

The Politics of Higher Education in Ethiopia: Towards Questioning the Policy Line

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Abstract: Education in Ethiopia in general and Higher Education in particular is infected with a plague. It is essential to figure out the nature of the plague, diagnose it and find a remedy for it. The manner education is used to further political leftism (control) is the core of the matter. This article is set out to question the educational policy, rules and its implementation.

Keywords: Higher Education, Policy, Corruption, Freedom, Rule of law.

UNDERSTANDING EDUCATION AND POLITICS IN ETHIOPIA: SETTING THE AGENDA

“The value of a college education is not the learning of many facts but the training of the mind to think” Albert Einstein

“Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world,” Nelson Mandela

Introduction

The educational policy of Ethiopia as it is now has raised many concerns, suspicions, fears, objections and hesitations on one hand and wide-ranging acclamation and adherence on the other. To say the least, there is no or near consensus on it. The government argues for it and claims to have busted the age old problem of ‘theory’ based education and assured a ‘practical’ one; hesitantly admitting that there are quality issues. Consequently, adherents of the policy propagate that it is a solution to the plague that infected education since its modern inception [1]. However, others call it names (the universities are often nicknamed) [2] and simply claim to have destroyed quality education, harbored cadres, wasted younger generations, manufactured followers not thinkers, and made them unethical ‘certified illiterates’ for nothing is visible (in terms of oddity and delivery normally expected of educated person) of the graduates.

‘The rulers in Ethiopia continue to use higher educational institutions not as places of learning, inquiry and research but as diploma mills for a new breed of party hacks and zombie ideologues doomed to blind and unquestioning servility. “Zombie go... zombie

stop... zombie turn... zombie think...,” sang the great African musician Fela Kuti [3].

Thus, the policy governing education all the way from elementary to tertiary level and the manner it is being implemented is infested with complications, suspicions, and glitches. The problems arise largely from not using the resources at hand in good faith and above all politicking (politicizing) education. The epicenter of education is teaching and hence teachers constitute the heart of the sector. The social position given to teachers, the manner or latitude or freedom in which they conduct their profession, the reward they expect and general sense of security matter at all fronts. Unfortunately in Ethiopia, teachers have been the preoccupation of governments of now and the then. They have been victims of genocide [4] during the military regime and now they are victims of poverty of extreme nature and political targeting.

The current plague on education (problem of lack of quality education) emanates from multiple factors, such as the resource allocations, the way resources are utilized by party decoys (cadres who are made school directors and university presidents), the manner in which the ruling party politicized curriculum, a sheer absence of even semblance of academic freedom, and the extensive power (arrogant power) given to student unions (bigoted by the ruling party itself), and the draconian temporary employment contract of the university teachers (susceptible inherently to abuse and manipulation).

Therefore, the policy (and its implementation) is to be indicted on many counts: deteriorating quality education, suppressing and obliterating academic freedom, hanging in the balance university based career

via temporary employment contract, under remuneration of staffs thereby subjecting them to impossible and destitute life, and over all abusing the youth by just sucking any oddity of educated people and murdering their sense of honor (a life of unemployment or demeaning works or worse fleeing the nation itself). Education and educated people amount to nonentity. On the other hand, positions in government office or party affiliations of any sort pays beautifully in the back door allowing them to flash fancy cars in the street, affording the best private education for their kids (even in Europe and America), villas, whiskies of the best kind (life of overindulgence in general), and general lavish lifestyle for doing nothing worse for choking the nation in the neck. Hence, what must be done to cure the plague? It's appropriate to see the plague in the history leading to the cotemporary epidemic in the education sector.

HISTORY OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN ETHIOPIA: WHERE ARE WE HEADING?

Modern education [5] had started during the time of Menelik II [6] with the establishment of Menelik School in 1908 [7] However, it has taken root and even explode to its peak during the time of king Haileselassie I [8]. Higher education and the current Addis Ababa University (then Haile Sellasie I University) was founded by the king. The student movement that had managed to destroy its founder's regime was the direct result of the king's hard work (as a part of allowing academic freedom and enabling student unions who became critical of the regime later on). The King must have been contemplating at the final phase of his time; 'what have I done?' Perhaps, either he was proud that he had managed to create a critical 'mass-thinkers' in the nation or that he was regretting considering the youngsters then as those who bit the hand that fed them (ungrateful brats).

On the other hand, the military regime was to be noted for putting education in the crossroad: by annihilating teachers and thereby education via labelling them as 'enemies of the revolution' and liquidated the manpower critical to the sector. Yet again, it was credited for expanding informal education (adult literacy) to unprecedented level that had no parallel in history. Derg has literally started killing quality education which had not been even based on the reality of the nation [9]. It did so by adopting a socialist government which is controlled by lower ranking war monger military officers. Thus, any sensible opposition to the regime was doomed to be dealt seriously and unfortunately teachers formed the epicenter of the opposition to the military regime. Indeed they were dealt seriously (killed, jailed or made to flee the country baring the nation of any educated manpower).

HIGHER EDUCATION TODAY: DIAGNOSING THE SICKNESS

As per the reasoning of Tekeste Negash, Ethiopian educational policy is sick on account of it's over emphasis on formal education as opposed to informal education (which can include the great majority of the rural areas). The formal sector by producing graduates in bulk has forced them to a life of unemployment and agony. Further, the irrelevance of the curriculums and the medium in which they are delivered, the distortion of history education were factors identified as major challenges of education policy of the then and now [10]. Professor Tekeste saw the policy problem on paper ideology level and practical experiences of other countries notably Tanzania. However, it is essential to see it and evaluate as it is running live currently.

If the king was called father, founder and provider (later on he attempted to suppress the university freedom he allowed to run wild), and Mengistu as a master butcher of the higher education and its soul (teachers), then the current ruling party would aptly be called the silent butcher (in terms of quality education and self-importance of being educated) far worse than the real butcher. Moreover, it imbedded poverty among the professionals of teaching and let the cadres (party- decoys) amass the country scare resource. The cadres and cliques of the ruling party has also no problem of showing off the property they amass tormenting professionals (teachers among others) on both psychological and material level.

The strategy adopted by the current government is multifaceted and apparently convenient for political rhetoric yet inimical in the inside and at practical level. Massification [11] (mass expansion of higher education) is one strategy deployed under the rubric of 'higher-education for all'. The catch phrase 'education for all' seems just innocent and even tantalizing. The crux of the matter is in this effort of mass expansion of education, especially at higher education level hidden motives are political-profit eerism making the best of propaganda out of it. At practical level, judging it from the manpower angle that moves and shakes universities, still teachers are kept at bay, being suspected and often accused of sabotaging power, delegitimizing the inherent illegitimate government, inciting, even wicked-jealously, and discrediting *limat* [12] (mostly development centered propaganda). Hence, at the root of the suspicion is that teachers are feared lest they awaken the people via students thereby busting propaganda for its true color. What better way is there than intimidating and making teachers insecure so that they rest assured to make self-censorship? Therefore, what are the major plagues plaguing higher education in Ethiopia?

First, even if it is appealing and convincing to establish universities here and there. The manner the government has done that is largely by 'name-change'. What yesterday have been a certain college or training institution could simply be renamed university today [13]. Thus, after students even arrived on campus; constructions are at large for dormitories and classrooms, teachers are being hired as they are available and part-timers of anyone with a first degree would be hired to teach. Yes, Indian teachers (mostly employed after paying for the job-corruption) undergo the learning teaching process. This was largely at the beginning of the mass expansion of universities with regard to the eight universities (colleges' overnight turned universities) [14] and currently true to twenty plus universities engendered afterwards.

Furthermore, foundations for the establishment of new universities are often laid as a political response to a certain community request. It is haphazardly done and totally based on appeasement policy than anything scientific nor is it a demand driven based on socioeconomic analysis of the nation. It is neither convincing nor in tune with the interest of a given nation that universities are opened to quell some kind of opposition coming from superficial comparing of one community to the other (the comparison is often on ethnical line). The fact on the ground is community "A" demands the opening of a university in its locality because community "B" got one. Thus, promises are made to appease the community lest the government loses-face in the election to come. Often these promises are made and foundations are laid pending looming large election time and will materialize soon after election so they will make a buildup rhetoric on it for the coming election.

Second, the best of teachers (qualified ones especially with second degree and plus) are not engaged effectively (save the one they manufacture them using these haphazardly created universities) for two critical reasons; the salary is simply put [15], not even enough for subsistence, especially given the skyrocketing living expenses in terms of food, transport and housing. Those who dare to join the teaching profession must endure and face this brutal reality. This fact makes the job not only uninteresting but also dangerous.

Third, the manner of employment is subject to abuse and designed for easy political targeting. Teachers are engaged on temporary contract basis renewable every two years. Usually, if they are not docile enough, 'yes-sir type' or party member of the ruling party; opposing views of any nature can entail and has frequently entailed either outright dismissal or denial of renewal. The other downside of this temporary employment contract [16] is that there is no horizontal increment of salary [17] for serving any number of years in a given university i.e. no tenure based

increment. Thus, a PhD holder who has served for the last twenty years earns the same amount of salary with someone who has just graduated. What best way is there to kill a working spirit and sense of achievement of a university based career.

Fourth, University presidents are (simply put) ruling party agents who are taking order from the cadres in mowing down staffs with opposing views and vulgarizing [18] students. They are conferred with unlimited power [19] by the law to make any given university a personal milk-cow [20], to victimizing people or confer undue benefit (based on arbitrary rules), running corruption of extreme nature (especially related to construction contracts and procurement), and favoritism (employing their likes mostly in administration and currently even in the teaching posts).

The appointment of university president follows the *kilil* [21] political order after the federal arrangement based on ethnicity. Thus, teachers/lecturers who are not from the ethnic group in which the university is located hardly let to participate in the university affairs. Department heads, college deans, and others important and key positions are fashioned after the ethnic background of any given university president. These facts breed resentment and sense of exclusion in one's own country thereby killing any drive to salvage the profession and the education sector. The president himself (rarely female, as they do not do good with abusing people, I guess, by their nature thus unfit for this job) is appointed as per the ethnic line (unwritten rule): for instance the president of *Hawassa University* has to be a *Sidma*, a president of *Wolega University* an Oromo, *Dilla University* a Gedeo, *Walyita University* a walayita, *Debrebrehan University* a Shewa Amhara, *Jimma University* an Oromo, and *Mekele University* a Tigre, etc.

Sixth, the ruling party is at large in a university organizing students and spying on both students and staff. Students knew that if they do not follow orders and do as they are told to do so; they can kiss goodbye any job opportunity after completing university education. Thus, university students are keener to attend a meeting of the ruling party than a lecture at the university for both 'Grade' them, yet the former counts at the practical market level. It is often (rumored as a sad humor) said that it is better to score 'C' at the party grading than "A" by the university professor.

Seventh, nothing (even semblance of academic freedom) akin to academic freedom is exercised in the organization and running of universities. Universities are governed by a board [22] led by usually the president of the region they are located in. There is no autonomy in taking-in(accepting) students- they are assigned by the ministry of education, no say in deciding even the number of students a university could

take-in, in designing curriculum, [23] prioritizing field of focus or areas of specialization (all are designed in one-size fits all fashion), and even running the internal affairs of the university. However, there is a recent endeavor to make some university more of a specialized university. This effort could only be meaningful if the general scenario is improved and these specialized universities can admit their own students based on their own criteria. Of course, staffs' incentive and career structure based problems must also be dealt with.

Eighth, rare resources which could have been used otherwise to mend the broken and work with it is being lost to corruption and favoritism. Students coming to university are coming in a very bad shape and extremely diverse backgrounds. Those who are coming from the city and with a good family background having had education in the private sector is to say the least mortified, disgusted, and abhorred by what they face compared to their high-school. The university is absolutely unfit for them. For those who are coming from the government schools be it in rural areas or cities/ towns; it is all the same a perpetuation of what they have been facing. At most, their expectation for better education, better facility, and better teachers vanish in the clouds. A victim of poor education all the way, they are mostly grabbling with language issues [24] than focusing on 'critical thinking' and professionalism expected at higher education level. To lessen the gap the role of teachers and engaging the resource available are key; yet one is lost to corruption the other to suspicion based on hate politics.

Ninth, curriculums change like Europeans-seasons in Ethiopia after stagnations of over five decades as if they want to make up for the lost time. For instance, since 2000 law curriculum has been changed twice which had never been changed from its inception (1960's). The same goes with other fields confusing both students and teachers. Meddling with curriculum both at university level and basic education level has been found out to be one among the many problems the sector is facing. History has been problematized, politicized and effectively used to create walls among societies and ethnic lines, and antagonize even the delivery of the subject and many other subjects depending on it. Law is used effectively to target dissidence of any kind and to consolidate power. Engineering as a propaganda tool thereby the only field of study to purge poverty from the nation. Medicine as an ultimate show down of creating a healthy society yet the nation remain to be among the sickest nation on planet earth [25].

HIGHER EDUCATION TODAY: TOWARDS CURATIVE POLICY

Homage to Academic Freedom

Where and if the government is indeed committed to salvaging education in general and higher education in particular; it must also commit itself to paying homage to the ethos of academic freedom. Thus, what is academic freedom and what are the practical hindrances to it in Ethiopian context. Judge Brennan, J, in USA opined on it in case presented for his judgment as such:

Our Nation is deeply committed to safeguarding academic freedom, which is of transcendent value to all of us That freedom is therefore a special concern of the First Amendment, which does not tolerate laws that cast a pall of orthodoxy over the classroom [26].

Academic freedom is that aspect of intellectual liberty concerned with the peculiar institutional needs of the academic community. The claim that scholars are entitled to particular immunity from ideological coercion is premised on a conception of the university as a community of scholars engaged in the pursuit of knowledge, collectively and individually, both within the classroom and without, and on the pragmatic conviction that the invaluable service rendered by the university to society can be performed only in an atmosphere entirely free from administrative, political, or ecclesiastical constraints on thought and expression [27].

However, in Ethiopia freedom of thought in general and academic freedom in particular is condemned. Teachers/ academicians must look over their shoulder before they opine on anything, especially something that offends the government's position. The teaching-learning is being conducted in an atmosphere of fear, suspicion and utter insecurity.

The nation is antagonized on all aspects of education, especially history, economics, law and even hard sciences (a case in point is the over emphasis of engineering field of study overstretching the capacity limits of universities). The cleavage and political rift often colored ethnically is meddling in academic freedom. Often illustrative examples in classroom are brought from somewhere else than invoking practical examples reflecting the reality of the nation lust 'cadres' (students and staffs) report to often paranoid party members and their merciless bosses. These factors force academicians to either self-censor or all the more escape issues they suspect are open to political interpretations.

Above all, commenting, writing on, criticizing, or debating in university compounds on government policies are barbed-wired territory one can only venture into at his own risk. You can only do so in support of the policies or the stand of the government for no practical avail as they can do it better in their own channel of mass media and meetings. The government equates criticism of any sort to political opposition, and are least equipped to learn from the universities they themselves established even if for political gains.

Honoring Tenure Security

Employees' tenure security creates a sense of self-esteem and security. It also inculcates career aspiration and career related securities. In Ethiopia, especially among higher education staffs (a point in case is academic staffs) lack this privilege and are condemn to hang in balance and legal limbo. The employment contract is nothing but constructed in good faith. It is made suitable to sieve those who dare to oppose the political hegemony in the nation. It is an effective means of intimidating and silencing thereby effectively killing freedom of thought relevant even to academic freedom.

The contract of employment is on temporary basis renewable every two years thereby subjecting the employee to the liking or hatred of the department heads and university bosses. If a certain employee falls out of grace or is spotted by the political circle as 'antidevelopment scholar' meaning in simple terms; an employee is not either a member of the dominant party or docile; two lines of dismissal letter could be awaited:

'Since your service is no longer needed; we are hereby communicated to you that your employment with the university cannot be renewed, regards'

It is sad that often this dismissal letters do not come as result of inefficiency. If that was the case the prime victims are the political party decoys who are there in name only as academic staff than in deeds. Judging by the experience of many victims, and checking their records and backgrounds; they are esteemed professionals. A point in case would be dismissing forty plus professor of Addis Ababa University which even begat the 'temporary contract' as antidote of the criticism raised by dismissing those professors. Now there is a more efficient and seemingly legal way of dealing with anyone who dares to contradict the government on any level.

The other most important problem with regard to the tenure is that there is no career structure except that some vertical increment of rank is there either as result of status upgrade via degree earning or promotions which is a rare thing.

De-politicization of Education

It is the sworn creed of the current government to read politics almost on anything the nation did or set out to do. Thus, changing the educational policy of the country was ventured into without detail studies and as a part of annihilating anything that belonged to the past regimes. The educational policy now under implementation had been considered by the Imperial regime albeit stiff resistance [28].

Hence, it is time that the government reconsiders its position and neutralize the education sector of political influences and refrain from appointing as educational institutions leader people who are cliques of the ruling party. Education must be left to the technocrats of education and it is also very wise to have national consensus on educational policy.

As far as higher education in the country is concerned; it must be gleaned off the stench of politics that undermines quality education and trying to appease a certain group [dominant] as per the location of a certain university. The expansion, or running of the university must be ventured to having had scientific analysis at hand than political decision usually reached at to maximize political profits. Teachers concern and fear must be reflected in a genuine way via a genuine teachers association.

Teachers in Ethiopia have historically been represented by the Ethiopian Teachers' Association (ETA), founded in 1949. Following a long legal battle, a 2008 court ruling took away the right of the ETA to its name and all of its assets, creating a different organization with an identical name. Most teachers are now members of this replacement organization, for which dues are deducted from teachers' salaries. The original ETA, now reorganized as the National Teachers Association (NTA), considers the new ETA to be unduly influenced by the government and has complained of discrimination against its members. Such concerns have in turn been expressed internationally through a range of bodies including the International Labor Organization (ILO 2009).

Rule of Law: towards Tackling Corruption and Favoritism

Corruption is emblematic of the nation and educational sector is no exception to this. It is saddening that the future of the nation (the younger generation) is the ultimate victim thereby the nation is devoid of the productive, and truly educated human power now and in the future. In a thorough study of the World Bank group, the educational sector in Ethiopia was found to be no exception from the pervasive influence of corruption. The group concluded:

Survey responses suggest nepotism and favoritism in recruitment were broad and frequent—

namely that, in some *woredas*, the recruitment of teachers (and other community-based workers) is based on political affiliation, including paid-up membership of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). This process is perceived to start with the selection of candidates for technical training colleges (TTCs) [29]. It is also the same in the case of higher education, often than not EPRDF trustees are planted as a teacher/academic staffs and most frequently as administrators in the universities; thereby they are cut lose to exercise favoritism of massive nature. They employ (especially in the support staffs) people they select in a biased way or give promotions more easily. The higher education support staffs are largely family members of the management circle or close affiliates, or party members whose allegiance is bought in exchange for the job. Many of these employees in support staff and even in the academic circle join the university with bought certificates/credentials often from the private colleges and public universities who sell certificates for money or products of extension and weekend programs of the university itself and made to graduate by either intimidating, bribing, changing grades at registrar level or mix of all these corrupt practices. There are genuine academic staffs who are victimized as they resisted this hand twisting. In a World Bank study, it was found out that falsification of certificates are a major problem in the education sector of Ethiopia.

Survey responses suggest there is a significant risk of corruption in certification, with 20 percent of TTC and university students perceiving that some students' certificates or transcripts are forged to help them graduate [30].

The corruption is also more pronounced at the examination level, especially in extension and weekend classes where many of the support staffs and people from the government are registered. 'Survey responses suggest a significant risk of corruption in examinations [31].' What is shocking is not only the culture of corruption in education but also the culture of impunity - the belief that there are no consequences for practicing corruption. The WB report shows not only the "prevalence of fraud and falsification of teaching qualifications and other documents, reflecting weak controls, poor-quality documents (that are easily falsified), [but also] the widespread belief that such a practice would not be detected... *For such falsification to go unnoticed, there is a related risk of the officials supporting or approving the application being implicated in the corrupt practice.*" [32] Falsification of documents including forged transcripts and certificates occurs on an "industrial" scale and is "most prevalent in the provision of certification for completing the primary or secondary school cycles" and in generating bogus "documents in support of applications for promotion".

Moreover, grades are also earned at higher education level loosely, and diploma certificates are issued for one or the other reason. Weekend, extension and summer programs are simply engaged in manufacturing diplomas. Private higher education are worse compared to even public higher education in all their performance and loose in giving grades and certificates of diplomas/degrees. There are also instance where students are issued the diploma without bothering to go to the universities as long as they pay their dues. Further, distance learning is infamous for rationing certificates to cadres of the government and whosoever needs to get job coupled by nepotism.

The types of corrupt practices that occur at the management level are stunning. Managers manipulate access to "program of enhancing teacher qualifications through in-service training during holiday periods by using their positions to influence the selection of candidates. Hidden relationships are used in teacher upgrading, with officials at the zonal or woreda level taking the first option on upgradation programs." The appointment of local education officials is not "competitive" but "politically assigned". Collusion between local managers and teachers over noncompliance with curriculum, academic calendar, and similar practices is a relatively common practice and "reduces the provision of educational services." This situation is made worse by "teacher absenteeism [which] is tolerated by head teachers, within the context of staff perceiving a need to supplement their income through private tutoring or other forms of income generation." Poorly paid teachers supplement their incomes by "private tutoring [which] is widespread, with 40 percent of school officials reporting it as a practice." Corruption also extends to "teachers paying bribes or kickbacks to management, mostly school directors, to allocate shorter work hours in schools so that they can use the freed-up time to earn fees as teachers in private schools." The payola is hierarchically distributed: "*Bribes received are likely to be shared first with superiors, then with a political party, and then with colleagues, in that order.*" [33] These scenarios are not uncommon in higher education too. Often, lecturer are more interested in their part time job than the regular job fetching meagre salary. The salary has to be supplemented and they do so by doing consultancies, practicing their fields (medicine, law, engineering are notable), seeking additional employment (teaching in private colleges and universities, giving trainings etc.) or even trading. On the other hand, if they get their hands in the administration; they do not have to worry about the nagging living costs or even indulgence. Hence, corruption is a more profitable 'job.'

The other major source of corruption in higher education are procurement, especially procurement related to daily consumption of students. Collecting

Performa, and selecting companies which submitted a bid price for procurement of nature are the breeding ground for corruption. Again in the World Bank study group nit was noted:

Tendering companies owned by persons linked with the award of contracts—risk: high. Interview responses suggest a widespread perception of family or other connections between tendering companies and officials responsible for procurement [34].

Corrupt practices related to procurement of buildings and facilities can reasonably be expected to be similar in nature, but more pronounced, than those related to procurement of supplies and equipment. This is because of the nature of the construction sector, which can involve high expenditures and heavy reliance on the maintenance of high professional standards in all aspects of construction, including design and site supervision [35].

Thus, procurement (official purchases of goods and services from private sources) is the low hanging fruit. “In the education sector, a number of public actors maybe involved [in procurement], depending on the size and type of the task. These include national and local government politicians and managers.” Some people have a lock on the procurement system. Successful “tendering companies” are likely to have “family or other connections with officials responsible for procurement”. Procurement corruption also takes the forms of “uncompetitive practices” “including the formation of a cartel, obstruction of potential new entrants to the market, or other forms of uncompetitive practices that may or may not include a conspiratorial role on the part of those responsible for procurement.” Other procurement related corruption includes “favoritism, nepotism, or bribery in the short-listing of consultants or contractors or the provision of tender information.” There are some “favored contractors and consultants” who have a “dominant market position” and are “awarded contracts for which they were not eligible to bid.” Corruption also occurs in the form of defective construction, substandard materials and over-claims of quantities [36].

The culture of corruption and impunity in Ethiopia must be changed. The WB report observes,

In Ethiopia, the pattern of perception suggests that outright bribery is perceived to be more corrupt than, for example, favoritism or the falsification of documentation. There is also a sense that some practices, such as expressing gratitude to a client through the giving of a small gift, are normal business practice and not necessarily corrupt. Finally, there is an underlying acceptance among many that the

state has the right to intervene in the market if that is considered to be in the national interest, and there is little sense that such interventions could be at variance with ongoing efforts to promote the level playing field needed for effective privatization of service provision, including in the education sector [37].

On the other hand, institutionalizing rule of law among higher education can and will salvage the ever rotting and deteriorating quality education. The first priority in order of things are to awaken the government to come to its sense and vividly show that what it is trying to do is suicidal. University as an institution of technocracy must be run by technocrats in an atmosphere of strong academic freedom. Thus, hand off! Second, it must play an enabling role than hampering role in furthering quality education. Thus, stop playing double standard! University cannot be of use if it an instrument of politics; they must be factories of new thoughts and novel ways of doing things than being used another outlet of propaganda. Third, employees need to have career structure and a strong sense of security they must not be threatened and victimized. Incentives must be increased and be all rounded from tax reeducation, to housing, to insurance and etc., tenure security could be given after PhD to ensure more quality, more competition and more robust career structure.

CONCLUSION

The educational policy in Ethiopia in general and more specifically the higher education policy is sick to the bone. It requires overall examination and treatment. The major sickness is coming from the government which cries loud to have begotten the universities to begin with. It is killing its own creations. It is zilch to run universities without robust academic freedom, well defined career structure and letting go the ‘control freak’ attitude. The administration must be gleaned off from corruption especially favoritism and ethnic centered politicking of universities. As universities are federal institutions all Ethiopians must be able to compete under equal opportunity principle for all position within the university. Adherence to the principle of equal opportunity effectively abates the sense of exclusion and hopelessness among the majority staffs. None should be made to suffer for contributing to the educational sector; education and especially teaching must be ventured to because one considers the vocation as a calling than profiting from it. Hence, rules of law must be seen to operate well since the future generation are made into disciplined citizen in universities partly lust we harvest what we saw.

REFERENCES

1. The adherents of the policy accuse the former educational policy as exclusionist and urban-

centered; it was, they argue, very precious to see the mass Ethiopians in graduating gown. Thus, they claim by expanding universities, the government claims to have made university degrees a common commodity available to everyone.

2. Factory of certificates, diploma mills and manufacturer of cobblestone –layers etc. as opposed to source of much needed educated people veering the idea that the policy is responsible for quality deterioration of mega scale nullifying the essence of higher education all together.
3. Gebremariam A; Edu-corruption and Mis-education in Ethiopia, Blog published on May 13, 2013- at www.almariam.com
4. Most of the victims of red-terror during the military regime were high school and university teachers and their students for demanding popular government (a government by the people) as against military government.
5. However, there were and is a long history of education led by clergies in Ethiopia dating back to the founding of Orthodox Christian Church at about the 4th century.
6. Menelik II reigned from 10 March 1889 – 12 December 1913.
7. Dagmawi Menelik School was founded in 1905 as the first modern school in Ethiopia for wealthy children. The school began with 20 elite schoolchildren, but now serves over 2,000 students, who come mainly from poor families.
8. Following the Second World War, Haile Selassie opened Ethiopia's first University, University College of Addis Ababa was founded in 1950. In 1962 it was renamed Haile Selassie I University. It is currently known as Addis Ababa University
9. Echiyeferenjilam yewoldechattijamadeguanimenja' a social critic lodged against students educated in English by foreigners has bread suspicion whether it is going to be of any benefit to begin with.
10. See in general, Tekeste Negash, *Rethinking Education in Ethiopia*, Uppsala 1996.
11. It is also important to see this strategy in terms of the socio-economic impact, notably graduates are unable to find job which is compounding the problem of unthoughtful expansion of formal education by deemphasizing informal education thereby condemning the majority to absolute illiteracy.
12. Limat, an innocent Amharic word meaning development turned pejorative by abuse and misuse of the term by the government and now synonymous with the idea of 'everything is first to the investor and government.'
13. For instance, Agricultural College of Hawasa, Jimma, Alemaya have been renamed Universities of Hawassa, Jimama, Alemaya. There are now over thirty government universities created in this manner.
14. These colleges were largely offshoots of the Addis Ababa University located at different cities of the nation.
15. It is also to be noted that the ever increasing living cost in the nation is far worse a match to the salaries paid to employees of the government in general and teachers in particular.
16. However, even though university teachers are public servants, they are not still legally qualified to pension coverage. A public servant for the purpose of pension coverage includes only those who are "permanently employed" (article 2 sub1 of the public servant proclamation no. 714/2011). Hence, the effect of temporary contract is far ranging and overall killing a sense of security on the part of the employees.
17. Thus, university academic career is not only potentially pension less but also no continuous improvement of income.
18. There are instances where university staffs are beaten by students and even officials of the university are victims by student unions who are party affiliated and over protected.
19. See in general, higher education proclamation 2009. Article 43 cum article 53, regarding structure; governing and Advisory Bodies. Governing and advisory bodies of a public institution shall consist of: a) board; b) president; c) senate; d) Managing council; e) university council; f) academic unit council; etc. Note the president is under the board but above the senate of the university, thereby making him or her the sole despot in the university but obedient to the political body called board.
20. Presidents of public universities are de facto leader of any project based fund and thereby getting benefits in tens of thousands if not hundreds of thousands per month. Moreover, cars, houses, per diems and office allowances count to their fat pay. Thus, it is a ticket to shortcut richness.
21. See article 47 of the FDRE constitution to confirm as to how regional states are organized, it is nothing but ethnical. Given that the board chairs are the presidents of the regions clearly gives them a hand in appointing the top management of the university and eroding the autonomy suggested by higher education proclamation, 2009.
22. See Article 43 and the following of the higher education proclamation, 2009
23. The ministry of education is venturing in task of harmonizing curriculums in the nation. The harmonized curriculums are more of a problem than a solution, especially in terms of modularizing and clustering courses which does not go with the existing structure of the university and manpower.
24. English language which is medium of education at university level in Ethiopia is a nightmare for both the teachers and students. The country has never been colonized by an English speaking country nor

by any other country for that matter. And hence its exposure to the language is none except some contribution of peace-corps (Americans) who founded higher education in Ethiopia. Thus, it is this problem that demands a rethinking at national level. Education in language that none understands it simply a paradox; we just manufacture bunches of certified ignorant.

25. Ethiopia remains one of the sickest nation in the world to date.
26. *Keyishian v. Board of Regents*, 385U.S. 589, 603, 1967.
27. Academic Freedom, HeinOnline, 81 Harv. L. Rev. 1967-1968, P1048
28. Under the pressure of growing public dissatisfaction and mounting student activism in the university and secondary schools, the imperial government initiated a comprehensive study of the education system. Completed in July 1972, the Education Sector Review (ESR) recommended attaining universal primary education as quickly and inexpensively as possible, ruralizing the curricula through the inclusion of informal training, equalizing educational opportunities, and relating the entire system to the national development process. The report was not published until February 1974, which gave time for rumors to generate opposition among students, parents, and the teachers' union to the ESR recommendations. Most resented what they considered the removal of education from its elite position. Many teachers also feared salary reductions. Strikes and widespread disturbances ensued, and the education crisis became a contributing factor in the imperial regime's fall later that year.
29. Janelle Plummer, ed., *Diagnosing Corruption in Ethiopia Perceptions, Realities, and the Way Forward for Key Sectors*, (World Bank, 2012), 90.
30. *Ibid*, p. 93.
31. *Ibid*, p.92.
32. See, in general *supra* note 3.
33. *Ibid*.
34. *Ibid*, 98.
35. *Ibid*, 101.
36. *Supra* note 3.
37. See the education sector, *supra* note 29.