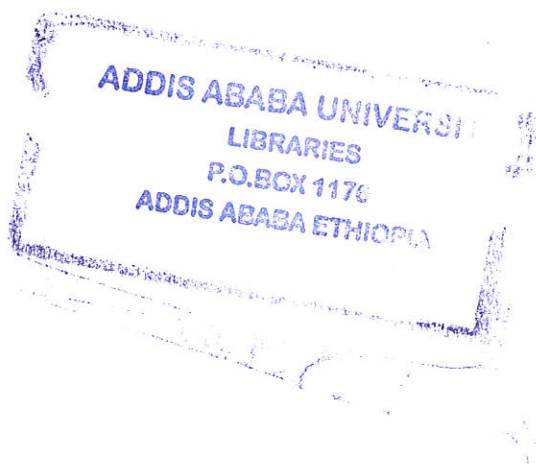
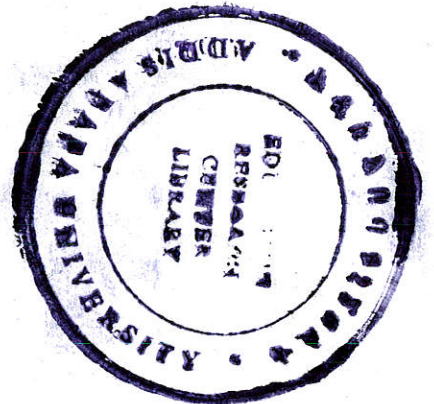


**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

**CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN HISTORY CURRICULUM: AN
ASSESSMENT OF THEMES AND PERSPECTIVES IN ETHIOPIAN
HISTORY COURSES AT AAU (1961-2006)**

BY

ALEBACHEW KEMISSO



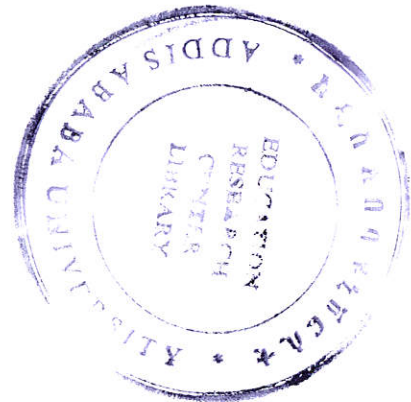
**JUNE 2009
ADDIS ABABA**

**Change and Continuity in History Curriculum: An Assessment of
Themes and Perspectives in Ethiopian History Courses at AAU
(1961-2006)**

A Thesis Presented to the School of Graduate Studies, Addis
Ababa University, In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Masters of Arts in Curriculum and Instruction

By

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**June 2009
Addis Ababa**

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Abstract

The major purposes of the study were to explore change and continuity of themes and perspectives on Ethiopian History in the history curriculum of the department of history at AAU and analyze factors determined changes and continuities. In addition, how far Ethiopian history in the curriculum utilized historical research outcomes and the extent of achievement of social inclusion were assessed. To this end this study employed qualitative case study as a design and secured information from history educators at AAU, participants with PhD in history outside AAU, fourth year history students, curriculum educators at AAU, and experts in higher education curriculum at the MoE through semi-structured interview. All available curriculum documents of the department of history from 1961- 2006 were used as sources of data. Data was collected using semi-structured interview and document analyses. This study revealed that several curriculum changes had taken place due to internal and external factors. Major changes which introduced new perspectives and inclusion of social and economic history in better scale through time were basically the outcomes of government changes. Minor changes, which are not as such substantial, had taken place within the period of the single government due to internal factors. Therefore this study argues that all the changes introduced in to Ethiopian History in the curriculum of the department at all levels were not able to challenge effectively the continuity of political history as dominant theme and the nationalist perspective. As a result the curriculum of the department failed to be adaptive to most of the research outcomes on Ethiopian History and was not responsive for the quest of social inclusion. This situation can be improved if there is national guide line for history curriculum in higher education taking in to account Ethiopian diversity and pertinent laws and policies. In addition, discussion and cooperation among historians with different interpretation of Ethiopian past, balancing knowledge, society and learners interests in the curriculum and effectively utilizing all relevant research outcomes on Ethiopian peoples past would facilitate the improvement process.

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

Without novelty there would be only continuity: with out continuity there would be only novelty. With both you have change (Stanford, 1995).

The logic of “difference” does not require thinking towards events and then dealing with them in the sense of temporal sequence. Temporal sequence in the case of different phenomenon, therefore, is irrelevant. While we deal with a phenomenon across time, temporal sequence is relevant. Change, therefore, indicates difference on a phenomenon or event in temporal sequence. Change occurs while the thing under discussion maintains its identity. Continuity then, as Lemon (1995) explained does not mean the static persistence of a state of affairs, but something persisting through changing state of affairs. Here the concept of continuity is where the idea of identity is located. It is possible to maintain identity through change due to continuity.

Change according to Ballantine (1993) is ever present. It is possible, then to expect change where ever and in what ever level of human activity. Ballantine, similar to the argument of Lemon (1995) further conceives change as alteration and defined it as the process of planned or unplanned qualitative or quantitative alteration in social phenomenon. So, the intended or incidental alteration of quality or quantity in any social phenomenon implies change. Even the term alteration according to Encarta (2007) is defined as “the process of changing” which complies with the relevance of temporal sequence for change and continuity. Though change refers to what ever type of alteration on social phenomenon, the planned one for Bishop (1993) is called innovation. Bishop argues that through planned change, which he calls innovation, it is possible to increase the possibility of bringing desired outcome and hence he advocates for innovation to introduce change in education system. This planned change is defined by Ballantine (1993) as deliberate, conscious and collaborative efforts by change agents to improve the operations of social systems.

grasp how things change and what elements of society continue despite change. By doing this History helps students to understand events in historical (time) perspective. Adding further role, the role of engaging, America National Council for History Education (2005) cited in Desta (2006) explained the role of History in such a way that History is the discipline that can best help students understand and deal with change, and at the same time to identify the deep continuities that link past and present.

It was with similar intention that History was introduced into the formal education system of Ethiopia. Concerning this issue Abeba (1996) stated the idea that the coming of History as school subject had the intention of using the subject as vehicle for conveying understanding of the society, its operation and situation. Through History courses therefore, it was aimed that students would gain understanding of the society. Abeba further elaborates this issue by mentioning that the understanding of social dynamics which students are (expected to) acquire depends to a considerable extent up on the treatment of History courses.

1.2. Statement of the problem

Since History teaching is attached with the issue of change in the society, the question of identity, cultural transformation and preservation of heritage, it was able to attract the attention of politicians and educationalists. That is why Phillips *et. al.* (2003) in their discussion on "History teaching and nationhood", stated that History teaching had initiated a profound discussion and debate in countries through out the world. Discussions and debate become tenser with the increasing momentum of new themes due to the changing social consciousness. Now a days issue like Gender, Environment, Multiculturalism and Technology are aggressively pushing to secure their legitimate place in curricular landscape. Concerning this situation Moore (2003) explained that controversies about teaching family and marriage issues, and initiatives such as anti-sexist education and multi-culturalism did not occur simply because these are good ideas but because they were ideas whose time had come as social condition changed. Of all disciplines, History has to help students understand the process of change in time. Arkel (1996) argued in this line in such a way that History is (even) much more than an academic discipline and should embrace all attempts to describe the past and illuminate

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Though there is strong argument that holds a position that educational change is crucial to social change Simon (1994), there are scholars like Karabel and Halsey (1977), Ornstein and Hunkins (2004) and Moore (2003) who believe that educational changes are the outcome of social change. Ornstein and Hunkins (2004) stated that the aim of education, which is the pillar of education system, is expected to change with the change in social system.

The same point is explained by Karabel and Halsey (1977) in such a way that educational transformations are the result and the symptom of social transformation. Explaining further Karabel and Halsey (1977) pointed out that it is the inadequacy of existing education system for the change in the society which can result in a need for educational change. Moore (2003) specifically referring to the change in curriculum argues that it is a perceived shortcoming which would lead to the occurrence of change and in terms of curriculum it can be changed while it is judged inappropriate to certain new condition in the society. Societal consideration of educational change according to Ornstein and Hunkins (2004) is all about making the educational system relevant for the time it is meant to serve. The same authors further argued strongly that education does not possess a reality apart from the time...in which it exists. Supporting the same view Moore (2003) explained curriculum change as something which can occur when social change is triggering change in education. Therefore, it is in the social change where change in education system in general and curriculum in particular is located. For Ornstein and Hunkins (2004), any mismatch between change in society, which they call time, and the education system can be explained by "The Saber Tooth Curriculum" satire. That is why the major proportion of history of curriculum change would end up as a social history. Citing two reasons: - first learning process as transformational which aims at changing the learner in some way desirable in the society and second, the tendency of association between social change and education change, Moore (2003) argued that curriculum is "Social". Educational changes, therefore, are based on social analysis. To hit and not to miss the intended objective of education change, according to Bishop (1993), the change should be planned.

Concerning the role of History as a discipline in the context of change and continuity Stearn (1993 cited in Desta, 2006) stated that it is through studying History that one can

grasp how things change and what elements of society continue despite change. By doing this History helps students to understand events in historical (time) perspective. Adding further role, the role of engaging, America National Council for History Education (2005) cited in Desta (2006) explained the role of History in such a way that History is the discipline that can best help students understand and deal with change, and at the same time to identify the deep continuities that link past and present.

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the present. Such grand expectation from History can indicate the source of controversies on the History curriculum. Justifying the reasons for the controversial nature of History, Phillips *et al* (2003) explain that History is controversial because it is inextricably linked to the notion of cultural transmission, heritage and national identity. That is why History curriculum, most of the time, is a point of discussion of politicians, the media and the public at large.

Taking into account the whole range of changes which took place in Ethiopian History Crummey (1990) raised legitimate questions towards Historical scholarship. Anticipating change of geographic landscape of Ethiopia, change undertaken on social and cultural understanding of the society and the very concept of Ethiopia, Crummey raised questions like what are we talking about when we talk about Ethiopia? What is its social and cultural meaning? What is its geographical content? and suggested for re-thinking of Ethiopian past. This is by way of encouraging endeavor to make Ethiopian History cope up with the changing situation.

Issue of school History, unlike some other issues, become an agenda of research in the context of curriculum and instruction in very few occasions. Among efforts made looking at History teaching as topic of research in Ethiopian context, we can mention the works of Tekeste Negash (1990) "The Crises of Ethiopian Education" which uses History as a case and examples from secondary school History to substantiate his arguments of problems of Ethiopian Education. Abebe (1992) in his masters thesis entitled *An Investigation of History Teaching in Ethiopian Secondary Schools: a Historical Perspective and Current Status* approached the issue from historical as well as pedagogical perspectives. In the historical part of his thesis, Abebe explained the historical evolution of secondary school History or "syllabus" basically from 1940's to the time of his research. The pedagogical aspect of Abebe's thesis focused on the issues of method of teaching History in Secondary Schools of Addis Ababa. Frehiwot (2005) in her thesis entitled "An investigation into the Teaching of History in Secondary Schools" fully focused on Methodology of teaching History. Desta (2006) holding almost similar concept to Abebe (1992) and Frehiwot (2005), discussed methods of teaching History in

his thesis entitled “An Investigation of History Teaching Learning Process: A Survey Study of the Current Status in Secondary Schools of Hadiya zone-SNNP”. But Desta brought into attention the perspective of learners in their learning of History with spacial difference. Turi (2007) in his thesis entiteled “Factors Affecting the History Performance of Students” was able to look at the issue of secondary school History from the students’ point of view and expanded Desta’s partial effort. It was the interesting work of Tebeje (2007) which was able to touch the sensitive cord of the issue of teaching History. Tebeje, locating the right place where problems of teaching History has to be tackled and proposing a contemporary method of teaching History which he strongly argues as best, he conducted his research under the title “Fostering the Historical Thinking Skill of Students: What is the Lived Experience of History Teacher Educators of Bahar Dar University?” . Tebeje’s work, though the setting of research was higher educational institution, it was all about the teaching method of History.

Reviewing the aforementioned sources I would argue that the very curriculum of History of Higher education institutions is a research gap which requires taking an initiative. I believe that History curriculum at all other lower levels is reflection of curriculum of higher educational institutions. In addition to this History curriculum of higher educational institution can be taken as an appropriate forum where outcome of Historical research can be best disseminated,

Historical research of Ethiopia, of course using History curriculum as one of the evidences is an issue of controversy up to the level of drawing the attention of media in Ethiopia. Among some members of the public, as far as my observation is concerned, there is a tendency of generalizing History of Ethiopia as it is characterized by only continuity amidst changing social situations and a monopoly of certain themes and perspectives. Therefore I feel that it is timely to dwell on the issue of change and continuity in History curriculum of higher education focusing on Ethiopian History only. This research as the result is intended to achieve the following objectives.

1.3. Objective of the research

The General objective of this research was to explore change and continuity in Ethiopian History curriculum from 1961- 2006. The specific objectives of this research were to:

- Assess the major themes and perspectives of Ethiopian History in History curriculum of AAU.
- Analyze factors determined change and continuity of themes and perspectives of Ethiopian History in History curriculum of AAU.
- Explain how far outcomes of historical research are reflected on the Ethiopian History courses of AAU during curriculum changes.
- Examine whether curriculum in the Department of History is achieving social inclusion or not in amid of change and continuity.
- Investigate challenges encountering those curricular changes.

1.4. Research Questions

Through the endeavor this research activity, the researcher tried to find answer for the following guiding questions.

- What are the dominant themes and perspectives of Ethiopian History courses in the History curriculum of AAU from 1961-2006.
- What are the most influential factors that determined change and continuity of themes and perspectives in Ethiopian History of the History curriculum of AAU?
- Do outcomes of historical research are effectively reflected on the themes and perspectives of Ethiopian History courses of AAU?
- Are curriculum changes in the Department of History achieving social inclusion?
- What are the challenges curriculum changes in History courses have experienced?

1.5. Significance of the Study

Many people, as smith (2004) pointed out, have a serious concern on mismatch between the societal expectation and the actual performance of higher educational instructions in Ethiopia. One major factor which can be used to bridge such a gap between society expectation and higher educational institutions is the curriculum. In this line, the outcome of this research will

- Uncover the real gap between societal expectations due to change of society, from History curriculum and the actual position of Ethiopian History curriculum in temporal sequence.
- Initiate the History educators to revisit History curriculum so as to make it reflect the social changes as well the out comes of Historical research.
- Bring into attention the vital role of curriculum analyses in the context of History.
- Serve as a reference document for use by scholars, and concerned bodies for decision making processes related to History curriculum.

1.6. Delimitation of the study

This research was delimited to:

- Curriculum of History Department of AAU from 1961- 2006 and
- Change and continuity of themes and perspectives of Ethiopian History courses in undergraduate level. Theme in this study imply aspects of human thought, activity and achievement which claims historian's attention and perspective imply a way of regarding situation, historical event or achievement, or a point of view.
- The intended curriculum as specified in formal written documents or materials.

1.7. Limitation of the study

Among the limitations of this study the following are worth mentioning.

- Inconvenience for interview with some of the senior members of the History Department which made this study at least short their view and experience.
- Lack of curriculum documents for a period between 1982 to 2002 which the researcher forced to use the experience students of the period

However, the researcher managed to complete his study despite of the limitations mentioned above

1.8. Organization of the Study

The first chapter of this study deals with the background of the study focusing on the concepts change, difference, continuity and time. Statement of the problem, in this

chapter, explains how far the topic under discussion is researchable. In addition, objectives of the study, research questions, significance, limitation and delimitation of the study are included in the first chapter.

In the second chapter, theoretical data relevant for this study were reviewed. To this end the part is categorized into meaning and value of history, the evolution of history in Ethiopian education system, the design of history curriculum, curriculum change and the Ethiopian history curriculum, grand narrative of the particular period and the history curriculum, history curriculum for social inclusion and historical research and the Ethiopian history curriculum.

The third chapter of this study which is about research methodology, the research approach, design and procedures were discussed. In addition, validation strategies and ethical issues were included.

The fourth chapter of this study deals with presentation of data and its discussion. To this end data collected from different sources were combined and organized into different themes. Hence, results were presented and discussed based on curriculum changes during different governments from 1961- 2006.

In the fifth chapter the researcher tried to summarize the results and drawn conclusions based on the basic research questions, and indicate implications for better History curriculum.

2. Review of Related Literatures

2.1. Meaning and values of History

2.1.1 Meaning of History

The meaning of History ranges from the elusive conception of taking it as a synonym for the past to the pragmatic understanding of knowledge production about the past so as to solve present problem. As Marwick (1970) stated, the meaning of History had passed through the stage when it was taken as the synonym for the past. But the past which accounts the whole time except the present and the future is an ocean wide and elusive and non-persuasive to take it as synonym with a discipline History with which we are dealing. Taking History as a discipline, Beattie (1987) defined it as the study of the past. For Beattie this study of the past is just for its own sake. In other words it is only to know what happened in the past systematically without considering its implication for the present and the future that History studies the past. Lemmon (1995), called it as layman definition, and considering the subject of History, defined History as a History of countries. Explaining this notion of History further, Lemmon said that, this definition may be telling us about “the countries political History” which includes list of monarchs on power, problems those monarchs on power faced, the wars fought and its out come. In modern times when one may not expect the reign of monarch on power the countries political History is about constitutional changes occurred, parties gained power and other parties ousted from power.

Focusing on the importance of History interms of joining the past and the present, Carr (1961) stated that the past is known to us only through the light of the present and we can fully understand the present only in the light of past. Based on this argument, Carr explained the dual function of History in such a way that History enables man understand the past society and increase mastery over the society of the present. As a result, the past which an historian studies, is not a dead past, but a past which in some sense is still living in the present. History, therefore, establishes coherence and durability for human institutions and hence it is crucial to preserving the continuity of the society by fostering the feeling of belonging to age old and time tested institutions (Arkel, 1986).

As Marwick (2002), human society needs History as indispensable knowledge because it is the sole means through which human society can have knowledge of itself. Social identity, based on Marwick's explanation of History, a cumulative result of the past experiences, societies present culture, custom, political system and other aspects get their origin some where in the past and developed and influenced by past experiences of that particular society in order to attain the present status. For Marwick (2002), History is defined as knowledge about the past not construction or reconstruction of the past. As any knowledge, the knowledge of the past, which is the profession of History, is open to discussion and debate. In line with such understanding of the meaning of History Lemmon (1995) stated that, the discipline of History is defined essentially in terms of ...acquiring knowledge of the past.

This knowledge about the past is acquired through inference from the past. Therefore, it is through the lens of present, historians look at the past and hence possible to infer. That is why Carr (1961), argued that all History is "contemporary History." This is to mean that historical knowledge is produced by seeing the past through the eyes of the present and in light of its problems. If historical knowledge is the outcome of such process, therefore, History is not a mere record of the past. Rather it is analyses, so as to expose connection among events in order to explain development in human society. Historical narration hence, involves explaining events by tracing its intrinsic relations with other events and locating the issue in historical context. To identify the whole web of relationship among event and establish relationship, historians select facts based on their significance for the issue at hand. If the facts which were used by the historian to infer meaning about the past are selection from corpus of material which is considered as potential facts, there is evaluation by the historian and then value judgment. That makes the fact of the historian not to be 'pure' rather it is the refraction through the mind of the historian. While refracted through the mind of the historian the facts would get some sort of editing. Considering such crucial role of historian on the knowledge about the past, Carr (1961) defined History as a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his or [her] facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past.

More broadly and relevant for the purpose of this research, History according to Mårwick (2002) embrace;

- the writing of historians,
- the research activity which lie behind these writing,
- teaching and learning of methods and ideas and information.
- the communication of historical knowledge by various means
- all the activities associated with the learning outcomes inherent in the discipline History.

2.1.2 Values of History

Debate on the importance of History as part of school curriculum is stretched on two opposite extremes. On one of the extreme there are those who advocate abolition of History from school curriculum. Those on the other extreme, comparing History with individual's faculty of memory, justify the importance of History in such a way that as memory is for individual, so History is to the community or society.

Wesley (1969) cited in Abebe (1992), locating the failures of History as part of school curriculum, such as its role for indoctrination, conditioning and fostering of docility and obedience concluded that the subject is undesirable and non- essential. Therefore, it should be abolished from the school curriculum. But others like (Commager 1965 and Daniels, 1981) cited in Abebe attribute these failures of History for misuse of the subject and exaggerated claims of its purpose and argue that the abolition proposal is unfair. They pose rather a question which reads, might not these misuses and exaggerated claims of histories purpose be mitigable? By raising such question, these scholars are recognizing problems in History as school subject and proposing that abolition is not a fair solution. But Daniels cited in Abebe contend that an honest historical inquiry which would help History to maintain its position in school curriculum can serve the political system if the society and its leaders have proper understanding of the true nature of History. Further explaining, Abebe (1992) said that:

Both society and its leaders need to be open minded in accepting unpleasant facts and interpretations. They should not always expect success-oriented History because History deals both with success and

failure of the society. What is objectionable is thus the attempt of politicians who vigorously try to justify their actions and policies by summoning up the service of History –History which suits their action and policies.

Therefore, while History, as part of school curriculum is tailored to fit the interest of those on power, it would end up as indoctrination and conditioning. If History, as part of school curriculum is out come of honest historical inquiry and made to serve its natural purpose, it can play a great role. Among the grand purposes expected from History Marwick's (2002) comparison of memory for individual with History for community has a lot to tell like;

- Societies can establish their identity, orientate themselves and understand their relationship to the past and to other communities through their sense of History.
- History helps to understand contemporary problems and take part in contemporary debate because it is only by exploring the past that it is possible to rationally assess the extent and significance of rapid cultural changes of contemporary age.
- History as knowledge of past challenges myths in the society and explains the origin and significance of myths. Therefore, historical knowledge is an instrument to challenge rather than perpetuate myths with end of removing tensions and suspicions among the society. Accurate and professional hasty is necessary for this purpose.

According to Osborne (2003) the importance of History curriculum is to foster our understanding of the past and present experiences...the continuities and changes, the debates and crises, the achievements and failures, and the past and the present. Osborne further explaining the importance of History said that, since issues of identities, heritage and citizenship are all rooted in the competing conceptions of the past, knowledge of the past has a paramount importance

Kymlikea (1998) quoted in Osborne (2003) explained the importance History in such a way that, History is important...because it defines the shared context and framework within which we debate our differing values and priorities. It becomes the implicit

background for our thinking providing the symbols, precedents, and reference points by which we make sense of issues. Therefore historical knowledge provide context of unity in diversity.

History should be included in the school curriculum as compulsory subject: this is, as stated by Portal (1987) is in order to utilize a "Capital benefit" which History only can provide. The capital benefit is History's role as "frame of reference", a collection of working assumption, in terms of which present experiences may be rightly understood. The same value of History as school subject is mentioned by Commager (1965) cited in Abebe (1992). Commager argues that History is important in order to provide perspective and there by serve as a frame of reference.

Indicating the value of History for development Tekeste (1990) strongly holds a position by stating his belief in such a way as underdevelopment can not be overcome until such time when the citizen of a country began to appreciate their History. The cultural determinants of underdevelopment are far more decisive than the structural economic bottle necks that exist due to the integration of Ethiopian economy in the global system. Therefore, in order to identify the cultural determinants of under development so as to exploit the pragmatic value of the past where the roots of the culture are located, knowledge of the past, History, is essential.

2.2. The Evolution of History in Ethiopian Education System.

Before the introduction of modern western type of education, the long History of Ethiopia was also known for its long aged traditional education. Interm of time, the origin of traditional education can be traced as far back as the time of introduction of Christianity to Ethiopian (Teshome, 1979 and Bahru, 2002) Though, sources as stated in Solomon (2008) are meager concerning tradition education under the religion Islam, Seyoum(1996) and Bahru (2002) indicated that the mosque schools with its successive levels had its own contribution and imprints in Ethiopian age old traditional education system. Traditional education was run by social institution which is dedicated for religious purpose. The curriculum of traditional education was, therefore, dominated by religious themes and the objective was basically to produce religious persons who can

Almost all researches on the History of Ethiopian education take the establishment of Menelik II school in 1908 as the land mark which inaugurated the beginning of modern education in Ethiopia (Tekeste, 1990, Punkhurst, 1955, Yalew, 1987, Teshome, 1979, and Maaza, 1966).

As mentioned in Teshome (1979), in 1905 school was established in the palace for sons of nobility. According to Punkhurst (1974) the school was run by one of the emperor's nobles, Kengazmach Ibsa. The sons of the nobility were instructed courses like good manners, reading, writing, calligraphy, religion, Ethiopian History, law and Geez. Ethiopian History, therefore, was part of the curriculum of palace school where the teacher was Ethiopian noble. Establishing educational institution out of the premises of religious institution, like the case in the palace, was the development of the experiences of Ethiopian emperors, beginning from 1855 of sponsoring skill training by bringing foreign instructors (Amare, 2005).

Using the experiences of emperors sponsorship of some kind of education and looking at the inadequacy of the first palace school of 1905 (Yalew, 1997), Emperor Menelik started a project of establishing the first government school out of the premise of any other institutions in 1906. The project of establishing secular school, as stated in Tekeste (1990) faced strong opposition from the Ethiopian Orthodox Church fearing the undermining potential of its virtual monopoly on Ethiopian education. But looking at the traditional education of Ethiopia which was run by all other religious institution in their respective domain, the strong opposition of Orthodox Church could be related with the initiative of the emperor which could probably shift the resource and attention towards the secular school. The opposition was also directed on deterring any control by European teachers who are the most probable candidates for the newly opening secular schools given the governments emphasis for language instruction. Emperor Menelik, through compromise for many of demands of Ethiopian orthodox church, (Tekeste, 1990) succeed in establishing the first secular school at 1908, which was run by Coptic teacher imported from Egypt. History of any kind was not included in the list of subjects of Manelik II school of 1908 (Punkhurst, 1974 and Yalew 1997). With the establishment of the second government school, Tafari Makonnen school, in 1925 (Tekeste, 1990),

History was incorporated in the curriculum. Just like its predecessor, the courses taught in this school too, are dominated by languages. According to Teshome (1979) the courses taught in Tafari Mekonnen School include French, Arabic, Amharic, Mathematics Chemistry, History, Geography, Gymnastics and sport.

The coming of Italian in 1936 changed the course of Ethiopian modern education. During the brief period of Italian occupation that lasted from 1936-1941 the objectives of education was made to fit the colonial economic and political interest. This change in Education policy by Italian occupation forces is stated by Teshome (1979) as a policy which was meant to Italianize the African as much as possible to produce soldiers for Italy and to create a corpus of martial laborers. For the Italianizing intention of the African, as part of policy package, History as a subject was the first target. Ethiopian students, as the result, were made to learn Italian History from which Italian political History in 1848 and the revolution motives before and after the 1848 were deliberately omitted. Education for the fascist objectives has taking place during Italian occupation in some of the schools which were fortunate to escape being military offices and fire arms stores (Tekeste, 1990). With the reorganization of the destroyed education system, after the liberation from Italian occupation in 1941 and with the opening of the first Secondary school (Haile SellassieI Secondary School), History had been started to be provided as school subject. Due to lack of an organized curriculum, and expatriate dominated teaching staff at the wake of liberation, it was very difficult, according to Abebe (1991) to discuss about the nature of History courses provided. At any rate, History was part of school courses in those earlier government secondary schools (Pankhurst, 1955).

As mentioned in Solomon (2008), 1947 was a year at which several practical steps were taken by government concerning the Ethiopian Education. Among the measures takes enactment of law for development of government education and curriculum, control of ministry of education and fine arts exclusively by the emperor and establishment of central board of education are the most significant. The central board of education, as stated in Abebe (1991) was meant to ensure whether education all over the country is being conducted in accordance with the interest, policy and philosophy of the Imperial government. Such new understanding likely paved way for the adoption of the first

national curriculum which states Amharic as medium of instruction for grade one and two with transition in later grades to English (Solomon, 2008). Among the subjects included in 1947's elementary school curriculum, History was one.

Due to the fact that schools are dominated by expatriate teachers and examination was foreign, the genuine attempt to Ethiopianize education, Teshome (1979) argued was not materialized. It was only in 1949 that the first national secondary school curriculum was developed. As an academic subjects dominated curriculum Maaza (1966), History was included as part of the 1949 secondary school curriculum of Ethiopia. But the requirements of the British made General school certificate of Education examination, made History of Secondary Schools of the time, Western oriented and hence irrelevant for Ethiopian setting (Abebe, 1991). After the second curriculum of 1949 History was virtual part of all succeeding curriculum of Secondary Education in Ethiopia.

In Ethiopian traditional education which had its own higher education, tracing its origin, fairly, as far back as, the time of introduction of Christianity in to Ethiopia (Amare, 2005), History of some kind was among few courses some courageous students of church education take around the end of their higher education (Haile Gabriel (1968) cited in Amare 2005). History was one of embryonic courses, which had been started to be offered since the inception of the idea of modern higher education in Ethiopia. It was included in the list of preparatory courses, which was designed for the group of secondary school graduates beginning from January 1950 at Tafari Mekonnen School (Amare 2005).

With establishment of University College of Addis Ababa (UCAA) on December 1950 some general courses in World History together with courses in Political Science and a Survey on Modern History of Ethiopia started to be offered by a Swedish missionary teacher, Sven Rubenson (College of social sciences Bulletin, 2008) . The Department of History, Social Science College, in the same bulletin indicated that the idea of establishing Department of History was as old as the establishment of UCAA. This idea was materialized and the Department of History under the chairmanship of Sven Rubenson was established in the year 1960-1961. With the establishment of the

Department, in its human power development plan top and urgent priority was given for Ethiopianist scholars: Ethiopians and foreigners as well. But in its long run human power development plan, the Department adopted the mechanism of recruiting able and interested students from the Department.

This pioneer experience of the Department of History enabled the Department to be staffed by a corps of Ethiopian Ethiopianists. Though the idea of launching a research oriented master's program in History was the 1968 phenomenon, it was achieved in 1978 according to Bahru (1982) under very strained circumstances and with considerable sacrifices. This forward move of the Department once again developed an enthusiasm (Bahiru, 2000) for the PhD programme which was materialized in 1990 (College of social science Bulletin, 2007).

2.3. The Design of History Curriculum of AAU

Curriculum is expected to appear as sensible and coherent whole where good horizontal and vertical relationships among elements of the curriculum is exhibited (Shiundu and Omulando, 1992) As mentioned in Ornestein and Hunkins(2004), the organization of curriculum elements can exist in two basic dimensions; Vertical and horizontal organization. Horizontal organization helps the curriculum worker to deal with issues of scope and integration which are about the side by side arrangement of curriculum elements. Vertical organization deals with the concepts of sequence and continuity and hence is about longitudinal placement of curriculum elements.

McNeil (1996) explained organizing curriculum as relating ideas so that they are mutually reinforcing and deepening understanding of a concept or skill so that each successive encounter builds on the preceding ones. McNeil in such explanation of curriculum organization is discussing about horizontal organization and vertical organization. To develop cohesive and coherent curriculum, according to Shiundu and Omulando(1992) the curricularist must take in to account five key characteristics of organization namely: scope, sequence, continuity, integration and balance. These key characteristics of organization are termed by Ornestein and Hunkins (2004) as design

dimensions. Scope, practically refers an act of decision on what content to include in the curriculum and the amount of detail of the content. Integration like scope, which refers to horizontal organization, is about establishing a unity of knowledge. It is linking meaningfully content in one area with content in another area so as to help the learner to comprehend knowledge as unified. Sequence and continuity deal with the vertical organization of curriculum. Among the sequencing principles of curriculum content, chronological learning is virtually identified with History curriculum. Chronological learning, as stated in Ornstein and Hunkins (2004) is organizing contents as it occurs in the world. Balancing curriculum is helping students to have opportunities to master knowledge and to internalize and utilize it in ways that are appropriate for their personal, social and intellectual goals. A balanced curriculum, as indicated in Shiundu and Omulando (1992) develops all areas of human competences.

Among the five patterns in academic curriculum organization (discipline, broad field, concentration, cross-discipline and application) History curriculum of AAU belongs basically for discipline pattern. This pattern according to McNeil (1996) is the oldest and most widely accepted form of curriculum organization. Typically the discipline pattern divides knowledge into separate subjects, each having its own ideas, meanings, and methods, with the intention of helping students think like subject matter specialists. Such a pattern according to McNeil is common in higher education.

2.4. Curriculum Change and the Ethiopian History Curriculum.

2.4.1 Change: Its Meaning and Types.

Change, as defined by Havelock and Huberman (1977) in Zaudneh (1994) is an event or action which alters the level of completeness or equilibrium. Alteration of the level of equilibrium as Ballantine (1993) could be planned or unplanned. Whatever form it takes, for Ballantine, any qualitative or quantitative alteration in social phenomena is change. Therefore, change according to Ornstein and Hunkins (2004) can be achieved through continuous process of disequilibrium and reequilibration through problem solving activities. Change is a continuous challenge towards equilibrium. Lewin cited in Ornstein and Hankins (2004) argued that equilibrium can be achieved when the competing forces in the environment: driving forces to change and restraining forces from change, remain

equal. Change can occur while the driving forces to change like governmental intervention, society's value, technological change, knowledge explosion or administrative processes gain power over the restraining forces such as fear of unknown, traditional values or limitation of resources (Ornstein and Hunkins, 2004). However the outcome of change may be positive, productive and results in improvement, due to its function of disequilibrium it usually upsets the routines we have established. Until reequilibration, change is accompanied with uncertainties, anxiety and difficulties (McNeil, 1996).

Change according to Ornstein and Hunkins (2004) can be planned coercion or interaction change. Planned change is conscious and deliberate attempt to manage events and the outcome by developing some pre determined end (Ornstein and Hunkins, 2004; Zaudneh, 1994 and Bishop, 1993) If change is coercion it is characterized by the dominance of the powerful in determining the goals and subsequent activities (Ornstein and Hunkins, 2004). Such action is necessary as mentioned in Bishop (1993), for example, to overcome inertia. Interaction change is a kind of change where there is mutual goal setting and fairly equal power distribution among groups.

Change, in terms of strategies to achieve the change, can be classified into;

- the empirical rational strategy which is based on knowledge of the need for change and competence of implementation on disposal,
- the normative-reeducative strategy where rationality and intelligence of humans are trusted as bases of change and
- power strategy where compliance with the wishes of those on power is taken as basis of change (Ornstein and Hunkins, 2004 and Bishop, 1993).

But Bishop argues that rarely the strategies can be used in their pure form. In practice, rather, we use a mixed strategy. McNeil (1996), using complexity as bases classified change into substitution, alteration, perturbation, restructuring, and value orientation changes. While substitution is the simplest of all change, value orientation is the most complex one.

2.4.2 Curriculum Change

The starting point of discussion about curriculum change is the argument that, so far, there is nothing like a perfect curriculum which is able to serve for all ages. Across time, due to change on various aspects of the society or in order to introduce change in a given aspect of the society, education was changing. Shiundu and Omulando (1992) mentioned that societal change has a potential to provoke changes in the school curriculum since the school is social institution serving the society. If the curriculum is not changed while the society had experienced a kind of change, therefore, the curriculum could fail to serve the interest of the society. Durkheim(1951), cited in Singer and Pezone(2009) stated that education could be reformed only if society itself is reformed. Education according to the same authors is only the image and reflection of society. It imitates and reproduces the society but not create the society. Looking at the role of education in challenging traditional attitudes or encouraging innovation in material and technological sphere and others, some argue that education has a power to effect social change. For example, in the post- revolutionary Russia, schools were assigned the task of destroying old bourgeoisie values and creating new values appropriate to a socialist society. This is the view of those, according to Shiundu and Omulando(1992), who consider education as an agent of social change.

Whether education is image and reflection of the society, or social changes are brought about through education, the common denominator between these two views is the need of educational change. In reality, I argue that, curriculum change can be made to make education cope up with existing social changes or in order to introduce change in the society.

From either point of view, as any change, educational change has the effect of disequilibrium. Modern society as stated in Ornstein and Hunkins (2004) is experiencing a continued rapid rate of change. As the result, it is much more difficult to develop a curriculum which can respond for all demands in a society with certainty. Ornstein and Hunkins explained uncertainty on curriculum decision, and the need for curriculum change as coping mechanism listing such potential changes in a society as emerging

ethnic demands, explosion of information, diversification of philosophical view of the nature of knowledge, modification on the attitudes and values. Today, the demand from curriculum worker is, therefore, to develop an educational program that mirrors contemporary society and a program that encourage individuals to participate in the continual shaping of the society. In general, the aim of any curriculum change is improvement of the curriculum. Because, as indicated in Moore (2001) change does occur as a solution to a perceived problem. In line with this view Derebssa (2004) argued that curriculum change can be proposed if the existing curriculum is inadequate for changing circumstances in the society.

In general curriculum change can be defined as “any alteration in the aspects of the curriculum educational philosophies, objective, organizational system, teaching strategies, assessment pattern and so on (Derebssa, 2008). But for Taba, such moderate adjustment of the aspects of the curriculum is not change; rather it is curriculum improvement. Curriculum change, for Taba (1962) is the most complex stage which can only be achieved through change of value assumption. However, authors like McNeil (1996) consider that any alteration on existing curriculum for any end; to adjust education with social change or to bring desired social change, which can range from substitution to value orientation, as curriculum change. But the most difficult and complex dimension of curriculum change is the value dimension. Value dimension in curriculum change is decision about what to include and exclude. Because curriculum decision is an answer for questions like:

- What knowledge is most worth for students?
- What should be taught and learned?
- For whom is this concept is important and when?
- What purpose should be perused?
- How should it be taught? And others.

The value dimensions of curriculum decision, which deals with central questions, makes curriculum change to be characterized by dispute. This is the arena of politicization of curriculum. Because dispute on curriculum decision, can be resolved through use of power (Werner, 1991).

In the long aged Ethiopian traditional education, it is very improbable to expect curriculum change. Since traditional education, which was hosted by religious institutions was meant to maintain the status quo, disequilibrium and reequilibration was not its character. This situation is best explained by Solomon (2008) in his list of distinguishing features of traditional education in such a way that

Exclusive emphasis [of traditional education is] on the mastery of what is essentially a stable body of knowledge passed on through the generation. There is almost no sense of knowledge as dynamic and changing, of the need for creativity and invention or for personal construction of knowledge. The traditional system of education in Ethiopia is based on the theory that the present state of knowledge is all that could ever be attained and subsequently believes that to seek for entirely new knowledge and source of knowledge is a useless waste of time and energy (Solomon, 2008, 37).

With the introduction of modern education around the end of the first decade of the 20th century, the curriculum was languages courses dominated. In short the Ethiopian government had no coherent strategy towards education and, therefore, the curriculum was ad hoc and left to teachers who come from different countries with different background (Tekeste, 2006). Through time the deviation of the curriculum from the Ethiopian context, in other words the problem of relevance, as the focal point of argument made ‘Ethiopianization’ of education the major agenda for reformists. As response for some the demands of the reform, in 1947, Amharic was made language of instruction for grade one and two with a policy of gradual transmission to English in subsequent grades. In 1963 curriculum reform, Amharic was made medium of instruction for all primary grades (Derebssa, 2008). This reform was praised by Tekeste (1990) as the most significant reform of the decade. All other reform efforts, including gradual recognition of Amharic as medium of instruction and an opportunity for technical education in senior secondary schools were not able to satisfy the demand for reform in Ethiopian education system.

Fixation of text books on foreign ideas and disparity between the education program and the need arising from the society remained unresolved. Specifically the pre 1970’s education system was criticized on a number of points among which the major ones

according to (Tekeste, 1990, Seyoum, 1996, Marew, 2000) cited in Solomon (2007, 65) include:

- *It was elitist and as such only a selected few could get the opportunity for higher education.*
- *Its curriculum remained highly academic-oriented despite some attempts to orient it towards technical vocational education. Consequently, it gave rise to the problem of the educated unemployed.*
- *It failed to accommodate secondary graduates.*
- *It did not provide equal access to all*
- *It contained very little that was Ethiopian in the curriculum*
- *It was highly centralized*
- *Failure to make progress towards universal literacy (pledged by Ethiopia for the year 1980 at the conference of African Education held in Addis Ababa in 1961).*

This demands and criticisms led to the foundation of Education Sector Review in the early 1970's (Derebssa, 2008). Although the official responsibilities of Education Sector Review was to devise an education system which can promote economic social and cultural development and relevant to Ethiopian society and yet an instrument for national integration, Derebssa (2008) argued that through the course of its existence the sector review devoted its attention to strategies for a rapid expansion of primary education to meet universal literacy before the year 2000. But Tekeste (2006) explains the issue of universal primary education as the main mandate of the sector review.

Whatever the objectives and mandates of the education sector review, its findings and proposals for reform on Ethiopian education system was made public amid of social and political upheavals in Ethiopia. The upheavals were culminated with the demise of the Imperial regime in 1974 and according to Tekeste (2006) with demise, also went the new education reform that had been worked out by the Education Sector Review. As the result, Solomon (2007), ESR was declared as null and void by the new Military Regime.

With the establishment of Provincial Military Advisory Council the education system was overhauled with Socialist overtone (Seyoum, 1996). A new curriculum was produced, according to Tekeste (2006) in which five new subjects namely Agriculture, Production Technology, Political Education, Home Economics and Introduction to Business were incorporated. All alteration in the curriculum by the Dergue regime was dictated by different proclamations. However, in 1980 the MoE as stated in Solomon

(2007) revised the transitional curriculum and developed a new curriculum named “General Polytechnic Education” which in all its aims had elements of Marxist ideology. Through this curriculum change efforts, the Ethiopianization yearning of Ethiopian education was able to get momentum once more by making Amharic as medium of instruction. Problem of access, which had dichotomizing potential of nation into north and south, where the south enjoy better access, further deterioration of quality due to meager supply for the sector, decline of funds and shortage of qualified teachers and other problems as explained in Seyoum (1996) necessitated reform in the education system. As the result, in 1983 the MoE responded by launching a project known Evaluative Research on the General Education system of Ethiopian (ERGESE). But the report of ERGESE was not implemented due to Ten Year National Plan launched in 1984 (Solomon, 2007).

Therefore, the Education system of Ethiopia had passed through such uncoordinated and so abrupt changes. Dereje, concerning curriculum change in Ethiopia argued that

Curriculum reforms in Ethiopia have been both frequent and also outcome of socio-economic and political changes outside the education sector. It might be due to this underling reason that, often times, educational decrees and their corresponding structures could not survive the persistent political changes in the country” (Dereje, 2000,189).

All the aforementioned waves of changes in the education system up until the end of Dergue regime in 1991, as Dereje rightly argued, was not able to survive the political change. With the political change as indicated in Solomon (2007) defacto new educational policy become operational. The hast to drop the old Dergue’s policy was due to its ideological conflict with the ideology and philosophy of EPRDF (Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front). The new policy was consolidated and formalized in April 1994. It was the dissatisfaction of the society on Dergue’s education in its all aspects: quality, relevance, access, efficiency, and equity, that made change on the education system apparent and it was respond by the New Education and Training Policy (NETP) of 1994.

2.5. Curriculum Change and the History Curriculum

There is no aspect of curriculum exempt from public debate and controversy. For Moore (2000), this is because “What we know affects who we are (or, are perceived to be)”. In other words within the knowledge, issues of identity are involved. In this respect Borton and McCully (2005) argued, History plays an important role. They explained that History is instrumental in the formation of individual and community identities and it is used to justify or perpetuate discord when different groups with differing historical experiences come into conflict.

Controversy and conflict over the knowledge of the past have to become heated today than ever if we agree with the relevance of Orwell’s famous maxim which reads as “those who control the present control the past and thereby shape the future” (Osborne, 2003). Explaining the public concern on History curriculum Osborne stated that

Whether it is the construction of a national History curriculum in England and Wales, the design of national History standards in the USA, the content of History text books in Japan, Israel and other Countries, the development of new curricula in successor states of USSR, or the apparently wide spread historical ignorance of students throughout the world, History and History teaching are in the news (Osborne, 2003, 585).

Therefore, any touch on the History curriculum can have a potential of exposing for controversy and conflict. Clark (2004) explained the extent of conflict on History education in such a way as site of increasingly polarized contest over the national past. As part of curriculum, for which change is natural, History curriculum is expected to and exposed for change. Changes, which are hardly conceivable were able to emerge in the last quarter of 20th century which, according to Levesque (2005) accelerated History. Changes like, the advent of mass and media culture, the globalization of market, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, the movement towards democratization and human rights, the re-emergence of ethnic nationalism, the increasing migration and mixing of people from different cultures, heritages and histories and others, necessitated rethinking of History.

In addition to aforementioned changes across the globe, understanding towards what History education for, has been changing through time. The 19th century dominant understanding of History education as simple piling up and memorization of historical fact gave way for historical literacy and historical awareness as superior modes of education (Ahonen, 2005). As mentioned in Ahonen, while historical literacy is mastery of the basic historical information, which enables historical reading and discussion, historical awareness is about linking specific piece historical information to some well known basic events and phenomena. The progressive pedagogy of 20th century and its requirement of personal and social relevance from History led to the development of historical consciousness which is an interaction between making sense of the past and constructing expectation for the future. Ahonen argues the necessity of historical consciousness as a mental construction that helps a person or a group to accept a multi-perspective orientation in the society.

Change on the perspective from which History has to be studied led to History wars around school education (Ahonen, 2005). The debate on perspective is the battle ground of professional historians and according to Osborne (2003) is news worthy just like the public controversy on History education. Higham (2000) cited in Osborne (2003) explains the controversy among professional historians on perspectives as rapture between an older historiography of politics, intellect and progress and historiography of society, culture, and disconnection. The older historiography is fixed on centers while the newer one inhabits peripheries. Osborne (2003) explicitly stated the difference in such a way that political historians identify themselves with the affairs of the nation state. Their concern was on the doings at the centers like the works of political elites, and the decision makers who shape domestic and foreign policy. Social and cultural historians concentrate on the society and on specific sub-groups within it. They see the world through the lens of gender, ethnicity, race, class, locale, culture and other such categories.

The conflict is, therefore, as the influence of Social History increases in the curriculum, the traditional nation building; patriotic narrative would be eroded from the school curriculum. With this controversy on perspective, the question is whose version of the past is to be taught in the schools. The conflict gets an added fuel (Osborne 2003), from

the post-modernist skepticism which cast doubt on the historical objectivity and the recognition of History curriculum as a tool for political and cultural hegemony. History from below, which inhibits peripheries, the social and cultural historian version of History education, for Granatstein (1998) cited in Osborne is regarded as the killing of History, which is told at the expense of nation building narrative. But for others like (Cook, 2000) cited in Osborne the emergence of History which is inclusive of all its past actors is the blooming health of History. The allegation of such as History as death of History is simply because such success of History called in to question the tradition grand narrative which for ages was assumed as the essence of History. What is happening rather is the decline of chronological, political and nation building History (Osborne, 2003) not the death of History.

Another driving force for curriculum change in History as Arkell's (1986) work reveals is what should be given emphasis in History education; the content or historical methodology? A place is claimed in History curriculum by issues of World History, Continental and National History. For curriculum maker, another challenge is to reconcile claims of various themes of History in single curriculum like political, social, economic, constitutional, and religious, locale, History of science and technology. Looking at such multiple claims and the necessity to reconcile the issues in History claim, what is inevitable according to Arkell (1986) is the overloading of the History curriculum. This in turn requires a breathless rush through periods and centuries without a clear focus and for sensitive teacher it raises a question of whether you do little well, or a lot superficially. Added to such question towards content emphasis of History education and worry of the situation in which History is in danger, Jones(1970) cited in Arkell(1986) argued that the problem is due to ignoring the fundamentals of historical methodology which alone give History its meaning as a discipline. As the result, in England, according to Shemilt(1980), the question towards History education modified from what History should be thought? to what History should teach with an obvious answer; the nature of the subject. But such an emphasis on methodology would undermine development of sound chronological frame work through the study of History. The curriculum worker therefore is expected to find some sort of middle way which

would balance the content and methodology. At any rate, curriculum change in History was affected by such different positions of emphasis.

In general, one can place the issue of change in the History curriculum and the accompanying controversy in the broader context of curriculum changes. Specific to History curriculum, the controversy is tense which is best explained by such statements as “History war” due to histories particular role on the issues of identity and power. Changes in History curriculum can therefore be the function of:-

- Tremendous social, political and cultural changes which necessitated rethinking of History.
- Development of “What History education for?” from mere collection and memorization of facts of 19th century to historical literacy, historical awareness and to historical consciousness.
- Conflict between the old historiography fixed on centers which is fearful of the erosion of the traditional nation-building narratives and the increasing momentum of new historiography which inhibits peripheries and uphold the notion of multiple perspectives of past.
- The choice of emphasis between what histories should be taught? the content and what History should teach? the methodology and of course, the dilemma of looking for a middle way.

Added to such factors, change of grand narratives, due to change of governments and ideologies played significant role for change of History curriculum and have particular relevance for change in the History curriculum of Ethiopia.

2.6. Grand Narratives of a Particular Period and the History Curriculum

Grand narratives also known as metaHistory (Bahru, 2000) are constructed by ideologues often in service of politics to make sense of past and to give direction to the future (Ahonen, 2001). Such a narrative made to be imposed on the community using schools as the major instruments. Because, as Apple (1979) asserts, schools are institutions to create and recreate forms of consciousness that enable social control to be maintained without the necessity of dominant groups having resort to overt mechanisms of domination. According to Ahonen

(2001), grand narratives, which are rightly termed as metaHistory, take the character of being metaphysical constructions. Of such type of metaphysical construction in world scale, in the 19th and the first part of 20th century, we can mention grand narratives within the ideological frame of nationalism, socialism or liberalism. A History curriculum which is in service of a kind of grand narrative is liable for complete change while the narrative it serves loses credibility for whatever reason. This circumstance can lead History educators either to adopt several small narratives in the curriculum or to look for a new grand narrative.

Taking Estonia and the former German Democratic Republic as examples, Ahonen (2001) explained how History curriculum can be affected with the fall of grand narrative: in both cases, actually socialism. Estonians, who took command of their own History education after “the singing revolution” of 1988 converted their History education where one grand narrative was made to give way for the other: socialism for nationalism. Ahonen explained the conversion as

In Estonia, the conversion of History took place as one master narrative replaced another and not as a conversion from one mode of knowledge to another e.g. from mono perceptively to multi-perspectives. The new narrative was useful for the remaking of a nation state, but, at the same time, inevitably excluded a large ethnic minority from any role in the task” (Ahonen, 2001:183).

With the conversion of History curriculum, friends and enemies, successes and failures were rearranged. For example the topic “Russians in the 18th century” which was considered as Russian Estonian friendship was replaced by “oppressors of Estonian peasants” and Estonian Independence 1918-1940, which was considered as “counter revolution” was rearranged as formation of ‘Nation state’. Unlike Estonia, the conversion of History curriculum in German Democratic republic, after the fall of Berlin wall in 1989 took a different route. The East German History educators were committed for multi- perspective of historical account. The new curriculum was reformed through removing the Marxist Leninist periodization filling in the blank and rehabilitation of some historical actors, persons and groups previously considered reactionary in Marxist-Leninist terms. They went to the extent of upholding the view, according to Rohlfes(1999) in Ahonen(2001) that the totalitarianism of Marxist – Leninist period Germany should be problematized, not demonized in the new History curriculum.

As far as Ethiopia is concerned, change of curriculum with the change of government is becoming an established practice. There is no curriculum which is able to persist and continue to function after the change of government. One major fact with the change of government in Ethiopian experience is the ideological paradigm which is the driving force for the change itself. With the coming of radically different ideology through change of governments, therefore, the curriculum stands first among targets of government's policy change. Solomon (2007) summarized the situation in such a way that the ideology and politics of the ruling group or party in Ethiopian has been the dominant rationale to influence reform in the education system. Particular to History, Bahru (2000) argued that politics was the most determining context and it exercise considerable influence over the nature and course of historiography.

The History of national curriculum and the History of History curriculum in formal governmental education can be traced only as far back as the time of first curriculum in 1947. During the period of Emperor Hailesellasié, the grand narrative which History education was expected to serve was Solomonic legitimacy and Showan hegemony. Bahru (2000) termed the situation as restrictive political culture beneath the benevolence and interest of Emperor towards History Department and the Institute of Ethiopian Studies during the initial stage. Crummey (2001) retrospectively confessed that though "Ethiopianists" were critical towards the interpretation of solomonic state, they were serving the grand narrative "trapped by sources which were all generated by forces which politically or culturally represented Solomonic culture". Tekeste(1990) put the emphasis of objective of imperial period as creation of well rounded personality who would be proud of Ethiopia's long History and culture. For such an end Ethiopianist had been working with the assumption of continuity between modern Ethiopia kingdom which traced its past back to Aksum (Crummey, 2001). Therefore, during the Imperial regime, History was expected to present uninterrupted narrative of the Solomonic state back from Aksum up to the time of Haile Sellasie I as sole protagonist of the story. Students are expected to identify themselves with all the glory and suffering of the solomonic state, *i.e.* the grand narrative.

With the change of government in 1974 a new grand narrative occupied the scene of Ethiopian education. As it is interestingly explained by Bahru, Dergue "tried to fit all

thoughts and activities under the straitjacket of doctrinaire Marxism “(Bahru, 2000. 4). If this was the requirement from History during the Dergue, History was reinterpreted in Marxist Leninist view, as Ahonen (2001) as predetermined process which is determined by the transcendental forces of progress and revolution.

Doctrinaire Marxism, as grand narrative was gone away with the fall of Dergue in 1991. Marxism-Leninism was converted by political liberalization Bahru(2000) and new view towards History was introduced. With political liberalization an emerging ethnic consciousness to the level of deification according to Bahru was an annoying situation for History teaching and research. But Crummy advise Ethiopianists at this juncture, “to find ways to recognize, account for and accept the rise of distinct consciousness among many of the people of Ethiopia”(Crummey, 2001,17). In line with this advice, the importance of History as discipline which defines the shared context and frame work within which we debate our differing values and priorities Osborne (2003) has to be emphasized.

2.7. History Curriculum for Social Inclusion

In education conflicts are frequent over the control of curriculum and its content. Interm of conflict over content, two subjects; History and language stand at the top of rank. David Coulby explained conflict on the History education using a European joke which goes as “states go to war not to control the future but to control the past (Coulby, 2000, 35). This happens when History education is intended to be used for identity building by diffusing a grand narrative through school curriculum so as to reinforce a uniform identity. Practically this can be achieved through selective tradition, Apple (1979) where an effective dominant culture is always passed as the significant past for the generation. During the process of selective tradition Apple argues, some of the past practices are neglected and excluded. Even some of the meanings of dominate culture can be reinterpreted; diluted or put into forms which support or at least do not contradict the contemporary meaning with in the effective dominate culture.

The power of selection, according Hutmacher (2001) led to what he calls it “symbolic violence”. Symbolic violence is the power that some enjoy legitimately to influence and

guide individual's lives by imposing meanings, knowledge, beliefs and /or by defining relevant values and standards. For societies whose culture and histories is not privileged to be selected and part of the 'legitimate knowledge' the situation would be a trap between temptations of effective dominant culture and love for their own knowledge and History inherited from the past. According to Banks and Banks (2001), such a curriculum reinforces and perpetuates racism and ethnocentrism in the society.

Taking Canada as an example, Osborne (2003) refutes the old assumptions of History as people share the same interest, enjoys the same national triumphs, and celebrated the same national heroes as something left in tatters by studies of gender inequality, ethnic prejudice, and class conflict But those who do not attach the selection with ideology and building a uniform identity argues that, it is natural for curricular system to select form the past of human knowledge in order to constitute an official knowledge for the whole generation of children and youth in particular state (Coulby, 2000).

Though selection from the vast of human knowledge is the challenge of curricular system, due to its implication of value judgment, the system should be established in such a way that can promote social inclusion. In educational setting, social inclusion can be defined as a school for everyone where perspectives of everyone are recognized and embraced (Beijer and Bolin, 2001). If History education is for the formation of uniform identity, those with no place or role in the grand narrative will be excluded from the historical community. According to Ahonen (2001) those who are excluded, lack an important asset for the building of future expectation since the rationality of future expectation is dependant on the sense of interdependence of the past, present and future. To achieve social inclusion through History curriculum (Papadakis, 2008, Osborne, 2003 and Ahonen.2001) suggest abandonment of grand narrative and understanding of the concept of identity as internally diverse, historically changing and a result of political choice, rather than homogeneous, unchanging and historically determined. An inclusive History education, a newer approach, according to Osborne (2003), should speak not identity in singular but identities in plural in multi-cultural society where identities has to be understood as fluid and always subjected to debate and reformulation. History with capital 'H', as Furedi (1992) cited in Ahonen(2001) argues, refers a grand narrative and

therefore, it is an abuse of the subject. He argues History with small 'h' stands for critical History that embraces multi-perspectivity. Therefore, in order to be socially and politically inclusive, History curriculum must recognize multi-perspective or alternative narratives of the past. History education as stated in Georgiadis and Zisimos (2008) should consider the nation as a construction out of varieties of identities and should be a mirror of all layers in the society.

In Ethiopian context, as Crummey (2001) retrospectively argues, with the expense of ignoring the perspectives of the people and classes upon whom the modernizing project of Ethiopia had undertaken, historical research and History teaching focused on forging effort of a modern society in the modern Ethiopian History. Therefore, all the evils and blessing happened for the society was interpreted from the perspective of the central mission; the forging of modern society. Even more radical, some call for the integration of Ethiopian nationalities by sublimation into a new and more accomplished national personality at the expense of 'unity in diversity' (Messay, 2003).

While Crummy retrospectively thinking brings the issue of multi-perspective into historical agenda, there are others like Messay who reject the concept of unity in diversity that is claimed by EPRDF as a threat to national unity. In the amid of such polemics History education of Ethiopia is facing a strong outcry from various angles who perceive themselves and their perspectives are excluded from the curriculum. Some History teachers of higher education are highly concerned to avoid 'bloodshed' due to teaching one or the other aspect of History of Ethiopia in the classroom. Because students are interested to learn a kind of History which they need, or some teacher teach a History of Ethiopia which they favour due to their ethnic or political alignment. But others argue that the problem emanates from the failure of Ethiopian History curriculum to reflect the whole aspect of the Ethiopian past. Argument of this line go to the extent than "we learn History, may be History with capital 'H', but we have histories to refer to History with small 'h'. Therefore, it is lack of inclusive History which is the source of all the problems. Students, for example, complain that, the History of southern Ethiopian peoples including the Oromo is presented as an appendage of the History of Northern part of Ethiopia (Addis Nagar, may 10, 2008). History curriculum of Ethiopian History,

according some people is characterized by selection, omission and demonization which play negatively for the quest of inclusive History curriculum. Taking Islam as an example, Ibrahim (2009) argues that an aspect of Islam which had no harm for the Orthodox perspective can be selected, if not, any Islam perspective, if it gets chance to be included in the curriculum, will be demonized or total omission would be the fate of Islam perspective (Addis Nagar, January 2009). But for Haile Melekot, rather than worrying for an inclusive History curriculum, the question should be who was the first to introduce selection, omission, demonization? which is not a kind of constructive debate (Addis Nagar, January, 2009)?

Concerning an inclusive History curriculum, UNESCO (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization) on Higher Education in Twenty -First century; vision and action, in its world declaration Article 6(a) put relevance in higher education as a fit between what society expects of institutions and what they do. This, according to the same Article of declaration requires Ethical standards, political impartiality, and critical capacity and, at the same time a better articulation with the problems of society...respect for cultures (UNESCO, 1998). In line with this, FDRE (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia) constitution Article 39/2 affirms that every nations, nationality and people of Ethiopia has the right to ...develop and promote its culture and to preserve its History (FDRE constitution, 1995). The cultural policy of Ethiopia in Article nine (1.) stipulated that “cultural themes shall be included into educational curricula with the aim of integrating with culture and thereby to shape the youth with a sense of cultural identity.” In the cultural policy of Ethiopia culture for Ethiopian context is defined as it includes History among other elements of various nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia.

In nutshell, the question of developing socially inclusive History curriculum is not only the debate of intellectual circles and the media, it is also an issue of enforcing International conventions, the country’s constitution and other polices like education and cultural policies.

2.8. Historical Research and Ethiopian History Curriculum

There is an almost conscience among scholars about the relationship between research and teaching. Good teaching, particularly at undergraduate and graduate level must be based on the faculties' research and scholarly pursuit (Perry, 1987). As Degarge (2002) explained, there is symbiotic relationship between research and practice where the research can serve as a seed bed for practice so that together can they decide how best the nation can prove the ambition of providing better and more education to the people. In academic context, however, the faculty is a researcher at one extreme who is concerned with the advancement of knowledge and a practitioner, a teacher, at another extreme who depend on research for what they teach.

The origin of professional Ethiopian historiography can be traced back to the 1960's when the Department of History was established in Addis Ababa University (Bahru, 2000 and Crummey, 2001). Integration of Teaching and research was typical feature of the Department of History since its foundation (Bahru, 2000). Bahru (2000) categorized the frame work of historical research in the Department of History into faculty and student's research. Students' research includes senior essays, MA theses and PhD dissertations. Dictated only by historiographical reasons the geographic focus of historical researches as Bahru was progressively shifting towards south where research on the History of Oromo is unmatched by any other people of Ethiopia. This change of focus even extended for the marginalized peoples in Ethiopia like "wayto" and "Fuga". As far as the temporal scope of historical research is concerned, except high concentration of research on modern History of Ethiopia, there is no untouched period. Ethiopian historiography has been experiencing an emphasis on social and economic History of Ethiopia than the political History. Land and agrarian issues, urban History and religious History, particularly Islam are mentioned as themes on which the Department has invested its academic labor (Bahiru, 2000). Crummey (2001) stated that the dominant perspective of almost all the historical research in the Department of History of Addis Ababa University and its collaborating institution in North America and Europe was Ethiopianist though it is now subjected to strong challenge from Oromo historiography. The Oromo historiography is taken as highly developed by Donald Crummey which he considers as

derivation from Ethiopianist one, though it is hostile towards it. All other historiographies on Ethiopia except the Ethiopianist take the invention of Ethiopia as a common theme (Crummey, 2001).

3. Research Methodology

3.1. Research Approach

The methodological approach employed in this research was the qualitative one. As Holliday (2002) explained the philosophical assumption of qualitative research is constructivism where reality is multiple and individuals create the social world. It also adheres to the invention of knowledge and truth rather than discovery, through dialogue with social actors. Qualitative research upholds the view that the knower and the known are interdependent and knowledge is therefore, subjective. So the social world can only be understood by occupying the frame of reference of participants in action. Concerning the interdependence between the researcher and participant, Creswell (2003) mentioned that knowledge is located in the meaning people make of it and can be acquired through communication about their meaning. In order to achieve this, qualitative researcher is expected to establish a close relationship with the research participants. This demands going to the natural setting of subject under study. Concerning this idea Creswell (2003) stated that qualitative research takes place in natural setting. In addition to this, the researcher has to keep the research design open, flexible and emergent and take him/herself as a primary research tool (Holliday, 2002 & Creswell, 2003)

According to Creswell (2003) qualitative research is not basically intended for generalizations. Best and Kahn (2005) too suggested that the outcome of qualitative research is not generalizable to other contexts, socially, spatially or temporally. Therefore, due to the aforementioned qualities of qualitative paradigm which is relevant for the topic of this research, the researcher approached the issue from the perspectives of qualitative research.

3.2. Research Design

For the purpose of this research, among the qualitative research designs case study design was employed. Case study, as defined by Creswell (2003), is a strategy of inquiry in which the researcher explores in depth a program, an event, activity, a process, or one or more individuals. The case or cases are expected to be bound by time and activity and the researcher collects detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time. To put it in other words case study is a detailed examination of

one setting, a single subject, a single depository of documents or one particular event (Bogdan and Biklan, 1992). To Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) the characteristics of case study research which includes rich and clear description of events with in the case, chronological narrative of events, internal dialogue between the description of event and the analysis of events, focus on particular individual actor or group of actors and their perception, focus on particular event, the involvement of the researcher in the case and others will define the whole design of my study. According to Bogdan and Biklen (1992) case study design is a preferred design to look at historical organizational issues which raises questions like how it come in to being? What was its first years look like? What changes occurred over time? and etc. Of all others, case study design allows to start the research from the wide end. Then the researcher, through the course of the research, explores possible place and people that might be the subjects or the source of the data and throw a wide net trying to judge the feasibility of the site or data sources for the purpose. This may lead to throwing aside old ideas and plans and develop new ones. Through learning more about the topic there may be continual modification of the design. In time the researcher makes specific decisions on what aspect of setting, subject or data sources they will persist on the work of the research. This can help the work to develop a focus. As the result, the research questions, data gathering tools and analysis of this study were guided by the assumptions of case study design.

3.3. Rational for Selecting the Research Setting

It is the interest of applying curriculum analyses in the context of Ethiopian History in higher Education which is the prime factor that made the researcher chooses the research topic. Having the topic, since the researcher was student of Addis Ababa University for his under graduate and post graduate studies and because he is an academic staff member of the Department of History Education, Addis Ababa University is the best setting for this study. The History Department of Addis Ababa University is the oldest of all History Departments than History Departments in other Universities of the country. So for topics like this which will attempt to look at change and continuity in temporal sequence it is best to choose the oldest and influential one as a research setting. The anticipated research participants who are the leading researchers in the area of Ethiopian History and

History Educators in Addis Ababa University are additional motivating factors to determine the research setting.

3.4. Sources of Data and Sampling Technique

In this study, both primary and secondary sources of data were used. The primary sources include:

- Historians from History Departments at AAU
- Historians from other institutions outside AAU
- fourth year History students at Addis Ababa University
- curriculum educators from Addis Ababa University and
- curriculum experts from Ministry of Education.

Six key informants from the staff of History Departments; *i.e.* History and Heritage Management and History Education participated in this research taking in to account their experience, qualification, authority in some areas of research on Ethiopian History and involvement in curriculum and teaching materials development by using snow ball strategy. Snow ball strategy is sampling strategy in which the researcher locates the relevant participant from large domain through peer referral (Patton, 1987 as cited in Teshome, 1998). In other words it is picking some subjects who feature necessary characteristics and through their recommendation, finding other subject with the same characteristics (Gobo, 2004 in Seale *et. al ed*, 2007). Two historians from other institutions outside the AAU were participated in this research selected through purposive sampling technique. Two, among the experts related to History curriculum in Minister of Education and one curriculum educator at AAU who is multiculturalists were selected using purposive sampling technique. Six fourth year History students were selected considering their academic achievement, sex and regional representation using purposive sampling. This sampling technique, according to Gobo (2004) cited in Seale *et. al eds*, (2007) helps to detect cases in wide range of situation in order to maximize variation, that is, to have all the possible situations.

Curriculum documents like departmental objectives, list of courses and course descriptions which show the written formal intention of the Department, and list of topics

of research in graduate and undergraduate level and other relevant document in the Department of History were used as other sources of data.

3.5. Tools of Data Collection

Data collection instruments in qualitative case study are expected to allow closeness between the researcher and the research participants so that the researcher can understand the issue from the participant's point of view and the way they make sense of their lives. Coupled with this, the researcher is the primary instrument of data collection (Creswell, 2003). Based on above characteristics Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) suggest use of "in – person interview and written documents" among others, as data collection tools for qualitative case study.

In qualitative research, as Bogdan and Biklen (1992) explained, it is possible to use interview in conjunction with document analysis or other techniques as data collection tool. Interview, as Repley (2004) cited in Seale *et al. ed* (2007) pointed out, enables to have a 'special insight' in to the subjectivity, voice and lived experience of the participants. The same idea is forwarded by Bogdan and Biklen (1992) in such a way that interview is used to gather data in the subject's own words so that the researcher can develop in sight on how subjects interpret some piece of the world.

Explaining the value of documents, prior (2004) cited in Seale *et al. ed* (2007) stated that document can function to structure identities, circumstances and facts about the issue of discussion. Documents read as sedimentation of social practices, have the potential to inform and structure the decision which people made on daily and longer term basis. For this research purpose, therefore, semi-structured interview and document analysis were used as the major data collection tools.

3.6. Data Collection Procedure

As Lipson (1994) in Creswell (2007) mentioned, one of the ethical issues, which should be considered during data collection is the issue of getting informed consent from the participants of the study. With this view in mind, the researcher undertook the following steps in his data collection procedure:

- securing an informed consent form the participants of the research.

- then fixing interview sessions of not more than two per interviewee.

To get an access to documentary sources of History Department of AAU, the researcher:

- collected written request for cooperation from the Department of Curriculum and Teacher Professional Development Studies explaining the purpose of the study
- Then, he went with the letter to the Department of History and Heritage Management

By doing this the researcher was able to get an official permission to use the curriculum documents of the Department of History and Heritage Management. Curriculum documents of the Department of History Education were provided by the Department head without any official letter because the researcher is the member of the Department.

Data collected through interview was transcribed and organized in to themes and perspectives based on different governments. Documentary evidences were organized in the same way taking into account themes and perspectives based on changes of governments.

3.7. Data Analysis and Interpretation

Data analysis refers the work of examining, categorizing and even recombining evidences so as to address the initial proposition of a study (Yin, 2003). Specific to case study, Creswell (2007) stated that case study analysis consists of making a detailed description of the case and its settings. Of the four types of Stake's (2000) case study data analysis mechanism, the researcher used establishing pattern which refers to examining all possible correspondence between two or more categories whose correspondence should be identified. Using the establishing patterns as form of analysis, the researcher approached the discussion of case study data from interpretational and reflective analysis point of view (Gall *et. al*, 1994) .According to Gall *et. al* (1994) the process of examining case study data closely in order to find constructs, themes and patterns that can be used to describe and explain the phenomenon being studied is the interpretation approach while the reflective approach is a process in which the researcher relies primary on intuition and personal judgment to portray the phenomenon under study. While the researcher approached the discussion from reflective analysis point of view, he used his own experience as student and teacher in higher educational institution. The researcher also

adhered to the following four principles developed by Tim (2001) which characterize all good social science research discussion:

- giving attention for all the evidence
- addressing all the major rival interpretations
- addressing the most significant aspect of the case study and
- using one's prior, expert knowledge in the case study.

3.8. Presentation of the Data

Presentation of the data means bringing its result and findings to closure (Yin, 2003). The whole findings of this study were presented in a narrative explication. While the researcher presents the findings of this research, as Creswell (2003) pointed out, he reported it in a "detailed descriptive portrait" report format by synthesizing the research participants experience and the reflective understandings of the researcher.

3.9. Strategies for Validation

To ensure the authenticity of the findings of this study the researcher used validation strategies recommended by Creswell (2007) which include;

- Triangulation of evidences where the researcher makes use of multiple and different sources of data to provide corroborating evidence.
- Peer review or debriefing which provides a chance for external check of the research process by arranging peer debriefing session.
- Member checking in which the researcher solicits participants views of the credibility of the findings and interpretations. This is taking back the data, analysis, interpretation and conclusions to the participants so that they can judge the accuracy and credibility of the account.

3.10. Ethical Considerations

Ethical issues are expected to be central in any sound research activity. Therefore, it is required from qualitative researcher to give due attention for ethical issues through out the process of inquiry. As the result, as it is recommended by Creswell (2003) and Amare (2003) the researcher paid due attention to the following key ethical expectations.

- Commitment and obligation to respect the rights, values and desires of the participants. To achieve this researcher followed an informed consent procedure.
- Keeping aside one's own presuppositions and theoretical knowledge during data gathering procedures.
- Faithfulness to the participants by avoiding distorting and/or deleting findings. To this end the researcher understood issues basically from the participants' point of view and avoided any deception.
- Confidentiality towards participants, sponsors and colleagues.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 Changes in the History Curriculum of AAU (1961-2006): an overview

Beginning from its establishment, the Department of History at AAU has experienced several curriculum changes. Almost all changes at national and institutional *i.e.* at AAU level were able to affect the curriculum of History Department. During the imperial period, the Department had experienced some four curriculum changes; the 1962/63 curriculum, the 1965 curriculum, the 1968 curriculum and the curriculum of 1973. The curriculum of 1973 served the Department up to the 1974 revolution. The next major curriculum change was introduced in 1978/79. This curriculum introduced a major shift of perspective and change on the content of History courses so as to comply with the ideology of the period. In 1982, with minor revision on the previous curriculum, a new curriculum was put in place. This curriculum, with minor adjustments on the content and a total change on perspective, was able to continue serving the Department for some years after the fall of the *Derg* regime. The Department of History undertook a comprehensive curriculum change in 2002.

The establishment of Department of History education in the college of education in 2004 resulted in two separate developments in the History curriculum at Addis Ababa University. The History curriculum of the Department of History Education was dominated by practicum course at the expense of History subject area courses. The incident of 2004, on the other hand paved the way for the rise in prominence of Archaeology and Heritage Management courses which were encroaching since 1973 with increasing momentum, to enjoy an almost equal status with History courses to the level of occupying a legitimate place in the degree nomenclature of the Department of History at the College of Social Sciences. In 2006, both History Departments at Addis Ababa University namely History Education and History and Heritage Management had introduced a new curriculum.

The Department of History which is found at the College of Education was engaged in the task in order to boost the credit hours of the History subject area courses by reducing the credit hours of practicum which resulted in the reduction practicum credit hours from

25 to 13. The same year due to “thorough rejuvenation and structural reform endeavor” (College of Social Sciences Bulletin, 2007: 22) of the Department of History and Heritage Management, reorientation of the Departments objectives and change on the curriculum was introduced. As the result, many Archaeology and Heritage Management courses were included into the curriculum.

Therefore, major changes in the History curriculum of Addis Ababa University from 1961-2006, were highly related to the broader national political changes. But in the mean time of each national political change, the Department of History had experienced its own curricular revision for different reasons. Thus, one can classify the study on changes in the History curriculum of AAU based on the national political changes and the subsequent curricular changes.

4.2. Ethiopian History in the History Curriculum of AAU (1961-1974)

Courses in History at Addis Ababa University were part of the institution’s curricular package since the days of University College of Addis Ababa. Until full-fledged History Department was established in 1961, general courses in World History together with courses in Political Sciences and a course on Modern History of Ethiopia were used to be offered. While establishing History as a Department, the curriculum was shaped by, and some of the founding staff members were derived from the already existing tradition. In short the pre-1961 practices related with History courses had served as a foundation for the establishment of the Department.

As the 1962-63 curriculum, the oldest of all published curriculum, indicates the Department offers a course on the History of World Civilization for all first year Arts students in three credit hours for two consecutive semesters. This course, according to Adila, a research participant, was able to inspire many students to join the Department of History and even had the power of instilling revolutionary sentiment in the students. Another course on History of Ethiopia from ancient times until 1550 A.D was offered for elementary teachers with three credit hours for a semester. For those students who joined the Department, there were three European History courses, three African History courses and three Ethiopian History courses. The Department takes responsibility for the course “Survey of Ethiopian History” from the origin of Axumite Empire until the

modern times which was offered for students whose minor area of study was History. Except *HI. 404-A*, Seminar on the History of East Africa and *HI. 404-B*, Seminar on the History of West Africa, all other History courses for History major students were arranged to be offered in two consecutive semesters. In terms of credit distribution, European History courses had bigger share followed by Ethiopian History courses. African History courses take only ten credit hours out of the total forty four credit hours for the whole History courses in the curriculum. Based on the name of the course teachers attached with each History course, the Department undertook the activity of teaching by seven teachers who handle the courses independently and in team. Hence the staff profile of 1962/63 at least includes Dr. Sirgaw Hableselassie, Dr. Yabetz, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Seven Rubenson, Ato Hailu Kiflegzie, Dr. Richard Punkhurst, and Mr., Harold Marcus. Major issues of Ethiopian History courses of the 1962/63 curriculum include Axumite empire, the Shoa monarchy, the Gondar monarchy, the period of *Zemene Mesafint* (era of regional princes which lasted from 1769- 1855), Economic and Social Institutions from 1270-1850, the rise of Tewodros and his first attempt at reunification and modernization, diplomatic, political and military events and cultural and religious developments up to Italian occupation and the Italian occupation and liberation. One of my interviewee, pseudonymed Mesay, explained the objectives of History Department while it was launched as follows:

At the beginning the Department was hosted by the faculty of Arts. Then, its main objectives were to:

- *educate the History of the country, and the continent Africa and the World at large. The emphasis in this objective was indepth knowledge of History.*
- *produce educated man power in the discipline that would be able to teach History in various high schools of the country.*
- *be able to have Ethiopian historians who would be able to write Ethiopian History (March 20, 2009).*

In the curriculum document of 1964 where we have only the list of courses without course description, the objective of the Department was explained precisely as “to increase and disseminate historical knowledge by producing researchers, teachers and writers” in the field. Regarding this issue, an interviewee, pseudonymed Fetene pointed out the following,

Though various objectives were mentioned in the documents the most pressing one was the need for high school History teachers given the continuous increase in the number of schools, the inclusion of History in the then curriculum as one of the core subjects and effort of Ethiopianizing the curriculum of the period (March 21,2009).

To achieve the objective of educating History teachers, the Department of History used to recruit able students from those who joined the university through *Beide Mariam* Laboratory School: a school at which all high ranking students at grade eleven from all over Ethiopia made to attend grade twelve as preparation to join AAU so as to pursue their career as teachers.

In 1964, the Department had undertaken the second comprehensive curriculum change. The need for the 1964 curricular change, according to the interviewee, Mesay, can be related to internal and external factors. Mesay reported on the situation as follows:

The experience the new Department of History was able to develop during its first batch of teaching can be taken as the most important internal factor. Concerning the external factor, the independence of many African nations from Colonialism and the establishment of Organization for African unity (OAU) in 1963 had their own impact (March 20, 2009).

In the new curriculum, the same research participant mentioned that African History courses were emphasized in such a way that they can reflect the glaring contribution of Emperor Haile Sellasie I for the independence of Africa and the establishment of OAU.

As the 1964 curriculum document, with the list of courses and their credit hours only, indicates or the 1965 curriculum, which is the extension of the same 1964 curriculum with an addition of course descriptions shows, there were a total of twenty different courses which are ready to be offered by the then History Department. Out of the twenty courses eleven were courses offered for two consecutive semesters with the difference of course number only. In the new 1964 curriculum,

- The course code of the Department was changed from *HI* to *Hist*.
- *HI 101* History of Ethiopia from ancient time to 1550 was not included in the package.
- Courses on the Economic History of Ethiopia were introduced.

- Many elective courses were introduced like History and Economics of Development, History of Islamic Institutions, Ottoman History, History of Egypt and the Sudan (1820-1954), History of South Africa (1800-1948), History of the Middle East (1900-1954), and Nationalism and Liberation Movements of Modern Africa.
- A new course entitled “Historical Seminar on Selected Topics” was introduced in two semester format with two credit hours each so as to make students write senior essay.

Looking at the Ethiopian History courses in the 1964 curriculum, issues like the relation of Ethiopia with Middle East and the Greek World, the rise of Islam and its relationship to the kingdom of Ethiopia, the Zagwe dynasty and Medieval civilization and the political and military events during the period of Mesafint were new addition while all the issues in the 1962/63 curriculum were maintained as they were. New names in the staff profile were included. These were Merid WoldeAregay (Lecturer) and Getaneh Bogale (Assistant Lecturer). M. Abir, K. W. Berentzen and W.N. Costor also joined the Department. The first two were as Assistant professors whereas the third one was as a lecturer.

Emphasis given for the History of Middle East and the Islamic world including Egypt and the Sudan was explained by, Jaleta, one of my informants as follows:

It was because of the importance of the Middle East, even its importance for Ancient Abyssinia due to the legendary History of queen of Sheba that it was part of the curriculum. As far as Sudan and Egypt were concerned, diplomatic relationship began with Muslim countries like Egypt and the Sudan since the expulsion of the Portuguese by king Fasil. As the result Egypt and the Sudan had importance on the political development of Ethiopia. In the 16th century, due to the rise of Ottoman Turks to the Status of world power, they controlled the Red Sea coasts including Massawa and some parts in today's Ethiopian interior. Therefore, it was to reflect the global situation of the time and the particular connection of Ottomans with Ethiopia that Ottoman History was included in the curriculum (March 20, 2009).

The course on the History of Islamic institutions was included in the new curriculum of 1965, as the same informant stated, taking into account the relevance of the issue for

Ethiopian context. The coming of the persecuted first followers of the prophet Mohammed to Axum in the first half of the 7th century and the eventual peaceful penetration of Islam into the heart land of Ethiopia, and the availability of sources about costal areas such as Zeila, Berbera, Red Sea, and Indian Ocean from Arab Historians like the 9th and 10th century writers Ali Yaqubi, Ali Masudi and Ibn-Hawkal and the 16th century writer Futuh al-Habash clearly reveal us the connection of Ethiopian History with the issues of Islam and the developments in the Muslim world.

The 1964 curriculum, as the official document of the Department indicates, served, without change up to 1968. In 1968/69 a new curriculum was introduced. Though nothing is said about the rationale of the change, one of the research participants, Mesay, related the need for change with the increasing number of Ethiopian staff members and the then demands of Ethiopian Students Movement. He explained the need for change as follows:

More and more Ethiopian teachers joined the Department and they thought changing History curriculum. The curriculum change of this time was also intended to fine tune the curriculum to the demands of Ethiopian students and Ethiopian instructors (March 20, 2009).

The 1968/69 curriculum came with new courses replacing some of the courses in the previous curriculum. Umayyad and Abbasid History (650-1250 A.D), Social and Political theory, and State in History were included as new courses in the 1968/69 curriculum package. The terminal date of the last course on Ethiopian History was pushed from 1941 to 1960. Minor area of studies for History major students were extended from Political Sciences and Government, Economics, and Sociology to Economics, French, German, Italian, Geography, Philosophy, and Political Sciences and Government. While the new curriculum incorporates such new developments, courses like the Economic History of Ethiopia, History and Economics of Development and History of South-Africa (1800-1948) lost their place in the new curriculum.

Of the new courses incorporated in the new curriculum, as one of my research participant, Jalata, stated, “The Umayyad and Abbasid History (650-1250 A.D) come in to the picture just to show continuity in Islamic History by incorporating the missing

piece in the former curriculum” (March 27, 2009). But, another interviewee, Mesay, explained the emphasis on Islamic History, which in 1968/69 curriculum made to cover the whole chronology, in terms of “the Department’s intention to establish Islamic studies in the Department as sub-specialization” (March 20, 2009).

Concerning issues in Ethiopian History courses, except inclusion of diplomatic political and military events for a period after 1941, there was no single new issue on all other parts of the 1968 curriculum.

The last officially documented curriculum of the Imperial period was the 1973 curriculum. Nothing about the rationale for the introduction of new curriculum is stated in the document. But looking at the curriculum document, one major new innovation of this curriculum was the introduction of course entitled “Survey of Archaeology”. As far as Ethiopia is concerned, this course deals with Ethiopian pre-History and proto-History, pre-Axumite and Axumite Archaeology. It also deals with South Arabian script, interpretation of Sabeian inscriptions found in Ethiopia, and the evolution of the Ethiopian script.

Inclusion of this course, as one of my research participant, Fetene argues,

Extended the time of remote past History of Ethiopia further back, fostered the material on the History of Axum and Ancient Ethiopia and shows the tradition of the Department in terms of giving space for new research outcomes (March 21, 2009).

Probably the introduction of new course in Archaeology replaced, a course entitled survey of Ethiopian History, which was part of the entire previous curriculum and designed for those students whose minor area of study was History. This might be true because in the 1973 curriculum the course entitled “Survey of Ethiopian History” was not included.

4.2.1. Common Issues of Ethiopian History Courses during the Imperial Period

Ethiopian History courses, in the History curriculum of Addis Ababa University, dealt with the same core issues during the Imperial period. All curriculum of the period discussed about the Axumite Empire, the Showa and Gondar monarchies, the period of *Zemene Mesafint*, the rise of Tewodros and his attempt at reunification and modernization and diplomatic, political and military events (1850-1941/60) and the Italian occupation and liberation. One of my research participants, Mesay, with regards to Ethiopian History courses explained that:

During the Imperial period the concentration of History curriculum was around the court, the royal family and the church. Generally the curriculum was dominated by political History of Ethiopia (March 20, 2009).

As defined by Pedersen (2004) cited in Cannadine (2004) political History treats questions of power and resistance, authority and legitimacy, order and obedience. It deals with the ways in which political systems evolve and gain legitimacy, the character and action of their leaders and the condition and consequence of breakdown of political systems. Political History as stated in Tosh (1993) also deals with the institutional organization of the state, the policies enforced by the state and the relations between states. Furthermore, Tosh (1993) included issues like diplomatic History, constitutional History and biographies of makers of foreign policy, the statesmen, and leaders of revolutionary movements under the theme political History.

In line with the common issues derived from the Imperial period's curriculum, and similar to the aforementioned meaning of political History, Fetene, a research participant, indicating the core issues around which Ethiopian History curriculum revolves, argued that "in Ethiopian History curriculum we dealt mainly with the making of modern state of Ethiopia". He explained his argument in such a way that:

During our study of ancient History of Ethiopia, we learned about Axum, and we were able to know the concept maritime state. While we come to medieval History of Ethiopia, we learned about the efforts of king Amade Tsion, king Zara Yacob and others in the making of Ethiopian state. In the modern period History of Ethiopia, we were highly impressed by the History of Tewodros. During the period of Yohannis IV the focus was the king's war against Egyptians and Italians. The period of Menelik was

discussed in relation with territorial expansion and modernization (March 21, 2009).

But a research participant, pseudonymed Adila, stated that

Though political History was the single dominant theme during our time, there was a course on economic History of Ethiopia which discusses about issues like modern infrastructure, trade and trade routes, participants of trade activity and the volume of trade (March 16, 2009).

Consideration of Economic History of Ethiopia, based on the curriculum documents of the Imperial period, was clearly observed between 1964 and 1968. Because Economic History of Ethiopia was part of the History curriculum from 1964 to 1968. In the curriculum document of the mentioned period, since the course code of Economic History of Ethiopia was “*Econ*” not “*Hist*”, there was no course description for that particular course. If Adila’s explanation of the content of the course is true, it complies with the concern of economic History as stated in Tosh (1993) as it embraces every aspect of economic life in the past... which have to do with production, exchange and consumption.

As one of my informant, pseudonymed Fetene argued “though issues of economy or religion were included in the curriculum the contribution of such themes, however, was for the understanding of the political History of Ethiopia”. By such an argument, Fetene is emphasizing the dominance of political History in the History curriculum of the Imperial period. All of my research participants, therefore, agree on the dominance of political History in the History curriculum.

This situation could not be peculiar to History curriculum of Addis Ababa University if we take in to account Tosh (1993) explanation of Political History as it is the oldest as written and read aspect of History since ancient times. Mentioning examples like History syllabus in British schools, Publisher’s list of best sellers on History, and television programs on History, Tosh (1993) concluded that political History is the most important if not the only one. This dominance of political History in historical scholarship according to the same author can be explained by the privilege this theme enjoys on

written records. Tosh (1993) stated that issues of political History are officially recorded for long time and with good quality.

Cognizant of the same view, one of my research participants, pseudonymed Muliye, explained the dominance of political History in the Imperial period's History curriculum using the existence of written documents as evidence. He said that:

It was people in and around the palace who were writers. As the result, historians written evidences were all about politics and change of governments. Even the works of hagiographers who wrote history from religious point of view and wrote about the miracles and deeds of the kings of Ethiopia deal with politics. I do not know what the situation would look if we did not have literate culture (March 30, 2009).

The Department of History too was worried about the dominance of political History. In compiled material for freshman Ethiopian History Course entitled "Readings in Ethiopian History for University Students", Mared and Rubenson informed the dominance of political History stating the following idea;

The obvious imbalance in favour of political, diplomatic and military History at the expense of social and economic History is due mainly to the lack of suitable, sufficiently brief presentation of those less known aspects of Ethiopian past (Mared and Rubenson, 1975: II).

As the above statement clearly explains, the Department was well aware about the dominance of political History at the expense of others due to its advantage of prevalence of adequate written sources.

More over, the dominance of political History then was able to determine the regional focus of Ethiopian History courses. As Muliye, one of the research participant indicated, Ethiopian History courses of the Imperial period were highly concerned with "the region of Ge'ez civilization". The same situation was explained by Lakaw, a research participant, by indicating areas of least attention in Ethiopia History curriculum, such as the Southern half of Ethiopia and the peripheral regions. At any rate, almost all my research participants agree on the emphasis of Ethiopian History curriculum of Imperial period on the northern half of Ethiopia where there was literate culture for long age.

Jewish historians from different parts of the world who were attracted to the Department of History at Addis Ababa University, according to Mesay, a research participant, due to

the legendary connection of Ethiopian ruling class with Israel which goes back to the time of queen of Sheba, reinforced the regional focus of Ethiopian History curriculum.

Adila, a research participant, explained that regional imbalance of Ethiopian History of Imperial period had been started to be redressed while Ethiopian instructors, like Tadesse Tamirat, Mared WaldaAragay and others joined the Department. Adila described the early efforts this way:

Before the coming of Ethiopian instructors, History of Ethiopia was only the History of those Ethiopian peoples having a written tradition. As the result it was restricted only in the northern part of Ethiopia in areas like Aksum, Gondar, and Showa. But while Ethiopians joined the Department, out of the Amhara and Tigre History they decided to launch research, at students level, on the History of people of the South, East and Western part of Ethiopia: To this end the Department introduced and encouraged historical research using oral traditions. We were taught, therefore, how to analyze elders' narratives, children and elders games, discussions and riddles in night gatherings to reconstruct the History of people without written tradition. I remember during our period, senior essays were written on the History of Wolayitta, Kafa, Anfilo (Benishangul) and others (March 16, 2009).

To implement this new innovation in the academic context of History Department, the mechanism used by the Department was sending out students, at the end of their third year with approved topics on any aspect of their society to produce senior essays which later on to be considered in the designing of History curriculum. As Mesay confirmed, the topic on the major population movements by Tessema Ta'a which is part of the curriculum was the out come of such an effort.

Adila, one of my research participants, though acknowledged the early efforts of the Department of History so as to study the History of the South, Southeast and southwest, he was skeptical about the intentions of the staff of History Department. He argued that;

The major intention of the instructors in the Department of History then, was not to incorporate the History and perspective of the people of south southwest, and southeast in the curriculum and hence to redress the curricular imbalance, rather it was intended to get source materials for their own further researches (March 16, 2009).

However, such endeavors helped the Department of History to be well aware about the gap in the curriculum particularly in 1970's. Hence, in addition to students' senior essays, as Mesay explained, the Department started launching oral History projects where the oral History project of Jimma Abba Jifar can be taken as an example.

The major perspective from which Ethiopian History curriculum of the Imperial period was presented evoked common understanding among the research participants. Almost all of my research participants agreed that the imperial period's History curriculum was developed from nationalist perspective. Biruk, one of my research participants explained the issue this ways;

During the Imperial period History curriculum was meant to inculcate blind obedience to the king and the dynasty. It was used to justify all the wars of Ethiopian kings and its consequence in Ethiopian History as just and correct. It was even meant to teach this nation as a nation of single language, religion, History and culture (March 26, 2009).

Similarly another interviewee, Adila pointed out the following:

During the Imperial period, History curriculum taught us about how Christian monarchs were victorious over all their enemies at the end, and how they were able to annihilate their adversaries and make them pay tribute. It was a curriculum which was nationalist to the level of making effort on students to consider themselves as if they belong for Israel and its story. Hence Ethiopian History of the Imperial period was aimed at teaching the History of feudal monarchs with the end of making the students accept the History of predecessor monarchs of Ethiopia as the History of the Emperor Haile Sellasie himself (March 16, 2009).

Therefore, the curriculum was concerned with the Christian monarchy, its challenges and the ultimate victory in a way the monarchs are heroes shared by all Ethiopians and their ideals as the correct one to be pursued for continuous existence of the nation.

According to Low- Beer (2007), viewing the nation from more monolithic perspective was the phenomenon of the early 20th century and it was usually the case that teaching of national History was at the center of History curriculum everywhere. History from nationalist perspective was able to get a new vigor in non-European World during the period of anti-Colonialists and anti-Imperialist movements and Burger (2006) considers

scholarly western national History as the most successful export articles of Western Imperialism.

As Fetene indicated, the Ethiopian History curriculum of Imperial regime discusses about the making of modern state of Ethiopia. After the making of modern state of Ethiopia was completed Marara (2007) explained that the period of pacification was followed by the time which involved consolidation of power through evangelization of the local population, institutionalization of a new system of political control, and imposition of a new political class, culture and languages on the indigenous population such as the Oromo.

Cognizant with the aforementioned view of the nationalist perspective of the curriculum, Balsvick (2005) explained the policy of the Imperial regime and the mandate of the then UCAA as follows:

Government policy from the late 1950's stressed that all inhabitants of the country were Ethiopians, that no one should be referred to in any official context as belonging to this or that ethnic group, and that no one should be asked about ethnic origin... That nationalism had to be cultivated; that unity was a vital necessity, and that tribal sentiment had to be suppressed ... Our UCAA must serve as a sun radiating the sprite of nationalism to all corners of the Empire. A common language, History, culture, and racial origin were seen as advantages ...for the growth of nationalism (Balsvick, 2005, 279).

Hence Muliye argued that “Ethiopian History curriculum was used as an instrument to legitimize the nationalist perspective of Ethiopian past emphasizing on the Orthodox Christianity, Amharic language and the Northern Ethiopian cultural values. However, Fetene made a point that the curriculum was affected by the concept of nationalism which was the order of the time particularly among the newly independent States of Africa.

Therefore, hence historical research of the Imperial period was trapped by sources which represented the Solomonic culture, according to Crummey (2001), Ethiopian History curriculum was made to present continued narrative of Solomonic state back from Aksum to the time of Emperor Haile Sellasie I as victorious and invincible with the aim of inculcating in the mind of students the sense of identifying themselves with all the glory of the Solomonic state.

Other points of commonalities among the History curriculum of the Imperial period include:

- the title of Ethiopian History courses
- the credit hours of Ethiopian History courses and
- semesters Ethiopian History courses were arranged to be given.

in terms of the title, as the curriculum documents indicate, all the curriculum used the title “History of Ethiopia” or “Ethiopian History” for all Ethiopian History courses which are differentiated by the period they deal with. Ethiopian History courses took sixteen credit hours of the total package and all were given in two semester model.

4.2.2. Observed Changes and Continuities in Ethiopian History Courses during the Imperial Period

The Imperial period was the time at which foundation was laid for the History curriculum of Ethiopia. The 1964 curriculum of the Department of History was able to determine the major focus of Ethiopian History courses up until the revolution. As far as Ethiopian History curriculum of Imperial period was concerned, therefore, the 1964 curriculum was the most influential. This period also introduced major teaching materials for Ethiopian History course across its whole length which dictated the content of Ethiopian History curriculum to date. Of such teaching materials produced during the time it is worth mentioning the works of Sergaw Hable Sellasie, Tadesse Tamirat, Wolde and Sven Rubenson. Curriculum changes during the Imperial period were affected by external factors such as the liberation of many African countries from colonialism and the establishment of Organization for African Unity, the Ethiopian Students Movements and Archaeological excavations and its findings to mention just a few. Among the internal factors which effected curriculum change on the History curriculum one can mention the increasing number of Ethiopianist scholars in the Department, the experience the Department gained through time, and the plan of the Department to launch specialization areas in the Department were the most important once. Hence, the sources of disequilibrium were internal and external factors.

Ethiopian History curriculum of the Imperial period was organized vertically and sequenced using the principle of chronological learning where contents are sequenced as it occurs in the World. In terms of continuity of the curriculum, Ethiopian History courses discussed about the making of modern state of Ethiopia at different times through different processes.

Hence, the fact that the making of the modern state of Ethiopia had shown vertical recurrence in all Ethiopian History courses and it could be regarded as the major continuity during the imperial period.

According to the level of complexity of changes experienced in the Ethiopian History curriculum of the Imperial period, the following changes were exhibited.

- Alteration, which refers to introduction of new contents into the existing main issues of Ethiopian History courses,
- Substitution which refers to substitution of one course for another were the major levels of changes particularly from 1964 up to 1973 curriculum.
- Restructuring, one of the highest level of change could be related with the 1964 curriculum change which totally changed the course code of History, introduced the tradition of elective courses, and come up with many new courses on the history of Africa and the Islamic World.

4.3. The History Curriculum of Addis Ababa University during the Derg Regime

The 1974 revolution and the subsequent developments claimed the University its decades old accumulations in human, material and financial resources. Commenting on this situation, Fissaha Haile said that in the 1974, while the University was maturing as an institution, a revolution took place in the country and the University was closed for two years for '*Zemetcha*' (Development through Cooperation Campaign) resulting in the loss of many of its resources which had been accumulated during the previous decades (Fisseha,1980). Immediately after the revolution, university education was suspended until the fall of 1976. But very few administrative and research staff members were left behind from the '*Zemetcha*' so as to undertake the assignment of changing the curriculum

of the university along the Marxist Leninist line in collaboration with experts from other relevant institutions (AAU, 1980).

This process of curriculum change continued even after classes were resumed at the fall of 1976 at larger scale which includes tasks like:

- sending dozens of teaching staff to sister socialist countries to familiarize themselves with the socialist theory and practice of higher education.
- short period trainings in the *Yekatit 66* political school which was located at the premises of the present campus of Faculty of Business and Economics and
- orientation courses organized for staff members within the premises of the university.

The out come of all these efforts was reorientation of higher education curriculum along Marxist Leninist line (AAU, 1980). Along the same line, to give legal bases for the new ideology of higher education, in 1977, a Commission for Higher Education was established under the proclamation number 109 /1099. As indicated in the Higher Education Proclamation number 109/1099, one of its major objectives was to equip its students with the principles of scientific socialism (Fisseha, 1980). The same efforts of curriculum change after the revolution was indicated in Mekete Belachew's message as Dean of College of Social Sciences. According to Mekete, beginning from the time when concrete signs were seen showing the socialist direction of the Ethiopian revolution, the effort to change the type and content of courses offered at the university has ceaselessly continued. This effort of the university academic community can be proved by the different curricular proposals of academic units in the university (Mekete, 1978). In the same Message Mekete (1978) stated the central educational mission of the university and the guiding objective of Addis Ababa University as preparing a person who is red and expert, that is, a person whose ideological commitment to the cause of the broad masses is firm and strong, and who uses his expertise to meet the needs of the masses.

In this period of ideological reorientation, to cope up with the political atmosphere of the time and to meet the legal and institutional expectation, the Department of History introduced a new curriculum in 1978/79.

One of my research participant, pseudonymed Fetene rank History Department as one of the most affected Departments by the ideological shift. All activities, including the thinking of the staff members were expected to confirm with the Marxist Leninist ideology. This expectation costed the Department materially and in its human resource capacity.

It was in amid of such strained condition that in 1978 the Department introduced a new curriculum which can confirm with the revolutionary educational objectives of the College of Social Sciences. In this new curriculum document the Department of History stated the following points as its objectives.

- To enable students to interpret world historical epochs and trends on the basis of Marxist- Leninist historical understanding with the aim of showing how change on the mode of production, the emergence of classes and class struggle are linked together the motive forces of human development.
- To help provide trained man power for the nations needs
- To inculcate graduates in History with strong grounding in the techniques of research and in collecting and analyzing the data from Marxist perspective
- To train Ethiopian man power for further research on archaeology and the conservation of finds of archaeology.

As Mesay, one of my research participant indicated, the content of History curriculum of the *Derg* period emphasized on “Marxist interpretation of Ethiopian past and hence class and class perspectives and History of revolutions like Russian, Chinese, French and others were given due emphasis”(March 21, 2009). The challenge of the curriculum as indicated by Fetene was “to find a course content for Ethiopian History which can fit the government’s expectation”. In other words adjusting the existing historical research for the demand of the time so as to use it for curriculum purpose was the challenge of the Department.

At any rate the 1978/79 curriculum was able to introduce some major new development. Among the new developments, the dominant tradition of offering a single course in two

semester basis of the Imperial period curriculum was restricted only for two courses: the Age of Bourgeoisie Revolution and Industrial Capitalism (*Hist 211 and Hist 212*) and Pre-Colonial Africa (*Hist 221 and Hist 222*) in the new curriculum. As the result the number of Ethiopian History courses was grown to six. In the 1978/79 curriculum the title of Ethiopian History courses was able to add a phrase “and the Horn of Africa” and become “History of Ethiopia and the Horn”. The terminal date of Ethiopian History was pushed from 1960 of the 1968 curriculum to 1974 in order to cover the full range of Ethiopian History up to the time of the revolution. The aforementioned changes on Ethiopian History courses resulted change on periodization of the courses *i.e.* the period of Ethiopian History covered by each course become different from the previous curriculum. In the Imperial period’s History curriculum, African History was treated in regional bases except a single introductory course which deals with Africa as one entity. In the new *Derg* period curriculum, all African History courses were designed to deal with African History taking Africa as single entity unlike the former tradition of discussing Africa in regional bases.

Emphasis on Islamic History courses was lesser because Islamic world was labeled as “enemy” of the revolution. My research participants, Adila and Dagne, reported the some view in such a way that since the Arab world and Muslims were taken as “enemies” who surrounded Ethiopia this group was not favored by the *Derg*.

Hence, replacing the former African History Courses like History of West Africa, East Africa and Nationalism and Liberation movement, Pre-colonial, Colonial and Post Colonial History of Africa were introduced. Some courses were totally abandoned in the new curriculum. Among such courses, Abbasid and Umayyad History, Ottoman Turkey, Ancient and Medieval History of the Mediterranean World, Aspects of Modern World History (1870- 1946) and European and International History 1815-1946, can be mentioned.

Among the new development in the 1978/79 curriculum, one can mention the fact that Archaeology was able to be treated as one area of specialization in the Department of History. For this end two common Archeology courses for all History major student and

five specialty courses on Archaeology were introduced. As the staff list attached with the curriculum document indicates, except two Ethiopian Associate Professors and one expatriate Assistant professor, the remaining six fulltime staff members had the rank of Lectures and below. The scenario of staff profile of the period was described by Fetene, a research participant, as the Department was becoming empty at least in terms of its senior staff members. He reported that:

That time was the time at which Dr. Sergaw Hable Selassie left the University. Due to ideological difference at the some period most of the Western Europe origin professors dropped their service for the Department. Some of the staff members were persecuted by Derg and therefore fled from the country (March 21, 2009).

Comparing the situation in which the Department of History was, in terms of staff profile during the eve of the 1978/79 curriculum with excellent staff situation in terms of both quality and quantity of the imperial period, Bahiru (1982) said that the Department was in an entirely different situation.

It could be to replenish the deteriorating number of staff member that graduate assistants in good number were recruited around the eve of the implementation phase of the new curriculum. At this time when the Department was in desperate situation and many graduate assistants joined the Department, whose number was comparable to that of the senior staff members, the former ties of the Department with Western Universities for graduate studies was already unfavorable.

As Mesay stated, the Department of History was able to use the problem of the time as an opportunity to launch a master program in History which was conceived around a decade earlier. This program which was launched in 1978 was primarily meant to train the Graduate Assistant of the Department at graduate level for their Masters of Arts degree.

Bahru in his report on the Master's graduate students program in History confirmed that "the immediate objective of the Masters program was to alleviate acute staff problem in the Department by giving advanced training to its graduate assistants (Bahru, 1982).

In the new 1978/79 curriculum, issues related with socio-economic and political developments of Ethiopia were discussed in such a way that internal conflicts and

external reactions were included as the driving forces of History. Socio-economic development was presented in its full range from the earliest stage of domestication of animals and plants, proceeding to agriculture, trade, hand crafts and the emergence of towns, the formation of commercial and artisan classes and urban development, economic stagnation and social unrest from 1527-1800, agricultural production and trade during the *Zemene Mesafint*, mode of production of conquered people of south and southwest and super imposition of new mode of production, and commercial capitalism to the emergence of commercial bourgeoisie and the working class.

The making of modern state of Ethiopia, the major issue of the Imperial period's curriculum, was presented, in the new curriculum following the same chronology, except the explicit incorporation of topics like the Wars of Ahmed Grag, the population movement of the 16th century Oromo, Somali and Afar, and Emperor Menelik II's conquest of the South, South East and Southwest in the second half of the 19th century. While discussing the making of modern state of Ethiopia, in addition to the above major internal development, conflicts were highly emphasized as driving forces of the process. Wars of expansion during the period of Axum and, the 14th century and subsequent periods Christian empire, conflicts between forces of centralization and regionalism, peasant movements and uprisings, conflicts to get control of trade routes and slave trade, conflicts during the *Zemene Mesafint* and wars against imperialists forces up until the Italian invasion and liberation were the major once. Early contradictions between the commercial bourgeoisie and the working class and various protest movement were part of the curriculum so as to indicate the road to the 1974 revolution.

In the sphere of external relations, beginning from the Axumites relation with Mediterranean World and Indian Ocean region, all dominant negative and positive relations with out side forces were included in the curriculum up to the United States Imperialism in Ethiopia of the second half of the 20th century.

All the issues of the curriculum, as far as Ethiopian History courses were concerned, were organized chronologically in to the Primitive communal, Slave owning, Feudal, and the Capitalist systems. However, the feudal system was able to consume the lion's share of

periods of Ethiopian History, simply leaving the two extremes: remote past and the most recent, for other systems.

The 1978/79 curriculum experienced increase of total credit hours for Ethiopian History course from the former sixteen credits to eighteen credit hours. As the curriculum document reveals, the content of the courses was more detailed and better diversified. In this curriculum explicit mention of monarchies with their original region like *Showan* monarchy or *Gondar* monarchy as building blocks of Ethiopian History courses was no more evident.

The modern History of Ethiopia from 1800 up to the recent past in the new 1978/79 curriculum was able to get due attention in terms of credit hours allocation. This period of Ethiopian past was used to be offered using only four credit hours during the Imperial period. In the new curriculum, half of the total credit hours for Ethiopian History courses were given for History of Ethiopia and the horn since 1800 A.D.

The 1978/79 curriculum, as the curriculum document of the Department indicates, continued without change up to 1982. In 1982, a new curriculum with some modifications on the existing one was introduced. The dominant aspect of change, as one can derive from the 1982 curriculum document was rearranging the periodization of Ethiopian and African History courses. History of Ethiopia and the Horn from 1855-1974 was given more emphasis and offered using nine credit hours. These nine credit hours were distributed in such a way that 1855-1896, 1896-1941 and 1941-1974 were made independent courses. As the result of the rearrangement of African History courses;

- African History courses were made to be offered in a single semester bases.
- One additional course was developed just by dividing a course “Africa since World War I *Hist 321*” into two courses.

In the curriculum document of 1982 except increase of Archaeology courses by one additional course for all History major students, there was no mention of the former specialty courses in Archaeology. It could be because specialization option for some students in the Department was totally replaced by specialization for teaching History.

As the 1982 curriculum document indicates arrangement of the Bachelor program in Term system, i.e. three terms a year, was abandoned and replaced by the 'Semester system'.

Concerning Ethiopian History courses, the 1982 rearrangement of periodization of courses did not bring new issues or no knock out effect on the existing course description. Hence, almost the same course description was able to continue. However, on the part which discusses about Emperor Menelik II's conquest of South and Southwestern part of the today's Ethiopia, the new curriculum replaced the term 'conquest' by 'occupation'.

After 1982's curriculum, during the *Derg* regime there were some more curriculum changes. The changes are the outcome of reintroduction of minor area of studies and the proclamation of mixed economy in 1989. Though I am not able to come across with any curriculum documents, as research participants indicated some History courses were reserved only for non-teaching History students because credit hours of teaching History stream students was occupied by the teaching stream courses. Biruk, one of my research participants pointed out that, courses like Islamic institutions, History of Modern Egypt and the Sudan, History of Modern Middle East as courses only for non-teaching stream students. The proclamation of mixed economy had an effect of adjusting the perspective from which History was taught. Mesay, a research participant reported that

In 1989 mixed economy was proclaimed by Mengistu Haile Mariam because the international context was changing and as the time went on the command economy was not bearing fruit. What was changed at this point was some courses which History students were taking were cancelled (March 20, 2009).

4.3.1. Common Issues in the History Curriculum of the *Derg* Period

From the curriculum documents of the *Derg* period, it is possible to infer that political History, economic History and social History were themes of the curriculum.

In the curriculum document, the process of making of modern state of Ethiopia which unfolds from Axum up to the period of revolution, all state led wars almost at all periods of Ethiopian History and external relations can be taken as elements of political History. Historical issues related to agriculture, trade, hand craft, trade routes, commerce, mode of

production are some which can fit in the rubric of economic History. Class and class relation, caste, the concept of oppression and exploitation can be put under the theme social History. Because social History as Tosh (1993) defined it is nothing less than the History of social structure which is the sum total of social relationships between the many different groups in the society like class, age, gender, race and occupation. Cartledge (2002) cited in Cannadine (2002) explained social History specifically as a History of class, of oppression and exploitation.

The *Derg's* period curriculum in terms of themes therefore, was better diversified as compared to the Imperial period's curriculum. But still, political History's share was larger.

The period of *Derg* ushered in the ideological hegemony of Socialism. This fact was explained by Adila, one of my research participants as follows:-

During the Derg period, feudalism was over and History was made to serve the establishment of ideological hegemony of socialism. The idea of Ethiopian nationalism, which was the practice of Imperial period, was continued in stronger vigor. "Ethiopia or Death" and "Ethiopia Tikidem" become the mottos of the time. Anyone who doubts this notion was considered as an enemy of the nation (March 16, 2009).

Bahru (2005) too explained the *Derg's* experience of combining Nationalism and Marxism. At any rate, with all its nationalist elements, History curriculum during the *Derg* period was built from the Marxist perspective. Marxist interpretation of History becomes the grand narrative of the *Derg* period. In Marxist perspective all History is nothing more than the History of class struggle and hence History was basically periodized into epochs where Ancient society, Feudal society, Capitalist society and the Socialist society: the stage of self fulfillment of human kind, are the major one's (Tosh, 1993).

According to the Marxist conception, the driving force for development from one stage to the next is provided by the class struggle and the ending of one stage is heralded as new productive forces come in to conflict with the existing relations of production thus inaugurating an epoch of social revolution. Hence, History unfolds until society achieves socialism. In short the philosophical view of dialectical materialism, in which each stage contains the dominant idea, *i.e.* the thesis, an oppositional idea, *i.e.* the antithesis and out

of the clash of the thesis and antithesis, *i.e.* the dialectics, is produced a synthesis, *i.e.* a new dominant idea, was behind the view of the unfolding of History (Marwick, 2001).

During the *Derg* period to confirm with the philosophical view of Dialectical Materialism Ethiopian History was able to get Marxist periodization in which Ancient society (Primitive and Slave owning could be in our case), the Feudal society and the Capitalist society were the major epochs. One of my research participants, Mesay, summarized the *Derg's* period curriculum reporting that:

Concepts of slave owning society, feudalism and capitalism were in the curriculum. But the objective of treating the concepts was to undermine them. It was to show capitalism and feudalism as odd developments and against human fulfillment. Labor and labor History was also part of the curriculum (March 20, 2009).

In general, Marxists perspective with strong nationalist sentiment was the hallmark of the *Derg's* period History curriculum.

4.3.2. Observed Changes and Continuity in Ethiopian History Courses during *Derg* regime

The period of *Derg* was a time of strong challenges and lasting opportunities. Among the challenges, shortages of well qualified staff members in adequate quantity and interpreting Ethiopian past in Marxist line so as to use it as curriculum input were the most pressing ones. In addition, attitude of the government towards the Department as reactionary and the subsequent torture and persecution of some members was a pushing factor for some members of the Department to leave the Department and even the country. Bahru (2000) too, discussed at least the harassment and neglect of the History by the regime up until 1980's. This can have the effect of sapping human resource and exposing for shortage of material resources; combined which can culminate in causing challenge for the Department as an institution.

In the opportunity column of the balance sheet the launching of Graduate Program in History and recruiting able and interested students of the Department in better number as Graduate Assistants were ranked first. As the list of theses submitted to the Department

of History (1963-2002) indicates some of the prominent historians of the Department are the outcome of this program. The symbiotic relationship between the staff and the Graduate Program contributed for the growth of both.

Diversification of themes, particularly issues of social History and introduction of topics related to local governments and problem of nationalities had laid bases for Ethnic question. Question on the interpretation of the History of Oromo in the curriculum, the Wars of Ahmed Gragh and Conquest of the South, Southwest and Southeast by Emperor Menelik II had been started to surface in the History classrooms since the *Derg's* curriculum. Fetene remembers and explained the above situation as follows;

I remember, disagreement on History contents was started during the Derg period. While we were teaching, during the Derg period, many questions related to nationalities used to be raised. The period of Derg come up, at least at the beginning, with the practice of political pluralism where many political parties were proliferated. Parties of that period from all directions were agitating people so as to secure strong support from the society. In addition, issues of rights were on the table of political agenda and many nationalities languages were used as medium of instruction for literacy campaign (March 21, 2009).

Hence internal factors, the curriculum and its contents itself and external factors, political culture, demands, and practices at the beginning stage of the *Derg* regime, introduced a tradition of directly questioning History curriculum of Ethiopia as imbalanced and unfit to the context of Ethiopian diversity.

In the *Derg* period's History curriculum the territorial coverage of Ethiopian History extended to southern half of Ethiopia related with historical developments such as population movement and the Menelik's conquest of the south, southeast and south west.

Based on McNeil (1996) classification of curriculum change using complexity of change as organizer, the *Derg's* period curriculum change was value orientation change where history curriculum experienced a major shift in philosophical assumptions. This was the most complex level of change in the curriculum change process. But change from 1978/79 curriculum to 1982 was alteration in which simple change of periodization was introduced on Ethiopian and African History courses.

The work on the 2002 curriculum project was started in 1995/96. Until it gets its final shape, this curriculum, according to the curriculum document 2002, had benefited from

- the Department members' expertise, organized into different subject area panels and full Department members deliberations.
- the 1997 Departmental seminar in the town of Jimma
- the 1998/99 university wide curriculum change process.

The Department of History, therefore, was engaged in series of consultations with all concerned at reach having a substance on hand; a draft level curriculum. The whole endeavor was to shape and reshape the document to the maximum level possible.

Resuming the process of curriculum change which was not active for some time between early 1980's and the late 1990's, incorporating new themes and issues out of the latest developments from the world of historiography, introducing new courses in the interface between History and the management of cultural heritage, a need for a course on historiography and historical methodology, making the curriculum more representative of the regions of the world, extending the terminal date of History courses, covering topics as per the newly revised high school History curriculum and others were the rationale stated by the Department for the 2002 curriculum change.

The Department of History, in the curriculum document 2002, clearly mentioned its Departmental and disciplinary objectives as follows:

- to give genuinely liberal education to students, developing their potentialities as individuals.
- to train students as citizens with qualification of value to Ethiopian society.

These objectives were derived from the institutional objectives of the College of Social Sciences. The objectives were meant to develop the learner as an individual person so as to contribute for the nation as a citizen; as member of Ethiopian society.

In light of the Departmental objectives, but taking into account History's disciplinary characteristics, the Department had set disciplinary objectives which include:

- developing in the students skills in historical and cultural research, in the evaluation of diverse sources and in the production of historical knowledge.
- inculcating in students intellectual power of reasoning, keen awareness of relativity of knowledge, flexibility of mind and capacity for independent thinking with an end expectation of capacity for solving problems and making sound decisions.
- training students in the broad evolution of human society from its early stage to the present.

Historical knowledge and skill were highly emphasized in the disciplinary objectives of the Department. So as to make the discipline History as one of the components through which the major goals of the current education and training policy can be achieved, the end result of historical scholarship was intended for solving problems and making sound decisions.

According to the curriculum document 2002, students from the Department of History can pursue their career in teaching History, in the world of historical and cultural research or in institution which work in the area like culture, foreign affairs and journalism. However, the shape of curriculum document 2002 is highly influenced by the technical guideline framework for curriculum design in higher education (Amare Asgedom et al. eds. 2002)

Concerning Ethiopia History courses, in the 2002 curriculum document the major changes introduced were:

- periodization of Ethiopian History courses was changed. Ethiopian History up to 1527 which was offered in two different courses (*Hist 201, and Hist 202*) was merged into single course. History of Ethiopia and the Horn from 1855-1974 which was offered under three different courses (*Hist 302, 401, 402*) in the 1982 curriculum, was reduced into two courses even with the extension of the terminal date to 1991: History of Ethiopia and the Horn 1855-1935 and History of Ethiopia and the Horn 1935-1991.

- a new Ethiopian History course was introduced under the title “Major Themes in Ethiopia History”

Out of the 2002 curriculum rearrangement scheme Ethiopian History was able to get fifteen credit hours share out from the total credits of the Department. Comparatively the credit hours for Ethiopian History was less than that of the 1982 curriculum, despite the “Credit crunch” worry of the Department of History on the one hand and the extended terminal date of Ethiopian History by one regime on the other. Moreover, many new topics were also introduced in to the curriculum of Ethiopian History.

- Discussion of sources for each course on Ethiopian History, the tradition during the imperial period, was reintroduced in the 2002 curriculum change.

As it can be inferred from the course description of Ethiopian History courses in curriculum document 2002, though the description is highly summarized using general phrases like questions of state formation, political processes *etc*, the curriculum discusses the making of modern state of Ethiopia starting from questions of state formation in the horn. Then it proceeds on the same issue in a way that could show the existence of various states and societies which had their own independent developments but had relations of rivalry and conflict with others. With the introduction of the concept of the centralization processes in the curriculum in the 19th century the plural identification of Ethiopian states and societies, made to gave way for the singular term state all the way up to the end of Ethiopian History courses. Classifying and discussing historical developments in Ethiopia on the bases of geographic region like North, central and south, and the high land and lowland and the Christian and Muslim with difference of emphasis was evident in the 2002 curriculum document. At some points ethnic groups like Oromo, Afar and Somali were mentioned in curriculum so as to discuss developments in the communities. As new innovation, an all sided historical development among the Oromo’s of south western part of Ethiopia was explicitly stated in the curriculum as part of the course description.

Social History interms of social transformations, social interactions and dynamisms, economic History interms of economic activities, changes and economic institutions, religion and religious process had some place in the curriculum. In the new course

entitled “Major Themes in Ethiopian History”, as far as my understanding is concerned, the concept Ethnicity was introduced as a new addition in to History curriculum.

In 2004, the age old responsibility of the Department of History in the College of Social Science to train professional teachers of History was transferred to the new Department of History education in the College of Education. As a result, in the 2004 curriculum of the Department of History in the College of Social Sciences, in addition to changing the course numbers due to the three years model university education where students directly join Departments without any fresh program of one year, a new course of Ethiopia History in the 2002 curriculum “Major Themes in Ethiopia History”, in the 2004 curriculum, was divided in to two course with no change in its former course description.

In the College of Education’s Department of History, Ethiopian History courses followed the same chronological periodization of History Department of the College of Social Sciences. However, there was no separate course for “Major Themes in Ethiopian History”. The tradition of including course objective in the curriculum can be taken as a new tradition for History curriculum which the Department of History education had started.

After the 2004 incident, History curriculum in Addis Ababa University had started two separated developments. In the College of Education under strong pressure of short of credit hours for major courses due to disproportionate credits for practicum during that days of paradigm shift rhetoric and in the College of Social Science decreasing demand in the employment market which forced casting doubt towards the relevance of training for the world of work.

One of my research participants, Muliye, reported on this situation in such a way:

The TESO curriculum was a curriculum directly sent from above, from the Ministry of Education. That time the phrase “paradigm shift” was the most frequently used phrase. The argument then was how to teach is primary than what to teach. What to teach; the content gap, can be bridged through modules provision and the like. At the beginning the TESO curriculum was just like a very wide tube for little water where the water can not flow fast due to lack of enough pressure. On the other hand History curriculum in the College of Social Sciences, after it lost its

historic mission of training History teachers, the most usual destination of History graduates from the College of Social Sciences was blocked in principle. For those students in pipeline what will happen in the world of work was unclear (March 29, 2009).

Both Departments of History, in order to respond for their different challenges, had started to work beginning from their age of independent development.

The fruition of this endeavor in 2006 led to curriculum changes in both History Departments. In the Department of History Education of the College of Education, credit hours for practicum decreased by twelve hours so as to boost the credit hours of History subject area courses. As the result

- The periodization of the last two Ethiopian History courses was changed by simply rearranging the terminal and initial dates of the courses.
- The terminal date of *HiEd 301* was pushed further from 1935 to 1941 in the 2006 curriculum.
- For this course which covers Ethiopian History from 1855-1941 one addition credit hour was given so as to offer it in four credit hours basis which was uncommon in the History of History curriculum.

As the curriculum document of the Department of History Education argues the extension of the period covered by this course was to discuss developments that occurred between 1935 and 1941 under one course which are closely related with the pre-1935 historical developments. The one credit hour addition was justified by explaining the period of the course as it covers the essential part of Ethiopian History that needs to be treated in detail.

As the 2006 curriculum document of the Department of History Education in the College of Education shows credit hours were added to the African History and World History courses too.

Using the credit hours deducted from the practicum, in addition to boasting the credit hours of the existing History courses, two new courses: *HiEd 441*, Egypt, the Sudan and

North Africa since 1898 and *HiEd 442*, The Middle East since 1900 were added into the curriculum package.

In the Department of History and Heritage Management in the College of Social Sciences the Department had changed its name and objectives. This endeavor resulted in change of the curriculum. While the Department changes its name to History and Heritage Management and its objectives, the following justifications were used:

- To produce qualified professionals to manage and plan the conservation, preservation and display of the rich historical and cultural heritage of the nation and
- To salvage the despairingly endangered archival sources of the country at all levels (from national to local) through trained professionals.

Therefore, the Department launched new undergraduate program with additional courses in Heritage Management. By doing this the desire of the Department was widening the job opportunities for graduating students (social sciences bulletin, 2007). While adding new courses in area of Heritage Management, Ethiopian History courses were not affected at all. However, the curriculum change had a knock out effect on all the Islamic and Middle Eastern History courses.

4.4.1. Common Issues of History Curriculum from 2002 to 2006

Though History curriculum had experienced some three major changes from 2002-2006, as far as Ethiopian History courses were concerned, the curriculum and their course descriptions were almost identical. The new curriculum of the aforementioned period totally dropped Marxist interpretation of History and as all the History curriculum of Addis Ababa University, political History dominated the curriculum. Among the curriculum of this period fairly better distribution of credit hours for different historical periods were experienced. In the new curriculum of this period, most of major topics of different historical periods were made to be represented by major events or issues unlike dynasty names and personalities as the tradition of the former curriculum.

Some of the concepts were rephrased in the new curriculum of 2002-2006. To mention a few examples

- The formation of Axumite state was rephrased to questions of state formation in the horn.
- The War of Ahmed Gragn was rephrased to Conflict among States.
- Conquest and occupation of the South, Southwest and Southeastern parts of Ethiopia was rephrased to expansion of Ethiopian empire.
- The American Imperialism of 2nd half of the 20th century was rephrased to Ethio-American relation.

The curriculum document of 2002 claims the provision of liberal education in the Departmental objectives. With this statement of the Department, one can expect a liberal education with all core liberal value like personal autonomy and equality of consideration White (2003) and multiculturalism (Paris and Kimball, 2000). Liberal approach to History, as happened in East Germany after the fall of Berlin wall, should embrace multi perspectivity, alternative narratives of the past and should present the nation as mosaic not as Monolith (Ahonen, 2001).

The curriculum of 2002-2006 were clearly detached from Marxist grand narrative that view History as predetermined process. Class dialectics and revolutions as driving forces of History were no more parts of History curriculum. History curriculum of this period was developed in adherence to human agency and intentions as driving forces of History but difficult to categorize the curriculum whole heartedly under liberal tradition

4.5. History of Ethiopia and the Horn: the Course Title and the Scope of the ✓

Content

Ethiopian History in the curriculum of the Department of History at Addis Ababa University had experienced two major levels of changes;

- change on Ethiopian History curriculum with change of governments and
- change of Ethiopian History curriculum during the age of a single government.

With all changes of governments in Ethiopia since the establishment of the Department of History, History curriculum had experienced change sooner or latter. This level of

curriculum change resulted in change of perspective, increasing incorporation of themes other than political History and widening of the geographic coverage of Ethiopian History courses. Hence, this level of change was characterized by major changes for there were value orientation changes. History curriculum was not able to survive changes of governments because all government changes in Ethiopia were not peaceful.

Lakaw, a research participant, reported on this issue that “There was no continuous and stable perspective through which History of Ethiopia can be studied. These changes of perspectives were related to the problem of peaceful transfer of power” (April 2, 2009).

Arguing using the same evidence like Lakaw for change of History curriculum with change of government, Biruk, a research participant, added that, due to lack of peaceful transfer of power, every activity of predecessor governments were liable to be discredited including the curriculum in Ethiopian experience. With change of curriculum as the result of change of government new themes other than political History were able to come to the curriculum landscape. During the imperial period, History curriculum was almost made up of political History. With coming of Derg’s Marxist History, social and economic histories were comparatively better represented in History curriculum. In the current government, History curriculum of Ethiopia, except the claim of the Department for liberal education and its clear detachment from Marxist perspective, the contents in the course descriptions of the 2002-2006 curriculum documents are almost a continuation of the Derg’s period.

Concerning this character of the 2002-2006 History curriculum, Biruk, one of my research participants, reported that;

At the level of the government policy currently, History curriculum is expected to serve the principle of equality of nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia. But in practice, in the current curriculum, the content of the old, Dergu period’s, curriculum is not as such changed. But minimum efforts are made to include or give more attention the History of Oromo and some of the southern peoples (March 26, 2009).

Minimum effort of the Department of History to include the History of nations and nationalities of Ethiopia is accused by one of my research participant Chemere, student of History as, deception. He asserted his resentment as follows:

The effort was not genuine because History of newly added nations and nationalities in the curriculum in most cases were discussed at the level of sub-topics using very few paragraphs (April 4, 2009).

Therefore, the relatively widening geographic coverage of History curriculum through all major curriculum changes, though it was one of the major changes, for some of the research participants was not genuine, however. At any rate, the content of Ethiopian History courses during all regimes was not equivalent with the title “History of Ethiopia and the Horn” despite of the fact that it was widening south wards slightly progressively.

Another level of curriculum change was change in History curriculum within the period of single regime. This level of curriculum change in the case of Ethiopian History courses is characterized basically by arrangements and rearrangements of periodization. Therefore, the change on Ethiopian History courses at this level was more of a change of form, not of a substance as such.

These major changes in the curriculum of Ethiopian History were highly related with changes of governments. That could be the reason why, Mesay, argues that “in terms of major curriculum changes, the Department was not independent to introduce the change it likes for major curriculum changes were dictated by government policies”.

Though such an argument of Mesay is basically true and was reality during the nationalist curriculum of Imperial period and Marxist curriculum of Derg regime, the current Ethiopian History curriculum and the policies and laws of government are not strongly well-matched. Assessing the whole range of the age of Ethiopian History curriculum as student and then professor of History, Jeleta, a research participant, pointed out the following with regards to this issue:

History curriculum had served the policies of the Imperial regime and the Derg regime. Hence both regimes had used History curriculum as an instrument for their own ideology. But in the current EPRDF led government I do not see any substantial change on the curriculum. While the government in all its legal and policy documents up holds diversity,

History curriculum fails to reflect this reality. Do really Ethiopian History courses reflect the histories of Ethiopian diverse societies? I do not think. Is this the failure of government to enforce its laws or is it due to the resistance of the staff of History Department? I do not know (March 27, 2009).

Almost all my research participant including students hold similar view with Jelata and indicate the difference between policy of current government and the curricular practice in History Departments. Here the idea of student participant, Selamawit, is worth mentioning. She reported that:

Problem of recognition of diversity in the context of higher education begins from the time of Emperor Haile Sellasie when Amharic result was one of the basic requirements to join university. Even today, History curriculum is not making students to value diversity of Ethiopian society. The content of Ethiopian History courses, contrary to the government polices, directions and the constitution are highly partisan. So the curriculum is imposing up on us the concepts of inferiority and superiority (April 5, 2009).

Incompatibility between the title of Ethiopian History courses and their content, and the legal and policy provisions towards Ethiopian diversity and the perceived problems of History curriculum is making the question of social inclusion a justifiable question. As the result of this question, in Ethiopian History classes, dissatisfaction and even disagreement are becoming common. In addition to the conformation of the research participants on the mood of Ethiopian History classes in which any topic faces some group with dissatisfaction or disagreement, the researcher himself had the some observation while he was a student.

The major questions of social inclusion in Ethiopian History classes are related with omission, misrecognition and discontinuity of the History of most of the peoples of Ethiopia. Those who feel omitted, misrecognized or whose History is discontinued at some point are subjects of dissatisfaction and disagreement.

Commenting on this issue, Birhanu, a research participant and multiculturalists reported that:

Currently the issue of diversity is accepted boldly by the constitution and policies of the government. But in the higher education, most of the curriculum are not developed in a way that can reflect diversity and encourage multi-perspectivity. For example, most of the History materials

used for curriculum purpose represent the point of view conquerors only. They represent single perspective and hence can not be inclusive. If you present something out of the dominant perspective you probably will be considered as against the unity of the country (March 29, 2009).

Many of the interviewees explained Ethiopian History curriculum as it is built up of the mainstream or core History of Ethiopia. For example Mesay, in this respect stated that:

In the Department of History at Addis Ababa University, there are historians who belong for the category of the main stream historians and this group which is dominant, advocate a History curriculum made up of the main stream or core History. As the result, Ethiopian History courses deal with issues of power struggle among kings and dynasties, the royal court and the royal family. This group is highly biased to written sources for historical reconstruction. On the other hand, there are others, non-mainstream historians who try to challenge the conventional view and push for the use of historical studies based on oral sources in the curriculum like Anthropological studies (March 20, 2009).

An almost similar view was reported by Biruk, another research participant and he said that:

The Department of History is dominated by a single group throughout its age and all the sources used as sources of content in the curriculum are those which belong for authors of the dominant group. But I believe that it is better to incorporate multiple of views from all angles. Ethiopian History curriculum is north-centric and hence it is becoming a problem for the education system of Ethiopia (March 26, 2009).

The problem of social inclusion was also explained using the concept of hidden curriculum. One of my research participants, Jalata, explained the non-inclusiveness of Ethiopian History curriculum in the following way:

The major essence of Ethiopian History curriculum is not yet changed. Because the hidden curriculum of the Department is as it was during the imperial period. During the imperial period, the hidden curriculum was to inculcate respect for the king and the dynasty, and to promote Ethiopian nationalism under one culture, religion and language. During the Derg, the some hidden curriculum, the issue of one nation, one culture, and one language continued. Now, thought at government level this is not a reality, the Department seems fixed on the old grand narrative (March 27, 2009).

Different source were indicated as responsible factors for the dissatisfaction and disagreement on Ethiopian History curriculum and Mesay, argues that “Ethiopian History

curriculum at this time is at the cross road either to consider people as their origin is 16th century or to consider as ancient people”.

But for one who fairly looks at the destitute beginning of Ethiopian History curriculum, the tremendous progresses it made to date and the challenges it had been facing, as it can be attested from the curriculum documents of the Departments, it is difficult to refute totally the achievements of Ethiopian History curriculum in its endeavor of inclusion. It could be possible to infer from the curriculum document 2002 that social inclusion, by considering new developments in Ethiopian historiography, would be an agenda of the Department.

A research participant, Muliye, argues that absence of History of some of the nationalities, misrecognition or discontinuities are not a conscious moves of the Department so as to undermine some groups of Ethiopian society. Even in the current situation of better opportunity for social inclusion if we take the frequency of curriculum changes, from 2002-2006, there were three curriculum. So frequency of curriculum change by it self can obstruct a stable move of the Department towards social inclusion. So the time is too short to blame the Department as one factor for the educational problems of the nation.

According to some of my research participant, who argue in the aforementioned way, dissatisfactions and disagreements in History classes due to omission, misrecognition or discontinuities, can be related rather with problem of efficiency and integrity of History teachers and the external political climate of the nation where ethnic based parties are prevalent.

Taking into account the current situation of Ethiopian historiography, the question of social inclusion which is manifested in terms of dissatisfaction and disagreements in Ethiopian History classes can be seen in the context of the concept of unity in diversity. In this respect Adila, a research participant, has the following idea:

In Ethiopian historiography, there are two extremes: historiography which is grounded on Ethiopian nationalism and another extreme which is grounded on Ethnic nationalism and called ethnic History. Now the

question is- Is there a mechanism to balance these two extremes? And is there any effort to synchronize the similarities and differences between these two extremes in the curriculum? The curriculum development should focus on common elements and values identified as it can be enjoyed by all members of the nation and issues of the difference. By doing this it is possible to balance national issues with nationalities questions (March 16, 2009).

In general, no single factor can be labeled as responsible for omission, misrecognition and discontinuities in Ethiopian History curriculum. The mainstream historians may work to defend their thesis from the likely uncompromising move of non-mainstream historians thesis. All the biased sources of any kind would have some degree of impact on the historical research and then on History curriculum. Inefficient teachers and teachers with problem of professional integrity may not allow independent thinking and multi-perspectivity. They regard it as challenge and highly scared, and respond inappropriately when they face questions of inclusion. Non-peaceful political changes and the consequent ethnic politics could encroach into History classrooms.

Here, the concept of heteroglossia in the curriculum which promotes the inclusion of multifaceted and sometimes conflicting voices in the curriculum can be upheld as principle. This helps students to investigate confrontational ideas outside their prior knowledge and experience, especially in the realm of race so as to develop social competence (Slattery, 2006). According to Tamir (2006) too, the age of single historical narrative that aims to produce a hero to venerate, festivities to celebrate and days of national mourning to share across all members of the nation is becoming over. Now, cultural, lingual and religious differences are surfacing. So education must respect diversity, allow plurality of cultures and languages to flourish, while at same time teaching civic virtue and fostering social responsibility and political unity.

4.6. Historical Research as Factors for the Change of History Curriculum

There is no curriculum of History Department at Addis Ababa University in which historical research is not its primary objective. At least two courses, throughout the History of History curriculum, were reserved for courses on historical methodology. At under graduate level, as the result, there was no aspect of life and geographic area,

untouched by the students' senior essays. The list of theses submitted to the Department of History from 1963-2002 indicated that senior essays for BA were written in areas such as Agriculture, Biography, Church, Communication, Cultural History, Economic History, Education, Ethno-History, Factories and Businesses, Foreign communities, Government Organizations, Hospitals, Hotels, International Relations, Islamic Centers, Labor History, Land Tenure, Literature, Missionaries and Missions, Patriotic Resistance, Political History, Relief Organizations, *Safars* (quarters), Settlements, Social History, Sport, Traditional Crafts, Urban History and others (Department of History, 2005).

The Masters Program of History Department gives greater emphasis for research where in all courses students are expected to produce seminar papers. This was intended as Bahru (1982) put it to sharpen the methodological skill of students so as to equip the students with the needed skill for preparing teaching materials and supervising the papers of undergraduate students. In addition the hallmark of the program, the MA theses, was intended to fill gaps in Ethiopian Historiography and Archaeological research and for sound historical reinterpretation (Bahiru, 1982). Hence, the program was designed to provide History curriculum of the Department with the needed human and materials resources. Just looking at the Department's staff and History educators in all higher educational institutions of this nation, one can understand the achievements of the program in terms of human resources.

With regards to its objectives of filling gaps in historiography and historical reinterpretation as the document from the Department which lists theses submitted to the Department from 1963-2002 indicates, around fifty theses which dealt with various issues were listed. Issues like medical History, tax and customs, ethnic relation, patriots and patriotic resistance, land, trade and urban History, biography, institutional History the none governmental organizations, education and politics are a few among titles of MA theses.

As far as PhD dissertations are concerned, suffice to look at Crummey(1990 and 2001) and Bahru (1988 and 2000) which discussed Ethiopian historiography in order to understand at least a range of issues of Ethiopian History researched. Among the PhD dissertations produced under auspices of the Department of History, AAU, works on

Ethiopian Famines, the Fuga Lower caste of South-Central Ethiopia and History of Resistance in Gojjam are mentioned in the Department's list of theses 1963-2002.

All the aforementioned historical works do not include individual contributions of staff of History Department and other historians interested in Ethiopian History in journals, in the form of books, and contributions for various seminars.

Taking into account the research tradition of the Department, Fetene, a research participant appreciates curriculum setup of the Department as follows:

The curriculum set up itself encourages students to engage in research and write their research outcomes. This by itself can be taken as the strength of the curriculum. In addition, it shows the strength of the faculty of the Department. The background of the teachers was very strong (March 21, 2009).

Another research participant Biruk too, identifies History Department of Addis Ababa University with large quantity, diversified and quality research outcomes.

Though the quantity and diversity of research outcomes of the Department, as Jalata, argues are convincing, he doubts the quality of research outcomes for most of the researches of the Department are not challenged by other scholars and hence, are preliminary researches. But the evidence of Jalata for his doubts on the quality of research outcomes of the Department of History may not help his case given the strong challenge, for example, of Oromo historiography on the historical interpretation of the Department of History of Addis Ababa University. Concerning the challenge of Oromo historiography on Ethiopian studies, Tessema (2004) stated that one of the major advances made by the Oromo studies is challenging and exposing the weaknesses of the Ethiopian studies concerning the Oromo.

Concerning the relationship between research and curriculum, Bahru (2000) clearly indicated the integration of research and teaching as the hallmark of the Department of History. This is not only to mean that the research courses in the curriculum and the research activities in the Department carried by staff and students, it also indicates use of research outcomes for further change and improvement of the curriculum. The latter may be the case if we look at all the curriculum changes or alterations at its major level.

With regards to the effect of research on History curriculum, Mesay, a research participant, reflected the following view:

At the beginning age of the Department, the problem of the Department was shortage of scholarly researches so as to foster Ethiopian History curriculum. But through time various scholarly researches on different peoples and cultures of Ethiopia and on different themes were produced at different capacities. Now the problem is that historical research findings are not effectively reflected in History curriculum (March 20, 2009).

Research participants, Muliye Lakaw and Biruk, too, have the idea that outcomes of historical research are not effectively incorporated in the curriculum. But they stated that some of the publications of the senior members of the Department like Professor Bahru Zewude's. A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991, had extensively used student researches as sources and this material has an almost text book status for the period. There fore according to these research participants research out comes are indirectly incorporated in curriculum project.

For Mesay, a research participant, historical research outcomes of Ethiopia, are not effectively reflected in Ethiopian History curriculum because those who have dominant position of curriculum decision exercise the idea of selective tradition (Apple, 1979) Mesay reported that:

Those research outcomes which do not belong for the mainstream History of Ethiopia are neglected from the curriculum. Inclusion of new perspectives which challenges the conventional view is taken by some as death of History of Ethiopia. If we are not balancing the History curriculum of Ethiopia in such a way that can reflect the objective diversities of all sorts. I think, that is repeating the mistakes of the past. As the result the horizon of historical knowledge in Ethiopian History curriculum is not pushed as the research outcomes warrant (March 20, 2009).

As can be inferred from Mesay's report, the question is maintaining a balance among the histories of the diverse Ethiopian peoples. Mesay, further stated that though different historians have different understandings towards a single phenomenon, what is incorporated in History curriculum is the conventional and main stream historians aspect.

Here, Mesay is demanding for a History curriculum which upholds the principle of multi perspectives.

Lakaw, rather indicate the source of problem of effective reflection of research outcomes on curriculum in relation with History teachers. He argues that:

The curriculum documents of the Department can only indicate the direction of the instructional activities and therefore it is not comprehensive. Many gaps are left to be filled by each and every teacher of the course. Therefore, History curriculum is a play thing on the hand of teachers. So, if each and every teacher works hard to include all the relevant material from all perspectives for their specific Ethiopian History courses, I think the Department welcomes such an effort to balance the curriculum (April 2, 2009).

Generally, though during all major curriculum changes, through indirect incorporation of theses of students, and above all by the publications of staff of the Department and other historians research outcomes are reflected in the curriculum, however, the interplay of various factors hindered the effective representation of research outcomes in the curriculum. But, the glaring fact is that, whatever included in the curriculum representing whatever perspective is basically the outcome of the research. Therefore, there is symbiotic relationship between research and curriculum, though the potential relationship which could happen far exceeds the actual one.

5. Summary, Conclusion and Implications

5.1. Summary of the Results

The purpose of this study was to assess change and continuity in History curriculum of AAU from 1961 to 2006. In addition, factors that determined the changes and continuities, the level of utilization of historical research outcomes, and the level of achievement of curriculum changes in terms of social inclusion in Ethiopian context were analyzed.

Primary sources of data were 17 respondents from AAU, Ministry of Education and other institutions. Secondary sources of information were relevant curriculum documents of the Department of History at AAU, policy and legal documents and literatures. Instruments of data collection were interview and document analyses. Snowball strategy and purposive sampling technique were used to select participants. The qualitative analyses of data indicated the following major results:

5.1.1. Major Themes and Perspectives of Ethiopian History in the History Curriculum

- (1) With regards to major themes in Ethiopian History in the curriculum of History Department of AAU:
 - a. During the Imperial period the single dominant theme was political History. But from 1964- 1968 there were courses on economic History of Ethiopia which was offered by Department other than History.
 - b. The Derg period was able to bring social and economic History into the curriculum. But still the dominance of political History was not as such challenged.
 - c. An almost similar situation of the Derg period continued in the 2002-2006 curriculum of Addis Ababa University.
- (2) Concerning perspectives in Ethiopian History in the History curriculum of the Department of History at AAU:
 - a. The imperial period was a period in which Ethiopian History curriculum was approached from nationalist perspective. As the result, the curriculum promoted Ethiopian nationalism under one language, culture, and religion.

Issues related with diversity and nationalities were considered as dangerous for the national integration.

- b. While education resumed in 1976 in the *Derg* regime, after two years of *Zemetcha* period, following the fall of the Imperial regime, Marxist-Leninist perspective was proclaimed as the only perspective from which education can be approached. While Marxist-Leninist interpretation of Ethiopia History was in place, the nationalist elements and tone were there in the curriculum as it was in the political system itself.
- c. The 2002-2006 curriculum of History Departments at AAU, though officially in the curriculum documents declared genuinely liberal approach, neither the curriculum documents are convincing nor the participants of this research are convinced by such a claim of the Department. Because, the curriculum is not able to go to the extent the current political system warrants embracing the principles of multiculturalism and multi-perspectivity.

Therefore, in terms of themes, Political History throughout the History of History Department of Addis Ababa University was the dominant one. But, other themes such as Social and Economic History, and religions and religious issues were able to get some place in curricular landscape of the Department. The nationalist perspective on the History curriculum of Ethiopia is the ever present major perspective, sometimes, for example, during the imperial period as the only one and some other times like the *Derg* period with Marxist-Leninist perspective and under the guise of liberal education in the current political system.

5.1.2. Factors Determining Changes and Continuities of

Ethiopian History in History Curriculum of AAU

- (1) As the results of this research indicate, external and internal factors had determined changes of themes of Ethiopian History in the curriculum.

The most important external factor which played a dominant role for change of themes was;

- Change of governments. As indicated in Assie-Lumumba (2006), the fundamental assumption for changes of themes and perspectives with changes of governments may be the assumption that the existing curriculum is inadequate to advance or promote the new objectives of the new government. Particular to our context all changes of governments were not peaceful and the incoming powers usually use education and the curriculum as symbolic gesture to indicate their awareness and concern for social problems. In addition, the symbiotic relation between education and politics as indicated in Thomas (1983) was also a factor for change of themes in History curriculum with change of government given the fact that education was intended to be used as an instrument to legitimize an incumbent government.

The internal factors for diversification of themes other than political History in the curriculum through time to the level achieved by the Department include:

- The diversified specialization and increase number of Ethiopian staff members.
- The increasing use of oral sources to reconstruct the History of Ethiopia in the Department.

(2) The most important factors determined the continuity of nationalist perspective in Ethiopian History in the curriculum of the Department in different formats include:

- The curriculum setup of the Department to discuss across the whole range of Ethiopian History the idea of making of the modern state of Ethiopia is implied in this research.
- The scholarship of the dominant members of the Department as mainstream historians whose perspective of History is from the center or decision makers point of view.

The dominant position of political History throughout the History of History curriculum of the Department is related with the same internal factors which determined the perspectives.

Therefore, external factor *i.e.* change of governments and internal factors *i.e.* increasing in number and diversified specialization of staff members of the Department are some of the dominant factors for the change of themes and perspectives of Ethiopian History in the History curriculum of the Department. Continuities of themes and perspectives are determined by the curricular setup which continually discusses across the whole range of Ethiopian History about the making of modern state of Ethiopia with the assumption that “there was continuity between the modern Ethiopia and the Ethiopia kingdom which traced its past to Axum” Crummey (2001, 9) and by the scholarship of dominant members of the Department.

5.1.3. Historical Research and Ethiopian History in the History

Curriculum of AAU

Outcomes of this study revealed that bulk of researches were conducted on different aspects of Ethiopia. These include;

- a. The staff research, students research for different programs and Departmental seminars of the Department of History at Addis Ababa University. Temporally, spatially or interms of issues raised, the Department’s research can serve at least as the best sample for the nation.
- b. Research outcomes of some Oromo scholars.
- c. Research by expatriate historians on Ethiopia History.

The aforementioned research outcomes were able to challenge or corroborate the conventional view of Ethiopian historiography in the Department of History at Addis Ababa University. But Ethiopian History in the History curriculum of AAU fails to reflect the diverse historical research outcomes. In other words, Ethiopian History, in the History curriculum of AAU, is less rich interms of all sorts of diversities (gender, ethnic groups, geographic areas, perspectives and *etc.*) than the research outcomes warrant.

Therefore research outcomes are not effectively reflected in the curriculum.

5.1.4. Achievement of Social Inclusion through Curriculum Changes

As the findings of this research shows, the curriculum of the Department of History at AAU had experienced several changes. All the changes of the curriculum can be summarized into two levels:

- Changes with changes of governments were the major ones
- Curriculum changes within the age of the same government were usually minor adjustments and were changes of form but not of a substance.

Issues of Social History which see the world in terms of gender, ethnicity, class, *etc* as indicated in Osborne (2003) and Economic History came into the curriculum in some degree beginning from the *Derg* period. As the result;

- The geographic focus and the diversity of issues were expanded since the period of *Derg*.

Given the expectation of political systems from Ethiopian History in the curriculum during the imperial period's nationalist perspective and the *Derg's* Marxist-Nationalist combination of perspectives;

- It was really difficult to achieve social inclusion at that time through the curriculum.

In the current political system there is still clear gap regarding the issue of social inclusion though;

- a. diversities have achieved constitutional recognition
- b. there are plenty of research outcomes on Ethiopian diverse society and
- c. there are even rival interpretation towards History of Ethiopia which are already becoming an established realities.

However, there are no strong political, legal or resource problems on which the Department of History attributes the curriculum's level of social inclusion which is far behind the expected.

In this study, among the practical problem for social inclusion

- a. Resistance of main stream historians in the Department and

- b. Low level attempt of each Ethiopian History courses teacher to work towards social inclusion using all relevant research outcomes were mentioned as contributing factors.

The danger of such a failure is explained in such way that if the curriculum excludes or marginalizes some groups or discounts their ideas, it will make harder for the members of those groups to benefit from the education system (Carrie, 2000). Another implication of failure of social inclusion, according to Apple (1990) through curriculum decision which defines some groups' knowledge as worthwhile to be passed onto future generations while other groups' culture and History hardly see the light of the day says something crucial about who has power in the society. The researcher too argues that, Ethiopian History, in the History curriculum of the Department fails to be socially inclusive;

- Due to its continuities; the continued dominance of political History and the ever-present nationalist perspective throughout the age of the curriculum of the Department.

Political History which identified according to Osborne (2003) with nation state, and the nationalist perspective which promote single and uniform narrative of national identity are reinforcing each other and need to co-exist.

Therefore, it could be the attempt to make curriculum changes fit in with the continuities which was exposed Ethiopian History in the curriculum of the Department of History at AAU to be characterized by omission, misrecognition and discontinuities.

5.1.5. Challenges the Department of History Encountered during Curriculum Changes

The results of this study indicated that curriculum changes in the Department of History had been encountering multiple of challenges. To mention just a few:

- a. During the beginning years of the Department changes in Ethiopian History in the History curriculum of AAU was not substantial due to shortage of research outcomes on different aspects of Ethiopian History.
- b. While the time goes forwards, to the contrary, availability of research outcomes in large quantity is becoming a challenge for the curriculum change.

- c. Government's expectation from the curriculum so as to serve its ideology was also a challenge.
- d. Frequency of changes is also indicated as challenge during curriculum change of the Department.
- e. Interest of some groups of staff members who work for their best interest to be represented in the curriculum is another challenge during curriculum changes of the Department.

5.2. Implications

As the findings of this study imply and as discussed elsewhere in this research, politics and curriculum are highly interrelated. In the same vein, political interest towards History curriculum is stronger. Cognizant of this idea, History curriculum in Ethiopia had effectively served the ideological interest of the Imperial Regime and the *Derg*. Concerning changes and continuities of Ethiopian History in History curriculum, no value orientation changes were initiated by the Department itself except explicit change of perspective following the beginning and the end of the *Derg* Regime where the curriculum adapted to and avoided from it the Marxist perspectives respectively.

The aforementioned change itself was not a systemic challenge against continuities identified in the research. At any rate the Pre-EPRDF era was the period of strong convergence between the politics and curriculum. However, in the current curriculum as far as Ethiopian History courses are concerned the above fact is rarely reflected. The Post-*Derg* period Ethiopian History in the curriculum up until 2006 exhibits the character of divergence from the constitutional provision, international agreements towards relevance of higher education and government policies.

Hence, taking into account the current political climate, the quantity and diversity of research outcomes on Ethiopian History, and the level of dissatisfaction and disagreement on Ethiopian History in the curriculum, so as to make Ethiopian History socially inclusive;

- A national guide line for History curriculum based on all relevant legal and policy document need to be developed. Here the FDRE's constitution, and the NETP and cultural policy need to be considered.
- As all other issues of diversity for example language, Ethiopian History in the curriculum need to get practical attention from government and follow up of implementation through relevant institutions such as MoE and Universities. Of course, AAU as an institution admits its shortcomings to reach out the diversity (gender, ethnicity, language, *etc.*) of Ethiopia through its curriculum (AAU's Internal Self Assessment Report, 2008).

In order to develop a balanced curriculum and hence to achieve social inclusion;

- Scholars, who belong even for explicit polarity to historical interpretation, History educators, educationists and stakeholders from all walks of life, need to work in collaboration. Here, from all concerned, dropping debate that is strong on polemics and exhortation but short on evidence is wise.

Concerning a balanced curriculum which can be inclusive, what Granatstein (1999) cited in Osborne (2003) proposed for Canadian History can be adopted for our context so as to develop a curriculum in such a way that can allow teachers to follow a balanced approach. He proposed that:

Our schools need to teach the History of Canada and they need to teach more of it. Canadian History must not be used for indoctrination, but must be presented warts and all. Teachers should strive to show where we failed – our treatment of the aboriginal peoples for example-and where we succeeded - for example, the peaceful integration of millions of immigrants. They should teach social History and political History. They should teach about the regions and about Canada as a whole. In other words, they should be balanced (Granatstein, 1999 cited in Osborne, 2003; 612).

While developing such a curriculum, what should be included in the curriculum of History or what should be excluded from History curriculum need to consider three major sources of decision and strike a balance among them as indicated by Akker (2008).

- Knowledge; What is the academic and the cultural heritage that seems essential for learning and future development?
- Society; Which problems and issues seem relevant for inclusion from societal trends and issues?
- Learner; Which elements are of vital importance for learning from the personal and educational needs and interests of the learners themselves?

The vital input on hand to develop balanced curriculum so as to achieve social inclusion is:

- The vast research outcomes on different aspects of Ethiopian History. Unless major research findings are included and effectively utilized to upgrade the History curriculum and then widen horizon of knowledge on Ethiopian History, the existing doubts about its validity of representation of diversity remains continued.

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Appendix-A

Guiding Interview Questions for Historians at AAU and outside AAU, for Curriculum Educators at AAU, Curriculum Experts at MoE.

1. What are the dominant Themes and Perspective in the history Curriculum of the department of history at AAU from 1961- 2006?
 - a. Can you explain how some of the themes were able to be incorporated in Ethiopian history in the curriculum?
 - b. What was the intention of incorporating those themes in Ethiopian in the curriculum?
 - c. Can you tell different perspectives Ethiopian History experienced in the curriculum?
 - d. Was there any experience you have, regarding change of perspective towards a single issue at different times in Ethiopian History?
2. What factors were the most instrumental to effect change in Ethiopian History in the curriculum?
3. How was the Ethiopian history curriculum of AAU affected by changes of Governments since its establishment? The Imperial period, the Derg period, and the current government.
 - a. Was there a grand narrative which Ethiopian History was expected to serve during different governments?
 - b. How such expectation was affected historical research and then history curriculum?
4. Do you think that the outcomes of historical research are effectively reflected in Ethiopian history in the curriculum of the department of history?
5. Was the issue of social inclusion given due attention during curriculum changes in Ethiopian History?
 - If yes, then, how?
 - If not, then, what is your suggestion to develop a history curriculum for social inclusion?
6. What challenges have the department of history been encountering during those Curriculum changes and as the result of curriculum changes?

Appendix-B

Guiding Interview Questions for Fourth Year History Students

1. Thinking retrospectively all your Ethiopia and the Horn courses, can you say that the courses were inclusive of Ethiopian peoples, cultures and histories? In other words is the content of Ethiopian history courses deserve the title “ History of Ethiopia and the Horn”?
2. What were the dominant themes and perspectives in all Ethiopia and the horn courses?
 - What were the dominant themes (political, social, economic, military, intellectual, gender history and others) in the courses?
 - From what perspectives you learnt the above themes?
3. What do you suggest for the improvement of Ethiopian History in the curriculum and how?

Appendix-C

A Research Consent Agreement Form

Institution: Addis Ababa University

Researcher: Alebachew Kemisso

Topic: Change and continuity in History curriculum: an assessment of factors determined Themes and perspectives in Ethiopian History courses at AAU 1961-2006

Research participants: historians, History educators, curriculum educators, experts at MoE,
Thank you for agreeing to participate in the study which will take place from (Oct.2008) to (June 2009).
This form outlines the purposes of the study and provides a description of your involvement and rights as a participant.

The purposes of this project are:

- 1) Assessing the major themes and perspectives of Ethiopian history in the history curriculum of AAU.
- 2) Analyzing change and continuity of themes and perspectives of Ethiopian history in the history curriculum of AAU.
- 3) Outlining the major areas of historical research so far which focuses on Ethiopian past and explaining to what extent historical research studies are reflected in Ethiopian history courses of AAU.
- 4) Assessing whether curriculum changes in the department of history is achieving social inclusion or not.

Your voluntary cooperation is needed in the following major data gathering activities:

- i. At least two sessions of open ended interview each lasting approximately one hour
- ii. Reading and commenting on the transcribed version of your interview for better validity of the data.

I guarantee that the following conditions will be met:

1. Your real name will not be used at any point of information collection, or in the written analysis; instead, you will be given pseudonyms that will be used in all verbal and written records and reports.
2. If you grant permission for audio taping, no audio tapes will be used for any purpose other than to do this study, and will not be played for any reason other than the research ends. Thus your confidentiality will be well preserved at all times.
3. Your participation in this research is voluntary; you have the right to withdraw at any point of the study, for any reason, and without any prejudice.
4. You will receive a copy of the transcribed data before it is analyzed, so that you have the opportunity to comment if your professional life-world as expressed in your opinion, suggestion, and shared experiences are correctly cached and transcribed. And,
5. Other ethical issues are to be seriously considered throughout the research process.

Do you grant permission to be audio taped?

Yes _____ No _____

I agree to the terms:

Research participant _____ Date _____


I agree to the terms:

Researcher _____ Date _____

Declaration

This thesis is my original work and that all sources consulted for this work have been properly acknowledged.

Name Alebachew Kemiso


Signature 

Date July 14, 2009.

Approval

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my consent and approval as University advisor.

Name Dr. Desalegn Woldemariam

Signature 

Date July 14, 2009

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