also had great difficulty grasping what they were saying. When one of us finally switched to Tigrinya they were able to explain why English should be the medium: because it is an international language. Our assessment of student teachers' limited English was confirmed by two school directors, who mentioned that practicum teachers were not confident enough to teach English as a subject even after going through the language programme at the TTC (which focuses on Tigrinya, Amharic and English).

*Practices observed:*  Although 1st cycle primary schools have self-contained classrooms like in the rest of the country, one of the cluster schools that we visited arranged specialist English teachers (based on interest, aptitude and/or training) for Grades 1-3.  According to that school director as well as a zonal education official, they hope this helps students learn English better, but it was still

too early to see results. Furthermore, they informed us that this practice is agreed and being implemented by all of the schools in the cluster.  In another school in a rural woreda the director said they would like to do this but that they did not have the budget to hire the extra teachers that would be necessary.

We heard about effective practices at one of the TTCs we visited, where as mentioned above they changed back to Tigrinya for the writing of portfolios, with much better results.  At the same TTC, student teachers do projects and lesson planning in Tigrinya, since that is the MOI they will use in the schools and their lessons are based on the mother tongue textbooks.

*Analysis:* It seemed to us that teachers' attitudes toward use of the mother tongue as MOI differed depending on the language of their prior education. Teachers and teacher trainers who had learned through Tigrinya as primary students told us they felt comfortable and were competent enough to use the MT as a MOI through upper primary, while those who had gone through Amharic (1-6) and English (7-8) tended to complain that the MT was not developed and did not have adequate scientific terminology.  The latter were more likely to suggest that English should be used for Grades 7 and 8.

Related to this, another issue of concern in this region is the lack of clarity concerning the MOI of 2nd cycle teacher training, i.e. the de facto use of English for training of teachers who will be teaching upper primary through Tigrinya. Considering the fact that the teacher trainers have different backgrounds in Tigrinya and different ideas about expressing academic concepts in the mother tongue, there is a possibility that training will continue to be in English, which could have a negative effect on mother tongue teaching at the 2nd cycle of primary schooling.


## 5.2 National assessment results and quality implications

"Cognizant of the pedagogical advantage of the child in learning in mother tongue" the 1994 Education and Training Policy stipulates that the medium of instruction for primary education Grades 1-8 will be nationality languages. In implementing this policy different models of language use in education are employed in the different regions of the country. Most of the regions employ the respective nationality languages or widely used familiar Ethiopian languages as MOI for the 1st cycle of primary education. However, for the 2nd cycle different models of shift or entry into the English medium are practiced. This section focuses on the following key questions:

- To what extent does the use of the mother tongue versus English as MOI affect students' overall achievement?
- To what extent does the use of English versus the mother tongue as MOI contribute to students' achievement in English?

In order to answer these questions, the Grade 8 Assessment results from 2000 and 2004 will be examined.  These assessments have been conducted by the National Organization for Examinations (NOE) of the Ministry of Education in collaboration with USAID.  With the help of senior MoE officials we made great effort to get the 2006 Grade 8 Pilot Assessment results as well, but unfortunately they have not yet been assembled in a form that can be analysed.  A key NOE

official told us that the trends are the same, so we are reasonably confident that the indications given here continue to apply to student achievement across the country.

Table 5.2.1: Year 2000 Grade 8 achievement scores across regions

| Regional State | Medium of Instruction | Sample Number | English score | Math score | Biology score | Chemistry score |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tigray | Tigrinya | 390 | 39% | 45% | 56% | 47% |
| Amhara | Amharic | 580 | 34% | 44% | 61% | 45% |
| Oromiya | Oromifa | 598 | 39% | 40% | 56% | 45% |
| Harar | English | 372 | 45% | 40% | 48% | 43% |
| Addis Ababa | English | 548 | 46% | 39% | 44% | 40% |
| B. Gumuz | English | 268 | 40% | 36% | 43% | 41% |
| Dire Dawa | English | 377 | 39% | 37% | 41% | 39% |
| SNNPR | English | 1235 | 37% | 36% | 43% | 36% |
| Afar | English | 394 | 34% | 36% | 39% | 36% |
| Gambella | English | 400 | 36% | 27% | 37% | 33% |

(Source: Adapted from NOE 2000, tables 4.4, 4.21, 4.38 & 4.55.)

Table 5.2.2: Year 2004 Grade 8 achievement scores across regions

| Regional State | Medium of Instruction | English | Math | Biology | Chemistry | Physics | Composite |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Oromiya | Oromifa | 41.6 | 42.8 | 48.3 | 43.6 | 39.3 | 43.2 |
| Amhara | Amharic | 39.1 | 41.4 | 48.3 | 44.6 | 41.8 | 43.0 |
| Tigray | Tigrinya | 39.1 | 44.4 | 49.1 | 43.0 | 39.5 | 43.0 |
| Somali | Somali | 42.4 | 42.6 | 36.3 | 37.8 | 34.5 | 38.6 |
| Harari | English | 46.8 | 43.4 | 39.4 | 42.5 | 35.1 | 41.5 |
| Dire Dawa | English | 42.4 | 41.0 | 37.7 | 38.2 | 33.5 | 38.6 |
| SNNPR | English | 41.0 | 39.7 | 36.8 | 37.5 | 31.3 | 37.4 |
| A. A. | English | 42.3 | 40.5 | 33.7 | 35.9 | 31.1 | 36.7 |
| Afar | English | 39.6 | 36.6 | 32.0 | 33.8 | 30.7 | 34.6 |
| B. Gumuz | English | 37.0 | 33.3 | 31.2 | 34.5 | 28.4 | 33.7 |

(Source: Adapted from NOE 2004, tables 10, 18, 26, 34, 42 & 50.)

Both of the above tables illustrate that students in the seven (2002) or six (2004) regions which have used English as a MOI for upper primary have lower overall mean achievement scores when compared to the students of the three (2002) or four (2004) regions which are using their

respective mother tongues as MOI throughout primary education. These results can be shown in a summarised form as follows.

Table 5.2.3: Year 2000 Grade 8 achievement scores by medium of instruction

| MOI | Language type | No. tested | Mean & Std Deviation | English | Maths | Biology | Chem |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tigrinya | MT | 392 | MEAN | 38.7 | 45.3 | 56.0 | 46.8 |
| | | | SD | 13.9 | 17.6 | 13.3 | 15.9 |
| Amharic | MT | 580 | MEAN | 34.6 | 43.5 | 61.2 | 45.2 |
| | | | SD | 11.8 | 16.1 | 12.6 | 15.9 |
| Oromifa | MT | 598 | MEAN | 39.3 | 40.3 | 55.8 | 44.7 |
| | | | SD | 15.7 | 16.0 | 15.4 | 16.6 |
| English | FL | 3529 | MEAN | 39.3 | 36.2 | 42.4 | 38.0 |
| | | | SD | 15.8 | 15.1 | 16.4 | 15.2 |

(Source: Adapted from NOE 2000, tables 4.14, 4.31, 4.48 & 4.65.)

Table 5.2.4: Year 2004 Grade 8 achievement scores by medium of instruction

| MOI & number (N) of students tested | Mean & Std Dev | English | Maths | Biology | Chem | Physics |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tigrinya 474,477,472,473,473 | MEAN | 39.06 | 44.40 | 49.08 | 42.98 | 39.48 |
| | SD | 15.58 | 16.54 | 11.68 | 14.94 | 12.57 |
| Amharic 1023,1019,1016,1016,1026 | MEAN | 39.07 | 41.30 | 48.33 | 44.59 | 41.79 |
| | SD | 13.70 | 14.30 | 10.50 | 15.12 | 10.98 |
| Oromifa 1948,1948,1947,1947,1944 | MEAN | 41.61 | 42.84 | 48.43 | 43.59 | 39.33 |
| | SD | 15.19 | 16.83 | 11.85 | 14.88 | 12.06 |
| Somali 305,305,304,305,305 | MEAN | 42.40 | 42.63 | 36.26 | 37.55 | 34.53 |
| | SD | 14.52 | 14.52 | 8.23 | 11.72 | 10.14 |
| English 4277,4270,4248,4254,4276 | MEAN | 39.43 | 35.93 | 35.93 | 37.28 | 31.53 |
| | SD | 16.14 | 12.47 | 12.47 | 17.7 | 11.09 |

(Source: Adapted from NOE 2004, tables 13, 21, 29, 39 & 45.)

Tables 5.2.3 and 5.2.4 illustrate that students who have gone though mother tongue medium primary education have higher mean achievement scores in Mathematics, Biology, Chemistry and Physics, while students who have gone through English medium schooling have the lowest mean achievement scores in the subjects mentioned above. When we look at English achievement, students whose MOI is Oromifa and students whose MOI is English performed equally well in English in 2000, with mean scores of 39.3. Looking at the 2004 assessment results for English achievement, students learning through Somali and Oromifa actually outperformed those learning through English.   Please note that this would be predicted from the international research, especially that of Thomas & Collier (2002), which demonstrates that a strong foundation in mother tongue has positive results for overall achievement and for second language competence.

Table 5.2.5: Years 2000 and 2004 Grade 8 achievement scores by medium of instruction

| Year of assess. | MOI | N | Mean & Std Dev | English | Maths | Biology | Chem | Physics |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2000 | MT | 1570 | MEAN | 37.41 | 42.73 | 57.85 | 45.41 | |
| | | | SD | 13.8 | 16.6 | 13.7 | 16.1 | |
| | EN | 3529 | MEAN | 39.07 | 36.2 | 42.4 | 38.0 | |
| | | | SD | 13.70 | 15.1 | 16.4 | 15.2 | |
| 2004 | MT | 3744 | MEAN | 40.65 | 42.60 | 47.30 | 43.19 | 39.62 |
| | | | SD | 14.85 | 15.56 | 10.57 | 14.17 | 11.44 |
| | EN | 4265 | MEAN | 41.43 | 39.43 | 35.93 | 37.28 | 31.53 |
| | | | SD | 14.49 | 14.49 | 12.47 | 14.07 | 11.09 |

The above table illustrates that student performance in mathematics and the sciences is far better for those using mother tongues as MOI than for those using English as MOI. These findings reveal that the use of mother tongues as MOI for Mathematics and Sciences in upper primary education (Grades 7 and 8) has a positive impact on student achievement scores. In relation to this, the PISA consortium of the OECD has stated, "The mastery of the medium of instruction and by consequence the reading competency is the strongest determinant for the educational achievements in Mathematics. Needless to say, the same path can be traced from the mother tongue to performance in science" (Komarek 2000 in ADEA 2003:14).

Perhaps one of the most striking findings as demonstrated in the above tables is that there is only a slight difference in English achievement between students learning through English and those learning through mother tongue. This demonstrates that the use of English as MOI does *not* have a significant effect on students' mean achievement scores in English. The assumption, therefore, that English MOI leads to better achievement in English is *not* confirmed by assessment data. As many scholars have argued, use of English as MOI in African linguistic settings where English is limited to school use does not facilitate the teaching and learning of either English or other subjects (Bamgbose 2005, Brock-Utne 2004, Phillipson 1992).

Figure 5.2.6: Year 2000 Grade 8 achievement scores by MOI

| Language of instruction | ENGLISH | MATHS | BIOLOGY | CHEMISTRY | MATHSCIENCEScombined | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mother Tongues | 38% | 38% | 57% | 43% | 52% | | |
| English | 39% | 36% | 42% | 38% | 40% | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |

**Students' Achievement by Foreign language versus mother tongues as languages of instruction**

| Subjects | ENGLISH | MATHS | BIOLOGY | CHEMISTRY | MATHSCIENCEScombined |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mother Tongues | 38% | 38% | 57% | 43% | 52% |
| English | 39% | 36% | 42% | 38% | 40% |

■ Mother Tongues   □ English
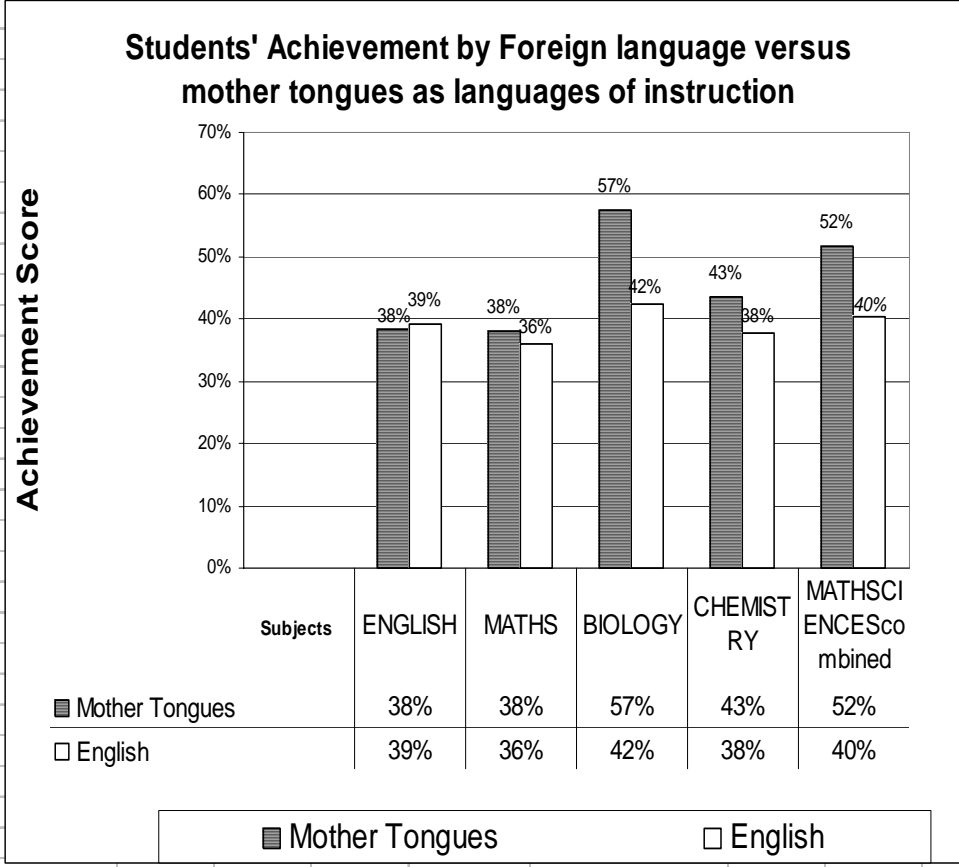
Figure 5.2.7: Year 2004 Grade 8 achievement scores by MOI

## Mean Scores by Language of Instruction Grade 8, 2004 Assesssment
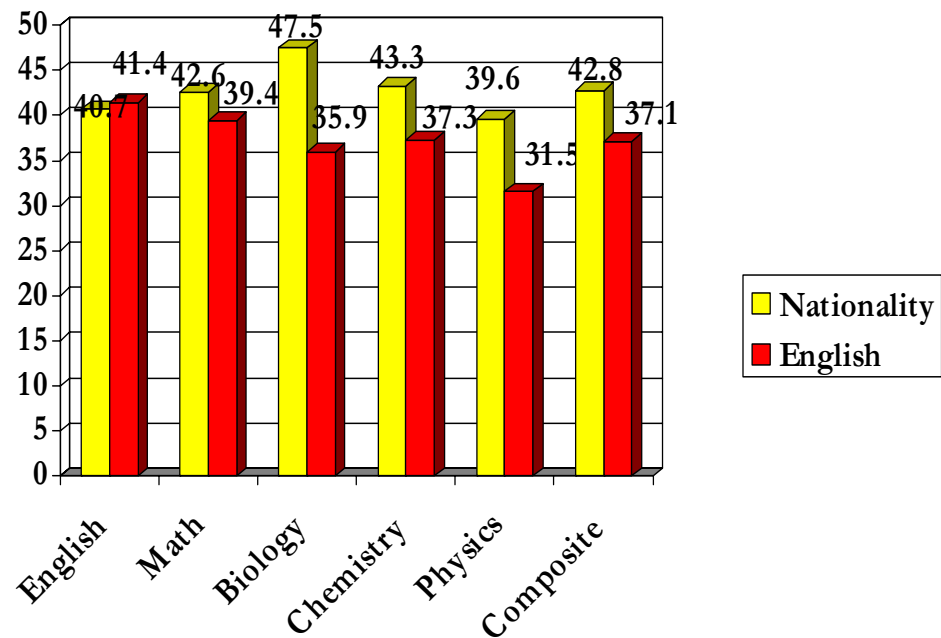
(Source: Zewdu G/Kidan & Erkihun Desta 2006[26])

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[26] Document furnished to MOI research team by the Pooled Funders, October 2006.

Table 5.2.8: ANOVA analysis of year 2000 English, Mathematics, Chemistry and Biology Mean Achievement Scores by MOI

| Subject | Source of Variation | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F | $F_{cv}$ (.001) | P |
|---------|---------------------|----------------|-----|-------------|---|-----------------|---|
| English | Between grps | 1.146 | 3 | .382 | 16.451 | 5.42 | .001* |
|         | Within grps | 118.329 | 5095 | .0232 | | | |
|         | Total | 119.475 | 5098 | | | | |
| Math | Between grps | 5.221 | 3 | 1.740 | 72.404 | 5.42 | .001* |
|      | Within grps | 122.466 | 5095 | 2.404 E-02 | | | |
|      | Total | 127.687 | 5098 | | | | |
| Chem | Between grps | 6.152 | 3 | 2.051 | 85.317 | 5.42 | .001* |
|      | Within grps | 122.457 | 5095 | .02403 | | | |
|      | Total | 128.608 | 5098 | | | | |
| Biology | Between grps | 26.747 | 3 | 8.916 | 363.325 | 5.42 | .001* |
|         | Within grps | 125.029 | 5095 | 0.02454 | | | |
|         | Total | 151.776 | 5098 | | | | |

*P<. 001

Table 5.2.8 shows that the MOI has a statically significant effect on overall student achievement. From the ANOVA test on English, Mathematics, Chemistry and Biology mean achievement scores by MOI, we understand that there are statically significant mean differences among the MOI; i.e. $F_{(3.5095)}=16.45$ for English; $F_{(3.5095)} = 72.40$ for Math; $F_{(3.5095)} = 85.40$ for Chemistry; and $F_{(3.5095)}=363.33$ for Biology, all at P<.001. Furthermore, a regression analysis by the NOE using the same data shows that "the reduced model contains a single variable (i.e. the English language) that contributed negatively to achievement. This is to mean that students taught by the English language achieved less than those taught by the other languages [i.e. Amharic, Oromifa, and Tigrinya]" (NOE 2001: 88).

These findings are consistent with a key study on policy implications of MOI in Africa conducted in six African countries (Botswana, Kenya, Mali, Nigeria, South Africa and Tanzania) by the International Development Research Centre. This study found that mother tongue education facilitates not only student learning achievement but also student acquisition of second and third languages (Prah 2003).

Table 5.2.9: Question response: Is the language you speak at home and at school the same?

| Responses | N | % | Mean | SD |
|-----------|-----|------|---------|---------|
| No | 3884 | 50% | 39.0387 | 10.9218 |
| Yes | 3878 | 50% | 40.5057 | 11.7563 |
| Total | 7762 | 100% | 39.7716 | 11.3694 |

(Source: NOE 2004:54, Table 55.)

The above table demonstrates that alignment between the home language and the school language facilitated students' overall performance. Accordingly, students whose MOI is their home language had a higher mean score (40.51%) than those students whose MOI is English (39.04%). An ANOVA test by NOE (2004:54) on the same data for Grade 8 shows that there is a "[statistically] significant difference between the mean scores of the two groups (F= 18.398, P<.001)". This coincides with other observations of the advantages of alignment between the home language and the school language, as described by a Sri Lankan researcher:

> The transition from English to the national languages as the medium of instruction in Science helped to destroy the great barrier that existed between the privileged English educated classes; between the science educated elite and the non-science educated masses; between science itself and the people. It gave confidence to the common man (and woman) that science is within his (and her) reach and to the teachers and pupils that knowledge of English need not necessarily be a prerequisite for learning sciences (Ranaweera 1976:423 in Brock-Utne 2000:153).

This reporting of the national assessment data from Ethiopia has shown that from a pedagogical point of view, the use of the mother tongues for teaching and learning represents an advantage to student performance, while the use of English is a disadvantage to student performance. In conclusion, the assessment data provide a great deal of evidence of the comparative advantage of alignment between the home language and the school language. They also indicate that there is no disadvantage in the study of mathematics or the sciences through the mother tongue, which would support the use of Ethiopian languages at secondary and further levels of education. Moreover, mother tongue education does not hinder student learning of English, a finding which would support the teaching of English as a subject only rather than as MOI.

## 5.3 Data from questionnaires administered in the regions

### 5.3.1 Background to the design of the questionnaires
The team paid particular attention to the administration of detailed questionnaires administered with a full spectrum of educators: regional, zonal, and woreda officials; and teacher educators, teachers, student teachers. Additional questionnaires were designed for parents and students. In regard to students, it was decided to administer these mostly to secondary school students and upper primary (Grade 7 & 8) where this seemed appropriate or appropriate opportunities presented themselves. In the end, the student questionnaires were also administered to student teachers at one teacher training college.

The questionnaires were deliberately constructed to capture extensive and detailed data, only some of which could be analysed for this report. We intentionally constructed the questionnaires to capture more data than could be analysed for this report since the team was aware that the fieldwork offered a research opportunity, which would be difficult to reconstruct at a later point. Secondary analysis of the data is possible and has been left in the hands of the local consultants who will sift through this and make available more nuanced information as soon as this is possible after the completion of this consultancy. One of the international consultants would be able to offer assistance in this process.

One of the weaknesses of sociolinguistic surveys and questionnaires is that they are often constructed in such a way that they feed into and pre-empt existing prejudices and preconceived

attitudes. They often only skim the surface and render information which is insubstantial and of little meaningful value. The questionnaires designed for this study have drawn from the experience of a comprehensive sociolinguistic survey conducted in South Africa in 2000 by the Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB 2000, 2001), as well as analyses of Stephen Krashen (1996) who has pinpointed weaknesses in language education surveys in other educational contexts (especially North America).

Initially the questionnaires were constructed in English and then were to be translated into each of the languages of the regional communities, which had been identified for data sampling and collection. As it turned out, versions were initially translated into Amharic, Somali, Harari, Afan Oromo, Nuer and Anguak. They were trialled first in Nuer and Anguak in Gambella. They were also trialled in the first stage of data collection in Addis Ababa, Harari, Somali, Afar, and Oromiya. The team discovered that educator respondents in the educational bureaus and teacher education colleges, and often in schools voluntarily selected to answer the Amharic versioned questionnaires in preference to the dominant local regional language (Harari, Afan Oromo, and Somali). As a result, the questionnaires were not translated into Tigrinya or the local languages of SNNPR for the second stage of data collection.

### 5.3.2 Findings from the educators' questionnaires

Certain questions were selected for specific analysis for this study and report. As mentioned above, the team had understood that the questionnaires captured too much data for the attention of this study and it would be necessary to make a selection. The ethnographic data collected during the first four three weeks of fieldwork informed the final selection of items for analysis for this report. It became obvious during the range of discussions and interviews with informants in Gambella, Addis Ababa, Harari, Somali, Oromyia and SNNPR that educators had firm views about the readiness of students to study through the medium of English, and that the role of English as a medium of instruction was uppermost in the minds of educators at all levels. The questions selected for specific attention therefore were those which were intended to elicit information about the readiness of learners to use English as a medium, in general, across the curriculum and more particularly as a medium of instruction for some subjects rather than others (see Appendix H for the full questionnaires).

Table 5.3.2  Tabulation of responses to selected key items on the questionnaire for Educators per region

| Q.5: Students are ready to use English as a Medium of Instruction by which level? | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| RESPONSES | ADDIS ABABA | AMHARA | GAMBELLA | OROMIYA | HARARI | SOMALI | TIGRAY | SNNPR | TOTAL |
| Grade: 1-4 | 1 | - | 4 | 3 | 2 | - | 2 | 3 | 15/10% |
| Grade:5-6 | - | 1 | 12 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 15 | 34/22% |
| Grade:7-8 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 18 | 5 | 14 | 4 | 60/39% |
| Grade:9-10 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 4 | 26/17% |
| Grade:11-12 | 1 | - | - | - | - | 3 | 2 | 1 | 7/5% |
| TTI/C | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| UNIVERSITY | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | 3 |
| N/A | - | - | 1 | - | 2 | - | - | - | 3 |
| Don't agree | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| TOTAL | 14 | 10 | 26 | 13 | 26 | 11 | 25 | 27 | 152 |

| Q.9: *From which level can Mathematics be taught in English without the help of explanations in an Ethiopian Lang?* | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ADDIS ABABA | AMHARA | GAMBELLA | OROMIYA | HARARI | SOMALI | TIGRAY | SNNPR | TOTAL |
| Grade:1-4 | - | - | 1 | 2 | - | - | 1 | - | 4 |
| Grade:5-6 | 2 | - | 10 | - | - | 1 | - | 12 | 25/16% |
| Grade:7-8 | 9 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 10 | 4 | 9 | 5 | 46/30% |
| Grade:9-10 | - | 6 | 3 | 6 | 6 | 2 | 10 | 7 | 40/26% |
| Grade:11-12 | 2 | - | 5 | - | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 15/10% |
| TTI/C | - | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | 1 | 1 | 4 |
| UNIVERSITY | - | - | - | 1 | 3 | - | - | - | 4 |
| N/A | 1 | - | 1 | 1 | 5 | - | 1 | - | 9 |
| Don't agree | - | - | 2 | - | - | 2 | 1 | - | 5 |
| TOTAL | 14 | 10 | 26 | 13 | 26 | 11 | 25 | 27 | 152 |

| Q.10: *From which level can Natural Sciences be taught in English without the help of explanations in an Ethiopian Language?* | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ADDIS ABABA | AMHARA | GAMBELLA | OROMIYA | HARARI | SOMALI | TIGRAY | SNNPR | TOTAL |
| Grade:1-4 | - | - | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| Grade:5-6 | 3 | - | 7 | - | - | - | - | 8 | 18/12% |
| Grade:7-8 | 5 | 5 | 6 | - | 12 | 4 | 13 | 9 | 54/35% |
| Grade:9-10 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 9 | 5 | 3 | 7 | 7 | 41/27% |
| Grade:11-12 | 1 | - | 5 | - | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 14/10% |
| TTI/C | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | 1 | 5 |
| UNIVERSITY | - | - | 1 | - | 3 | 1 | - | - | 5 |
| N/A | 1 | - | - | - | 5 | 1 | 1 | - | 8 |
| Don't agree | - | - | 2 | 1 | - | - | 1 | - | 4 |
| TOTAL | 14 | 10 | 26 | 13 | 26 | 11 | 25 | 27 | 152 |

| Q.11: *From which level can Social Sciences be taught in English without the help of explanations in an Ethiopian Language?* | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ADDIS ABABA | AMHARA | GAMBELLA | OROMIYA | HARARI | SOMALI | TIGRAY | SNNPR | TOTAL |
| Grade:1-4 | - | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| Grade:5-6 | 3 | - | 10 | 2 | 2 | - | - | 8 | 25/16% |
| Grade:7-8 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 9 | 6 | 11 | 10 | 49/32% |
| Grade:9-10 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 1 | 7 | 6 | 35/23% |
| Grade:11-12 | 4 | - | 4 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 17/11% |
| TTI/C | - | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | - | 5 |
| UNIVERSITY | - | - | 1 | 1 | 3 | - | - | 1 | 6 |
| N/A | - | - | - | - | 6 | 1 | 2 | - | 9 |
| Don't agree | - | - | 2 | - | - | 1 | 1 | - | 4 |
| TOTAL | 14 | 10 | 26 | 13 | 26 | 11 | 25 | 27 | 152 |

| Q.12: *Students in this school/region are fully competent to use English medium by the time they reach which level?* | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ADDIS ABABA | AMHARA | GAMBELLA | OROMIYA | HARARI | SOMALI | TIGRAY | SNNPR | TOTAL |
| Grade:1-4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | --- |
| Grade:5-6 | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | 2/1,3% |
| Grade:7-8 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 10 | - | 1 | 10 | 31/20% |
| Grade:9-10 | 1 | 3 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 29/19% |
| Grade:11-12 | 5 | 4 | 8 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 36/24% |
| TTI/C | 1 | - | 3 | 1 | 1 | - | 2 | 1 | 9/6% |
| UNIVERSITY | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 19/12,5% |
| N/A | 2 | 1 | - | 5 | 7 | - | 4 | 1 | 20 |
| Don't agree | - | - | - | - | 2 | - | 2 | 2 | 6 |
| TOTAL | 14 | 10 | 26 | 13 | 26 | 11 | 25 | 27 | 152 |

Responses to question 5 which asks a generic question about learner readiness for English as a MOI, shows that informants in Gambella and SNNPR, where students switch to English medium in theory, in grade 5, believe that students are ready for the switch to English at the point that these regions require students to make the transition. Respondents in Addis Ababa, Harari, Somali and Oromyia indicate a belief that students are ready for this shift from MT to English in Grades 7-8. This corresponds with the practice of transition to English in Addis Ababa, Harari (for maths and science), and Somali (for speakers of Amharic) at Grades 7-8. What is surprising is that the majority of respondents in Tigray, where transition to English occurs later, indicate a belief that it is possible in Grades 7-8.

Question 9 asks informants to identify when students would be ready to study mathematics through English only. The majority of respondents, but fewer than in the case of question 5, in Gambella and SNNPR continue to indicate that this is possible at the existing point of transition (Grade 5). For the rest, however, respondents indicate a wider spread of responses suggesting that students can only fully understand mathematics in English somewhere between Grades 7 and 12.

Question 10 asks informants to identify when students would be ready to study the natural sciences (physics, chemistry and biology) in English only. At this point fewer than half of the respondents in Gambella and SNNPR, and only 18 of 152 respondents indicate that students are ready to study science in English in Grade 5. One third of the respondents (54) indicate that this is possible from Grade 7.On the other hand, 75 (50%) believe that this is only possible from Grades 9 or above.
Question 11 asks the same question, but in relation to the social sciences. Again, what is discernible is an upward shift towards identifying higher-grade levels as the point of proficiency in English.

Finally, question 12, a rephrased version of question 5, for comparative purposes, shows a shift in perception from the initial answers to question 5 which were offered prior to an interrogation of the role of English as a medium in different subjects of the curriculum. 32% of respondents believed that students were ready for English medium by Grade 5, when the question was first put to them. After a series of more finely grained questions were administered, informants recorded a significant shift in answer. By question 12 only 1, 3% of respondents expressed a belief that students were fully ready for English medium by Grade 5. Only 20% expressed a belief that students are ready by Grade 7 and 51, 5% believed students to be ready after somewhere between Grade 9 and university.

The first point of this rather tedious enumeration is that education planners need to be very wary of taking informants responses to questions at initial or face value. The issues around medium of instruction are extremely complex, and if one needs precise information, one has to make detailed and painstaking enquiries to elicit responses to hypothetical questions  at a deeper level.

The second point of this account is to illustrate that generic questions which tap surface level responses cannot yield accurate or useful information and should not be used for educational decisions. What is required are disaggregated sets of questions which prise open the relationship between language and learning in different contexts, in order to get a broader understanding of the dynamics.

### 5.3.3 Findings from the parents' and students' questionnaires

Again, only selected findings from these questionnaires will be presented here. In this case, some of the open-ended constructed response items have been selected for analysis and these concern the perceived roles of language/s outside of school settings. The reality is that most students will remain in their local environments or regions for some time after exiting the school system. Both parents and students indicated that the languages most used in the community were the local mother tongues. The next language of wider communication was identified as Amharic where Amharic is not the MT. Languages perceived to have greatest economic value at were the local MT at local/district level, and either the local MT or Amharic at regional level. Amharic featured most often as the language of economic opportunity at national level, and sometimes, Amharic together with English appeared as a combined possibility for economic activity at national level. Both parents and students however indicated strong aspiration towards English as a preferred, but not the only language of education.

What the parents' and students' questionnaires illustrate is that while there is strong aspiration towards English in education, both sets of informants have a realistic view of the role of Ethiopian languages outside of the school setting. This is in relation to the dominant, functional, role of the local, regional and national languages of Ethiopia as the languages, which offer economic opportunity. Both parents and students indicate a realism towards the functional role of Amharic as a lingua franca for communication across different language communities and among the different regions.

### 5.3.4 Indirect findings from the administration of the questionnaires

The team had anticipated that educator informants would choose to answer questionnaires in the language/s of the immediate community in which they were located. Nevertheless, the team invited informants to select the language version of their preference. In many instances Amharic was selected in preference to Harari and Somali. Again, even when informants were English language teachers in schools and teacher training colleges, most selected the Amharic version. This provided additional insight into the relationship towards and confidence which informants have in regard to their own language skills. That so many opted for Amharic in preference to English or another regional language when this was offered, suggests that Amharic functions as a robust second language for a wide spectrum of people.

## 5.4  Research and resources in Ethiopian languages

We talked to Ethiopian language experts at many different levels, from the woreda level to the Ethiopian Languages Research Centre (ELRC), as well as curriculum developers in the REBs and linguistics working for NGOs.  Though it is beyond the scope of this research to provide detailed information about all Ethiopian languages and their particular levels of development, we will present a brief overview of an impressive range of resources that are available in the country. The language development structures that exist in Ethiopia may be divided into two major categories: governmental and non-governmental.

As already noted, the preparation of teaching materials in Ethiopian languages is mainly the responsibility of the curriculum departments at the regional education bureaus. Based on the curriculum sent by the central ICDR at the MoE, teaching materials are prepared by the concerned

REB, zone and/or woreda, often with specialised help from educators at the TTCs. This usually involves translating and adapting the teaching materials prepared at the federal level to local language and cultural content. Sometimes the preparation of reference material is also undertaken by zonal offices. The Kembata Zone, for instance, has produced a 327-page Kembata-Amharic dictionary.

Apart from applied work in language development, curriculum experts at the ICDR have conducted research into mother tongue medium schooling and its different applications in the regions. We have also been informed of ongoing research by curriculum and other educators at the REB level, and have examined some reports given to us in the regions.

There are governmental organizations other than education bureaus engaged in preparing materials and developing the so-called "smaller" languages of Ethiopia. The following institutes have recently been formed and are mostly funded by the respective regional governments, but they may also get technical and material support from non-governmental organizations (NGOs):
    a) The Harari Language Academy in Harari Region
    b) The Afar Language Studies and Enrichment Centre in Afar Region
    c) The Institute of Language, Culture, and History of the SNNPR

The Ethiopian Languages Research Centre (ELRC) at Addis Ababa University is engaged in researching many of the languages that have not received sufficient attention in the past. They help to design orthographies and compile dictionaries when requests are made. The ELRC also gives technical and advisory support to governmental and non-governmental structures that are working on the development of Ethiopian languages.

The Linguistics Department of the Addis Ababa University carries out regular on-the-job training for individuals and organizations interested in the areas of language development, orthography, lexicography, translation and language planning. This department has very recently initiated a B.A. programme in Applied Linguistics which focuses on these areas. Many of the staff have ongoing research projects that may inform educational practices; for example, we have been informed of a cooperative project between linguistics professors at Addis Ababa University and Oslo University doing a sociolinguistic study of linguistic landscape in the Tigray region, focusing on the types of printed language available in local environments.

There are a number of NGOs working on the development of local languages. Some of the activities of the Argoba Development Association, for example, are to design orthography, prepare teaching materials, and construct a bilingual dictionary and reference grammar for Argoba. Argoba is one of the Semitic languages in Ethiopia. It has fewer than 10,000 speakers and is at present considered an endangered language.

We met with language specialists at the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), a faith-based NGO that provides technical assistance in developing local languages in Ethiopia and worldwide. At our request, one of their members compiled a long list of materials, including not only religious stories and books but also learning materials for literacy and non-formal education and pamphlets on health and agriculture, written in these languages: Afar, Anguak, Aari, Banna/Hamer, Basketo, Bench, Bertha/Funj, Burji, Daasenech, Dawro, Gamo, Gedeo, Gofa, Gumuz, Gurage, Hadiyya,

Kafa, Kambaata, Konso, Korete, Maale, Majangir, Me'en, Mursi, Shinasha, Sidama, Silte, Somali, Suri, Uduk, Wolayta and Yemsa.  (For the entire list see Appendix E.)

## 5.5  Overall findings on policy and practice throughout Ethiopia

### 5.5.1  Use of the mother tongue (L1) in primary education

*Degree of consistency with federal policy:* The 1994 Education and Training Policy, which is reiterated in current MoE policy, states that the mother tongue should be used as MOI throughout primary education (Grades 1-8), and that teacher training will be given in "the nationality language used in the area" (MoE 1994, 2002).  As the regional profiles indicate, only the Oromiya region and the Afan Oromo streams in Amhara region are completely consistent with federal policy, in that all of primary schooling as well as teacher training for both 1st and 2nd cycles use Afan Oromo as MOI. Tigray and Somali regions are nearly in line with the policy because they use the mother tongue as MOI for the 8 years of primary schooling; however, they have both adopted English as MOI for 2nd cycle (diploma) training even though teachers will be teaching in the mother tongue (see below for more findings related to teacher education in the mother tongue).

Further inconsistencies appear in the regions that have taken the mother tongue out of some subject teaching in Grades 7-8 to bring English in.  In the Amhara and Harari regions, as well as the Amharic streams in Somali, the MT is MOI for all subjects except mathematics, physics, chemistry and biology, and in Dire Dawa the MT is used only for civics.  The mother tongue has been completely removed as MOI from the Grade 7-8 curriculum in Addis Ababa.  Finally, the least consistent with federal policy are Gambella and SNNPR, where there is no mother tongue MOI in 2nd cycle primary education, and Afar and Benishangul Gumuz, which have not had any mother tongue MOI. In Afar, mother tongue has been introduced in alternative basic education (ABE), and there are pilot programmes in Benishangul Gumuz.

Even without considering the early introduction of English, some regions have thus far not provided mother tongue education to certain language communities.  For example, Addis Ababa, Afar and Benishangul Gumuz use Amharic as MOI for most of primary schooling despite the fact that it is not the mother tongue of all students.  While we have been told that there are different teaching and learning materials for Amharic as L1 and Amharic as L2, we did not see any Amharic L2 materials in our school observations.  In Addis there is an assumption that all children speak Amharic, which may not be completely true.  (See further discussion of this issue in the next section on Amharic.)  Similarly, there are regions like Gambella where thus far migrant students who do not speak Nuer and Anguak must learn through one of these local languages or pay for private schooling in Amharic or English.  From a pedagogical perspective, the MoE policy is the same for all learners, i.e. that they all should have an opportunity to learn through the language they know best.

According to the MoE policy, teachers trained to teach in the 1st cycle (10+1) will teach through the mother tongue, except when teaching English as a subject. Teachers trained for primary cycle 2 (10+2; or 10+3) are expected to teach Grades 5-8, where the MOI varies depending on regional policies and practices. In most cases teachers are prepared for MT MOI in training programmes where there is a match between the MT training and MT MOI in the school classroom. In other words teachers are prepared for the appropriate MT and MOI of the region.  However, there are

usually mismatches between the MOI of the classroom for primary cycle 2 and the MOI in the training college preparing teachers for this level.  Most mismatches are observed in regions that start using English as a MOI beginning at Grade 7. In these regions, all teacher training is conducted in English despite the fact that teachers are using all mother tongue in Grades 5 and 6 and usually some mother tongue in Grades 7 and 8.

*Language in teacher education*:  There are indications that the mismatch between the MOI of teacher training and the MOI of primary schooling negatively influences teachers' mother tongue competence and makes them less likely to believe that the mother tongue can be used in teaching.  For example, in Tigray those who felt Tigrinya was not developed enough to teach sciences and mathematics were those who had been educated through Amharic and/or English, while others told us there were no problems with using Tigrinya at higher levels of study.  A prior study by one member of our team quotes a TTC dean on this topic:

> Every second year student-teacher makes teaching practice in the 2nd cycle of primary education. In addition, the most often question student teachers raise is "how are we going to teach in Tigrinya". Thus, during supervision it is common to observe student teachers not able to use the [MOI] appropriately. Even there are cases in which the students outsmart and assist the student-teacher in the [MOI] (Mekonnen 2005:69)-

*Observations*: The use of the first language/mother tongue (L1), the second language (L2, Amharic where students are speakers of languages other than Amharic) and English (a foreign language, FL) exhibit particular patterns of use throughout the primary school system in Ethiopia.  Language is used for a variety of communicative functions in classrooms. These include:
- o  Teaching activities: spoken and written
- o  Learning activities: spoken and written
- o  Classroom administration and management: spoken and written
- o  Control and discipline of students: mainly spoken
- o  Student-student informal communication: mainly spoken
- o  Student-teacher informal communication: mainly spoken

During the data collection phase of this study, classroom observations of learning situations showed that where the L1 is used as MOI, both the spoken and written communication between teachers and learners is more likely to be effective. The quality of classroom interaction is higher where L1/MT is used. Teachers and learners engage in two-way communicative exchanges, although there is still more teacher talk than student talk.  Student talk in the mother tongue is characterised by longer answers to questions and more original responses or questions than student talk in the other languages.

In our observations of the MT taught as a subject, there was a great deal of interaction and enthusiasm.  On a number of occasions we observed students asking their teachers original questions, like the student in Oromiya (see the profile above) who asked the teacher if they could also make letters out of straws.  Materials generally take an alphabetic/phonetic approach to beginning literacy, after which children are expected to read short texts and answer comprehension questions.  At higher levels there are usually much more complex texts accompanied by some grammar-based exercises.   One concern we had was that literacy materials seemed to progress very quickly and have expectations for student learning which might be too high for normal

language development, even in the mother tongue.  However, we did not observe that students had great difficulties with learning the MT as a subject, nor did teachers report any difficulties.

*Attitudes:* Despite the effectiveness of communication in the mother tongue, and the obvious challenges of classroom communication in English, teachers and students often express a pessimistic view of the role of the mother tongue in education. They are under the impression that the mother tongue, especially if it is a "small" minority language, will not facilitate access to higher education or desirable employment opportunities.

Our findings suggest that in many cases people are not denying that the mother tongue is effective and efficient as a MOI, but rather they are defending their right to have access to English language skills.  A large number of primary and secondary teachers who completed our questionnaires, as well as a majority of parents and community members believe the mother tongue is useful for learning but that English should become the MOI at some point in upper primary to prepare students better for secondary education in English.  We also found evidence that people are considering factors other than simply language of instruction when they invest in private schooling for their children. (See the section below on English.)

As noted in some regions, some teachers told us that the mother tongues lack terminologies and are not developed enough to serve as MOI, especially for mathematics/sciences. However, we found that such complaints were more related to the teachers' own education (through the mother tongue or another language) than to the actual development level of the languages.  One concrete example was in Tigray, where TTC instructors who had not had the opportunity to learn through Tigrinya said the language was not capable of expressing terms in the sciences and mathematics, when it was clearly their own competence that was lacking.  One TTC dean in Amhara region explained the preference for mathematical and science terms in English in the following way:

> It's a paradox…because TTC trainers find it difficult to teach these subjects in Amharic, except those who learned in their own language—they have good mother tongue skills in their fields. Otherwise the mother tongue is more helpful.  Since we changed to English, students find it very difficult to express themselves…

*Level of development of the mother tongues:* Since Ethiopian languages like Amharic, Tigrinya and Afan Oromo have already been successfully used to express scientific and mathematical concepts at TTIs and TTCs and in other educational situations, we believe the teachers' own mother tongue competence is the real issue for these languages.  Further evidence of high level language use is the fact that the first M.A. degrees in Afan Oromo Language and Literature Education will be awarded in 2007 by Addis Ababa University, meaning that by 2008 there will be 30 to 40 specialist instructors available.

There are indeed some languages that are in earlier phases of standardization and development than others. (We noted the case of Benishangul Gumuz, where writing systems for some languages were only recently established.)  One reason often cited for not using the mother tongue as MOI is the lack of dictionaries and other reference materials, which is a valid concern, although from our observations there was very little reference material available in the schools in any language. Local languages require the work of curriculum developers and local language specialists along with linguists and educational experts, and the financial resources to support their

work.  As mentioned in section 5.3 above, we were able to talk to a number of dedicated professionals and have found that there are significant human resources available if economic resources can be mobilised.

*Challenges:*  At most regions we met curriculum departments that were busy developing appropriate mother tongue materials and getting them published and distributed.  However, we were often told that funds were insufficient, causing delays in publishing either at the editing phase or even at the camera-ready phase.  In many regions, there were severe shortages of textbooks, especially in rural primary schools and especially materials in the mother tongue.  Meanwhile, we found Amharic and English textbooks in nearly all schools.  It does not seem coincidental that one of the reasons given to use English as MOI in upper primary is lack of textbooks and reference materials in the mother tongue.  Lack of mother tongue materials sends a message that is not consistent with MoE policy. MT materials were more often provided in regions like Oromiya and Tigray, which demonstrate a clear commitment to MT schooling.

Another challenge is that experienced in Gambella region, which is having difficulty keeping qualified teachers who are speakers of Nuer and Anguak in their posts because they have better opportunities outside of teaching.  This means that the teacher education system is actually training bilinguals who are getting jobs in other sectors, which is expensive for the MoE but demonstrates that there is a demand for young professionals' skills, including their languages.  In SNNPR we learned that there are many jobs that require verbal and written competence in local languages, for example health officers, agricultural extension agents and social workers as well as teachers.

*Effective practices:*  During this investigation we encountered a number of practices that promoted mother tongue teaching and learning.  One was the organisation of streams by language: Harari, Amharic and Afan Oromo as practiced in the Harar region, and Somali and Amharic as practiced in the Somali region.  We also found that there was some creative thinking going on at the REB level.  For example, a letter from the Amhara REB to the regional cabinet recommending ways to support mother tongue schooling for all suggested that certain language streams be organised "when there are enough speakers for a section."

Another practice that promotes mother tongue schooling is teacher recruitment and placement by mother tongue, which is practiced by many TTCs in cooperation with the REBs.  For example, in Gambella the REB and TTCs put effort into recruiting speakers of Nuer, Anguak and Meshenger and making language a requirement for employment in certain schools.   Another example is in Oromiya, where an interview in Afan Oromo is one of the requirements to be admitted into the TTC.

### 5.5.2  Use of Amharic, the national language, in primary education

*Degree of consistency with federal policy:*  Regarding the use of Amharic as MOI for speakers of Amharic, we have already noted the situation above in the section on mother tongue schooling.  This section deals with the teaching and learning of Amharic as a subject for speakers of all languages, and it appears that all regions are consistent with policy.  Whether they start the teaching of Amharic from Grade 5 (in Oromiya and in Afan Oromo streams in Amhara region) or

from Grade 3 (as in all other regions), all regions teach the national language as a subject according to MoE policy, which does not specify any level for beginning study.

*Attitudes:* In areas where Amharic is not the major regional language, informants' reluctance to draw on their Amharic skills tended to give way after some time and is perhaps best reflected in the words of one zonal official after many tiring hours with the research team:

> Well, Amharic is also our language. We use it everywhere. If we need to travel to Addis, we need Amharic. Everyone in the towns uses Amharic. If you need employment in Ethiopia, you need Amharic. If you are self-employed in Ethiopia, you need Amharic. So we all speak Amharic. Teachers are explaining English lessons in Amharic in secondary school.

While this may be an exaggeration for many rural people, this is indicative of a general attitude of practicality about the role and extent of use of Amharic.  At various points, we asked informants about the possibility of using Amharic instead of English for secondary and higher education; this seemed more feasible in some regions than in others, probably owing to historical and political associations.  (Here we might draw some parallels with South Africa, where a language that is actually a widely spoken lingua franca, Afrikaans, is also associated with past injustices, and English may be preferred for its supposed neutrality.)

On the other side, as mentioned in the regional profiles, we tried to explore the possibility of Amharic native speakers learning another Ethiopian language, in the interest of national integration and multilingualism.  There were clear sensitivities from this group as well, who had immediate concerns about *which* other language and why. The concept of offering optional language study in another Ethiopian language seemed difficult for most respondents to imagine, though one policy-maker said that it would be useful for work at the grassroots level.

*Observations:*  It is generally believed that Amharic is a lingua franca in Ethiopia, and it is evident that Amharic is a second language for many Ethiopians.  Yet, our visits to rural parts of the country have revealed that Amharic is not well or not entirely spoken by all schoolchildren.  The use of Amharic as MOI in contexts where it is used as a lingua franca in the community, and is the L2 of the students, appears to have mixed success in school settings. It has been used as the default MOI in those areas where there are language communities that are not being served, e.g. in some areas of SNNPR, Benishangul Gumuz and Afar. While teachers appear to have sufficient proficiency in Amharic, use of this language clearly places strain on those students who have not had sufficient exposure to Amharic in their local neighbourhood. Rural children from minority language communities who do not use Amharic for neighbourhood communication are also likely to have trouble with Amharic as MOI.  However, the situation is different for students in more urban settings or even rural areas where Amharic is used as a lingua franca for a wide range of functions. In many contexts students who hear and use Amharic as one of their repertoire of languages outside school are able to use the language, their L2, as a MOI, and derive some educational benefit from this language. It needs to be noted, however, that many such learners would be more likely to derive greater benefit from mother tongue instruction.

In contexts like Harari and Somali where both a local mother tongue and Amharic are used as MOI either in parallel classes or in different shifts, some students have voluntarily opted for the Amharic MOI shift or class. Parents and students gave us three reasons for this: they believe that strong

Amharic will offer their children portable language skills within the wider Ethiopian context, that teachers who use Amharic are better trained or more competent, and that learning resources are more plentiful in Amharic. *It should be noted that only one of the three reasons has to do with language, and the others with educational quality.*

The research team had anticipated that students would have difficulty learning to use two written scripts, i.e. the Ethiopic writing system for Amharic and the Latin system for other languages such as Afan Oromo, Tigrinya, Somali and English. However, we found that students appeared to learn both scripts in lower primary without great difficulty, and that they seemed able to keep the two writing systems separate. Particularly surprising was the apparent fluency of L2 learners of Amharic in the use of Amharic script. This apparent ease could be deceptive, however, since we cannot be sure that students always understood what they cleverly copied from the blackboard. Likewise, students in some regions demonstrated more difficulty; for example, Nuer students in Gambella showed a marked preference for (and greater competence in) English over Amharic, and some teachers in Oromiya told us that learners found learning the Amharic script difficult.

*Challenges:* We observed that Amharic is not usually taught as a second language; rather it tends to be taught in the same way for native speakers and for second language learners, as if it is every student's mother tongue. We were told at the workshop that there are different materials for Amharic L1 and Amharic L2, but we did not see Amharic L2 materials in the schools we visited. We also observed students in some regions having difficulty understanding Amharic lessons given by teachers who just spoke Amharic without attempting to make the input comprehensible through objects, gestures, page references or other appropriate second language teaching techniques.

As noted for speakers of Afan Oromo in Oromiya and Amhara regions, students do not begin Amharic lessons until the 2nd cycle of primary schooling. The implication is that those who drop out after the 1st cycle will not be exposed to Amharic study, although the current aim is for all students to complete a primary education. It is possible that the school is the main source of exposure to Amharic in rural Oromiya. For example, one member of the research team spoke to about 75 Grade 5 students in Amharic and found that only 4 students were able to respond; a later focus group discussion with Grade 5 students which started in Amharic had to be shifted into Afan Oromo. Of course, students had only been studying Amharic for a short time, so they only had beginning language skills. However, this raises a question not about when Amharic lessons begin but about how they the language is taught. We learned, for example, that one common practice is to use Grade 1 Amharic (mother tongue) texts to teach Grade 5 Amharic (second language) because it is an unfamiliar language to students. This would suggest the need for age-appropriate materials for the teaching of Amharic as a second language, as well as some training in second language teaching methodology. We were informed that while there are materials for Amharic as a second language, these have not necessarily found their way into the appropriate classrooms.

*Effective practice:* We did see evidence of Amharic being taught as a second language in a primary school in Gambella. The materials were the same, but the teacher spoke in slow, clear Amharic with a great deal of expression, re-asked questions when there was no answer, and generally tried to create interaction and understanding. This was different from observations of teachers' practices in other regions where they simply spoke as if all of their students understood, despite the silences or one-word responses from their students.

### 5.5.3  Use of English, a foreign language, in primary education

*Degree of consistency with federal policy:*  The study of English as a subject begins at Grade 1 in all regions, precisely as federal policy states.  However, nothing in the MoE calls for English as MOI in primary schooling, yet apart from the Oromiya, Somali and Tigray regions, all others have adopted English as MOI at some point in upper primary schooling.  Many have brought English into Grades 7-8, to varying degrees: in the Amhara and Harari regions, as well as the Amharic streams in Somali, English is MOI for mathematics and the sciences; Dire Dawa is using English to teach all subjects except civics; and Addis Ababa and Afar are using English as MOI for all subjects.   The regions that are least consistent with MoE policy are Benishangul Gumuz, Gambella and SNNPR, which use English as MOI for all of 2nd cycle primary schooling, beginning at Grade 5.

According to the MoE policy, teachers are to be trained in the same languages that are used in the classroom.  Addis Ababa, Benishangul Gumuz, Gambella and SNNPR could be considered consistent in that their MOI for 2nd cycle students and teacher training is English, even though the MoE policy says that the MOI should be the mother tongue.   Meanwhile, there is a great deal of inconsistency with this policy across other regions, particularly those where English is only the MOI for some subjects in Grades 7-8.  In Dire Dawa, Amhara, Harari, Somali and Tigray, less than 50% of the 2nd cycle curriculum is taught through English but the entire diploma training is conducted in English.  We found no indications that teacher education given through English results in higher teacher competence in English (see below for example of science teaching in Gambella), though there are clear signs that it hampers teachers' mother tongue teaching skills (see above section on mother tongue education for examples from Tigray region).

*Attitudes:*  Before the introduction of the new Education and Training Policy in 1994, the teaching of English as a subject started at Grade 3.  A number of studies (see e.g. Stoddart 1986) reported on students' inability to use English as a medium of instruction. Based on his observation, Stoddart reported that English became a "language of obstruction," not a language of instruction. Yet one of the actions taken to "improve" the English language ability of students has been to start the teaching of the language as a subject from Grade 1 in all schools in Ethiopia, and it is widely assumed that the earlier English is used as MOI, the better the learning.

We found that a number of assumptions are made by students, teachers and even experienced educators about English as MOI, and most are open to argument.  The REB of SNNPR, for instance, decided to make English the language of education on the assumptions that:

- o   student English language ability will improve if they use English as a MOI;
- o   when students reach Grade 9 they will "not have any problem" using English as a medium;
- o   English is an international language and has important role in free market economy, media and communication, i.e. it will make students successful in their future lives;
- o   English plays a role in technology, development and modernization;
- o   English language and literature is well developed, enabling students to develop their communication skills;
- o   there are complete teaching and learning materials, supplementary materials, and teachers in English; and finally,

- o "because of the current attention given by the government to the development of English language it will assist in delivery of quality education" (SNNPR Education Bureau report, p. 9, our translation).

Teachers, school management and local education officials held a range of apparently contradictory views regarding their own language proficiency in English and their attitudes towards Amharic where this language is the L2.  At the early stages of interviews or discussions with us, most indicated that teachers had the necessary English language expertise to teach through the medium of English. This confidence was ascribed to the participation of 140 000 teachers in the English Language Improvement Programme (ELIP). After further discussion, informants admitted that teachers did not, in fact, have the necessary competence. The new English language skills acquired through ELIP could not be sustained: teachers quickly lost these new skills within a few months after having completed the programme. The apparent loss of English proficiency was ascribed to the limited opportunities for teachers to use English outside of the school classroom. Whereas people tended to indicate that English could be used as the MOI from as early as Grade 5, even in regions where it is introduced as MOI in Grade 7 or 9, later in our discussions they would concede that neither students nor teachers could use English as effectively as the MT. However, all believed that there was pressure to switch to English medium.

A teacher trainer in the Tigray region told us that TTC students are uneasy about the mother tongue policy up to Grade 8, because students from other regions like Addis Ababa may perform better at secondary level because they begin English as MOI earlier in primary.  This uneasiness may be groundless, as we found no evidence that this has been researched or that this is the case. Primary school teachers in Oromiya supported Afan Oromo as the medium of instruction, saying that English could be taught very well as a subject, using good language teaching methods. They referred to the teaching of English in private schools, where they said that even though the number of students per class may be as high as 80 at a certain private school they named, the English results are better because of the methodology.

We had a chance to talk to some 2nd cycle primary practicum teachers in Tigray Region.  As mentioned in the profile above, these teacher trainees had difficulty expressing themselves in English, but when they switched to Tigrinya, they continued to insist that English should be the MOI.  They said that it would earn them more respect from students who want to learn in English even though they find it very difficult to understand what teachers say.

We talked to a group of primary students in SNNPR about their preferred language of instruction in Grade 5 and they said, almost unanimously, that they would like to learn in English. The reason they gave was that learning in English medium makes their future learning easier, especially at Grade 7 level.  They especially related it to the national examination they are expected to take in Grade 10.  Even when students were provided with the possibility of taking national exam in Grade 10 in Amharic, they still preferred English medium, this time because "English is a world language".

A group of Grade 7 students we talked to in Amhara Region told us that they have difficulty following lessons delivered in English. They said they would usually want their teachers to translate into Amharic.  Students also find it difficult to express their ideas in English.  When asked about their preferred language of instruction, the majority chose English, saying that the early start would help them learn English fast, facilitating their learning through the English medium at the secondary

level and helping them do well on the national examinations.  When the possibility of taking the national examinations in Amharic was put forward, students still opted for English medium because they said they would face English as MOI in Grades 11 and 12.  When the possibility of using Amharic as a medium at all levels of education was put forward to the students, quite a few of the students liked the idea, but some were still unhappy, and one posed the question, "How are we going to be different from those who are uneducated if we are learning in Amharic?"

The perception that many students fail exams in Grade 9 in Oromiya region [despite evidence that assessment results are relatively positive, as reported above] is interpreted by some as a direct effect of the MOI used in Grades 7 and 8.  One example we were given was that of 220 students who attended class in Grade 9, only 86 passed. This view was shared by some parents we talked to on our way to one of the rural schools in Oromiya, who told us that they were very unhappy about the high failure rate of their children. The reason they gave was that students have no practice in using English as a MOI in previous grades.

*Observations of school language practices*: Apart from teaching and learning activities, which consisted mainly of teacher-centred instruction during the 100 classroom observations we conducted, nearly all other communication in the classroom (teacher discipline of students, student-to-student talk, students requesting something of the teacher, students carrying messages from one teacher to another) is conducted in the mother tongue. Communicative exchanges around the school, e.g. amongst teachers and school directors and even between teachers and students, are invariably in the local mother tongue or Amharic. This is the case in both primary and secondary schools, even where English is the official MOI in the school. The only possible exception to this is during English Day, a recommendation of the ELIP programme as we understand it, where schools are supposed to use English in interactions around the school grounds during one day per week.  At one urban secondary school we visited in Amhara region, this was reportedly done successfully every Wednesday, but according to a study done in the same region (see Amhara REB, July 2005), 50% of the students surveyed said they did not speak English on that day.

As soon as English is introduced as the MOI, communication patterns in the classroom change dramatically. The research team found that, with the exception of some urban schools in Gambella and Amhara regions (and some older teachers), teachers seldom had the necessary English language proficiency to use this language as a MOI.  We observed teachers struggling with the English language to teach a science subject, e.g. in Gambella (on video) where in some parts of the lesson it was extremely difficult to work out what the teacher wanted to say. A Grade 9 teacher in Addis Ababa became so flustered trying to teach through English that he changed from one subject to a completely different subject during the lesson. In another example in Somali, a senior school management staff member stopped teaching altogether when members of the team asked to observe his class.  Although many teachers would attempt to use English consistently when observers were present, as soon as we left the classroom teachers reverted to the local language. This happened consistently at the grade levels where transition to English medium occurred in that region, whether at Grade 5, 7, or 9, and it was often done in the years subsequent to the change of medium.  We learned that normal classroom teaching involves regular and unsystematic use of code switching between English and an Ethiopian language.

Classroom teaching-learning interaction in English MOI settings exhibited few instances of any meaningful exchange of ideas. Teachers and students in many instances had built up a series of ritualised stock phrases which could be used and repeated over and over again (e.g. T: "Is it clear?" Students: "Yes"). This is referred to as "safe talk" in the international literature (Hornberger & Chick 2001) because it denotes only superficial communication and is almost invariably indicative of low levels of cognitive engagement with the content of the lesson. Some local education officials or school staff gave indications of believing that 'safe talk' practices were indicative of effective English teaching and learning. However, it has been clear to us that in many settings, with some exceptions like urban schools in Gambella and Amhara regions, English does not facilitate effective classroom learning or teaching.

Regarding the mixing of languages (or code switching), subject teachers complain about the very low English language ability of their students. They say they are forced to translate almost everything into Amharic or other Ethiopian languages. In regions where English is used as a medium of instruction as of Grade 5, most of the translations are made in to Amharic, because teachers at these levels are not always speakers of students' mother tongues. In some of the schools we visited in SNNPR, students told us that they would get lessons translated into Amharic, which they said provides better understanding.

*Challenges regarding English competence:* From our observations, students' English language ability by the end of the four years in primary cycle 1 is very limited. We observed the same basic lessons throughout Grades 1-4 such as, "This is a pen" with very little sign of progress, demonstrating that student competence can only progress if language instruction is improved. Exercise books for English from Grades 5 to 9 also showed repetition of the same or very similar introductory exercises at the beginning of each Grade. Instead of varying the kinds of writing tasks according to language and cognitive development, students are asked to repeat the same limited range of tasks from one year to the next. From our observations, the English curriculum, textbook exercises and methodology used to teach English as a subject showed a heavy reliance on grammar-translation practices. This persists despite the communicative orientation of the ELIP teacher upgrade programme. This may be indicative of teachers' extremely limited English language competence, since communicative methods can only be used by people who speak a language competently.

Because they are in self-contained classrooms, primary 1st cycle teachers must teach the entire curriculum to Grades 1-4, including English as a subject. There are some exceptions to this, e.g. in Harari regions where there is a ready supply of teachers. Here teachers, who are English language specialists, teach English as a subject in primary cycle 1 classrooms, and this relieves the pressure from the classroom teacher. In general, however, as a number of REB and TTC educators mentioned, it is unfortunate that the teachers with least training (certificate level, i.e. for 10th Grade plus one year of training that usually focuses on methodology rather than content) are giving learners their early school experiences. This has become even less satisfying to educators now that certificate level training is now being left to private institutions where there is very little quality control. This means students who had difficulty understanding and producing simple sentence structures in English at Grade 10 will join the teaching profession without taking lessons to improve their English. According to a teacher educator in Addis, it is very difficult to bring trainees' level of English to the required level. As a result, most trainees leave the college "untouched".

Interviews and discussions with TTC deans and educators revealed similar information from many regions. Student teachers have weak levels of proficiency in English and are not able to engage in interactive educational encounters with college staff in English. Instructors are obliged to use the mother tongue and/or Amharic for classroom communication, and a great deal of code-switching goes on. At two TTCs we heard that students often plagiarise from the internet because they do not have the English language skills needed to write their assignments.

These are the teachers of English in the primary schools. In some regions it is assumed that four years of English as taught by these teachers will prepare students to use English as a medium of instruction. In SNNPR, for example, we videotaped Grade 5 students in simple interaction with a member of the research team. They could not understand basic sentences, responding in inappropriate ways, for example:

> Researcher [to one student]: Do you have a pen?
> Student: I am ten years.
> Researcher [to another student]: Do you have a pen?
> Student: Yes.
> Researcher: Where is your pen?
> Student: No.

We had an opportunity to observe radio-assisted English lessons at the lower primary level. Interactive Radio has obviously been developed to support teachers whose English language competence is limited. However, many teachers we observed had great difficulty understanding the basic English of the radio broadcasts, made more difficult by static and noise outside the classroom. Both students and teachers encountered problems using the radio lesson as a model, and there was no case observed where students actually responded to the radio teacher; they all waited until the classroom teacher prompted them, which did not always happen. The following, from a Grade 1 class in Amhara region, is an illustration of the limited type of interaction we observed:

> Teacher: This is WHO?
> Students: This is pen.

After repeating this many times, a different object was substituted and there was further repetition.

We checked notes in student exercise books randomly and in nearly all classrooms we visited. As mentioned above, these notes reveal that students often copy things down from the chalkboard without comprehending them. Where English was used as MOI, the notes were often so difficult to understand that they could not be used for studying purposes. This pattern was consistent from the point of transition to English onwards.

*Other challenges:* The team frequently heard reference to ELIP and the 'communicative approach" of language teaching. When asked what they understood about this approach, many informants indicated that it meant "a focus on spoken, not written language". Further, the English language teaching staff at one TTC agreed that the ELIP intervention had given teacher educators and teachers "the freedom to know that the most important thing is to use and speak English", and that it is quite acceptable to use 'broken English' to teach students. One informant told us, "It is better to

use 'broken English' to teach students than it is to use the mother tongue". Several other informants in the same discussion confirmed this impression. Worryingly, a similar understanding of the communicative approach to language teaching emerged in focus group discussions in at least three of the regions. Whether or not ELIP trainers actually conveyed this message is not the point; these are the misunderstandings that are now being passed on to teachers. The misinterpretation of the communicative approach to language teaching requires urgent attention. A cardinal principle of language teaching is that the teacher offers the best possible language model, not 'broken English'.

About 41% of the teacher education budget is currently earmarked for the English Language Improvement Programme (ELIP) which until recently fell under the Teacher Development Programme (TDP). ELIP offers teachers a 200-hour English language "upgrade" programme which is delivered through two intensive 60-hour modules (5 hours x 12 days), which are scheduled for school holidays, followed by 80 hours of "distance education" using a study manual. A decision at the federal level was taken to ensure that all 220 000 teachers in the country would receive the programme to become better prepared to teach English as a subject or as a medium. Thus far 140 000 teachers have participated in the programme. Teachers reported to us that ELIP gave them an opportunity to study further, perhaps get a university degree and hence better employment. The value in terms of improved teaching of English in the classroom appeared to be of secondary importance. Whereas educators in the REBs, TTCs and woredas held very positive views towards the effects of ELIP, informants in schools were less positive. Directors and teachers indicated that teachers' initially improved English language skills dissipated within a few months of having completed the intensive part of the taught programme, and a number of teachers felt "dropped" and wondered what had become of the programme.

*Effective practices*: As mentioned in the regional profiles, in Amhara and Tigray regions we found individual schools that had arranged specialist English teachers (those with particular interest or qualifications) for the lower primary grades to relieve the self-contained teachers of teaching English as a subject. This practice is far more widespread and systematic in Harari region. While this practice is clearly subject to budget limitations, it seems more effective for teaching purposes and more practical than trying to upgrade the English language competence of all teachers in the country, given that few have exposure to the language outside the classroom.

Materials for the teaching of English as a subject in Grade 1 are prepared at the federal level. In most classes we observed, there were English language textbooks, even where other subjects (particularly those written in the mother tongue) were in short supply. It appears that the government has prioritised the budget for publication and distribution of these books, which might form a basis for how to improve the publication and distribution of other curricular materials.

# CHAPTER 6:  ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS

Using the above findings, including the national assessment figures, we will now analyze the relative effectiveness of the national and regional policies and practices with regard to languages used as MOI in the primary education system of the country.  We will also discuss the quality implications of these policies along with the frequent mismatch encountered between the MOI of 2nd cycle primary education and the MOI of teacher education for that level.  Further implications are to educational achievement, which will be highlighted in terms of regions that are using mother tongues as MOI according the federal policy directives, versus those regions that are least consistent with the directives.

## 6.1  Strengths of existing policies and practices

### 6.1.1  The MoE policy recommending 8 years of MT is sound educational practice

International research as well as common practice in many countries supports long-term use of the mother tongue for education, so the Ethiopian policy recommending 8 years of mother tongue schooling should be considered sound educational practice.  As noted above, especially in the cases of Oromiya, Somali and Tigray, the positive effects are generally apparent in terms of access and quality of primary education, including high teacher and student language proficiency, improved classroom interaction and better student performance.  The question remaining in those regions is whether the mother tongue could be extended into higher levels of education to take advantage of its effectiveness and efficiency.

Compared with post-colonial African countries, the Ethiopian language education policy clauses are especially progressive.  As mentioned above, Nigeria was one of the more progressive countries having experimented with 6 years of Yoruba, but was never able to generalise the positive findings to countrywide implementation.  At one point Tanzania was using Kiswahili as MOI throughout primary  education, but it was not the mother tongue of all groups and it has since been challenged both by calls for mother tongue education as well as for calls for greater emphasis towards English.  Somalia and Guinea Conakry are two other examples of long-term use of the mother tongue in the 1970s – 1980s. In the case of Somalia this was logistically easier to implement because of the relative homogeneity of use of the Somali language, however political instability has rendered the long-term assessment of this policy difficult to measure. South Africa experienced the longest period of extended mother tongue education (8 years of MTE for speakers of African languages) from 1955-1975 and during this time the academic achievement of students increased to an 83, 6% pass rate in the Grade 12-exit examinations. However, in each of the cases mentioned above, decisions took different directions and in most cases the progress in MTE was reversed until the early 1990s. While South Africa proclaimed a new language education policy based on extended MTE in 1997, it is only in 2006 that a commitment towards policy implementation has become apparent. In October 2006 the Minister of Education decided to extend MTE to 6 years of education for speakers of African languages.[27] Amongst countries

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[27] Six years of MTE is a minimum requirement for successful education in a country where English is already widely used as a second language (L2) for functional purposes in local, regional and national government services and administration. In other words, unlike Ethiopia where English operates at few functional levels across society and it is a foreign language for most, English functions more as a second language for a larger section of society in South Africa.

therefore, Ethiopia's 8 years of MTE policy (in a country where the international language, English) is a foreign language for most people) has, for the last decade, taken the lead in good mother tongue policy. In at in three regions, Ethiopia has also take the lead in the implementation of mother tongue policy with good practice.

Nevertheless, there are extremely large groups of speakers of Ethiopian languages that could easily be well served by mother tongue MOI even beyond the primary level, going on to secondary and tertiary levels. For example, the populations of Afan Oromo and Amharic speakers are each almost four times the population of Sweden, where education is provided in Swedish to the Ph.D. level and English is taught as a subject. Somali and Tigrinya could also, with modest language development activity, be used to the end of secondary and into tertiary education.

## 6.1.2 Decentralisation favours the adoption of appropriate models and practices

Though there are still challenges to be met, the decentralised education system in Ethiopia has the potential to favour development of policies and practices that will suit the languages and cultures of each region. Countries with top-down decision making often attempt to implement one single educational language model for all, with little regard for differences in terms of language attitudes and use, exposure to national and/or official languages, goals of schooling, and so on. Encouraging regions to develop their own languages, models and materials based on sound educational policy directives, and providing them with the financial and technical resources, they need to implement them, is an effective way to promote appropriate educational services for all.

From our limited exposure to decentralisation, it seems to be functioning well within the regions, at least in some cases. For example, the decision to employ additional specialist language teachers in Primary Cycle 1 in Harari region demonstrates significant foresight. In another example regarding textbook distribution, especially when materials are not sufficient for all students, decisions are often made at the woreda level so that all schools get *some* books. We also found that woreda educators were often involved in language development and elaboration of curricular materials in the mother tongues. Even at the school level, we found examples of creative thinking, for example in Harari and Somali regions where schools organised two streams (one for each language) and/or language groups by morning/afternoon sessions. Another school level decision we discovered at a cluster school in Tigray region was the employment of specialist English teachers for the lower primary. At teacher level, we found particularly innovative decisions about using the multilingual resources of both teacher and students in the classroom (i.e. the code switching between Harari, Amharic and Oromifa) in order to ensure understanding of the lesson.

These and other decisions outside the central level have the potential to promote good practice in mother tongue-based schooling. Of course, there are also risks, one being that policy-makers at the regional or local levels put other considerations above the pedagogical ones that form the foundation of the policy recommendations. A clear example is the recent change to the implementation of 8 years of MTE where English has been reintroduced earlier as MOI at Grades 7 and 8, either for the natural sciences and / or mathematics (e.g. in Harari) or for most subjects (e.g. in Addis Ababa). Such changes, which have been called 'reverse planning' elsewhere, have come about because of the perceived benefits of preparing students for secondary schooling through English. (This is discussed in greater detail below.) The national assessment data for Grade 8 students, however, show however that those students who have 8 years of MTE perform better

across the curriculum and especially in mathematics and natural sciences in the Grade 8 tests than do those with fewer years of MTE.

We observed even more pressure for English in the South, where contrary to policy, English is being used as MOI for the entire $2^{nd}$ cycle of primary. Here we found a group of nine teachers at a rural primary school serving Wolaita speakers who wished for Wolaita to be a subject from Grades 1 to 12 but for English to be MOI from Grades 1 to 12!  Another risk is that budgets limited at the central or regional level will not allow for language development and writing of materials in the mother tongues, and that is where support should be given if the mother tongue policy is to be prioritised.

### 6.1.3  Experience in mother tongue use in primary education has created human and material resources that can be expanded

Quite a few languages, including but not limited to Amharic, Afan Oromo, Tigrinya and Somali, have been well developed for primary school teaching and teacher training.  Some educators at REBs and TTCs told us they believed their languages would serve at higher levels of the education system as well.  Other languages are at different stages of development, but there are at least some materials for mother tongue MOI at lower primary as well as MT as a subject for 23 languages, according to our data.  Of course, more development and further elaboration of materials needs to happen, but if we also consider the languages from the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) list in Appendix E there is a significant amount of publishing in Ethiopian languages.

A frequently cited reason for the early transition to English in SNNPR is the presence of many languages used by relatively small communities and the apparently overwhelming scale of what MTE would mean in terms of language development for all languages of the South. This issue needs to be dealt with in at least two stages. Firstly, where language development has already occurred, this should be supported and continued at least to the level that such developments have taken place. So wherever Southern languages have been used in teacher education as a MOI for student teachers in primary cycle 1, and then removed from this function (such as in the teacher training college in Arba Minch) this should be restored immediately. Where some languages have been used as MOI to Grade 6, these should be restored immediately in primary cycle 2. In the second phase, the languages which have already undergone some (corpus) development and preparation for use in education, but have not yet been used in schools, should be introduced into primary cycle 1 as a subject and gradually extended wherever possible, and so on. The principle should be to add on, incrementally, as soon as and wherever resources allow.

At the REB level, the curriculum departments are staffed with qualified people who are charged with the task of transforming national syllabi or frameworks into curricular materials written in the mother tongues.  We found the level of competence at the regional level impressive compared with many other countries and, although more than one curriculum officer asked for further training in textbook production and skills sequencing, we believe that the result of their work is very positive for mother tongue teaching and learning.

At the REB and TTC levels, we found a great deal understanding and support of the pedagogical principles behind mother tongue education to be at a very high level, though we also met

individuals who were less aware. The experienced educators in these contexts are generally very knowledgeable and can justify mother tongue-based schooling, though many are frustrated with what they consider misconceptions within civil society and the constant pressure towards English.

We also find it encouraging that teachers tend to come from the same areas as their students and speak the same languages. In many other countries, either teacher placement is done without consideration for linguistic and cultural background or teachers are purposely placed outside their home areas so that they must speak another language in the classroom.  In contrast, and perhaps because of the decentralised system, teachers are placed appropriately, and in regions like Oromiya and Gambella, potential teachers are even recruited to TTCs from certain language groups.  This is a practice that should continue and even be strengthened, perhaps through incentives.

## 6.2  Challenges of existing policies and practices

### 6.2.1  There is a widespread assumption that English MOI will help people learn English

As noted in the findings, people at nearly all levels of the education system as well as the general public expressed to us their belief that English MOI helps students learn English and, further, that the earlier English becomes MOI, the more successful students will be in school, in examinations and in life.  However, no one was able to offer any concrete evidence that this is so, or even that it has been researched.  (As discussed in section 5.2 on the National Assessment results, there is in fact evidence that this is untrue.)  One TTC dean correctly identified the misconception or myth, saying, "The assumption is that if students learn all subjects in English, their English language ability would increase.  This is simply a hypothesis."

The hypothesis, that in order to learn a second language successfully it should be used as a medium of instruction is not peculiar to Ethiopia. This hypothesis has been present in the discussions and debates about mother tongue and bilingual education at least since the early 20th century. There is no evidence however, which shows that this is the case in African settings. Although, under very particular middle class settings in North America there have been some successes, this has been limited only to English speaking students learning French in immersion programmes and to highly motivated Asian students who immigrate to North America. The reasons for the success of these students are peculiar to the socio-economic resources of their parents, excellent educational resources of the education system (including teachers who are native speakers of the MOI, ample supply of learning materials, small class sizes etc.) In addition, these programmes have never been implemented across a whole education system or proven successful in other contexts. We do know, however, from studies conducted on African soil, that students can become proficient in English as a second language under specific conditions, and that these include the teaching of English by highly trained teachers with advanced levels of proficiency in English within six years of formal education (as in the Nigerian Six Year Primary Project). We also know that where English is a foreign language to most students, and in under less ideal conditions (such as in South Africa between 1955-1975)[28], students can become highly proficient in English

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[28] During this time English was not widely known and used amongst the majority of speakers of African languages who lived mainly in rural areas. Over the last 30 years however there has been a dramatic urbanisation of people or

as a subject with 8 years of MTE and can change to English medium in Grade 9, achieving educational success at the end of Grade 12.

Obviously, the context of English in Ethiopia is in any case very different from those found in Canada or the USA. In Ethiopia, English is a second language only for the educated elite and a foreign language for most others since it is rarely or never heard or used in their homes or communities.  To our knowledge, there is no evidence that demonstrates that use of a foreign language as medium of instruction improves the learning or use of that language, particularly not on a countrywide level.  In fact, there is a great deal of evidence to the contrary: that use of a foreign language as a medium of instruction impedes both learning of content subjects and learning of the language itself.  As Cummins (1996, 2003) and many others have shown (e.g. Ramirez et al. 1991, Thomas & Collier 2002), a significant investment of time and effort into high-level mother tongue skills in all of the areas—speaking, listening, reading and writing—pays off not only in L1 competence but also in competence in other languages and in achievement across the rest of the curriculum, especially in mathematics and science.  Comprehensive African and international literature show that even in the best of circumstances, learners require at least six (and preferably eight) years of learning a language as a subject before they have the academic competence needed to use that language as MOI.

In fact, our research has found strong evidence that owing to lack of English competence on the part of teachers, which is due, in turn, to lack of appropriate training in and exposure to English, the use of English as MOI is seriously eroding the quality of education at all levels in Ethiopia.  Public pressure to bring English MOI into lower levels of primary schooling, and the failure of REB educators and other leaders to stop this process, should be seen as danger signs not only for quality but also for access and equity.  This is because only the elite have access to the kind of English that might help students succeed in English medium schooling.

6.2.2  Implementation decisions about English have had negative 'washback' for mother tongue education

The research team found that there is an extraordinary incidence of aspiration towards high-level proficiency in English, even though it is a foreign language and used in few functional domains in Ethiopia. There are similar trends in other parts of Africa where proficiency in French, English and Portuguese are similarly highly prized commodities (see chapter 3). Yet in each of these cases, French, Portuguese and English have a long history of colonial use. This is not the case for Ethiopia, and yet the aspiration towards English appears to be even more acute here than in those countries where the language has had a longer functional presence for administration, legislation, higher education and the economy.

This phenomenon is not easy to understand or explain, although in chapter 4 above, some of the historical events which have contributed to the situation subsequent to the period Britain assisted Ethiopia to expel the Italians during the Second World War, are discussed. In essence, these led to a partial educational dependency on Britain for expertise and learning materials, written in English, and this has had a knock-on effect in the education system since then. During the 1960s, a

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migration to the urban areas where people are exposed to English used across a wide range of functions and hence the position of English has shifted from a predominantly foreign to more of a second language for urban communities.

complex set of socio-political considerations contributed towards an emphasis on the use of Amharic in primary education, and then a counter emphasis on more and regional Ethiopian languages in education. In secondary school at least, the further privileging of and dependency on English medium have accompanied these developments. Language teaching resources, available in Britain and based on the English Second Language [ESL] expertise richly available in that country have been drawn upon to support the teaching of English [as FL] in Ethiopia.

Unfortunately, while the aspiration towards English has increased significantly there is a serious gap between aspiration and what is possible within the socio-economic-educational realities of the country.

It is noticeable in all regions that informants have very similar explanations for why English should be used as a MOI earlier than is currently the practice. The recurring reasons, based on misunderstandings of the relationship between language and learning are as follows:

o English is used as MOI in Grade 9, and plasma lessons are delivered in non-Ethiopian English, often at inappropriate speeds for second/foreign language learners.
o The Grade 10 and 12 examinations are set in English and students are expected to write the examinations in English. Therefore, students should learn through English as early as possible in order to prepare them for these public examinations.
o Students require English in order to study at university. It is assumed that the only way to ensure adequate proficiency in English is through English MOI from as early as possible.
o Students will need access to reference and academic material. This material is available in English not Ethiopian languages, therefore, students need to study through English for longer during school.
o English proficiency offers access to international travel and economic opportunities.

The educational assumptions upon which these arguments are based are flawed. Implicit is the notion that the sooner students use a language as a MOI the faster will be the development of the language. The research discussed in Chapter 3 makes it quite clear that students who have to change from MTE to learn through a second language, require at least six years (preferably eight years) of learning the L2 as a subject before they have a chance of using this language as a MOI. In Ethiopia, English does not function as a L2 for the vast majority of education administrators, teachers, students or parents. It remains a foreign language, yet many educational decisions and programmes have been established as if English were functioning as a L2 and as if it were used in several domains beyond the educational environment. It needs to be emphasised that appropriate educational decisions regarding the use of English in Ethiopia need to be based on the actual (foreign language) rather than wishful (second language) use of the language within the society.

What is very clear is that there is what is called in educational terms a 'washback effect' of the national assessment system on the delivery of the curriculum in Ethiopia. This is compounded by a further 'washback'[29] effect of the criteria for entry to university education. The national assessments at Grade 10 and 12 in English are high stakes examinations which exert pressure on

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[29] The term 'washback' effect comes from the literature on assessment and the washback effect of assessment on education systems (e.g. Messick 1996).

the system lower down. The pressure is focused on both adequate 'mastery' of the curriculum content and on the academic language skills required to mediate knowledge and thinking.

Federal and regional education responded to both the need for curriculum delivery improvement and the quality of English language teaching. Although there is a comprehensive plan, two 'silver bullet' strategies have been put in place in the hope of bringing about rapid change. The first has been to introduce plasma education as a resource across the system in order to offer a 'silver bullet' solution to deal with the curriculum and content. Plasma teachers, however, cannot engage with learners directly and mediate their teaching activities to suit the learning styles of different students or the linguistic clarifications required by learners from different language backgrounds across the regions in Ethiopia. In most African countries, teachers use local languages to explain difficult concepts which are being taught in English, French or Portuguese, even in secondary school. However, this is not possible with plasma.

The team found several unintended consequences, 'washback effect', of the introduction of plasma as a teaching resource. The authority of regular classroom teachers has been undermined, and confidence in their teaching ability has been eroded. When students do not understand the plasma lessons, they do not appear to have confidence in seeking clarifications of understanding from the teacher. Instead, students and parents believe even more strongly that the answer lies in an earlier switch to English medium in the belief that this will help students to understand plasma in Grade 9. Thus, plasma is exerting additional pressure towards an earlier switch to English. This compounds the already powerful downward pressure towards English from the university entrance criteria, and national examinations.

The decision at federal level to introduce and roll-out system-wide delivery of the 200-hour ELIP programme to upgrade the English language skills of all teachers, has been a major response to the skills shortage in English. However, this has been accompanied in the regions, woredas, colleges and even at school level by a serious over-estimation of what the 200-hour programme can deliver, and unintended consequences. No 200-hour English language programme delivered via a cascade model, across the entire system, within a short period, could possibly facilitate more than an elementary to medium level upgrading of English proficiency. This is particularly the case in contexts where English remains a foreign language and is not in widespread community use. Yet what would be required of teachers is high level, near native-like proficiency in English if they are to be effective teachers in English.

An unintended consequence of the ELIP programme is that teachers seem to have seen this more as an opportunity to prepare for a flight from primary school teaching towards university degrees and better job opportunities beyond primary school. Since this is not immediately feasible, however, several teachers indicate that they try to teach through the medium of English in order to practice and improve their English as an investment in their own future. What this means is that teaching the students is not the principle objective, rather the students in the classroom become the secondary means to the ends of teachers own career objectives.[30]

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[30] Evidence from English teacher educators that they believed it is acceptable for teachers to use 'broken English' as opposed to what is internationally accepted good practice, i.e. 'near native-like proficiency', is a serious indication of unintended consequences of potentially valuable interventions.

*In summary:*

While there is an unprecedented aspiration towards English across the regions in Ethiopia, and found even in remote rural villages of Afar, neither the current strategies which have been put in place nor those which are believed to be the best solutions can deliver what is so ardently desired. Extensive investment in plasma lessons in the English language only at secondary school is unlikely to deliver a positive return on investment. While there are positive outcomes of the investment in ELIP, these are not those which had been anticipated by the federal government. Not only can a system-wide intervention in improving English language proficiency not deliver the level of English language expertise required for using English as MOI, its implementation is exacerbating unrealistic expectations about the possibilities for English in the country. Both the use of plasma in English only in secondary and the emphasis placed on the ELIP programme are contributing towards an unrealistic pressure to introduce English medium earlier in the primary school. These, in turn, contribute towards the escalation of unrealistic aspirations towards English in the country.

A particular concern regarding the high-stakes role which has been accorded English as the language through which education is administered during or by the end of primary cycle 2, is the implication for female students especially in rural areas. The MoE report on Educational Wastage (2002) has disturbing accounts of the high incidence of absenteeism amongst rural girl students. The use of a foreign language like English, which such students would be unlikely to encounter during their time outside of the classroom, significantly decreases the possibility that these girls would be able to develop adequate proficiency in English. This means that their prospects of being able to grapple successfully with the rest of the curriculum would be seriously compromised (see also Benson 2005) and the low throughput to secondary would continue. This again affects health and development issues in relation to communities at risk and the continuation of the cycle of poverty (McCain & Mustard 1999).

If one were to trace the washback effect it would follow an incrementally evolving degree of pressure exerted on primary education as follows:

University entrance English language requirements
⬇
National examinations in English at Grades 10 and 12
⬇
Plasma in English only beginning in Grade 9
⬇
Pressure to introduce English medium earlier in primary
⬇
Improving all teachers' English proficiency in primary
⬇
Loss of focus on successful learning of the rest of the curriculum
or on optimal cognitive development of students
⬇
Unrealistic aspiration towards English by all
on a scale which is of great concern

At each washback level, the pressure towards achievement in English, at the level required for successful teaching and learning, becomes greater. At the same time, as the expectations increase, the possibility of meeting these expectations becomes increasingly unlikely. For example, plasma teachers cannot engage with learners directly or mediate their teaching activities to suit the learning styles of different students, nor can they provide the linguistic clarifications required by learners from diverse language backgrounds. During this research we noted several unintended consequences, more washback effects, of the use of plasma as a teaching resource. The authority of regular classroom teachers has been undermined, and confidence in their teaching ability has been eroded. When students do not understand the plasma lessons, they do not always appear to have confidence in seeking clarifications of understanding from the teacher. Instead, students and parents believe even more strongly that an earlier switch to English medium will help students to understand plasma in Grade 9.

The system-wide delivery of the 200-hour ELIP programme to upgrade the English language skills of all teachers has been a major response to the skills shortage in English. However, this has been accompanied in the regions, TTCs, woredas and schools by a serious over-estimation of what the 200-hour programme can deliver, as well as unintended consequences. First of all, no short language programme delivered via a cascade model across the entire system could possibly facilitate more than an elementary to medium level upgrading of English proficiency in this context, where English remains a foreign language for most; yet for teachers to be effective in using English as MOI they would need near-native proficiency in the language. Additionally, ELIP training has been given to all teachers, even those who are teaching competently in the mother tongue. This is not a good use of human or economic resources, and the washback effect is again to make people value English at high cost to the more effective and efficient mother tongue schooling.

The washback effect could also be seen as one reason for the MOI mismatch between primary schools and TTCs. As we discussed above, the use of English is not advised for the training of teachers who will be using the mother tongue, because it deprives them of mother tongue development, technical vocabulary, and pedagogical skills that they need to teach effectively in the mother tongue. As mentioned above, it also gives some teachers the impression that their mother tongues cannot express mathematical or scientific concepts, when it is their own language competence that is lacking.

## 6.3 Implications for policy and practice

Judging by the assessment results as well as observations and reports, *use of the mother tongue as medium of instruction for Grades 1-8 does not hurt student academic performance*, nor does it hurt their English competence relative to other students. On the contrary, where there are *strong mother tongue programmes, students achieve better results in subjects across the curriculum as well as in English language as a subject* on national assessments as well as in daily teacher-student interaction and the general teaching and learning process. Student performance in English appears to be affected more by teacher competence, methodologies and outside exposure than by use of English as MOI.

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*It is technically possible to use any language for formal educational purposes throughout the system.* Because of decentralisation there are *mother tongue speakers of the appropriate languages* who have been or who can be trained to teach through them. There is *high capacity at the REB and TTC levels for language development and elaboration of materials*, but budget is often lacking. In some multilingual regions like Benishangul Gumuz and SNNPR, *more technical and economic inputs are needed* for mother tongue education to be realised.

The MoE has inadvertently sent mixed messages to the regions about the importance of mother tongue whilst simultaneously according English a high stakes assessment function and gate-keeping role in respect of access to higher education. While promoting a policy of mother tongue primary schooling, large amounts of resources both human and economic have been invested in English as the gatekeeper which, unintentionally, serves to block access to upward social, educational and political mobility. This implicitly contradicts the policy and it creates educationally impossible targets for the vast majority of students in the system. One clear implication is that *similar if not more resources should be put into mother tongue education.* Based on our findings, we would predict that there is greater chance of *improving educational access, quality and equity through investment in mother tongue education*, and that any investment in mother tongue as MOI will have *exponentially greater return* than investment in English has had.

Regarding both Amharic and English taught as subjects, there is a need to apply appropriate teaching methodologies. For English instruction in particular, teachers need to be competent speakers as well as pedagogues before they are allowed to teach the language; this would imply that some reliable forms of language assessment be implemented, and that minimum competence levels be determined. The further implication is that English should not be taught at the lower primary level until competent teachers have been supplied at the upper levels of the system.

*There are two major implications for education planners arising from the study. These are in accordance with the principles enshrined in the existing MOE language education policy:*

1. Investment in the linguistic resources within the regions is necessary for the development and support of strong mother tongue education.

2. National and international languages need to be taught by qualified personnel.

# CHAPTER 7:  RECOMMENDATIONS

The terms of reference for the Medium of Instruction in Ethiopian Primary Education study require a set of evidence-based recommendations for language policy and language use in education in Ethiopia.  The TOR specifically includes a set of questions which need to be answered in regards to the policy, interpretation of policy, implementation and necessary reforms.

The purpose of language education policy is to set out the broad principles which inform education providers at federal, regional and local level. A language plan sets out the guidelines for how to interpret the policy and establish a workable framework for implementation. The timeframes, budget, deliverables, monitoring and evaluation form part of the management of the implementation plan. It needs to be emphasised that the development of a language education policy is dynamic. It requires on going monitoring and evaluation. Therefore, the recommendations presented here are based on the best current knowledge of policy and planning activities in multilingual countries, particularly in Africa. They are also based on the best knowledge we have of current research and theory of language acquisition and learning and the pedagogical approaches which support these. Therefore, the recommendations need to be understood as the closest we can get to the best answers for now. However, on going research and practice in Ethiopia and elsewhere will inevitably require improvements and modifications over time. Recommendations arising from this study are organised in a sequentially prioritised basis below.[31]

| Key To Set of Recommendations | Number/s: |
|---|---|
| Language Policy | 1 |
|    o   Status Planning | |
|        o   Principles of policy, legislation | |
|        o   Identification of different roles of | |
|            ▪   the mother tongue, | |
|            ▪   the national (Amharic) lingua franca[32] | |
|            ▪   English (international language of wider communication) | 9 |
| Language Planning | |
|        o   Implementation Planning - Management process | 2 |
|    o   Acquisition Planning | |
|        o   Mother Tongue education | 3 |
|        o   Amharic as Second language for National Development | 4 |
|        o   Oromifa, Tigrinya & Somali Regional Second Languages in education | 4 |
|        o   English as International language of Wider Communication | 5 |
|        o   Medium of Assessment | 6 |
|        o   Teacher Education, Training of Teacher Educators, Capacity-building in Higher Education (universities) | 7 |
|    o   Corpus Planning | 8 |
|        o   Orthographic development | |
|        o   Terminology development | |
|        o   Lexicography | |
|        o   Translation | |
|        o   Materials development & publishing | |

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[31] They are organized in relation to the different areas of language policy, planning and management as would be found in the current international literature, and further developed within African contexts (e.g. Heugh  2003b, 2004, 2006b).

[32] It may be advisable to consider official recognition that some regional languages (e.g. Oromifa, Tigrinya, Somali and Afar) function as lingua francas in some regions.

## 7.1 Language Education Policy Recommendations

Recommendation 1:  Status Planning

*Affirm the Language Education Clauses of the 1994 Education and Training Act*
with minor amendments

Following the research findings and analysis of these in relation to international best policy, this research team regards the current language education policy largely consistent with best policy. This is particularly in relation to the primary role of the mother tongue in education for a minimum period of 8 years as medium of instruction (MOI). Nevertheless, in order to ensure that this policy is interpreted consistently throughout all regions, we recommend that minor amendments are made to the clauses as indicated below.

| | Recommended principles to be included in a revised Language Education Policy | Rationale |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Mother tongue education (MTE), which includes teaching of the MT as a subject and the use of MT as the medium of instruction, should be provided throughout primary school, i.e.  8 years, in all regions. | This is compatible with international and African research which indicates that this would have the best desired educational outcomes for students in the conditions found within Ethiopia. |
| 2 | Speakers of languages other than Amharic, should be encouraged to learn Amharic as a second language in school. | Amharic is a significant lingua franca across most regions. It facilitates access, equity & portability of skills for further education and employment opportunity across different regions in Ethiopia. |
| 3 | MT/L1 speakers of Amharic should be encouraged to learn a second Ethiopian language | The reasons are to ensure:<br>o access to activities in different language communities in the country or region;<br>o to ensure equity – if speakers of other languages learn Amharic, it would be equitable and socially beneficial if Amharic speakers were to learn another Ethiopian language;<br>o having a second Ethiopian language increases one's portability of skills and employment opportunity across different regions. |
| 4 | All students should be provided with quality teaching of English as an international language of wider communication (ILWC) and as a subject throughout primary and secondary school. | The best pedagogical opportunity for access to high level proficiency in English must be offered to students. This is important for reasons of equity, quality and access. Students need to have adequate preparation for using this language in higher education as well as for communication opportunities in international contexts. |
| 5 | Primary teacher education (i.e. training of teachers for Grades 1-8) should be in the MT, i.e. MT - MOI . | In order for teachers to be most effective, they need to have a high level of proficiency in the language of instruction (MOI), and they need to be familiar with how the language is used as MOI. They also need to understand the content of the curriculum, and they need to know how to teach the content through the language which students understand. Therefore, there needs to be alignment between MT -MOI in the classroom and MT - MOI in the teacher education institution. |

## 7.2 Language Education Planning Recommendations

<u>Recommendation 2</u>: Planning and Management

*Develop a clear Language Education Implementation Plan*

A set of regulations for implementation within the Ethiopian education system would require the following:

| | Recommended Action | By Whom | Timeframe: indicates length of time necessary to effect | Cost |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Spelling out of: <br> o National Regional <br> o Local priorities & considerations | Small informed team. | *Short-term* <br> 2 months | Same as for any policy implementation |
| 2 | Decentralisation of planning mechanisms to: <br> o regions, <br> o zones and <br> o woredas | MoE, REBs etc. | *Short – long term* <br> Ongoing per regular administration process | Part of current cost structure |
| 3 | Budgetary Allocation Planning Equity considerations across regions | MoFED, MoE Informed by economy of language theory (e.g. Francois Grin); cost-effectiveness of MTE models vs. FL/L2 models | *Short – long term* <br> 6 months initiation phase; thereafter included in regular activities <br><br> *Medium - long term* | Regular administrative costs (unless MOE hires a language economist for a short-term, 2 month consultancy) Cost-recovery, return on investment |
| 4 | Public awareness | Education officials and experts via public media; formal & informal channels of communication | *Short , medium and long term:* <br> Start immediately; keep public up to date with the current education issues; engage public participation in open discussion, regular reporting to community | Public media should carry this without cost to the state; state expenditure supplement public media where possible. Same costs as for any government policy |
| 5 | Public participation | Community leadership, parent bodies, women's groups, language interest & development bodies | *Short , medium and long term:* <br> Begin immediately and on-going | Minimal costs for invited public participation (see below for language development activity costs) |
| 6 | Overall Timeframe Short term: 1-2 yr Medium term: 3-5yr Long term: 6-10 yr | MoE, REBs | Part of planning process – initially 2-3 months, *short-term* activity | Regular planning costs |
| 9 | Monitoring & Evaluation mechanisms | Representative Reference Group & Independent Evaluator | *Medium – long-term commitment* | Regular costs for any system |

Recommendation 3: Language in Education (Acquisition) Planning

*Prioritisation of Ethiopian Languages (Mother Tongues) for Cognitive Academic Development in Education*

| | Recommended Priority | Recommended Action | Timeframes | Anticipated Cost-benefits |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Establish a **National Centre for Development of Ethiopian Languages** in Education, as both subjects (MT/L1, L2) and MOI. | MoE to manage acquisition planning & development of Ethiopian languages in education through National Centre. Supported by REBs. | Plan to begin 2007/2008 *Short – long term commitment* | Change of status of indigenous languages; positive effect on student academic achievement anticipated; Cost-recovery by 2012 Return on investment by 2015. |
| 2 | **Mother Tongue Education (MTE)** i.e. MT as medium of instruction. | MTE: medium of instruction for a minimum of 8 years in Ethiopia (Primary Cycle 1 & 2). | Implement at least to the end of Grade 8. For sound pedagogical reasons could continue to end of Grade 12. *Short-term:* Consolidate progress already made. Restore MTE to highest educational level reached per region thus far. *Medium-term:* Extend MTE in terms of regional conditions over next 5 years. | Lower repetition and dropout rates; higher throughput in primary and secondary. |
| 3 | **MTE or Language of Immediate Community (LIC), as MOI** *Under certain conditions[33]* | MTE or LIC as MOI where MT is used by a small minority language, but where another Ethiopian language is: o Well-known and used in **this** community as a lingua franca or community language. | At least to the end of Grade 8, but could continue to end of Grade 12 for sound pedagogical reasons. *Short – medium term:* Restore use of MTE/LIC wherever possible. *Medium - Long term:* Continue to extend development of local languages for education (e.g. in AA, SNNPR, B-Gumuz, Gambella). | Lower repetition and dropout rates; higher throughput in primary and secondary. |
| 4 | MT as subject. | MT as a subject. | *Short-term* objective: Grades 1-8; *Medium to long-term* objective: Grades 1-12. | High levels of academic literacy, higher throughput in primary and secondary. |

[33] For example where there are many small minority language communities surrounded by a larger or regional language of wider communication as in some parts of SNNPR, Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa etc.

Recommendation 4a: Language in Education (Acquisition) Planning

*Prioritisation of Amharic as Ethiopian lingua franca/L2 for National Development*

| | Priority | Recommended Action | Timeframe for Action | Anticipated Cost-benefits |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | **National Centre for Development of Ethiopian Languages** in Education to include focus on Amharic as L2. | MOE to manage acquisition planning & development of Amharic as L2 through National Centre. Supported by REBs. | *Short – long term* From 2007/8 on going. | Increased academic literacy in Amharic, improved economic activity. |
| 2 | Amharic as L2 – subject. | Teach Amharic as a subject (L2) to all students who are not L1 speakers of Amharic. | Begin in Primary Cycle 1 and continue throughout the school system. *Short term:* consolidate existing resources *Medium term:* extend practice and ensure adequate second language acquisition pedagogy. | Equity, access & portability of skills for employment and educational reasons across the different regions. Facilitates social cohesion across different regions and even within regions where there is a high degree of use of Amharic as L2 for daily communication. |
| 3 | Amharic L2 as possible MOI from Grade 7 in some regions. | In regions / zones / woredas where there are high levels of multilingualism (e.g. Addis Ababa) or many languages spoken by small numbers of people (e.g. SNNPR), then a widely spoken Ethiopian language (e.g. Amharic) can replace the MT as MOI from Grade 7 onwards. (e.g. In some instances it may be possible for speakers of minority languages to use Amharic as MOI in SNNPR and Amhara Region; or Oromifa as MOI in Oromo Region; or Tigrinya in Tigray as MOI from Grade 7 onwards | Amharic, as L2, in secondary, & also from Grade 7 under special circumstances. *Short term* Where Amharic functions as well-used community language/lingua franca, & where there are limited MTE resources at present, restore use of Amharic as MOI, even from Grade 5 as a short-term measure. *Medium term* Develop local languages for use as MTE wherever possible to end of gr 6. *Long term* Develop local languages for use as MOI to end of gr 8, in stages. | Would facilitate greater throughput at end of primary and in secondary. |

Recommendation 4b: Language in Education (Acquisition) Planning

*Prioritisation of Oromifa, Tigrinya and Somali [34] as Regional lingua francas/L2 for Regional Development [35]*

| | Priority | Recommended Action | Timeframe for Action | Anticipated Cost-benefits |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | **National Centre for Development of Ethiopian Languages** in Education to include focus on Oromifa, Tigrinya and Somali as regional second languages (L2). | MOE to share the management of acquisition planning & development of Oromifa, Tigrinya and Somali as L2 through National Centre and REBs or centres established at regional universities | *Medium – long term* From 2008/9 on going: Oromifa, Tigrinya, Somali. *Long term* From 2012 on going: Afar | Increased academic literacy in Oromifa, Tigrinya and Somali would improve regional economic activity. |
| 2 | Oromifa, Tigrinya and Somali as L2 – subjects in the respective Oromo, Tigray and Somali regions. | Teach Oromifa, Tigrinya as a subject (L2) to minority language students who are not L1 speakers of these languages in the respective regions, and where it may be necessary for these students to use these languages for learning in the school system. | Begin in Primary Cycle 1 and continue throughout the school system. *Short term:* consolidate or develop resources as necessary. *Medium term:* extend practice and ensure adequate second language acquisition pedagogy. | Equity, access & portability of skills for employment and educational reasons across the different regions. Facilitates social cohesion within the regions. |
| 3 | Oromifa, Tigrinya and Somali L2 as possible MOI from Grade 7 in respective regions. | In some instances it may be necessary for speakers of minority languages to use Oromifa as MOI in Oromo Region; or Tigrinya in Tigray; or Somali in Somali region as MOI from Grade 7 onwards | Better resource Oromifa, Tigrinya & Somali as L2 MOI for minorities in the regions. Aim for MTE and transition to regional language as MOI from Grade 7 under special circumstances. *Short term* Where these languages function as well-used lingua francas & where there are limited MTE resources at present, restore use of Oromifa, Tigrinya and Somali as MOI, even from gr 7-8 as a short-term measure, if applicable. | Would facilitate greater throughput at end of primary and in secondary. |

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[34] Subsequent to development of Afar as medium of instruction to Grade 8, it may be advisable to develop teaching of Afar as a second language for speakers of other language communities in the region.

[35] Some of these activities may have already been covered in terms of recommendation 4a above.

| | | | Medium term |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Develop local languages for use as MTE wherever possible to end of gr 6. Long term Develop local languages for use as MOI to end of gr 8, in stages. | |

Recommendation 5: Language in Education (Acquisition) Planning

*Prioritisation of English as an International Language of Wider Communication*

| | Priority | Recommended Action | Timeframe for Action | Anticipated Cost-benefits |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | English Language Improvement Centre/Programme. | Parallel structure to support and work alongside National Centre for Development of Ethiopian languages.

Focus on specialized English language skills' development. | *Short term* Structure already in place. Core business requires refocus on training fewer but highly proficient specialist teachers of English as an International Language of Wider Communication. Significantly contribute to correction of current misconceptions regarding potential role of English in Ethiopian education.

*Medium term* Focus on selected niche interventions for training teachers with 'near-native-like' proficiency in English.

*Longer term* Expand niche interventions within realistic conditions for sustained and longitudinal positive outcomes. 10-20 year plan required. | Increased level of English language proficiency; more focused expenditure designed for return on investment in long term (10 - 20 yrs). Realistically, this will be the most expensive feature of the education system because of the extensive resources required to upgrade English proficiency of educators to requisite level for using English as subject & as MOI. This requires careful cost-benefit analysis in relation to other options + the REAL costs. Possible returns may not be affordable. Hence, it is advisable to identify selected areas for intervention rather than system-wide use of a language which does not function widely enough in society to fulfil the educational role currently demanded of it. |

| 2 | English as a Subject: The International Language of Wider Communication (ILWC) in Ethiopia should be taught as a subject. But only under optimal language acquisition circumstances. | Teach English as a subject by specialized English language teachers. (i.e. teachers must have 'near-native-like' proficiency in English in order for this to work efficiently and successfully) | English as ILWC and subject, pedagogically may be taught in Primary Cycle 1. It may also be more efficient, however, to begin teaching later. The key criterion is that students have 6-8 years of very good English as a subject by the time they leave school to go on to further education. *Short, medium, long term* Focus on building up corps of dedicated English subject teachers from Primary 1. | Smarter concentration of funding resources for training English language teachers; higher level of proficiency in English = more cost effective teaching of English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | Realistic reappraisal of and preparation for English as MOI. | Teachers who use English as MOI must have advanced proficiency in English. Plan systematic upgrading of teachers' English language skills to 'near-native-like proficiency'. Begin with English as MOI from university. Stagger use of English as MOI in secondary by preparing adequately from top end down (Grades 11-12 first, then Grades 9-10). | *Short term* Pilot retraining of sample of gr 11-12 teachers for English & English or regional language bilingual MOI: Control groups of maths & science teachers; history & geography teachers. Evaluate process for decisions to upscale. *Medium term* Prepare teachers for English MOI, or bilingual regional language & English Grades 10-12 *Long term* Prepare teachers for English MOI or bilingual regional language and English Grades 9 & 10. | Higher level of proficiency in both English and subjects across the curriculum is both the objective and required outcome. This is cost-effective over medium term, and should produce return on investment in the longer term. |
| 4 | Re-introduce academic literacy in English / English for academic purposes programme at undergraduate level in Universities. | Ensure high-level student proficiency in academic literacy in English at undergraduate level. | *Short term* English as MOI for undergraduate studies, accompanied by tutorials at 1st & 2nd year in regional languages or bilingual regional language and English. *Short – medium term* Academic literacy in English at undergraduate level in university and teacher training colleges. | Ensuring academic competence in English. |

Recommendation 6: Language in Education (Acquisition) Planning

*Prioritisation – Medium of Assessment*

| | Priority | Recommended Action | Timeframe for Action | Anticipated Cost-benefits |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Change medium of assessment at Grade 10 and 12 from English only, to offer alternatives | Remove compulsion to write examinations in a foreign language. Offer alternatives: Bilingual test papers: <br> o Regional language plus English; or <br> o MTE assessment at Grade 10 & 12. | *Short term* <br> Translate key Grade 10 examinations into main regional languages for 2007/2008. Print exam papers with English one side of page, regional language other side of page. <br> *Medium term* <br> Translate key Grade 12 exams into main regional languages for 2010. | Initial translation costs. Recouped in medium to long term by increased achievement and throughput opportunities in secondary. |

Recommendation 7: Language in Education (Acquisition) Planning

*Prioritisation - Retooling Teacher Education*

| | Priority | Recommended Action | Timeframe for Action | Anticipated Cost-benefits |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Rapid update of theoretical & methodological expertise in language education | University: languages / linguistics / education faculty staff <br> o update language acquisition theory & practical expertise; <br> o engage in broader African & international discourses | *Short term* <br> Identify gaps and design new programmes <br><br> *Medium and long-term* <br> i.e. on-going process of keeping up to date and responsive to: <br> o national, regional and local needs <br> o international developments | Initial costs required to identify theoretical and research-based gaps of expertise, & map out new programme design for university programmes in psycho- & applied linguistics. Thereafter, costs should be same as for general maintenance of university departments & curriculum devt. |
| 2 | Update Training of Teacher Educators / Teacher Trainers | Curriculum & preparation for the training of Teacher Trainers to include principles & practice of: <br> o MTE <br> o bilingual education <br> o L2 vs. FL/ ILWC education <br> For preparing teachers to teach at each level of the system. | *Short term* <br> New training programme design, & training the trainers of trainers <br> *Medium term – long term (on-going)* <br> Training the trainers | Training programmes and design are part of regular educational costing. Little if any additional cost. <br> More cost efficient training of trainers. |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | Update training of teachers for MTE in primary | All teachers to be trained to teach in MT or language closest to MT across the curriculum. Programmes to include: Focus on MTE across the curriculum, bilingual methodologies across the curriculum, how to use and develop terminology and glossaries for use in classroom. | *Short term* Re-design teacher training programmes – for pre-service training. Restore teacher training in MT wherever this has been phased out. Design new INSET programmes to enhance teachers capacity to use MT *Medium term* | Initial cost of new course design, but costs should be part of the regular system for teacher education overhaul. |
| 4 | Assess language competence of all language teachers | Ensure that all teachers have high level proficiency in the language/s they will be teaching as subjects and as MOI | *Short – medium term* Design language proficiency tests for all language subject teachers *Medium – long term* Assess all teachers for high level language profiency. | Initial design and implementation cost; thereafter should be part of recurrent teacher education costs. Would ensure quality. |

Recommendation 8: Language in Education: (Corpus) Planning in Ethiopian Languages

| | Recommended Activity | Agency | Timeframe | Cost implications |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | National Centre for Development of Ethiopian Languages in Education to oversee corpus planning in Ethiopian languages, supported by Universities and other regional agencies. | MOE – responsible structure supported by: Universities Other language agencies in regions Regional Education Bureaus | *Short – long term* From 2007/8 on-going. | Change of status of indigenous languages; positive effect on student academic achievement anticipated; Cost-recovery by 2012 Return on investment by 2015 |
| 2 | Language Technology for language development (terminology, lexicography). | Small team of experts to engage in capacity development. | *Short term: 2007-8* Assess needs *Medium term: 2008-2010* Introduce technology and train linguists in universities via specialized post-graduate course (1 year) at | New costs for initial training. Technology inexpensive, replicable, electronically accessible. Reduces on-going development costs, i.e. a cost-saving strategy. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | selected Ethiopian university. Will accelerate timeframe for delivery of all language development activities. | |
| 3 | Translation technology. | University departments of African languages to re-tool/skill where necessary. Small team of experts to engage in capacity development / selected Ethiopian linguists study technology and specialization abroad. | *Short term: 2007-8* Assess needs *Medium term: 2008-2010* Introduce technology & train linguists in universities via specialized post-graduate course (1 year) at a selected Ethiopian univ. *Long term: 2011 onwards* School/department of translation studies located within each university department of linguistics/Ethiopian languages. Technology accelerates timeframe for delivery of translation by 50%; can be used for textbooks, electronic learning materials & assessments. | Inexpensive software investment. Time reduction = cost reduction. Electronic portability of materials across and within regions. Significantly reduces costs of materials production. *Medium-long term* Cost reduction and return on investment. |
| 4 | Language development units | University departments of linguistics - prepare students for orthographic, lexicographic, terminology and translation development expertise | *Short term* Support & strengthen the new training initiative at Addis Ababa Univ. begun 2006/7 (including lexicography, orthography and translation). *Medium term* Extend above training to other regional universities. Redesign undergraduate and post graduate programmes in linguistics and Ethiopian languages for specializations in language development studies. | State invest in re-skilling university trainers and establishment of language development units; develop business plan - should be self-funding in 5-10 years. |
| 5 | Dictionaries | Identify institutional affiliation (e.g. university/ies; government department; non-profit independent structure) | On-going – long-term project | State investment/annual allocation. Collaboration amongst different dictionary projects reduces overhead & unnecessary replication costs. |

| 6 | Multilingual materials<br><br>Electronic Bank for materials in Ethiopian languages | Regional Bureaus – curriculum units;<br><br>Publishers – domestic;<br><br>Specialist teachers can also produce these electronically. | Publishing timeframes require careful scheduling. Set up an electronic education bank for storing regional learning materials - generated within regions, for sharing within regions and with other regions. Electronic materials can be disseminated faster than published materials and can be used almost immediately. | Electronic bank of materials – minimal costs.<br><br>Ethiopian owned publishing houses can recover costs and grow business in Ethiopia. |
|---|---|---|---|---|

## 7.3 Language Education Status Planning

<u>Recommendation 9:</u>

<p align="center">How to address the exceptional aspiration towards English</p>

The exceptional degree of aspiration towards English has undoubtedly been fuelled by downward pressure on the education system of the role of English as the perceived key to higher education, high-level government appointment, and access to the international world. Fairly minor interventions can facilitate a stabilisation of this pressure and even reverse some of the unrealistic expectations which are currently driving education practice towards increasingly impossible objectives. A re-focus on the:

- o overall cognitive development of the learner,
- o high levels of academic achievement across the curriculum,
- o higher rates of throughput in primary and secondary,
- o flexible (bilingual/multilingual) assessment procedures at Grade 10 and 12, and
- o a re-introduction of the former 'freshman's English' with a more updated English for academic purposes or academic literacy in English in undergraduate studies

would go a long way towards a better fit between a workable language policy and an impracticable set of implementation processes. The following is a set of illustrative examples of what might be helpful.

<p align="center">Small interventions can reverse the washback effect of aspiration to English</p>

<p align="center">University entrance:   <em>Emphasis on academic competence rather than English</em><br><em>Universities provide Academic English for undergraduate students</em><br>⬇⬆<br>National examinations in Grade 10 & 12<br><em>Change language of assessment from English-only to bilingual or Ethiopian language options</em><br>⬇⬆</p>

Plasma in English-only  - *change to Ethiopian languages/ bilingual versions*

⬇⬆

Pressure to introduce English medium earlier in primary – *de-emphasise English, re-emphasise learning and achievement across whole curriculum*

⬇⬆

De-emphasise the improvement of all teachers' English, *emphasise MT /Bilingual/ MT-Eng of teachers in primary, & specialised teachers of English as FL subject*

⬇ ⬆

Loss of focus on successful learning of the rest of the curriculum
& optimal cognitive development of students, *reversed by placing achievement across the curriculum at the top of the national educational priorities*

⬇⬆

Unrealistic aspiration towards English  / *realistic focus on development potential of Ethiopian human resources as well as best access to English as international language of wider communication*

# CHAPTER 8:  CONCLUSION

*'Language is not everything in education but without language everything is nothing in education'* Wolff 2006

The primary concern of education is the delivery of quality education within a system where equitable treatment of students should enable them to access to the opportunities offered by the system. Within this context, the most important objective is that optimal opportunity should be offered each student for cognitive development so that each student has the chance to reach the highest level of academic achievement of which s/he is capable. The role of language in this educational journey is that of a communicative tool to assist the process of academic achievement. Therefore, the study of language in education is not about language for the sake of language, it is about how language can facilitate the best opportunity for individual and system-wide academic achievement. In multilingual societies, several languages are required to facilitate the best opportunity for equitable and quality access to academic achievement. This means, therefore, that a single language option is not enough. A multiple language option or set of options is unavoidable. The challenge is in the management of the linguistic resources of each country in order to make best use of how languages open and shut local, regional and national doors to employment and development. This requires the best management of indigenous languages as well as at least one international language of wider communication in African countries. The objective of education systems in countries like Ethiopia, therefore, becomes one where the system is geared towards high-level proficiency in Ethiopian languages and English in order to ensure that students reach the highest level of academic expertise possible, and that they are able to use this expertise to contribute towards the development of the country. To this end, the country already has a very good language education policy. What is necessary, however, is to strengthen the implementation of this policy across all regions and to eliminate contradictions and practices which are at variance with policy.

## 8.1 Simple Basic Principles

There are some very simple basic principles which need to guide decisions of education authorities and which need to be conveyed to community stakeholders, especially parents and students.

o   All languages MUST be taught by a teacher who has 'native-like' or 'near native-like' proficiency in the language.
o   Languages cannot be taught by teachers who do not have advanced levels of language proficiency.
o   The best language for teaching and learning is the mother tongue / home language of the student.
o   The next best language for teaching and learning is another language which is widely used in the local environment, and which is already known by the student when s/he enters school. This is often called the second language / L2.
o   The most difficult language to use, and one which can only offer the most elite and talented students any success, is a foreign language (FL).
o   Teachers who teach the L2 or FL as a subject or use it as a medium of instruction MUST have 'native-like' or 'near native-like' proficiency in this language.

## 8.2 Answers to frequently asked questions:

| | |
|---|---|
| How long should the MT / familiar language be used as MOI? | For at least 8 years in African countries. |
| What is the shortest time that MT / familiar language can be used as MOI? | For a minimum of 8 years in African countries. For a minimum of 6 years in other countries where there are much stronger resources and smaller classes. For a minimum of 6 years in African countries if there is a switch to a language which functions as a L2 across many domains of society and it is sufficiently well-resourced and class sizes do not not exceed 30 learners per teacher. |
| If Amharic is not the MT of learners, when could Amharic be taught as a subject? | From an educational perspective, Amharic could be introduced as the L2 from as early as Grade 1. |
| If Amharic is not the MT of learners, could Amharic be used as the medium of instruction? | Wherever possible it is best to begin in MT and have MTE to end of Grade 8. However, where Amharic is well known and used in the local community, and students are proficient in this language, it would be possible to use Amharic earlier. The exact point depends on the particular circumstances of language use in the community. Under certain circumstances, Amharic could be used in a bilingual combination of MT plus Amharic from Grade 7. |
| When should English be introduced as a subject? | In order to ensure that students have best language acquisition opportunity, English should be introduced as a subject at least 6-8 years before the end of secondary school. This means it should be introduced by Grade 5 as a subject. It could be introduced as a subject earlier, providing the teachers are adequately prepared. |
| What is the earliest point that English could be introduced as a medium of instruction in Ethiopia? | After students have completed at least 8 years of learning English in school, taught by teachers who have advanced English language proficiency for this period. |
| Why can't English be used as a medium of instruction earlier than this? | English is not a language which is widely used across Ethiopian society. It is seldom, if ever, used in every day life activities. It is only used |

| | for very limited functions in high levels of government, higher education and for international trade and diplomacy. It is a foreign language rather than a second language in Ethiopia. It is therefore impossible for students and teachers to use this language effectively as a medium of instruction in government schools. It places serious educational strain on students, undermining their ability to reach high levels of academic achievement in other subjects. |
|---|---|
| What is the advisable point for English to be used as a medium of instruction in Ethiopia? | It is not advised that English be used as a medium of instruction in schools in Ethiopia.<br>It is advised that English is used only as a medium of instruction in universities in the short to medium term. |
| Is there a best language model for Ethiopian schools? | There is a basic trilingual model (mother tongue, second Ethiopian language, plus English) which would be the best recommended model for Ethiopian education at present.<br>However, because the conditions are very different from one region to the next, there is likely to be one or two versions of this model which would work best in some regions and another one or two which work best in others. |

## 8.3 Language Models for Ethiopian Education

The recommendations in Chapter 7 point towards a basic trilingual or multilingual model of education for Ethiopia with versions of this tailored for use in the different conditions found amongst the regions of the country. The following are sample scenarios for illustration purposes. They do not represent the entire portfolio of possible models.

The Basic Trilingual / Multilingual Model for Ethiopian Education

MT / 1st Ethiopian Language
Basic fundamental principle
⬇
2nd Ethiopian Language
Maximise existing linguistic resources for functional use within and across regions
⬇
English
Effective teaching of English for international communication
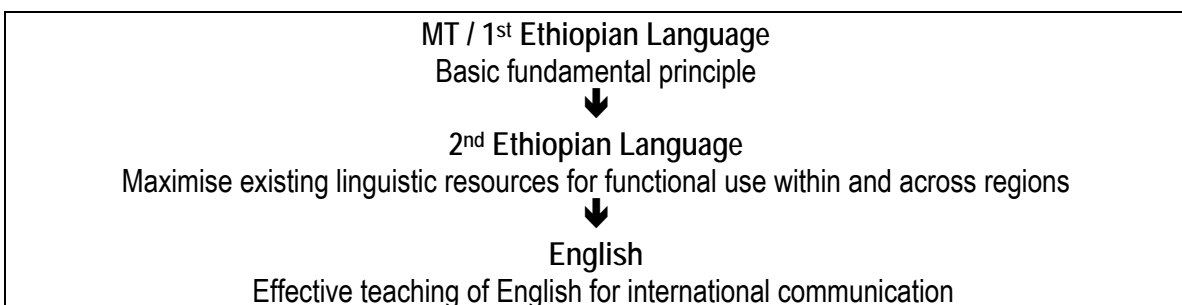
## 8.3.1 Scenario 1 of the Trilingual Model:  Mother tongue medium

|  | Primary Cycle 1 | Primary Cycle 2 | Grades 9-10 | Grades 11-12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Assessment across curriculum | MT | MT | MT | MT |
| Medium of Instruction | MT | MT | MT | MT |
| Language 1 as a Subject | MT | MT | MT | MT |
| Language 2 as a Subject | Ethiopian L2 | Ethiopian L2 | Ethiopian L2 | Ethiopian L2 |
| Language 3 as a Subject | none | English | English | English |

Note: Easiest to implement; least cognitive stress for learners.


## 8.3.2    Scenario 2 of the Trilingual Model : Dual medium education (A)

|  | Primary Cycle 1 | Primary Cycle 2 | Grades 9-10 | Grades 11-12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Assessment across curriculum | MT | MT | MT + Eth L2 | MT + Eth L2 |
| Medium of Instruction | MT | MT | MT + Eth L2 | MT + Eth L2 |
| Language 1 as a Subject | MT | MT | MT | MT |
| Language 2 as a Subject | Ethiopian L2 | Ethiopian L2 | Ethiopian L2 | Ethiopian L2 |
| Language 3 as a Subject | none | English | English | English |

Note: Easy to implement; some additional cognitive stress for learners.


## 8.3.3    Scenario 3 of the Trilingual Model :  Dual medium education (B)

|  | Primary Cycle 1 | Primary Cycle 2 | Grades 9-10 | Grades 11-12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Assessment across curriculum | MT | MT | MT + English | MT + English |
| Medium of Instruction | MT | MT | MT + Eng | MT + Eng |
| Language 1 as a Subject | MT | MT | MT | MT |
| Language 2 as a Subject | Ethiopian L2 | Ethiopian L2 | Ethiopian L2 | Ethiopian L2 |
| Language 3 as a Subject | English | English | English | English |

Note: Less easy to implement; cognitive stress for learners increases with English as one of the two mediums of instruction.

### 8.3.4  Scenario 4 of the Trilingual Model : Dual medium education (C)

|  | Primary Cycle 1 | Primary Cycle 2 | Grades 9-10 | Grades 11-12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Assessment across curriculum | MT | MT + next closest familiar language | MT + familiar language | MT + familiar language |
| Medium of Instruction | MT | MT +  next closest familiar language | MT + familiar language | MT + familiar language |
| Language 1 as a Subject | MT | MT | MT if possible | MT if possible |
| Language 2 as a Subject | Familiar L2 | Familiar L2 | Familiar L2 | Familiar L2 |
| Language 3 as a Subject | none | English | English | English |

Note: This model is suggested for highly complex multilingual regions, e.g. SNNPR, where many languages co-exist, and where some have orthographies and educational development in primary education already.

### 8.3.5  Scenario 5 of the Trilingual Model : Familiar  and Regional Language Model (D)

|  | Primary Cycle 1 | Primary Cycle 2 | Grades 9-10 | Grades 11-12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Assessment across curriculum | Most familiar local language | Most familiar local language | Regional L2 | Regional L2 |
| Medium of Instruction | Most familiar local language | Most familiar local language | Regional L2 | Regional L2 |
| Language 1 as a Subject | Most familiar local language | Most familiar local language | Most familiar local language | Most familiar local language |
| Language 2 as a Subject | Regional L2 | Regional L2 | Regional L2 | Regional L2 |
| Language 3 as a Subject | none | English | English | English |

Note: This model is suggested as an interim measure, where students are MT speakers of languages which have not yet been developed for educational purposes. This model should be used on the understanding that activities would be put in place to develop orthographies and learning materials for these language communities in the medium to long term.

## 8.4 Further Research and Development

The research team is confident that this report includes the best of what is currently known of the international, African and Ethiopian literature, research and experience. However, there are gaps and new knowledge will add to this and necessitate inevitable refinements over time. The team would like to suggest that in the short to medium term, follow up research needs to explore the intricate set of patterns of communication in SNNPR in order to assist the fine-tuning of recommendations for that region. The team is also mindful that some further work in Afar, Benishangul Gumuz and Dire Dawa may also assist decision and planning in those regions.

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o        *Some references have been annotated.*

o        *For the references with Ethiopian authors we are using the Ethiopian convention of listing them with personal name first.*


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# APPENDIX A: Terms of Reference
## Study on Medium of Instruction in Primary Schools in Ethiopia

## 1.     Purpose

The purpose of this study is to explore what existing models of language acquisition and learning are most effective in Ethiopia and in other countries in order to make evidence-based recommendations for language-in-education policies and language use in education in Ethiopia.

## 2.     Rationale

The Ministry of Education sector in Ethiopia has embarked on its third Education Sector Development Programme (2005-2010). At the heart of ESDP3 is the understanding that quality is key and must be improved.

No mention is made of the importance of language issues in ESDP3. However, the importance of language issues for education quality has come to the top of the agenda in Ethiopia in recent months. There is little doubt that the language of instruction is one of the key pillars of education quality. The proficiency of teachers in the medium of instruction and the ability of students to understand what they are taught and to develop cognitive skills and critical thinking is contingent on a language in education policy that is evidence-based and that adequately reflects the socio linguistic context of Ethiopia.

In Ethiopia, currently, mother tongue as medium of instruction is used in the first four (SNNPR), six (Tigray) or eight (Tigray, Oromyia) years of primary school with English and Amharic being taught as a subject from grade 1 or 3 (e.g. Amharic is introduced in grade 3 in Oromyia). English becomes the medium of instruction from grade 5, grade 7, or grade 9 (e.g. Tigray or Oromyia) depending on the regions.

The Mid Term Review of the Teacher Development Programme recommends that the TDP should "offer the MoE consultancy support in relation to guidance and advice on the introduction of a second and often third language in the curriculum – based on the best practices internationally as underpinned by educational research." The 2006 Annual Review Meeting further recommended that a study be undertaken to better inform policies and practice on medium of instruction in primary education in Ethiopia.

The MoE is preparing a new Education Act which is to be finalised shortly and which would benefit from a renewed understanding of medium of instruction issues.

In this context, the Ministry of Education, Regional Education Bureaus and their development partners want to commission a study on medium of instruction in primary education (including Alternative Basic Education) in Ethiopia.

## 3.     Objectives

The two core objectives of this research study are to:

➢ Provide empirical evidence on language use in primary education in Ethiopia and its implications for the quality of the teaching and learning process in primary education.

➢ Make recommendations to the MOE and REBs on the most effective models of language use and possible short term and medium term policy reforms.

## 4.    Tasks
The consultants will:
➢ Provide a clear and historical picture of the rationale for the use of English in primary education in Ethiopia.
➢ On the basis of international experience, provide an overview of most effective strategies in the introduction of second or third language as medium of instruction in primary education.
➢ Map out current policy and practice for language as subject and medium of instruction in primary education (including ABE)  in each region in Ethiopia
➢ Identify key language issues with respect to teacher education in Ethiopia
➢ Assess the quality and effectiveness of teacher training in Ethiopia with respect to language of instruction
➢ Assess the effectiveness of the model in each region (possible correlations with efficiency, drop-outs and repetitions, learning outcomes, interaction in class – i.e. student centred vs. teacher-centred methodologies, qualitative impressions, etc.)
➢ Make preliminary assessment of what are the most effective methods for obtaining optimal performance and return on investment.
➢ Assess different models of language of instruction across Africa (e.g. Zambia, Tanzania, Burkina Faso, Mali, South Africa, Namibia, Nigeria ) and their relevance to the Ethiopian context
➢ Make recommendations as to:
  When should English be introduced as a subject and how?
  ❖  When should English be introduced as a medium of instruction and how?
  ❖  How long should the mother tongue (or the language that is very close to the mother tongue)  be used in primary education in Ethiopia, and how?
  ❖  What reforms should be made with respect to language in:
    o  teacher training (pre-service and in-service)
    o  teaching materials
    o  learning conditions
  ❖  What management models and courses of actions could be recommended to undertake a transition to a new system?
➢ Assess the short term and medium term cost Implications of the recommendations above


## 5.    Methodology
The research study will design a sampling strategy, after which field visits will be made to collect information.

The team will:
• Review key documents (including international references)
• Meet with key stakeholders at the federal level (MOE, ICDR, English Language Improvement Centre, TDP Pooled Fund Partners, MOFED, universities)

- Travel to selected Regions (Oromyia, Tigray, Amhara, SNNPR, Afar and Addis Ababa) and Woredas and visit Regional Education Bureaus, Woreda Education Offices, schools, TTIs/TTCs, universities
- Conduct field interviews with beneficiaries and key stakeholders through semi structured interviewed and focus groups.
- Develop and field questionnaires as necessary
- Organise a workshop to discuss findings and policy implications
- Produce a report
- Prepare a presentation to the MoE and development partners.

## 6.    Expected Outputs
- A report of no more than 40 pages with:
    - An executive summary stating key findings
    - A list of recommendations
    - Important annexes
- A powerpoint presentation covering key findings and recommendations.

## 7.    Reporting
The team will report to the ICDR. [MoE]

## 8.    Timeframe

The Research Study should begin in October 2006 in order to coincide with the beginning of the school year.  It will be completed by December 2006.
- A full day workshop will be held on 30 November 2006 in Mekelle.

## 9.    Consultant Profile
The evaluation team will consist of 4 people. The team will comprise of one international consultant and one local consultant. [Two international and two national researchers]
The team's skill base must encompass:
- Extensive experience of language and learning policy issues
- Extensive understanding of medium of instruction issues in education in Africa
- Experience of the Ethiopian Education system.
- Knowledge of Ethiopia and familiarity with issues arising from the use of local languages in education.
- Policy analysis and evaluation
- Ability to assess cost implications of different language education models

## 10.    Possible Bibliography

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# APPENDIX B:  List of people consulted

| No. | Name | Position | Institution |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |
| **Addis Ababa** | | | |
| 1 | Fuad Ibrahim | State Minister | MoE |
| 2 | Yeshitla Mulat | Head, TDP | MoE |
| 3 | Mesfin Derash | Head, ELID | MoE |
| 4 | Bizuneh Takele | Coordinator, TDP | MoE |
| 5 | Pat McLaughlin | Consultant, ELIP | MoE |
| 6 | Asmare Deniba | Expert, ELID | MoE |
| 7 | Richard  Weber | Consultant, TDP | MoE |
| 8 | Tizazu Asare | Programs Department Head | MoE |
| 9 | Ato Tilahun | ICDR | MoE |
| 10 | Getnet Mamo | ICDR, Ethiopian Languages | MoE |
| 11 | Temesgen Gudina | ICDR, Curriculum Expert | MoE |
| 12 | Berhanu H/Mariam | ECDR, Curriculum Head | MoE |
| 13 | Zewdu G.Kidan | NOE | MoE |
| 14 | Takele G/Kidan | Manager NOE | MoE |
| 15 | Asmaru Berihu | Gender Equity Head | MoE |
| 16 | Laure Beaufils | Education Advisor, DFID | British Embassy |
| 17 | Mieke Vogels | First Secretary, Education | Netherlands Embassy |
| 18 | Workiye Tegegn Biru | Education Advisor | Finland Embassy |
| 19 | Tilahun Workineh | Education Advisor | Ireland Embassy |
| 20 | Girma Awgichew | Ethiopian Languages Rsrch Ctr | Addis Ababa Univ. |
| 21 | Wondiwossen Bezabih | Team Leader | Kebele Education Addis |
| 22 | Ato Tadelle | Education Program Supervisor | Ed. Bureau Addis Ababa |
| 23 | Aynelem Abebe | Language Expert | Ed. Bureau Addis Ababa |
| 24 | Wubit Addisu | Curriculum Devel. Team Leader | Ed. Bureau Addis Ababa |
| 25 | Ato Kassahun | Ed. Program Supervision Head | Ed. Bureau Addis Ababa |
| 26 | Hagos Haiw | Bureau Head | Ed. Bureau Addis Ababa |
| 27 | Tefera Shawul | Curriculum | Ed. Bureau Addis Ababa |
| 28 | Ayele Fikrie | Education Dept. Head | Ed. Bureau Addis Ababa |
| 29 | Girma Agonafir | Deputy Bureau Head | Ed. Bureau Addis Ababa |
| 30 | Ato Alemayehu | Dean | Kotebbe CTE |
| 31 | Gebre Meskel Girma | Librarian | Kotebbe CTE |
| 32 | Mengesha Fantahun | Head, English Department | Kotebbe CTE |
| 33 | Ato Seifu | Instructor, English | Kotebbe CTE |
| 34 | Ato Fisseha | | Kotebbe CTE |
| 35 | Berhanu Belassie | Vice Dean | Kotebbe CTE |
| 36 | Alemu Bekilla | Vice Principal | Bole Gergi PS |
| 37 | Rezena Mamo | School Director | Menelik II PS |
| 38 | Ralph Siebert | Director for Language Programs | SIL Ethiopia |
| 39 | Aija-Katrina Ahlberg | Language Specialist | SIL Ethiopia |
| 40 | Andreas Neudorf | Linguist in SNNPR | SIL Ethiopia |

| 41 | Mamo Mengesha | Country Representative | IFESH Ethiopia |
|----|---------------|----------------------|----------------|
| 42 | Awol Endris | Program Officer, Ed & Training | UNESCO/IICBA |
| 43 | Taye Assefa | Research & Pub. Director | Forum for Social Studies |
| 44 | Alebachew Firmeh | Textbook Consultant | MoE/UNDP |
| 45 | Andy Smart | Textbook Consultant | MoE/UNDP |

## Dire Dawa City

| 1 | Eshetu Shume | Bureau Head | EB Dire Dawa |
|---|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 2 | Daniel Bekele | Education Programs | EB Dire Dawa |
| 3 | Tesfa Regea | Education | EB Dire Dawa |
| 4 | Amina Mohammod | Planning | EB Dire Dawa |

## Afar Region

| 1 | Hussein Hayder | Woreda EB Head | Fentele Woreda EB |
|----|----------------|----------------|-------------------|
| 2 | Mohammed Ousman | Education Program Head | Fentele Woreda EB |
| 3 | Shifran Mammo | Supervisor | Fentele Woreda  EB |
| 4 | Fekade Chernet | Primary Education Expert | Fentele Woreda  EB |
| 5 | Tsegay Mulat | Curiculum & Examinations Expert | Fentele Woreda  EB |
| 6 | Habib Yessuf | Primary teacher | Dudub PS |
| 7 | Yesuf Hayder | Community Vice Chair | Dudub Village |
| 8 | Ibrahim Ali | Community elder | Dudub Villages |
| 9 | Zebene Hailu Zerfu | Vice Director | Nemelefen Sr/Prep SS |
| 10 | Memar Tadesse | Teacher | Nemelefen Sr/Prep SS |
| 11 | Ali Hussen | Vice Bureau Head | REB Afar |

## Amhara Region

| 1 | Siraye Esubalew | Dean | Gondar TTC |
|----|-----------------|------|------------|
| 2 | Ayelign Shiferaw | Director | Tsion Seguage PS |
| 3 | Ayehu Dersu | Teacher | Tsion Seguage PS |
| 4 | Ahmed Legges | Teacher | Enfraz PS |
| 5 | Getnet  Demmissie | Cluster Schools Supervisor | Enfraz PS |
| 6 | Desalegn Taye | Director | Tana Haik SS |
| 7 | Nayzgi Kidane | Vice Director | Tana Haik SS |
| 8 | Mulu Sewagegn | Teacher | Tana Haik SS |
| 9 | Berhanu Dessie | Teacher | Tana Haik SS |
| 10 | Yeshialem Lemma | Teacher | Tana Haik SS |
| 11 | Wubneh Taye | Teacher | Tana Haik SS |
| 12 | Tafere Mulualem | Teacher | Tana Haik SS |
| 13 | Abebe Negash | Director | Serse Dingel PS |
| 14 | Dagnaw Alem | Director | Sab Sinet PS |
| 15 | Fanta Moges | Vice Head, Region Ed. Bureau | REB Amhara |
| 16 | Ato Eyasu | ELIP Coordinator | REB Amhara |
| 17 | Tewdros Shewareget | Head, Ed. Capacity Building | REB Amhara |
| 18 | Ayele Fikre | Curriculum | REB Amhara |

| 19 | Takele Gikidan | Former Dept Head, REB Amhara | (Now MoE) |
|----|----------------|------------------------------|-----------|

## Benishangul Gumuz Region

| 1 | Habtamu Hika | Bureau Head | REB Benishangul Gumuz |
|---|--------------|-------------|------------------------|
| 2 | Mulugeta Deressa | Ed. Programs Head | REB Benishangul Gumuz |

## Gambella Region

| 1 | Omod Oman | Programs/Supervision Head | REB Gambella |
|----|-----------|---------------------------|--------------|
| 2 | Ager Eshetu | Curriculum Dept. Head | REB Gambella |
| 3 | Melaku Meshesha | Research Team Member | REB Gambella |
| 4 | Pol Tut | Bureau Head | REB Gambella |
| 5 | Ato Asebe | Instructor | Gambella TTC |
| 6 | Ato Pol | Instructor | Gambella TTC |
| 7 | Ato Pok | Instructor | Gambella TTC |
| 8 | Ato Chol | Instructor | Gambella TTC |
| 9 | Ato Kalkidan | Instructor | Gambella TTC |
| 10 | Ato Berhane | Instructor | Gambella TTC |
| 11 | Ato Samuel | Instructor | Gambella TTC |
| 12 | Ato Seife | Instructor | Gambella TTC |
| 13 | Shimelis Derese | Director | Dalcoch PS |
| 14 | Bedlu Gugsa | Director | Wibur PS |
| 15 | | Director | Gambella SS |
| 16 | | Representative | Women's Affairs Bureau |

## Harari Region

| 1 | Zerihun Tefera | Prog/Supervision Dpty Head | REB Harari |
|----|----------------|----------------------------|------------|
| 2 | Moges Teshome | Curriculum Head | REB Harari |
| 3 | Selhadin Bekri | ELIP Coordinator | REB Harari |
| 4 | Afendi Abdulwasi | Education Sector Head | REB Harari |
| 5 | Kemal Ibrahim | Curriculum Dept. Head | REB Harari |
| 6 | Abay Abebe | Deputy Director | Ras Mekonnen PS |
| 7 | Mehammed Abdulahi | Director | Mana Burmesaa PS |
| 8 | Elias Juned | Deputy Director | Gey Mederesa PS |
| 9 | Mesfin Kebede | TDP Coordinator & Dean | Harar TTC |
| 10 | Molla Nuru | Head, English Dep. | Harar TTC |
| 11 | Adem Ousman | Head, Social Sciences | Harar TTC |
| 12 | Sultan Aboli | Head, Admin & Finance / Instructor, HPE | Harar TTC |
| 13 | Abebe Desalegn | Instructor, English | Harar TTC |
| 14 | Hiwot Tefera | Instructor, English | Harar TTC |
| 15 | Alemayehu Assefa | Instructor, HPE | Harar TTC |
| 16 | Assefa Tsige | Instructor, Mathematics | Harar TTC |

## Oromiya Region

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Mulugeta Adera | Curriculum Dept., Languages | REB Oromiya |
| 2 | Tadesse Duressa | Curriculum Dept. | REB Oromiya |
| 3 | G/Michael Abomsa | Supervision Dept. | REB Oromiya |
| 4 | Abebayehu Demissie | Training Dept. | REB Oromiya |
| 5 | Hassan Wakeyo | Public Relations | REB Oromiya |
| 6 | Dereje Asfaw | Bureau Head | REB Oromiya |
| 7 | Abishu Birru | Ed. Program Superversion Head | REB Oromiya |
| 8 | Workneh Tolu | Curriculum Dept. Head | REB Oromiya |
| 9 | Takele Kebede | President | ORTA Teachers' Assoc. |
| 10 | Jeylan Aman Tura | Academic Vice Dean | Adama TTC |
| 11 | Guta Ibsa | | Adama City Zonal EB |
| 12 | Barrecha Chimidi | Teacher Supervisor | Adama Rural Woreda EB |
| 13 | Kassim Leba | Director | Tadecha Haadhessa PS |
| 14 | W/rit Kumashii | Primary teacher gr. 1 | Gosu Quara PS |
| 15 | Temesgen Hundumaa | Director | Altufa PS |
| 16 | Siraj Adem | Woreda EB Head | Assebe Teferi Zuria EB |
| 17 | Ato Fikadu | Education Supervision Expert | W. Shoa Zonal EB |
| 18 | Belete Haile Sellassie | Education Team Leader | W. Shoa Zonal EB |
| 19 | Fiqaaduuth Giyoorgis | | Ambo Zonal EB |
| 20 | Dejene Abebe | Education Expert | Ambo Woreda EB |
| 21 | Messeret Dinku | Deputy Director | Mana Burmasa PS |
| 22 | Abebe Eshetu | Unit Leader | Mana Burmasa PS |
| 23 | Dawit Dereje | Dean | MicroBusiness Private Coll. |
| 24 | Addisu Asfaw | Academic Director | MicroBusiness Private Coll. |
| 25 | Abera Tilahun | Dean/owner | MicroBusiness Private Coll. |

## SNNPR Region

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Fisseha Hariso | Curriculum Dept. Head | REB SNNPR |
| 2 | Tadesse Woldie | Curriculum Team Leader | REB SNNPR |
| 3 | Getu Kamiso | Language Expert | REB SNNPR |
| 4 | Sani Detamo | Natural Sc. & Social Sc. Expert | REB SNNPR |
| 5 | Teshome Haile | Aesthetics & HPE Expert | REB SNNPR |
| 6 | Tassew Gizaw | Education Research Expert | REB SNNPR |
| 7 | Hassen Abdu | Bureau Head | REB SNNPR |
| 8 | Belayou Amha | Curriculum Dept. | REB SNNPR |
| 9 | Paulos Rike | Vice Dean, Academic & Rsrch | Awassa TTC |
| 10 | Taye Seifu | Dean | Arba Minch TTC |
| 11 | Samuel Amenu | Director | Gameto Gale PS |
| 12 | Tesfaye Taddesse | Director | Dilla Aferara PS |
| 13 | Fekadu Tsegaye | English Teacher | Dilla Aferara PS |
| 14 | Abebe Fuka | Math Teacher | Dilla Aferara PS |
| 15 | Hiwot Romseged | Social Studies Teacher | Dilla Aferara PS |

| 16 | Sintayehu Hailu | Head, Natural Sciences | Chuchu PS |
|---|---|---|---|
| 17 | Tibebu Bizuayehu | Gede'uffa  Teacher | Chuchu PS |
| 18 | Etagegn W. Mariam | Language Teacher | Chuchu PS |
| 19 | Toma Andebo | Civic Education Teacher | Chuchu PS |
| 20 | Mesay Dido | Social Studies Teacher | Chuchu PS |
| 21 | Ghidey Fisseha | Teacher | Kokate PS |
| 22 | Silas Cheito | Teacher | Kokate PS |
| 23 | Abebayoh Gade | Teacher | Kokate PS |
| 24 | Elias Malia | Teacher | Kokate PS |
| 25 | Abebech Bukotu | Teacher | Kokate PS |
| 26 | Adenk Legesse | Teacher | Kokate PS |
| 27 | Tilahun Kassa | Teacher | Kokate PS |
| 28 | Merdikos Mena | Director | Kokate PS |
| 29 | Basa Tuchu | PTA, Board Member | Kokate PS |
| 30 | Dawit Derbe | PTA, Chair | Kokate PS |
| 31 | W/ro. Abyot Habtamu | Director | Kola Shara PS |
| 32 | Esayas Ayele | Department Head | Kola Shara PS |
| 33 | Zelalem Belehu | Department Head | Kola Shara PS |
| 34 | Zinash Tezzena | Teacher | Kola Shara PS |
| 35 | Taddesse Tesfaye | Department Head | Kola Shara PS |
| 36 | Alemitu Belta | Math Teacher | Kola Shara PS |
| 37 | Siraw G. Medhin | Physics Teacher | Kola Shara PS |
| 38 | Bancha Wante | PS Supervisor | Sodo Urban EB |
| 39 | Belayneh Gitore | PS Supervisor | Sodo Urban EB |
| 40 | Melesse Berhane | PS Supervisor | Sodo Urban EB |
| 41 | Shambel Shagne | Zone  Education Bureau Head | Gamo Gofa Zonal EB |
| 42 | Bisrat Bushkara | Supervision Expert | Gamo Gofa Zonal EB |
| 43 | Girma Nigatu | Education Program Coordinator | Gamo Gofa Zonal EB |
| 44 | Timotwos Tibebu | Curriculum & Ed. Input Coord. | Gamo Gofa Zonal EB |
| 45 | Bezabih  Bariza | Department Head | Arba Minch Woreda EB |
| 46 | Titos Kuche | Supervision Head | Arba Minch Woreda EB |
| 47 | Alemayehu Leggesse | Supervisor | Arba Minch Woreda EB |
| 48 | Tadele Shewa | Supervisor | Arba Minch Woreda EB |
| 49 | Amsalu Asha | Director | Lante PS |
| 50 | Yacob Angelo | Vice Director | Lante PS |
| 51 | Tadesse Alemu | Director | Chamo PS |
| 52 | Nigussie Tekle Haimanot | Vice Director | Chamo PS |
| 53 | Kassech Beyene | English Teacher | Chamo PS |
| 54 | Teferi Asnake | English Teacher | Chamo PS |
| 55 | Alraris Alemayehu | Amharic Teacher | Chamo PS |
| 56 | Gezahegn Mitiku | Civics & EE  Teacher | Chamo PS |

## Somali Region

| 1 | Abdul Fetah | Education Head | REB Somali |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | Aboye Demissew | Education Expert | REB Somali |

| 3 | Ahmed Hassen | Educational Programs Head | REB Somali |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | Abdulahi Seid (Elimi) | Cuuriculum Head | REB Somali |
| 5 | Mohammed Awel | Education Supervision | REB Somali |
| 6 | Fatumo Mohammed | Education | REB Somali |
| 7 | Tilahun Zewdie | Bureau Head | REB Somali |
| 8 | Nimacan Arab | Director | Hussein Gire PS |
| 9 | Kindie Gebeyehu | Deputy Director | Hussein Gire PS |
| 10 | Abayneh Wendimu(Abas) | Director | Jijiga SS |
| 11 | Werkineh Tamir | Deputy Director | Jijiga SS |
| 12 | Hamud Phile | PTA Chair / Member, Regional Parliament | Jijiga SS |
| 13 | Mohammed Bandey | PTA Member | Jijiga SS |
| 14 | Azeb Abebe | PTA Member | Jijiga SS |

## Tigray Region

| 1 | Ato Hadish | Programming and Planning Head | REB Tigray |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | Alemseged Haddis | Supervision | REB Tigray |
| 3 | Mekonnen Mohammed | Language Expert, Curriculum | REB Tigray |
| 4 | Desta Abera | Vice Bureau Head | REB Tigray |
| 5 | Tadesse Kamsay | Curriculum Dept. | REB Tigray |
| 6 | Welde Sellassie Mehari | Director | Kisanet PS, Mekelle |
| 7 | Kebede Amsalu | Civics Teacher | Kisanet PS, Mekelle |
| 8 | Aster Gebre Michael | English Teacher, 1st cycle | Kisanet PS, Mekelle |
| 9 | Tadesse Adella | English Teacher | Kisanet PS, Mekelle |
| 10 | Lemlem Asmerom | English Teacher | Kisanet PS, Mekelle |
| 11 | Kassahun mehari | Biology Teacher | Kisanet PS, Mekelle |
| 12 | Kessela Tareke | Director | Aider SS, Mekelle |
| 13 | Desu Aynalem | Head, Chemistry Dept. | Aider SS, Mekelle |
| 14 | Tesfaye Gebre Yohannes | Head, Civics | Aider SS, Mekelle |
| 15 | Assefa Alemseged | Head, Biology | Aider SS, Mekelle |
| 16 | Weldu Tsegay | Head, Physics | Aider SS, Mekelle |
| 17 | Tsige Yifter | Head, English | Aider SS, Mekelle |
| 18 | Melaku Tewodros | Mekelle Zonal EB Head | Mekelle Zonal EB |
| 19 | Gebre Eyesus Mesfin | Director, PTA Chair Person | Emba Mamo PS, Kuha |
| 20 | Mulu Hailu | Teacher, PTA Member | Emba Mamo PS, Kuha |
| 21 | Teka Teshome | PTA Member | Emba Mamo PS, Kuha |
| 22 | Haile Hagos | PTA Member | Emba Mamo PS, Kuha |
| 23 | Molla Shumuye | PTA Member | Emba Mamo PS, Kuha |
| 24 | Luel Kidane | Vice Dean, Admin. & Devel. | Mekelle TTC |
| 25 | Ahmed Reja | Dean | Mekelle TTC |
| 26 | Fisseha Welde Gebriel | Lailai Maichew Woreda Head | Woreda EB, Axum |
| 27 | Tesfa Alem Gebre Mariam | Director | Mahbere Doge PS |
| 28 | Mekonnen Tilahun Teffera | Deputy Director | Mahbere Doge PS |
| 29 | Awetahegn Arefayne | English Teacher | Mahbere Doge PS |
| 30 | Assefa Araya | Director | Zorat PS, Axum |

| 31 | Atsede Zeru | Deputy Director | Zorat PS |
|----|-------------|----------------|----------|
| 32 | Niguse Sahle | Personel | Lailai Maichew Woreda EB |
| 33 | Godefa Berhe | Student, at Practicum, N. Science | Zorat PS (Abi-Adi TTC) |
| 34 | Berhane Teklu | Practicum Student, Math | Zorat PS (Abi-Adi TTC) |
| 35 | Efrem Girmay | Practicum Student, Civics | Zorat PS (Abi-Adi TTC) |
| 36 | Tekle Weini Haielom | Practicum Student, English | Zorat PS (Abi-Adi TTC) |
| 37 | Senait Yigzaw | Practicum Student, English | Zorat PS (Abi-Adi TTC) |
| 38 | Gizachew Belay | Vice Academic Dean | Adwa TTC |
| 39 | Berhan Teka | Instructor, Civics | Adwa TTC |
| 40 | Berhanu Ghidey | Instructor, Pedagogy | Adwa TTC |
| 41 | Yonas Mamo | Instructor, English, Head | Adwa TTC |
| 42 | Berhe Taffere | Instructor, English, ELIP | Adwa TTC |
| 43 | Gebre Tensae Berhe | Instructor, History | Adwa TTC |
| 44 | Ashenafi Gebre Giorgis | Instructor, Amharic | Adwa TTC |
| 45 | Alemnesh Gebre Sellassie | Ed. Capacity Building Head | Adwa Zuria EB |
| 46 | Hagos Weldu | PS Supervisor | Adwa Zuria EB |
| 47 | Zafu Gebre Medhin | Director | Ouna Meraed PS |
| 48 | Gebre Egziabher T. Tsion | Teacher | Ouna Meraed PS |

# APPENDIX C: SUMMARY OF DATA COLLECTED
# ETHIOPIA OCTOBER–DECEMBER 2006

Key:  PS=primary school, SS=secondary school, TTC=teacher training college,
T=teacher, S=student, P=parent, Tr=teacher trainer
*Note: Unfortunately we were not able to visit Dire Dawa (city administration) or
Benshangul Gamuz region, so they are not listed here.*

| REGION (CITY) | Dates | REB Inter-views | Woreda Inter-views | School observations & interviews | | TTCs/ Univs | Question-naires | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Addis Ababa) | 5- 6 Oct, 13-14 Oct | Addis Ababa Education Bureau | --- | 2 urban PS 1 urban SS | 7 obs in gr1,4,7,9 | Kotebbe CTE | 4 bureau staff 1 SS principal 11 trainers | Ethiopian Languages Research Centre |
| Afar | 20 Oct | | Awash zone & woreda | 1 ABE (rural) 1 urban SS | 9 obs in gr1,4,7,9, 11,12 Interviews: Afar sec students & Girls' Club reps | --- | 1 REB staff 6 Afar students | Interview with village leaders |
| Amhara | 14-17 Nov | REB Bahir Dar | Bahir Dar rural | 4 rural PS 1 urban PS 1 urban SS | 21 obs in gr1,3,5,6,7,8, 9,10 Interview: rural PS students | Gonder TC Bahir Dar Univ | 4 prim. teachers 6 sec. teachers 15 sec. students | Interview at Women's Affairs Bureau |
| Gambella | 10-13 Oct | Gambella REB | --- | 2 urban PS 1 urban SS | 9 obs in gr.1,3,5,7, 10 | Gambella TTC | 34 prim. students 10 sec. students 17 prim & 4 sec tchrs 23 parents 3 teacher trainers | Interview at Women's Affairs Bureau |
| Harar | 16 Oct | Harari REB | --- | 3 urban PS | 7 obs in gr1,4,7,8 | Harari TC | 2 REB staff 6 TTC educators 16 TTC students | |
| Oromiya | 18 Oct, 31 Oct - 2 Nov | Oromiya REB | Asebe Teferi Adama Ambo rural | 4 rural PS | 13 obs in gr.1,3,4,5,6,7, 8,9,11 Interview: rural PS PTA members | Adama TC Private TC | 6 REB staff 7 teachers | Interview with group of farmers |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SNNPR | 23-24 Oct | SNNPR REB | Gamo-Gofa Arba Minch Awassa Dilla | 1 urban PS 7 rural PS 1 urban PS | 10 obs in gr1,2,3,4,5,7,8 Interview with groups of students at 2 rural PSs | Arba Minch TC Awassa TC | 9 zonal/woreda staff 96 prim. students 18 prim. teachers 10 PS parents | |
| Somali | 17-18 Oct | Somali REB | --- | 1 urban PS 1 urban SS | 5 obs in gr 1, 5, 8, 9 | --- | 3 REB staff 3 PTA reps 9 PS/SS teachers 5 secSs | |
| Tigray | 6-13 Nov | Tigray REB Mekele zone | Axum rural Adwa rural | 1 urban PS 4 rural PS 1 urban SS | 18 obs in gr1,2,3,4,5,6, 7,9,10 | Mekele TC Adwa TC | 13 prim Ts 5 sec Ts 10 sec Ss 7 teacher trainers | |

# APPENDIX D: Final itinerary of fieldwork completed
## Medium of Instruction Study, 24 Sept – 2 Dec

| Date | Who and where | Activities | Transportation | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sun 24 Sept | MA to Addis | | MA flight Mekele-Addis | |
| Mon 25 Sept | MA-BB in Addis | MA-BB begin consultancy | | |
| Tues 26 - Tues 3 Oct | MA-BB in Addis | MA-BB plan with UNDP, develop travel itinerary based on proposal from KH-CB | | |
| Wed 4 Oct | KH arrives in Addis | | KH flight Cape Town-Addis | |
| Thurs 5 Oct | KH-BB-MA in Addis at MoE & AAU | Meeting with donors, MoE officials & other stakeholders; meeting at Ethiopian Languages Research Centre (AAU) | | Group accompanied to ELRC, AAU by Dr. Girma A. |
| Fri 6 Oct | KH-BB-MA meetings in Addis Ababa City Education Bureau | Meeting with Ato Tadelle, visit to Bole Gerji school | | Zemdu MoE UNDP |
| Sat 7 Oct | KH-BB-MA in Addis at MoE | Meeting with MoE officials & REB reps, Ato Bizuneh, refine instruments | | Due to short notice only SNNPR and Tigray reps attended |
| Sun 8 Oct | | KH, BB, MA refining instruments | | |
| Mon 9 Oct | KH-BB-MA in Addis at MoE | Meeting with Ato Fuad & task force group | | |
| Tues 10 Oct | BB to Gambella | KH-MA meeting at National Examinations Dept. BB at Gambella REB | Car to Gambella BB flight to Gambella | |
| Wed 11 Oct | KH-MA in Addis at MoE BB in Gambella | KK-MA meetings with TDP & ELIP; Kotebe College BB at Gambella TTC, schools, Women's Affairs Bureau | | |
| Thurs 12 Oct | KH-MA in Addis BB in Gambella at REB | KH-MA meeting at ICDR, Kotebe College BB meeting with Nuer & Anguak language experts | | |
| Fri 13 Oct | BB back to Addis | BB meeting with prim. Teachers Gambella; KH-MA mtg REB office; visits to Menelik II Primary 7 Secondary | | |
| Sat 14 Oct | | KH-MA Kotebe College – full day workshop; BB facilitate translations | | |
| Sun 15 Oct | KH-MA to Harar (Harari) | " | Travel by car | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mon 16 Oct | KH-MA in Harar | KH-MA to Harari REB and 3 prim. Schools; | | |
| Tues 17 Oct | KH-MA to Jijiga (Somali) | KH-MA: Harari TTC; KH-MA drive to Somali Mtg with REB heads. | CB flight Stockholm-Addis; KH-MA by car | |
| Wed 18 Oct | KH-MA in Harar BB in Addis CB arrives in Addis | KH-MA to Somali REB, prim. & sec. schools BB-CB discuss fieldwork, have meeting with Oromiya REB. | Car to OEB in Addis; Car Somali-Harar | |
| Thurs 19 Oct | KH-MA to Abse Teferi; travel to Awash BB-CB to Adama | School visits – rural Oromiya | KH-MA by car | |
| Fri 20 Oct | KH-MA meet BB-CB in Awash (Afar), all back to Addis | KH-MA to WÖREDA, ABE & prim. school; all to sec. school | All travel by car (x2) | |
| Sat 21 Oct | All in Addis | Mtg with S Dam-Hansen, UNDP | | |
| Sun 22 Oct | All to Arba Minch, SNNPR | | 2 cars Addis-Arba Minch (Bekele, Abdu) | |
| Mon 23 Oct | " | Refining of instruments, planning for analysis & report | | Eid – public holiday no official visits possible |
| Tues 24 Oct | " | Arba Minch Zonal and Woreda offices; rural primary school visits; urban TTC, secondary school visits | | |
| Wed 25 Oct | All drive to Sodo | Rural school visits KH prepares documents for 2nd phase of fieldwork | | |
| Thurs 26 Oct | KH-CB to Addis MA-BB to Awasa | KH-CB planning remainder of research MA-BB to Awasa TTC | 1 car back to Addis (Abdu) Bekele's car replaced by another | |
| Fri 27 Oct | KH to Cape Town CB in Addis MA-BB in Awasa | CB meetings with donors & MoE MA-BB data collection | KH flight Addis-Cape Town | |
| Sat 28 Oct | MA-BB back to Addis | CB data analysis | 2nd car back to Addis (Bekele's replacement) | |
| Sun 29 | | | | |
| Mon 30 Oct | MA-BB-CB in Addis | All at UNDP and MoE for meetings and logistical arrangments | Car within Addis (Yichekachew) | |
| Tues 31 Oct | BB-CB to Adama MA in Addis | WOREDA, schools + TTC MA research - exam results | Car to Adama (31 Oct-3 Nov) (Mesfin) | BB-CB accompanied by Mulugeta Adera of OEB |
| Wed 1 Nov | BB-CB to Ambo MA in Addis | BB-CB data analysis MA research - exam results | " | " |
| Thurs 2 Nov | MA to Mekelle BB-CB in Ambo | BB-CB rural WOREDA + schools | MA flight Addis-Mekele | " |
| Fri 3 Nov | BB-CB to Addis MA in Mekelle | BB-CB data analysis MA setting up meetings | Car back to Addis | " |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sat 4v | " | " | | |
| Sun 5 Nov | BB-CB fly to Mekelle | | Car arrives in Mekelle (Mohammed) BB-CB flight Addis-Mekelle | |
| Mon 6 Nov | (BB-CB-MA in Mekelle) | Data collection and analysis | (Car in Mekelle) | Schools have organized gr. 1-3 English teacher |
| Tues 7 Nov | " | Mekele city education office, REB curriculum office, primary school, Mekelle TTC | " | MoE sends workshop invitation to regions |
| Wed 8 Nov | BB-CB-MA fly to Axum | Data analysis | Car drives to Axum BB-CB-MA flight Mekelle-Axum | |
| Thurs 9 Nov | (BB-CB-MA in Axum) | Rural WOREDA, primary school | (Car in Axum) | |
| Fri 10 Nov | " | Rural WOREDA, primary school, Adwa TTC | " | Practicum students acting as gr. 5 teachers |
| Sat 11 | " | Data analysis | " | |
| Sun 12 | " | " | " | |
| Mon 13 Nov | BB-CB-MA to Adwa | Rural WOREDA & school | " | |
| Tues 14 Nov | BB-CB-MA to Gonder | " | Car drives to Gonder BB-CB-MA fly to Gonder | |
| Wed 15 Nov | BB-CB-MA to Bahir Dar | Gonder TTC and 2 rural schools outside Gonder | " | |
| Thurs 16 Nov | " | REB, Women's bureau, urban primary & urban secondary | | |
| Fri 17 Nov | " | REB, rural schools | | |
| Sat 18 | " | Data analysis | | |
| Sun 19 Nov | BB-CB-MA to Addis | " | Car returns to Addis BB-CB-MA flight Bahir Dar-Addis | |
| Mon 20 - 27 Nov | (BB-CB-MA in Addis) | Data analysis and report writing; extra meetings with key people as needed | | |
| Tues 28 Nov | KH to Addis | | KH flight Cape Town-Addis | |
| Wed 29 Nov | All to Mekelle | Afternoon meeting with Ato Mesfin | KH-BB-CB-MA flight Addis-Mekelle | |
| Thurs 30 Nov | (All in Mekelle) | Present WORKSHOP for regional reps, MoE, donors & other stakeholders | | |
| Fri 1 Dec | BB-CB-KH return to Addis | Team meeting to plan finalization of report | KH-BB-CB flight Mekelle-Addis | |
| Sat 2 Dec | KH to Cape Town, CB to Stockholm | | CB Addis-Stockholm, KH Addis-Cape Town | |

# APPENDIX E: LIST OF LOCAL LANGUAGE MATERIALS

(Prepared by SIL Ethiopia)

## Bertha/Funj

(The Bertha/Funji material is published in Latin script)

Educational books

*Bertha/Funj Primer,* 2005, REB of the Region 6 & SIL

*S'aká Ashárdídá Shainé p'arune-áre* (How to Prevent soil Erosion) 2005, Addis Ababa, Benishangul-Gumuz Language Development & Non-formal Education Project, Translated from English, a Shell book

*Án Faas'athá S'is'íágú* (Let's Plant Trees) 2005, Addis Ababa, Benishangul-Gumuz Language Development & Non-formal Education Project, Translated from English, a Shell book

Traditional literature

*Gindalia (Riddles)* 2005, Benishangul-Gumuz Language Development & Non-formal Education Project


## Konso

(The Konso material is published in Sabean script by EECMY, S.W.Synod)

Educational books

Transition primer from Amharic to Konso, 1993; 1999 2nd ed.; 2005 3rd ed.

*Fitala afa Xonso* (Konso basic primer,) 1997; 1999 2nd revised ed.; 2001 3rd revised ed.

Maths book 1, 1998; 2001 2nd ed.

Maths book 2, 2005

*Nakayta piita ka atika toytaatta,* (Book of basic health and hygiene), 2001

*Torra Katanna, Mataafa Kollissampayta* (Kande's story, Facilitator's Manual, translated from English with the permission of SIL, AFA) 2006, Addis Abeba, Ethiopia

*Torra Katanna, Mataafa Kollattampayya* (Kande's story, Student Book, translated from English with the permission of SIL, AFA) 2006, Addis Abeba, Ethiopia

Traditional literature

*Torra karra ka karma,* (Story of a squirrel and a lion), 1994

*Hiippa Xonso,* (Konso riddles), 1994

*Qamileeta alle pinaana pire,* (Monkey kills the wild animals), 1996; 2005 2nd ed.

*Torra a afa Xonso,* (Konso stories), 1997; 1999 2nd ed.

Contemporary fiction

(produced in a writers' workshop in 1998):

*Ela Fujuja* (The Spring of Fujuja – short stories about life in Konso)

*Harreeta Moyle* (Moyle's donkey – stories for children)

*Saara a afa Xonso* – poems

(composed by Ato Korra Garra):

*Helluma ka keranta* (Childhood and old age, unpublished)

*Dehaama a aakka Kalsho* (Advices of Father Kalsho, unpublished)

Since 1991 (for the Ethiopian year 1984) a wall calendar in Konso language has been published every year.

Christian literature (Scripture portions published by the Bible Society of Ethiopia)

The New way – a booklet from Bible Society's new readers' series (1980)

The Gospel of Mark (1986, out of print)

The four Gospels in Konso (out of print)
Konso hymns (1992; 1993 2nd ed.; 1995 3rd ed.; 2000 4th ed.; 2004 5th ed.)
Small Cathecism (1995; 1998 2nd ed.; 1999 3rd ed.; 2004 4th ed.)
Liturgy book (1995; 2000 2nd revised ed.)
Acts and revelation (1996, out of print)
Some of the epistles (1996, out of print)
Sunday school book (1996; 2000 2nd ed.)
Bible study material for Philippians and 1st John (2000; 2004 2nd ed.)
Creation story, an easy reader (2001)
Ruth, an easy reader (2001)
Jonah, an easy reader (2001)
Growing in faith; a book of Christian doctrine (2001)
New Testament (2001; 2003 2nd ed.)

Other literature in Konso language, produced by FARM Africa and Leiden University, using the Latin script:

*Konso – English – Amharic Agricultural Dictionary,* by Yohannes Hadaya and Gemechu Gedeno. 1996. FARM Africa Farmers' Research Project. Technical Pamphlet No 10. Addis Abeba. Ethiopia.

*Torraa a Xonso 1,* by Korra Garra. 2003. The Department of African Languages and Cultures in Leiden University. The Netherlands.

*Torraa a Xonso 2,* eds. Henriette Daudey, Anne-Christie Hellenthal & Ongaye Oda. 2005. Mother tongue series, 2. The Department of African Languages and Cultures in Leiden University. The Netherlands.


## Koorete
(Most of the Koorete material is published both in Sabean and in Latin script)

Educational books

*HIV EYDISE WAYSIW IICHUSHO? (*HIV/AIDS How can we prevent it?*)* by Abera Matadha, Zewde Addiso, Aklilo Xhergo, Mistire Gebre, 2002, Sidaama Literacy Project, Awassa

*Siima garafa biya kafe* (A book on trachoma) 2003, Sidaama Litereracy Project, Awassa

Koorete transition primer for those who are literate in Amharic 1997, Koorete Translation Project, Amaaro – Kele

Traditional literature/Fiction

*Jhi'oy wodundo* (Traditional and other stories in Koorete language) 2003, Koorete Translation Project, Addis Ababa

Christian literature

*Shufutte dorichi?* (Some Old testament stories) 1996, Koorete Translation Project, Amaaro - Kele

*Hanzowafa sekke wonto yelekko neni!* (From now on you are God's child) 2001, Addis Ababa

*Matoose modhe odo* (The Gospel of Matthew in Koorete) 2001 Addis Ababa, Koorete Translation Project.

*Marqose modhe odo* (The Gospel of Mark in Koorete) 1999 Addis Ababa, Koorete Translation Project

*Yesuusay haybofa nuu looluse osakko e keenge* (New testament stories) 2000, Koorete translation Project

Majangir

Ato Majangerongk (Language of Majang; Basic Primer in Latin script) 2006, Addis Ababa,
Majang Translation and Literacy Project, trial edition

N.B. In early 1990's Ethiopian Evangelical church of Mekane Yesus (EECMY) published a transition primer and a few religious booklets in Majangir language, using the Sabean script. Now the language development work is going on in the Latin script.


Me'en

(The material in the Me'en language is published in Sabean script)

Basic literary materials:

A set of 9 primers, 1994-95

Flash –cards (217 cards per set)

Transition primer for those who know how to read Amharic, 1994, Me'en translation team

Guide on handwriting

Me'en Fidel chart

Book on the Me'en fidels

Other educational materials

5 books on development

Gardening food- storage

Nutrition

HIV/ AIDS

The human body and a trilingual word-list on body-parts

Me'en traditional and nowadays' clothing

Birds

Me'en stories (fables)

Christian literature

The book of Genesis

The Gospel of Mark

The Gospel of Luke, 1996

The Acts of the Apostles, 1996

5 booklets on Bible stories


Sidaama

(The material in the Sidaama list below is published in the Latin script)

Educational books

Sidaamu Afii Rosu Xinti Hanafote, Maxaafa 1 (Sidama primer book 1) 2002, Awassa,
Ethiopia: Sidama Literacy Project

Sidaamu Afii Rosu Xinti Hanafote Dhagge: roso 1-20 (Sidama language primer story book:
lessons 1-20) 2002, Awasa, Ethiopia: Sidama Literacy Project

Sidaamu Afii Rosu Xinti Hanafote Dhagge: roso 21-40 (Sidama language primer story book:
lessons 21-40) 2003, Awasa, Ethiopia: Sidama Literacy Project.

Sidaamu Afii Rosu Xinti Hanafote Maxaafa 2 (Sidama language primer book 2) 2003,
Awasa, Ethiopia: Sidama Literacy Project

Sidaamu Afiinni Qixxaabbinota Addi Addi Dhagge Amadino Maxaafa (A story book in the
Sidama language) 2002, Awasa, Ethiopia: Sidama Literacy Project

*Sidaamu Afinni Qixxaawinoha HIV/EEDISI (AIDS) Yinanni Dhibbi Mayimma, Kulanno Maxaafa* (A book about HIV/AIDS in the Sidama language) Cheru, Berhanu; Sunaana Mekonnen; Andreas Bekele; Elias Lula; and Abera Lankamo. 2002, Awasa, Ethiopia: Sidama Literacy Project

*Baxisee Dhagee Rosasinchu Maxaafa* (Kande's story, Facilitator's Manual, translated from English with the permission of SIL AFA) 2006 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, SIL, trial edition

*Baxisee Dhagee Rosaanotee Maxaafa* ( Kande's story,  Student Book,  translated from English with the permission of SIL AFA) 2006, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, SIL, trial edition

<u>Religious literature</u>

*Ruuti* (an easy reader on the book of Ruth) 2001, Bible Society of Ethiopia

*Yoonaasi* (an easy reader on the book of Jonah) 2001, Bible Society of Ethiopia

*Abraami* (an easy reader about Abraham) 2001, Bible Society of Ethiopia

2003

N.B. There also is a Sidaama dictionary by Gasparini, and a book of Sidaama proverbs (unfortunately we do not have the details for the publisher and the year of publishing).  The New Testament was published in Sidaama in the Sabean script in 1990 and in Latin script in 2001 by the Bible Society of Ethiopia. Before the ortography was changed into Latin the churches produced some literacy materials in the Sabean script.

## Silte

(The Silte material is published in Sabean script)

<u>Dictionaries</u>

Silt'e - Amharic - English dictionary, (shorter version) 1995, Hussein Mohammed, Eeva Gutt Addis Ababa, SIL

Silt'e - Amharic - English dictionary, (with concise grammar) 1997, Addis Ababa University Press

<u>Traditional literature</u>

*Mehimachot   - Yesilt'e misaleyawi anegageroch* (Silte proverbs in Silt'e and Amharic languages) 2002, Hussein M. Musa, Awel Muhamed

<u>Religious literature</u>

Abraham 1997 Addis Ababa

Power of Jesus (portions of Acts) 1988 Addis Ababa

The life of Joseph 1988 Addis Ababa

## Suri

(The Suri material is published in Sabean fidel)

<u>Educational books</u>

*Dadaba bidelinya Suri, mada 1-8*. (Suri primer, 8 booklets) 1998, Addis Ababa: Surma Translation Project and Summer Institute of Linguistics.

*Dadaba kagaya surichen ko golachen ko aranjachen* (Suri-Amharic-English Language learning booklet,) 2002, Suri Translation Project

*Dadaba loga yokoneya zugu ahaa sur*i. (Book of stories people tell about the things of the Suri) 2000, Suri Literacy Project

*Loga kedhemesineneya* (Stories for learning) 2001, Suri Literacy Project

*Dadaba kotoyiya keginya* (A book that we read about animals) 2000, Suri Translation Project

Small dictionary, Suri Translation Project 2002

*Dadaba toyiny* (A book of numbers) 2000, Suri Translation Project

Suri Maths book 1 ( numbers 1 - 10, basic operations, grade 1), 2006, Suri Literacy Project

Suri Maths book 2 ( numbers 1 - 20, basic operations, grade 1), 2006, Suri Literacy Project

Suri Maths book 2 ( numbers 20 - 100, basic operations, grade 1), 2004, Suri Literacy
   Project
   Suri Maths book 3 ( numbers - 1000, complete grade 2 curriculum) 2004, Suri Literacy
   Project
Tree planting booklet (basic knowledge about fruit trees and how to plant them), 2005,  Suri
   Literacy Project
AIDS booklet, 2005, Suri Literacy Project
*England a ora bu gore* ( England - a big country) 2003, Suri Literacy Project
Posters for Community Literacy Board and classroom reading : Ethiopia, Addis Abeba, cattle
   diseases, wild life (lions, giraffes, zebras, ostriches, rhinos, hippos, bats, chitas...), the
   climbing history of Mount Everest, the Earth's Oceans and life in them, Tsunami,
   Olympic Games in Greece, Ethiopian Runners, Culture of the Massai and Samburu of
   Kenya, Lip- and Earplates from other parts of Africa,  2003- 2006 (continuously
   produced)
Easy readers:
*Kamana Arbaminshi, kunea Kite* (Kite in Arba Minch, story of a Suri student in boarding
   school), 2003, Suri Literacy Project
*Lo_ga dhage_ya erowu kali jhayno* (Stories children tell in the evening), 2004,
Suri Translation Project
What does the giraffe see?  (Animal Story), 2003, Suri literacy project
What did the giraffe see, Diglot Amharic-Suri, 2005, Suri Literacy Project
Dance and songs, easy readers series, 2003 Suri Translation Project
Religious literature:
 *Sabana loga tumu* (Easy reader picture Bible), 2002, Tyndale House Publishers and Suri
   Translation Project
Christmas passage, Suri Translation project, 2002
*Yoseb: hira kunasa* (Joseph: the dreamer), 2003, Suri Literacy and Translation Projects
Birth of Moses (easy reading Bible Shell Book), 2003
*Loga hira chala kuno samariyagiye* (The story of the Good Samaritan) 2004, Suri Translation
   Project
*Loga Yesus oyonya kuhudukoneya 12* (easy reading Bible Shell Book on Luke 2, 41 - 52),
   2006, Suri Translation and Literacy Projects,
*Loga beraneya Yesusi zuga kobeya no* (easy reading Bible Shell Book on Luke 5, 1 - 11),
   2006, Suri Translation and Literacy Projects,
   *Loga hira muko karata keno Zekiwos* (easy reading Bible Shell Book on Luke 19, 1 - 10)
   2006, Suri Translation and Literacy Projects
   *Loga zuga ke komon ama gede na kibaysewo* (easy reading Bible Shell Book on Luke
   17, 11-19), 2006, Suri Translation and Literacy Projects
*Kamanaa bere kodhesena Lukasi*  (The gospel of Luke) 2004.


## Yemsa

(The Yemsa material is published in Latin script)
   *Yèmsanì àrunì tìchù* (Yemsa primer) 2003, SIL
   Educational, easy reading booklets
   *Dànìĕl gùmtàna mèttè* (Daniel has fever, a health booklet about fever treatment) 2002,
      Sokoru, produced with help of SIL

*Zawnì dùpà* (Snake bites, a health booklet with information about poisonous and non-poisonous snakes) 2002, Sokoru, produced with help of SIL

*Bùr'unì gònyònewa sunbààse* (Names of wild animals) printed in 2000, revised in 2002, Sokoru, produced with help of SIL

*Kààbàrè yère testò* (Small creatures) printed in 2000, revised in 2002, Sokoru, produced with help of SIL

*Yèmsanì faadnì àru* (The Yemsa counting system, numbers 1-10) printed in 2000, revised in 2002, Sokoru, produced with help of SIL

*Fààduk àrùtaro?* (Do you know how to count? An easy-reader booklet teaching adding and subtracting with numbers 1-10) printed in 2000, revised in 2002, Sokoru, produced with help of SIL

*Măshkà mèèni wòsto* (Women's work) 2002, Sokoru, produced with help of SIL

*Nààni dìchà* (Child development, an easy-reader booklet) 2002, Sokoru, produced with help of SIL

*Ìsàr sìnnor* (Opposites, an easy-reader booklet) 2002, Sokoru, produced with help of SIL

*Àfì àrunì kèèrtu fè* (Afi in school, an easy-reader booklet) printed in 2001, revised in 2002, Sokoru, produced with help of SIL

Fiction and traditional literature

*Tammrati tochoni tichu* (Stories written by Taamrat) 2000, Sokoru, produced with help of SIL

*Guutani tochoni tichu* (Guuta's written stories) by Guuta Gebre Silaase, 2000, Sokoru, produced with help of SIL

*Eetoni tochoniki'o* (Lion stories – traditional tales about lions) Sokoru, Yemsa Team

Christian literature

*Yesusni koontoni tocho* (Christmas story) 1999, Sokoru, Yemsa Team

*Yesusni kitun kabu* (Jesus' death and resurrection: Easter story) 1999, Sokoru, Yemsa Team

## Gumuz

Gumuz Primer A*,* 2005, REB of the Region 6 & SIL

Gumuz Primer B*,* 2005, REB of the Region 6 & SIL

N.B. New Testament has been published in the Gumuz language, and SIM, Comboni Sisters, and Norwegian Mission Society have worked on Gumuz language and produced some literacy in Sabean script. In 2005 a decision was made to use Latin script for Gumuz.

## Shinasha

(Shinasha language community has decided to use Latin script)

Shinasha Primer 2005, REB of the Region 6 & SIL

## Basketto

(The Basketto material is published in Sabean script)

Christian literature

The gospel of Mark, 2006

## Bench

(The Bench material is published in Sabean script)

*Educational material*

Transition primer for those who are literate in Amharic 1988 1st ed. 1994 2nd ed. 1998 3rd ed., EECMY

A basic primer, EECMY

<u>Religious material</u>
Miraculous fish catch, A Bible based shell book,  2005, EECMY
New testament, 1990, Addis Abeba,  Bible Society of Ethiopia
The book of Genesis, 1991, Addis Abeba, Bible Society of Ethiopia
The books of Ruth and Jonah, 1991, Addis Abeba, Bible Society of Ethiopia
A Songbook, 1999, EECMY, South West Bethel Synod
A Small book of Christian teaching by Martin Luther, 1999, EECMY, South West Bethel
     Synod

## Burji
(The Burji material is published in Sabean script)
<u>Educational material</u>
Transition primer for those who are literate in Amharic, 1993, EECMY, South Synod
<u>Christian literature</u>
*Haareya Dawwa* (New way – easy reader, miracles of Jesus) 1982, Bible Society of Ethiopia
New testament, 1993, Addis Ababa, Bible Society of Ethiopia

## Dawro
(The Dawro material is published both in Sabean and in Latin script)
<u>Christian literature</u>
The gospel of Luke, 2006

## Gamo
(The Gamo material is published in Latin script)
<u>Christian literature</u>
The gospel of Luke, 2006
Gedeo
<u>Educational material</u> (in Sabean script)
Transition primer for those who are literate in Amharic 1992, EECMY
A basic primer, 1992, EECMY
<u>Religious material</u> (in Sabean script)
New testament, 1992, Addis Abeba, Bible Society of Ethiopia
The book of Acts, 1980, Addis Abeba, Bible Society of Ethiopia
Easy reading bible stories, 1978, Bible Society of Ethiopia
Scripture portions from the Old Testament, SIM
<u>Religious material</u> (in Latin script)
Genesis, Ruth, and Jonah from the Old Testament

## Gofa
(The Gofa material is published both in Sabean and in Latin script)
<u>Christian literature</u>
The gospel of Luke, 2006

## Hadiyya
(The material in the list is published in the Latin script)
<u>Traditional literature</u>

*Heessi Hadiyyisinne (Traditional Hadiya stories)* 2006, Ethiopian Evangelical Church
    Mekane Yesus, South Central Synod
<u>Religious literature</u>
*Moollanni Yesuus Kiristoos Bikkina Maatiwoos Xaafukki Mishiraachcha* (The Gospel of
    Matthew) 2005, The Bible Society of Ethiopia

N.B. Before the Hadiyya orthography was changed into Latin, the New Testament was published in Hadiyya language by the Bible Society of Ethiopia, using the Sabean script. Presently a new version of the book with the Latin script is being made, and the Old Testament translation work is going on.
Previously Bible society of Ethiopia, EECMY and K'ale Hiwot Church have published several small booklets in Hadiyya language in the Sabean script. Most of them are Bible based, but some also traditional material like folkstories, riddles and proverbs. At the moment most of that material is out of print.

## Kambaata

<u>Religious literature</u> (in the Latin script)
*Qarichcho Yesuus Kiristoositannee Yohaannis Xaaffo* (The Gospel of John) 2005, The Bible
    Society of Ethiopia

N.B. Before the Kambaata orthography was changed into Latin, the New Testament was published in Kambaata language by the Bible Society of Ethiopia, using the Sabean script. Presently a new version of the book with the Latin script is being made, and the Old Testament translation work is going on.
Previously Bible Society of Ethiopia, together with EECMY and K'ale Hiwot Church have published several small booklets in Kambaata language. Most of them are Bible based, and at the moment most of that material is out of print.

## *Information about the literacy and literature situation in some other languages*

### Aari

The New Testament has been published in Aari language by the Bible Society of Ethiopia.
SIM has published materials in the Sabean script, including primers, health booklets, fables, and biblical materials. The church continues using the Sabean script, but is in the process of changing the ortography somewhat to make it phonologically more accurate.

### Banna (may possibly be used also for Hamer)

SIM is doing some small scale basic literacy in Banna language, and have some materilas for that. They use Sabean script.

### Daasenech

Some literacy materials and other literature is available in Daasenech language by a team in the Kenyan side of the border. South West Synod of EECMY has contacts with the team and has access to the materials.

### Kafa

The New Testament has been published in Kafa language by the Bible Society of Ethiopia.
Also, SIM has published literacy materials and Bible based materials both in Sabean and in Latin scripts.

### Maale

Word for the World is running a literacy program in Maale language, and have published some materials for that. They use Sabean fidel.

### Mursi

SIM is running a literacy program in Mursi.

### Wolayta

Both the New and the Old Testaments have been published in Wolayta language by the Bible Society of Ethiopia.  Also, SIM has published literacy materials and Bible based materials both in Sabean and in Latin scripts.

Finally, below is a list of langauges that are not mentioned above, but that have the whole Bible or the New testament available. Often in connection with the Bible translation work at least a small amount of other literature has also been produced.
Afar (NT)
Anuak (Bible)
Uduk (NT)
Gurage (NT)
Somali (Bible)
Wolayta (Bible)


**N.B.** We have not included the substantial literature available in the three languages used by larger communities, i.e. **Amharic, Tigrinya, and Oromo**. Apart from the literature in the standard Oromo language, there is a separate set of primers available for the South Oromo in Latin script, published by EECMY, South Ethiopian Synod.

# APPENDIX F: WORKSHOP PROGRAMME

## Workshop on Medium of Instruction in Primary Education in Ethiopia

OBJECTIVES:
1.  Expose participants to findings of the research on medium of instruction (MOI)
2.  Engage participants in discussion of the findings to provide feedback and further background for the research results
3.  Encourage the sharing of information between regions and with the MoE, particularly with regard to best practices

Members of the MOI research team:
*Team leader*: Dr. Kathleen Heugh, Human Sciences Research Council, Cape Town
Dr. Berhanu Bogale, Department of Foreign Languages, Addis Ababa University
Ato Mekonnen Alemu, Mekelle University
Dr. Carol Benson, Centre for Teaching and Learning, Stockholm University

MOE task force team: Ato Bizuneh Takele, Ato Mesfin Derash

| Time | Activity | Presenters |
|---|---|---|
| 9:00-9:15 (15 min) | Opening, objectives, introduction to the study | Ato Fuad |
| 9:15-9:45 (30 min) | Design of the study | Kathleen |
| 9:45-10:00 (15 min) | Issues in language learning | Carol |
| 10:00-10:30 (30 min) | Video clips from the fieldwork (Brief discussion after each video clip) | Berhanu |
| 10:30-10:45 (15 min) | TEA-COFFEE BREAK | |
| 10:45-11:15 (30 min) | Regional groups review our regional profiles (Group secretaries write group feedback for the team) | Mekonnen & Carol |
| 11:15-11:45 (30 min) | International research on mother tongue, second language and bi/multilingual education | Kathleen |
| 11:45-12:00 (15 min) | Issues in using English as medium of instruction | Berhanu |
| 12:00-12:30 (30 min) | Discussion | Ato Bizuneh |
| 12:30-14:00 (1.5 hrs) | LUNCH BREAK | |
| 14:00-14:30 (30 min) | Main findings of the study and implications | Carol & Mekonnen |
| 14:30-15:00 | Discussion | Ato Mesfin |
| 15:00-15:15 (15 min) | TEA-COFFEE BREAK | |
| 15:15-15:45 (30 min) | Recommendations, policy and planning implications | Kathleen & Berhanu |
| 15:45-16:15 (30 min) | Discussion | Ato Fuad |
| 16:15-16:30 (15 min) | Conclusion and closing | MoE |

# APPENDIX G:
## Costs of Bilingual and Multilingual Education: excerpts from Grin (2005)

| LANGUAGE POLICY CASE | DESCRIPTION OF MEASURE | Key finding | SOURCE |
|---|---|---|---|
| French Language Charter ("Bill 101"), Québec, 1977 | Set of measures to promote the use of French as the main language of the province of Québec. | Total cost of Charter is between 0.28% and 0.48% of provincial GDP | Vaillancourt (1987) |
| French Language Charter ("Bill 101"), Québec, 1977 | "Francisation" of firms (firms with a staff of 50 or more must offer internal communication in French also) | Cost per employee and per firm ranges from CAD 85 to 115 (EUR 57 to 77), in 1984 dollars, for the relatively costlier years of implementation; costs expected to taper off after implementation phase | Various studies summarised by Vaillancourt (1996) |
| Canadian bilingualism | Total expenditure on bilingual programmes by the Canadian federal government | The provision of federal services in both official languages represents 0.03% of the cost of all federal services. The total cost of all official languages expenditures amounts to 0.44% of federal spending. | Canada (1991) |
| Bilingual road signs in Wales | Road signs in Wales give place names in Welsh and English | Bilingualism of directional and safety signs costs about 22 pence (33 cents) per resident and per year. | Grin and Vaillan-court (1999) |
| Sianel Pedwar Cymru (S4C) | Welsh-medium television programmes | Person-hour cost of Welsh television (Welsh programmes, Welsh-speaking audiences) stands at about 50 cents. | |
| Basque-medium education | Operation of A, B and D channels in the Basque education system | Extra cost is in the region of 4% of yearly cost per student | |
| Maya in Guatemala | Setting up of Maya-medium education | Extra cost is in the region of 4% to 5% cost per student and per year | Patrinos and Velez (1996) |
| Euroschool | Joint summer camps for children of various minority language communities | Total cost is EUR 600 per participating child | Grin, Moring et al. (2002) |
| Naíonraí | Irish-medium pre-schools | Average cost (incl. parents' contribution) is EUR 400 per child and per year | |
| Yleisradio | Swedish-language broadcasting in Finland | Average cost is 10 to 15 cents per person and per hour | |
| Raidió na Gaeltachta | Irish-language radio | Average cost is 20 cents per person and per hour | |
| Mentrau Iaith | Associative network supporting the use of Welsh in local community project | Average expenditure (Welsh Language Board subsidy for year 2000/01) is EUR 2 per resident in those predominantly Welsh-speaking areas in which *mentrau iaith* have been set up | |
| Euskal Telebista | Making accessible Basque television from Spain to Basque speakers in France | Cost of setting up and maintaining masts and transmitters amounts to 2.5 cents per viewer and per day. | |
| EU internal communication | Maintaining 11 official languages in the EU | Ave. cost of translation and interpretation is EUR 1.82 per resident and per year; translation and interpretation represent 0.8% of the EU budget. | Grin (2001, 2004a) |
| | Applying the same rule to a 25-member EU with 20 official languages* | Average cost of translation and interpretation would rise to about EUR 5.24 per resident and per year** | |

Source: Grin (2004a in Grin 2005).

*: with the titular language of the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia becoming an EU working language; no additional EU working language for Cyprus.
**: Additional translation directions: [(20x19)-(11x10)] =270; average cost of translation direction: € 6.24; total extra

cost: € 1,684.8m; total EU translation costs: EUR (685.9 + 1,684.8) = EUR 2,370.7; total resident population after

enlargement: 377+ 75 = 452 million; resulting per-capita cost: EUR 5.24.

*Simulated Costing Exercise*

TABLE 2: COST EFFECTS OF REPETITION AND DROP-OUTWITH LWC EDUCATION FOR ALL STUDENTS

| YEAR | CUMULATIVE DROP-OUT RATE | AVERAGE COST |
|---|---|---|
| 1st | 0 | 100 |
| 2nd | 0 | 100 |
| 2nd repeated | 0 | 100 |
| 3rd | 5 | 95 |
| 4th | 10 | 90 |
| 4th repeated | 15 | 85 |
| 5th | 15 | 85 |
| | | 655 |

Cost of graduating student

TABLE 3: COST EFFECTS OF REPETITION AND DROP-OUT WITH MT EDUCATION FOR MT STUDENTS

| YEAR | CUMULATIVE DROP-OUT RATE | AVERAGE COST | AVERAGE COST WITH 7.5% RISE |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1st | 0 | 100 | 107.5 |
| 2nd | 0 | 100 | 107.5 |
| 2nd repeated | 0 | 100 | 107.5 |
| 3rd | 0 | 100 | 107.5 |
| 4th | 5 | 95 | 102.1 |
| 4th repeated | n.a. | n.a. | n.a |
| 5th | 10 | 90 | 96.7 |
| | | 585 | 628.8 |

Cost of graduating student

As shown by the fourth column in table 3, using the MT as LOLT results in a lower per capita cost (628.8 <

655), suggesting that even under conservative assumptions, offering MT-medium education actually pays

for itself *( Grin 2005:22).*

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"Under very general assumptions, it can be shown that LWC [international language of wider communication] education will generally be less expensive than MT education with respect to certain components of cost[36], such as necessary language standardisation and the production of educational materials. The actual activity of teaching and training would by and large cost the same, irrespective of the language in which it takes place; this latter result extends to teacher training[37]. On balance, the analytical breakdown of items of expenditure leads us to expect MT education to be slightly more expensive than LWC education, in line with the finding, mentioned earlier, that moving from a unilingual (LWC) to a bilingual (LWC + MT) education system carries an extra cost in the 4% to 5% range. At the same time, MT will have an edge over LWC as a LOLT with respect educational outcomes, usually in the form of higher test scores, less repetition of grades and lower drop-out rates. Another implication of using the MT as LOLT, since it points to an overall increase in the number of years of schooling that students undergo, is that they will accumulate a higher stock of human capital. To the extent that human capital, is a predictor of labour productivity, and hence of earnings, developing an MT educational stream will eventually result in higher earnings[38]" (Grin 2005: 20-21).

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[37] Training MT teachers may carry a higher cost if all teacher training occurs through LWC, and *only* future MT teachers require *additional* training in order to be able to teach through the MT. This would then raise the question of the grounds on which the LWC is the medium of teacher training for all, and illustrate the frequent fact that seemingly higher costs for MT or minority language education are not a technical inevitability, but merely the result of some (eminently political) institutional arrangement.

[38] At least, so goes the story of standard human capital theory. On the relevance and limitations of the concept of human capital, see any education textbooks, e.g. Lemelin (1998), or contributions by Hinchcliffe or McNabb in Psacharopoulos (1987).

# APPENDIX H-1: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR EDUCATORS

**STUDY ON MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN ETHIOPIA**
The questionnaire is anonymous and your identity will remain protected.
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR EDUCATORS (Teacher Educators, Directors, Teachers & Education Officials)
The purpose of this study is to collect information which will assist the study.
Your response will assist delivery of quality education in Ethiopian schools.
When you select an answer, please place ✓ in the appropriate box or boxes in each line.
Please select more than one option where applicable.
Some questions require you to fill in other information.

Thank you for participating in this study.

## PART A

| | | Grade 4 | Grade 6 | Grade 8 | Grade 10 | Grade 12 | TTI | TTC | Univ degree | Other: specify | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Please indicate which levels of formal education you have completed. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. | Which language/s did you use as a medium of instruction when you were a student at each of these levels? | | | | | | | | | | |

| | | Student Teacher | Teacher Grade 1-4 | Teacher Grade 5-6 | Teacher Grade 7-8 | Teacher Grade 9-10 | Teacher Grade 11-12 | Teacher Educator TTI | Teacher Educator TTC | Teacher Educator Univ | School Principal | Education Official Woreda | Education Official REB |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3. | Your current position as an educator is: | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4. | Please indicate the language medium/s that you use or have previously used as an educator at these levels. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5. | Please indicate number of years working experience you have had at each of these educational levels. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6. | Please indicate the language/s you feel you are most competent to use at each of these educational levels. | | | | | | | | | | | | |

PART B

| Questions about Students in this Region/Woreda/School | Grades 1-4 | Grades 5-6 | Grades 7-8 | Grades 9-10 | Grades 11-12 | TTI / TTC | Univ | N/A or Don't know | Do not agree with Q |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. School students are developing a satisfactory level of reading and writing in the mother tongue at level/s: | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. Students, who are *speakers of languages other than Amharic*, are making satisfactory progress in learning to read and write in Amharic at level/s: | | | | | | | | | |
| 3. Students are making satisfactory progress in learning to read and write in English at level/s: | | | | | | | | | |
| 4. Students are ready to use the mother tongue as a medium of instruction by which level? | | | | | | | | | |
| 5. Students are ready to use English as a medium of instruction by which level? | | | | | | | | | |
| 6. Students experience difficulties with learning to read and write with two different scripts at which levels? | | | | | | | | | |
| 7. Students have difficulty understanding their school subjects when English is used as a medium of instruction at level/s: | | | | | | | | | |
| 8. Students can easily understand mathematics when it is taught in English from level: | | | | | | | | | |
| 9. From which level can mathematics be taught in English without the help of explanations in an Ethiopian language? | | | | | | | | | |
| 10. From which level can natural sciences be taught in English without the help of explanations in an Ethiopian language? | | | | | | | | | |
| 11. From which level can social sciences be taught in English without the help of explanations in an Ethiopian language? | | | | | | | | | |
| 12. Students in this school are fully competent to use English medium by the time they reach which level? | | | | | | | | | |
| 13. If the school can only offer *poor teaching of English*, then it would be better to continue using an Ethiopian language as the medium of instruction at levels: | | | | | | | | | |
| 14. If English is taught very well as a subject, then an Ethiopian language should be used as the medium of instruction until: | | | | | | | | | |

| | Grades 1-4 | Grades 5-6 | Grades 7-8 | Grades 9-10 | Grades 11-12 | TTI / TTC | Univ | N/A or Don't know | Do not agree with Q |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15. If English is taught very well as a subject, then the regional language + Amharic should be used as the medium of instruction until: | | | | | | | | | |
| 16. The regional language + English should both be used as medium of instruction (bilingual education) at levels: | | | | | | | | | |
| 17. Girls achieve better at school than boys at which levels? | | | | | | | | | |
| 18. Boys achieve better at school than girls at which levels? | | | | | | | | | |
| 19. Girls outnumber boys in school at which level? | | | | | | | | | |
| 20. Boys outnumber girls in school at which level? | | | | | | | | | |
| Questions about text books in this Region | | | | | | | | | |
| 21. Text books in Ethiopian languages as subjects are sufficiently available at levels: | | | | | | | | | |
| 22. Text books in Ethiopian languages for subjects across the curriculum are sufficiently available at levels: | | | | | | | | | |
| 23. Text books in English for subjects across the curriculum are sufficiently available at levels: | | | | | | | | | |
| 24. If possible, text books for subjects across the curriculum should be available in regional Ethiopian languages at levels: | | | | | | | | | |
| 25. Bilingual text books (Ethiopian language + English) should be available for subjects across the curriculum at levels: | | | | | | | | | |
| 26. Bilingual text books (regional language and Amharic) should be available for subjects across the curriculum at levels: | | | | | | | | | |
| 27. Text books for subjects across the curriculum should be provided in English-only, at levels: | | | | | | | | | |

| Assessment in this Region | Grades 1-4 | Grades 5-6 | Grades 7-8 | Grades 9-10 | Grades 11-12 | TTI / TTC | Univ | N/A or Don't know | Do not agree with Q |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 28. Students should be taught and tested in an Ethiopian language until level: | | | | | | | | | |
| 29. Students should be taught and tested in an Ethiopian language + English (bilingual teaching & assessment) at levels: | | | | | | | | | |
| 30. Students should be taught and tested in the regional language + Amharic (bilingual teaching & assessment) at levels: | | | | | | | | | |
| 31. Students should be taught and tested in 3 languages (regional language, Amharic + English) at levels: | | | | | | | | | |
| 32. Students who write tests and examinations for mathematics, science, history, geography, etc., through the medium of English, should not be penalised if they answer questions in an Ethiopian language, at levels: | | | | | | | | | |
| Teachers and teacher education | | | | | | | | | |
| 33. At which level/s do you think you are competent to teach in a regional Ethiopian language? | | | | | | | | | |
| 34. At which level/s do you think you are able to teach both in a regional Ethiopian language + Amharic? | | | | | | | | | |
| 35. At which level are you competent to teach through the medium of English? | | | | | | | | | |
| 36. At which level/s are you competent to teach through both a regional Ethiopian language + English? | | | | | | | | | |
| 37. At which level/s are you competent to teach in 3 languages (regional Ethiopian language, Amharic + English)? | | | | | | | | | |
| 38. Teacher education should be provided in the medium of Ethiopian languages, for teachers who will teach at level/s: | | | | | | | | | |
| 39. Teacher education should be provided through the medium of both an Ethiopian language + English, for teachers who will teach at level/s: | | | | | | | | | |

| | Grades 1-4 | Grades 5-6 | Grades 7-8 | Grades 9-10 | Grades 11-12 | TTI / TTC | Univ | N/A or Don't know | Do not agree with Q |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 40. Teacher education should be provided through the medium of 3 languages (a regional Ethiopian language, Amharic + English) for teachers who will teach at level/s: | | | | | | | | | |
| 41. Teacher education should be provided through the medium of English only, for teachers who will teach at level/s: | | | | | | | | | |
| **A Serious Challenge to successful teaching and learning in this Woreda or Regions is that:** | | | | | | | | | |
| 42. Teachers do not have sufficient knowledge of the content subjects at the following level/s: | | | | | | | | | |
| 43. Teachers do not have sufficient knowledge of the medium of instruction at the following level/s: | | | | | | | | | |
| 44. The home language / mother tongue of the learners is not the same as the medium of instruction in level/s: | | | | | | | | | |
| 45. There are large numbers of students in the classroom at level/s: | | | | | | | | | |
| 46. There is a shortage of text books in Ethiopian languages at level/s: | | | | | | | | | |
| 47. There is a shortage of text books in English at level/s: | | | | | | | | | |
| General: | | | | | | | | | |
| 48. Parents are happy with the current medium of instruction in the school at level/s: | | | | | | | | | |
| 49. You are happy with the current medium of instruction in the education system at level/s: | | | | | | | | | |
| 50. If you are a parent of children please indicate their present level/s of education. | | | | | | | | | |

PART C

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. If you think that students experience difficulties in using different languages or scripts, can you explain? | |
| 2. Are parents involved in making decisions about language education or other education issues in the school? Comment. | |
| 3. Do parents have strong views on language education issues which should be heard by regional or federal government? Comment. | |
| 4. If you are a parent, how do you contribute to decisions about language or other education issues? | |
| 5. As an educator, how do you contribute to educational decisions? | |
| 6. How could parents interact with district/ regional or federal government on educational matters? | |
| 7. If you think that language issues affect girls' achievement in school more than that of boys, can you explain? | |
| 8. Why is there a sometimes mismatch between language of instruction in TTCs (English) and the medium of instruction in schools (2nd cycle Primary)? Who makes the regional decisions? | |
| 9. Would it be possible to train teachers to teach all school subjects (except English as a subject) from Grades 1-8 in Ethiopian languages? | |
| 10. If you could make recommendations to the regional or national ministries of education about language education matters what would you like to suggest? | |

# APPENDIX H-2: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARENTS

STUDY ON MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN ETHIOPIA
The questionnaire is anonymous and your identity will remain protected.
QUESTIONNAIRE/ INTERVIEW SHEET FOR PARENTS
The purpose of this study is to collect information which will assist the study.
Your response will assist delivery of quality education in Ethiopian schools.
When you select an answer, please place ✓ in the appropriate box or boxes in each line.
Please select more than one option where applicable.
Some questions require you to fill in other information.
**Thank you for participating in this study.**

RESEARCHERS TO ASSIST IN ADMINISTRATION OF THIS INSTRUMENT

| | Gr 1-4 | Gr 5-6 | Gr 7-8 | Gr 9-10 | Gr11-12 | TTI/TTC | Univ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. If you have had formal education, which level have you completed? | | | | | | | |
| 2. Which language/s did you use as a medium of instruction when you were a student at: | | | | | | | |
| 3. The medium of instruction should be the regional Ethiopian language: | | | | | | | |
| 4. The medium of instruction should be Amharic at: | | | | | | | |
| 5. The medium of instruction should be English at : | | | | | | | |
| 6. Students should have very good teaching of English, Amharic and the regional language at: | | | | | | | |
| 7. Students should have 2 languages (regional Ethiopian language + English) as languages of teaching & examination at: | | | | | | | |
| 8. Students should have 3 languages (regional language, Amharic and English) as languages of teaching & examination at: | | | | | | | |
| 9. As long as English is taught very well as a subject, then an Ethiopian language should be used as the medium of instruction to the end of: | | | | | | | |
| 10. Teachers are able to use the regional language better than they are able to use English as a medium of instruction at: | | | | | | | |
| 11. Teachers are able to use Amharic better than they are able to use the regional language for teaching at: | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12. Teachers are able to use English better than they can use an Ethiopian language for teaching at: | | | | | | | |
| 13. Which language/s do you prefer to use with your community? | | | | | | | |
| 14. Which language/s do you use, or would you use for employment? | | | | | | | |
| 15. The most useful language/s for work in this district are: | | | | | | | |
| 16. The most useful language/s for work in this region are: | | | | | | | |
| 17. The most useful language/s for work in Ethiopia are: | | | | | | | |
| 18. Do students experience difficulties in using different languages or scripts? Explain. | | | | | | | |
| 19. Are parents involved in making decisions about language education or other education issues in the school? Comment. | | | | | | | |
| 20. Do parents have strong views on language education issues which should be heard by regional or federal government? Comment. | | | | | | | |
| 21. How do you contribute to decisions about language or other education issues? | | | | | | | |
| 22. Do you think that your children should be allowed to make their own decisions about educational decisions? | | | | | | | |
| 23. How could parents interact with Woreda or the Regional Bureau on language or educational matters? | | | | | | | |
| 24. If you think that language issues affect girls' achievement in school more than that of boys, can you explain? | | | | | | | |
| 25. If you could make recommendations to the Woreda or Regional Bureau of Education about language education matters what would you like to suggest? | | | | | | | |

## APPENDIX H-3: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDENTS

STUDY ON MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN ETHIOPIA
The questionnaire is anonymous and your identity will remain protected.
QUESTIONNAIRE/ INTERVIEW SHEET FOR STUDENTS
The purpose of this study is to collect information which will assist the study.
Your response will assist delivery of quality education in Ethiopian schools.
When you select an answer, please place ✓ in the appropriate box or boxes in each line.
Please select more than one option where applicable.
Some questions require you to fill in other information.
**Thank you for participating in this study.**

RESEARCHERS TO ASSIST IN ADMINISTRATION OF THIS INSTRUMENT

| | Gr 1-4 | Gr 5-6 | Gr 7-8 | Gr 9-10 | Gr11-12 | TTI/TTC | Univ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. If you have had formal education, which level have you completed? | | | | | | | |
| 2. Which language/s did you use as a medium of instruction when you were a student at: | | | | | | | |
| 3. The medium of instruction should be the regional Ethiopian language at which levels? | | | | | | | |
| 4. The medium of instruction should be Amharic at which levels? | | | | | | | |
| 5. The medium of instruction should be English at which levels? | | | | | | | |
| 6. Students should have very good teaching of English, Amharic and the regional language at which levels? | | | | | | | |
| 7. Students should have both a regional Ethiopian language and English as the language of teaching & examination at which levels? | | | | | | | |
| 8. Students should have the regional language, Amharic and English as the language of teaching & examination at which levels? | | | | | | | |
| 9. As long as English is taught very well as a subject, then an Ethiopian language should be used as the medium of instruction to the end of: | | | | | | | |
| 10. Teachers are able to use the regional language better than they are able to use English as a medium of instruction at: | | | | | | | |
| 11. Teachers are able to use Amharic better than they are able to use the regional language for teaching at: | | | | | | | |

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| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12. Teachers are able to use English better than they can use an Ethiopian language for teaching at: | | | | | | | | |
| 13. Which language/s you prefer to use with your community? | | | | | | | | |
| 14. Which language/s would you use for employment? | | | | | | | | |
| 15. The most useful language/s for work in this district are: | | | | | | | | |
| 16. The most useful language/s for work in this region are: | | | | | | | | |
| 17. The most useful language/s for work in Ethiopia are: | | | | | | | | |
| 18. Do students experience difficulties in using different languages or scripts? Explain. | | | | | | | | |
| 19. Are parents involved in making decisions about language education or other education issues in the school? Comment. | | | | | | | | |
| 20. Do parents have strong views on language education issues which should be heard by regional or federal government? Comment. | | | | | | | | |
| 21. Do you think that students should be allowed to make their own decisions about educational decisions? | | | | | | | | |
| 22. Can parents influence the Woreda or Regional Bureau on educational matters? How? | | | | | | | | |
| 23. If you think that language issues affect girls' achievement in school more than that of boys, can you explain? | | | | | | | | |
| 24. If you could make recommendations to the Woreda or Regional Bureau about language education matters what would you like to suggest? | | | | | | | | |

## APPENDIX H-4: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR REBs

Medium of Instruction Research Project – Ethiopia                                October – December 2006
### Data Collection Needs:  Regional Bureaus & Woredas
Information Requested of each Regional Bureau Officer assigned to this project: We would be very grateful if you could collect the information in the questionnaire in this document for the Research Team before they visit your Region.

| | NAME OF REGION: | *Please complete as much information in this questionnaire, and attach any additional information you have to the document.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | How many woredas are there in the region and where are they located? | |
| 2 | Number of schools in region: [Primary 1, Primary 2, Secondary] government schools, public, private | |
| 3 | Location and names of schools and principals (if possible). Please attach this information. | |
| 4 | Which language/s are used as medium of instruction in the region? | |
| 5 | Which languages taught as a subject per grade? | |
| 6 | Which language/s are used as medium of instruction in each woreda. | |
| 7 | What is the drop-out (attrition) rate per grade in the region? Are there differences in the drop-out rate between the woredas? | |
| 8 | Repeater rate per grade | |
| 9 | Teacher: pupil ratio – averages in each woreda, and the whole Region | |
| 10 | Information on how text-books are provided in each region and woreda [finances, subjects/grades, shortages] | |

| 11 | Information on Parent Associations/ parent committees [do most schools have these and how well do they function?] | |
|---|---|---|
| 12 | Participation of any other community organisations or donor organisations? | |
| 13 | Language of instruction in TTIs/TTCs? | |
| 14 | Do the TTIs/TTCs provide the necessary teacher education programmes for languages as subjects? | |
| 15 | Do the TTIs/TTCs have strong teacher education programmes which help teachers to use the medium of instruction? | |
| 16 | Are there any special programmes or strategies for improving literacy and language skills of learners in the region? | |
| 17 | What is the relationship between local languages, Amharic and English in this region? | |
| 18 | To what extent is the Regional Bureau of Education able to make decisions which are different from the Federal Education policy and decisions? | |
| 19 | What language education resource agencies are available in this region? [e.g. Materials/dictionaries/ language development bodies? Translation services. Publishers which publish in Ethiopian languages? | |
| 20 | Is there evidence which shows if learners and teachers manage using two different scripts (Ethiopic or Roman) quite easily, or does this make language development more difficult? | |