

Battling to Become English-Literate in Semi-Pastoral Society of Eastern Ethiopia

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Abstract: This study explored the condition of being a child and a primary school student in Semi-Pastoral Society of Eastern Ethiopia. The study was instigated by the widespread complaints in the aftermath of Millennium Development Goal two (MDG2) that in eastern Ethiopia of (semi-) pastoralist community, children are left far behind with not only the opportunity to literacy. The aim of this study was to assess the existing EFL primary school literacy achievements, success and challenges in the Dire Dawa Town suburbs of Oromo and Somali semi-pastoralist communities. Adopting an ethnographic participant observation approach, five primary schools were selected based on convenience or accessibility. Totally, twenty-five active primary schools Grade 4 children and 14 dropouts were sampled based on availability sampling technique from the five schools. A Basic Vocabulary Assessment Battery (BVAB) was designed as a primary data collection tool. Besides, School Observation and Focus Group Discussions (FGD) were employed. The BVAB results of those actively schooling indicate, in contrast to our original hypothesis, fair level of English literacy. However, the FDG data obtained from the dropouts confirmed our hypothesis that abject poverty and the fragility of implementing the policy of children's rights to education in their mother tongues are stumbling blocks to literacy as well as opportunity to schooling. Important policy implications are offered.

Keywords: Ethiopia, Language Policy, Primary School Education, English Literacy, Semi-Pastoral Society

1. Introduction

Primary children's literacy is different from general literacy. In Paulo Freirean critical pedagogy theory, literacy is, in general, the ability or opportunity to name, reflect, act upon and change own world. For children of primary schools three Freirean processes are essential, namely *coding* (what-is-said), *codification* (what-is-meant) and *decodification* (interpretation, e.g., learning the relationship of letters to sounds), which are learned correlatively and simultaneously. Meaning is, thus, present from the start as learners "problematize the existential" around themselves; they name what they see or hear, and remember, identifying and interpret the significance of what they see and hear [1].

This study is motivated by the interest to understand the condition of primary literacy, especially in the immediate aftermath of the Millennium Development Goals. This is important given the huge promises and investments made

nationally and internationally, to primary schooling in the (semi-) pastoralist communities. In the selected (semi-) pastoralist communities of eastern Ethiopia primary (First Cycle) schools, this study attempts to examine:

- i. The English literacy level, success and challenges;
- ii. Availability of textual materials or codifications for reading or *decodification*
- iii. Opportunity to continue literacy without interruption

Ultimately, the study aims at identifying what the learning environment must be like in the context in order that adequate level and continuation of literacy is possible for the children.

2. Previous Efforts

The so-call Millennium Development Goal two (MDG2) that expired its time period in 2015 envisaged: 'achieving

universal primary education'; ensuring children everywhere, boys and girls alike, to be able to complete a full course of primary schooling. The indicators for the supposed achievements for primary literacy were: 'net enrolment in primary education' and 'primary completion rate; and 'literacy rate of 15–24-year-old'. These were supposed to be leading the primary children to an interesting other indicator, viz., adequate 'literacy rate of 15–24-year-old'. On its part, call Millennium Development Goal (MDG) Africa Steering Group [2] aimed at 'ensuring that Africa's children are empowered through education and good health to lead productive lives'.

Educationalists and researchers were eagerly counting down the 2015 MDG time ceiling. During a five year to the end of MDG, a USAID-Ethiopia-funded Early Grade Reading Assessment (EGRA) study across the country concluded although children "attend school for two or three years, a significant percentage is illiterate" [3]. Three years before the expiry to the MDG, study reported that 120 million do not reach grade 4 and 130 million are in school but failing to learn the basics. Two years to the expiry of the MDG Report [4] came up with a study results that showed that the literacy rate of 38 African countries was already on a shaky ground, i.e., far behind achieving the indicators. What was more intriguing was why Ethiopia was left an accounted for in the report.

In the aftermath of the GDP's lifetime empirical research on early child literacy development or education is not available, at least, to researchers and concerned groups. More intriguing, however, is about Ethiopian higher education that completely disassociated themselves from early child education issue of Ethiopia. It is so surprising that our tour across the major universities indicated no single staff research project or a (post-) graduate research work--neither an on-going research nor is there accessible dissertation documentation inside their libraries, too.

A recent press release from World Vision International states that, despite gains in enrollment and improvements in education quality in recent years, [5] USAID early grade reading assessments showed that 34% of Ethiopian students in grade 2 were unable to read a single word of a grade-level story, while 48% could not answer one comprehension question.¹ The project is based on the appropriate conviction that mastering the fundamentals of early grade reading provides a foundation for success for the rest of school and life, hence, by focusing on these early grades, it aspire to create lifelong learners who will contribute to their family, community and country.

3. The Purpose of the Study

The Millennium Development Goal two (MDG2) Plan is

¹ For more on this, see New Project to Boost Literacy for 15 Million Ethiopian Children Press Release Monday, February 5th 2018 Available at: www.wvi.org/education-and-life-skills/pressrelease/new-project-boost-literacy-15-million-ethiopian-children

supposedly aimed mainly at providing opportunity of schooling to the poor pastoralist communities of Ethiopia. Eastern Ethiopian pastoralist communities occupy very vast lands of Dire Dawa Town suburbs and the Oromia, Afar and Somali regional states.

Though Ethiopia-wide or regional empirical data is not available, widespread complaints as regards 'poor' education quality and students' 'poor' literacy and numeracy skills are commonplace especially among schoolteachers and university professors. Professional experiences of school and university teachers confirm this. Automatically, it is possible to imagine that the level of 'poor' educational quality and skills go worse in the (semi-) pastoralist communities of Ethiopia than anywhere in the country for general resources, supplementary texts and, even, opportunity to continue (without quitting) their schooling are so scarcer for primary school children born into these communities. These challenges to literacy could as much true for significant size of children in the rural farming communities of Ethiopia as are, they to significant number of children in the Capital Addis Ababa and small towns, as well.

For those who are lucky to complete their primary schooling First Cycle (Grade 1-4), the Ethiopian Ministry of Education (MOE) would like to see nationwide two core indicators as far as English learning is concerned (Grade 1-4 English Syllabus): the children can read and write or speak short dialogue and short passages (Grade 3); and, they can read and write or speak extended paragraphs, arts and literature (Grade 4). This Literacy level corresponds to the international 'Level 1' or 'Basic Level', namely, the ability to 'read and understand simple printed paragraphs', 'write simple letters', 'count and recognize figures 1-1000' [6].

4. The Context of the Study Area

It is hard to clearly describe the geographical and political or administrative landscapes of Dire Dawa. What's more, it is even harder to decipher whether it is a town or county or district or region hence harder to draw its map or delineate its ever expanding border deep into the Oromiya Regional State in which it is embedded. Details of this confusion, especially since the 1991 dramatic political change, are excellently treated by Midega [7]. Up until the end of first half of 20th c., Dire Dawa was a small town but capital of the Jaldeessa District. The proclamation No.7/1992, which established fourteen transitional self-governing regions of Ethiopia, placed Dire Dawa under Oromiya [8] but the Federal Constitution of 1995 left it with no provision and, hence, Ethio-Somali region sprung its interest in the town and its vicinities as well. It appeared so premeditated confusion that immediately the a committee appointed by the Federal Prime Minister Office began to directly rule, in sharp contrast to the federalist principle of the Constitution, Dire Dawa in a study [9] was declared that Dire Dawa Administration was part of the Federal Government and it be accountable to the Federal Government. At the same time, Amharic was adopted as the "official language" of the "Administration" but left other

confusions again: What about other languages? Where is the border? According to the 1994 census result, the major ethnic groups of the residents of Dire Dawa administrative council were found to be 48% Oromo, 27.7% Amahra, 13.9% Somali, 4.5% Guragie (2.3% Sebat Bet, 0.8% Sodo and 1.4% Silte) and 5.9% others. Amharic is the official language of the administrative council. According to statistics from CSA population census, the total population of Dire Dawa town is 342,827. The total number of male and female is 171,930 and 170,897 respectively. As this data indicated that the numbers of ethnic group claimed to Oromo 46.08%, Somali 24.24%, Amhara 20.09%, Gurage 4.54%, Harari 1.08% and others are 3.97%.

In spite of all those ambiguities and confusions, inside the Dire Dawa' Administrative unit, the government-owned primary schools and state-controlled media have been delivering services in three languages, viz. Afaan Oromo, Oromo Language, and Af Somal, Somali Language, besides Amharic.

5. Methodology

This small scale study adopted a critical ethnographic approach that ethnography not only deals with what people are, how they interact but also tries to reveal what lies beneath it. Newly, ethnography becomes considerably interest to linguist who sees the need to study human behavior in social context. The context of this study is among the worst affected areas in both adverse environmental condition and poor access to opportunity to schooling. Based upon conditions of accessibility, five schools of the Oromo pastoralist communities located in 5 communities were selected, namely Adiga Felema, Eja Anani, Debelie, Belewa and Biyo Awalle. From these, 25 grade 4 children were selected based on their availability in order to involve them in one of the data collection methods named as 'Basic Vocabulary Assessment Battery' (BVAB). EFL/ESL basic vocabulary list contains a set of important words worth learning, especially, for primary level students. The twenty-five vocabularies were randomly selected from the list.² It is assumed that like any vocabulary test, the BVAB attempts to measure the comprehension and production of words used in speaking and writing. It is believed that vocabulary is one of the linguistic components influencing the development of communicative competence and learners' language skills as well [10-15].

Secondly, observation was made to each of the schools including classrooms were made. Our observation purposes and checklists involved the *codification* and *decodification*, i.e., linguistic, diagrammatic, graphic and if available, electronic texts. This was premised upon the theoretical assumption that early literacy skills are learned through exposure to good literature.

Thirdly, Focus Group Discussions (FGD) was held with all the actively schooling 25 students who took the BVAB.

Moreover, since one of our key objectives was to understand the challenges and opportunities to continue schooling 14 students who quitted their education were selected to be involve in our FDG. Hard to find them together at single site, we managed to access the 14 dropouts at the place they herd goats and cattle in two groups each with seven members. The purpose and contents of the discussions were in general to understand from them the serious challenges that confront them in their education. Four of them quitted their education from different schools including outside of the five schools we focused on our study. We wanted to discuss with them why and how they quitted their education as well as the challenges to their prospects of rejoining their schools.

6. Results and Discussion

6.1. English Literacy Not So Bad

The BVAB results of those actively schooling indicate, in contrast to our original hypothesis, fair level of ability to express or interpret themselves as far as these basic concepts or set of vocabulary are concerned. Although this is not by any means used as indicator of literacy level, it however suggests important messages. That is these children are neither ignorant of the opportunity that literacy, in general, does not offer them no rare they unaware of the role that English language, in specific, offers them. Equally, if not more, important, these children are aware of the danger of losing the opportunity to literacy and English competence. As we shall see below, they adequately understand our conceptualization of 'literacy' as students' ability to think or become aware about their educational situation and recognize connections between their individual problems and the social contexts in which they are embedded.

Table 1. EFL Basic Vocabulary Assessment Battery (BVAB) Results Grade 4 from 4 Schools.

Schools	Students	Accurate	Inaccurate/ Don't know	Total Question Item
Adiga Felema	Student 1	18	7	25
	Student 2	6	19	25
	Student 3	19	6	25
Eja Anani	Student 4	7	16	23
	Student 5	3	22	25
	Student 6	16	9	25
	Student 7	13	12	25
Debelie	Student 8	9	16	25
	Student 9	13	12	25
	Student 10	19	6	25
Belewa	Student 11	14	11	25
	Student 12	13	12	25
Biyo Awalle	Student 13	7	18	25
	Student 14	9	16	25
Total		166 (47.71%)	182 (52.29%)	348

6.2. School with Complete Dearth of Texts

We observed each of the schools and their classrooms as well as discussed face-to-face with each of the participant children whether they have access to reading materials and

² Also available at: <http://www.esldesk.com/vocabulary/basic>

texts besides the Student Books designed by the Regional Education Bureaus and distributed by the school to each of them for classroom teaching-learning. 'Reading materials and texts', here, is defined as all types of resources 'modified' for children for reading inside classroom and at home--linguistic (written texts in English and/or mother tongue), diagrammatic (e.g. the widely market available chart 'anatomy of human body' etc.), graphic (e.g., geographic maps, etc.) or ICT hypergraphic (e.g. computerized graphics such as games, Google Earth, etc.). Uniformly, all the children asserted that they have nothing more than the aforesaid official Student Books. They all ascribe the cause of their lack to "parents do not buy for them", i.e., economic problem.

6.3. Higher Level of Quitting Schooling and Low Prospects to Continue Literacy

Although it should be read skeptically and critically, the data we obtained from each school (Table 1) indicates a trend of decreasing dropouts.

Table 2. Drop outs (2016).

School	Grade one		Grade 2		Grade 3		Grade 4	
	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %
Adiga Felema	22	26	13	6	8	3	4	3
Eja Anani	26	24	17	19	9	10	6	9
Debelie	24	28	10	8	6	3	3	4
Belewa	22	16	12	23	10	9	13	10
Biyyo Awalle	25	26	15.2	8.4	9.5	6	7.5	6

The FDG data obtained from the children who discontinued their early literacy confirmed our hypothesis that abject poverty and the fragility of implementing the policy of children's rights to education in their mothertongue are stumbling blocks to literacy as well as opportunity to schooling. But, there are more problems, too, though are still related to these in some way or another.

6.4. Enrolment in Primary Schools

Coverage, access and enrolment are among the indicators for measuring the progressive realization of the right to free and compulsory primary education. The increase from year-to-year of the rate of enrolment is indicative of the fact that the government is doing its level best to ensure accessibility of free and compulsory education for citizens. Since early 1990s, the Ethiopian government has made a lot of progress in making primary education accessible to all school-age children. The massive expansion of schools gives access to all age cohorts of students. Yet it also demands context-based education and selection of proper content to help achieve the stretched goals of the nation. At primary level of education, pupils acquire the basic knowledge, skills and values which are necessary for production of responsible citizens and it is regarded as the central plank of most education. Hence, a complete or at least some level of primary education makes a

difference among people's daily life practices and modes of life.

6.5. Familial Challenges

These children have adequate awareness as to how the economic plights of their parents cripple their opportunity to continue schooling. They argued that their parents need their labor because the entire community lives on:

- i. Pastoralism mainly of goats, camel and cows products;
- ii. Collecting and selling firewood to town dwellers;
- iii. Collecting or crashing rocks and selling to house builders in the town dwellers;
- iv. Food aid, esp., by USAID.

This necessitates parents' high demand for child labor especially for:

- i. Helping parents collect firewood
- ii. Keeping goats or younger sibling or the home (from thieves) when parents go far distance to collect firewoods
- iii. Collecting stream water travelling long distance for drink, food preparation, washing, etc.
- iv. Taking daily provisions (lunch) to parents (esp., fathers or older brother or sister) where they keep goats, camels or cows at distant pasture land.

6.6. Natural Challenges

From our observations and discussions with them, we also understood that the power of adverse natural phenomenon obliges:

- i. Migrating during drought times to far rural areas or along distant river banks in search of grasses pastures and water for their goats, camels and cows.
- ii. Migrating during draught times to nearby towns where neither the towns' "consociationalism" administrative system [12] nor the annual one-off registration and bi-semester schooling practice, nor the national language-education policy accommodates the 'foreign' children.

6.7. Extreme Poverty

Direct costs such as, clothing, exercise books, and pens are high and lack of these fees contribute to low enrolment [16]. In every country, children of poor families go to school less than those of a well-to-do family. According to UNESCO [17], in nine out of twenty countries with household survey data, where Ethiopia is one, there is a strong negative correlation, -0.4 or above, between household poverty and the primary school attendance rate in both rural and urban regions. Findings also show that in the schools where daily meals were provided in areas of low food-security, school performance and attendance are found to increase as long as the provision is not interrupted [18].

6.8. School Facilities

Besides classrooms, adequate sanitation in terms of water and latrines is an important aspect of school facilities for increasing the willingness of parents to enroll their girls. If

schools have no toilets or running water that is safely accessible to girls, they may miss many weeks a year of schooling because of hygiene. In most cases, parents prefer separate toilets for boys and girls. Adequate number of classes in schools can help avoid loss of time on task. If the class size is large, there is not enough time to support the students where as it is believed that smaller classes allow for more time and attention to each student.

Similarly, the availability of sufficient number of textbooks can help the teacher to help the students by using the time he/she would have spent for writing much of the material on the chalk board for students to see and/or copy if there were no sufficient textbooks. Flexibility in the timing of the school day and annual calendar of the school is very important in relation to workloads, and these all need to be examined for their different impact on girls and boys.

6.9. Financial Constraints

For an effective achievement in education system, the fulfillment of learning and writing materials such as pen, pencil, exercise books and uniforms have been found to be among important which need cost considerations. Boarding school contribution in the case of shared cost-systems, together with the cost of books and uniforms, is quite difficult to afford for the pastoralists.

Even where primary education is free, the household educational expenditure can be high. Opportunity costs like sending children to school make up a significant proportion of household spending, especially among poor families and pastoralists, which could determine their enrolment rates. Together with uniform text books, supplies and other books, transportation to and from school are also the determinants for communities and households to educate their children [19].

6.10. Fragile Language Education Policy

The schools we studied are those categorized as Afaan Oromo Medium ones, although there are Af Somali Medium ones in closer vicinity, too. Our discussion with the dropouts was held at the pasture lands where they were herding goats and cattle. Some of them quitted their education from different schools including outside of the five schools we focused on our study. In our discussions with the children, next to the previous two causals, the third factor they raise is that the moment they move from one place to another they would join schools wherein Amharic is adopted as a medium of instruction or Somaliis adopted as a medium of instruction. They fear these languages are “difficult” not just to study them per se but to study science and mathematics by. Therefore, they quitted their education. This is either perceived fear or they knew this happened to their senior brothers or sisters.

Ethiopia's 1994 Education and Training Policy state that primary education is to be given in nationality languages [20; 21]. The Ethiopian Constitution nominally boldly foregrounds the linguistic and educational right of Ethiopian

children. The underlying assumption of the policy is that the nationality language is the mother tongue of all children who live in the area where that language is spoken [22-25]. Moreover, the Constitution purports an interesting multi-ethnic mother tongue language policy the goals of which are to improve literacy rates and academic achievement, as well as to enhance appreciation of local languages and cultures [26-28]. Nevertheless, translating it to real action is proven inconsistent because the age-old ideologically charged misperceptions that underlie the homogenization policy of Nation Building, namely:

- i. That linguistic and cultural freedom are “threats” to territorial integrity and unity of, the otherwise, multi-linguistic, multi-cultural and multi-ethnic Ethiopia;
- ii. That linguistic right is “a threat” to quality of education or it sucks the resources of the multi-linguistic and poor Ethiopia;
- iii. That linguistic-educational right is causing the ‘Christian Island’ to afford adopting Latin orthography at expense of the South Arabic Ge’ez script that Ethiopia adopted at the dawn of the Christian era.

Thus, the only ‘non-colonized’ country in Africa is still ailing from the legacies of colonialism [22; 23]. Given similar problems in pastoralist, semi-pastoralist and intra-/inter-regional communities are commonplace the consequence of this fragility is far reaching. On the one hand, child education in pocketed languages areas is at stake.³ This poses more threats as many Ethiopian languages are being pocketed more and more in the aforementioned communities. On the other, there is growing fear that Ethiopia might, from fragile cultural-linguistic policy, relapse to the old cultural-linguistic genocide policy.

7. Reflection and Conclusion

No doubt, the present study risks limited data and smaller sample size due, mainly, to the relentless conflicts and instabilities in the study areas up until the moment of writing this report. Needless to say, wider research is needed. Nevertheless, the transferability of the major findings to similar semi-pastoralist and poverty-stricken context has impeccable taste. The BVAB results from those children actively schooling indicated, in contrast to our original hypothesis, fairly progressing English literacy level though our data is limited to vocabulary. The school observations we conducted revealed a complete dearth of texts in ruined schools’ compounds and the classrooms. The FDG data obtained from the dropouts confirmed our hypothesis that abject poverty and fragility of implementing the policy of children’s rights to education in their mothertongue are the stumbling blocks to literacy as well as opportunity to continuing to stay in their schooling process. This implies that, choosing a language learner do not master has high

³ For instance, the Raaya, Saho, Irob, Kunama linguistic communities inside Tigray Region, the Qemant, Wambara and Matakal linguistic communities inside Amhara Region and the Majangir, Gumuz, Barta linguistic communities inside Beni Shangul Gumuz Region.

costs of its own: poor uptake of the curriculum content, poor performance on examinations, increased dropout rates and the marginalization of populations that do not control the language of instruction.

Important policy implications are drawn out of this small study. Ethiopia's faint-hearted language policy severely cripples education policy practice as well as child rights to education in the study areas and similar contexts discussed in this paper. Nor single-sectorial (i.e. educational or linguistic) policy reform brings meaningful changes in the lives of current generation of children or the future. Unswerving political-legal structure that ensures the linguistic, cultural and human rights of children and their linguistic communities' rights to live peacefully, free from relentless raids, conflicts and instabilities, must be established. Besides, an economic system based upon free markets and investments that open up opportunities for pastoralist communities to gain access to infrastructures, markets and constant water must be established.

Appendix: Basic Vocabulary Assessment Battery (BVAB)

No.	Basic English Words	Accurately Interpreted	Not Accurately preted
1.	I/me		
2.	You		
3.	two		
4.	tongue		
5.	who		
6.	name		
7.	eye		
8.	tooth		
9.	No/not		
10.	Fingernail/toe nail		
11.	Louse/nit		
12.	water.		
13.	Tear/drop		
14.	death		
15.	hand		
16.	night		
17.	blood		
18.	Born (animal)		
19.	fulll		
20.	sun		
21.	ear		
22.	salt		
23.	heart		
24.	finge		
25.	total		

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