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Promoting Harari and Oromo as the Working Languages of the Harari People National Regional State: Implementation Guideline

Volume 1, Issue 3

H.L.ACADAMY.

Chapter One: Introduction



The Harari People National Regional State, HPNRS, has formulated a new language policy which will deeply influence the use of languages in the Region. Under the new policy, the Harari and Oromo languages, (henceforth referred to as HO; or separately as H and O) will be the working languages of the Regional State. The decision is made anticipating the achievement of goals outlined below in sec-

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Inserting the Right of Secession in the FDRE Constitution as a Guarantee to Protect the Territorial Integrity of the Ethiopian State

By-T.H

Introduction and Historical Background:

From the reign of Emperor Haile Sellassie I (1930-1974) to the military dictatorship of the 'Derg', led by Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam (1974-1991), the major factor or

Special points of interest:

Part One: General Introduction
Part Two: Background Information-
Chapter Three: Analysis of the Sociolinguistic Survey Experience of Multilingual Nations and Implications of

the New Policy

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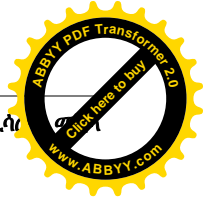
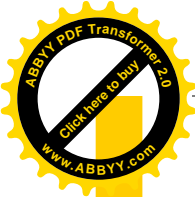
The Functional Allo- 2

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tion 1.2. Most of all, it is intended to ensure peoples’ ethnic identity through the use of the ethnic languages of the Region.

The new language policy is meant to promote HO as official working languages of the Regional State. Thus, the two languages are intended to replace Amharic which has been functioning as the working language of the Region. In other words, while the policy elevates the status and function of HO, it assumes lessening of the role and function of Amharic in the Region.



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Back ground.

1.1 Background

It can be said that Amharic, Oromo and Harari are the most widely spoken languages in the Region. The latter two are recognized as being regionally privi-

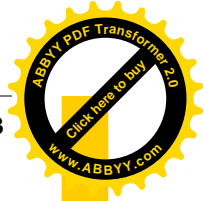
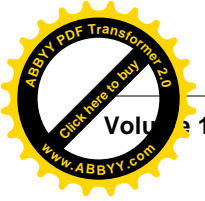
“To catch the reader’s attention, place an interesting sentence or quote from the story here.”

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leged ethnic languages; the former is natively spoken by an enormous portion of the population in the Region. Moreover, Amharic functions as a lingua-franca in the Region, akin to its function at the national level. It follows that these languages are used with varied status and role in the Region.



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Rights and Responsibilities of the holder of the Identification Card of Foreign Nationals of Ethiopian Origin

Th *He shall not be required to have an entry visa or residence permit to live in Ethiopia.*

He shall have the right to be employed in Ethiopia without work permit.

He shall have the right to be considered as domestic investor to invest in Ethiopia under investment Law.

Restrictions imposed on foreign

nationals regarding the utilization of Economic, Social, and Administrative Services shall not be applicable to foreign nationals of Ethiopian Origin holding the Identification Card.

Exception

Shall have no right to vote or be elected to any office at any level of government.

Shall have no right to be employed



on regular basis in the National Defence, Security, Foreign affairs and other similar political establishments.

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Identification Card Eligibility

-Aspouse offoreign national of

Ethiopian Origin who possesses foreign Nationality shall be entitled to apply of an Identification

Card specifying that he or she is the spouse of aperson holding the Identification Card of Foreign Nationals of Ethiopian Origin. This provision shall also apply to spouses possessing Eritrean nationality.

-The children of the holder of Identification Card Foreign Nationals of Ethiopian Origin who are under age of 18 may not be required to

Continued.

have a separate Identification Card.

Authority issuing the Identification Card

The Identification Card shall be issued by the Ministry Of Foreign Affairs when abroad and by the

Authority for Security, immigration and, Refugees when in Ethiopia.

Return of the Identification Card

Any person holding



identification Card of Ethiopian Origin may return such card at any time with out specifying the reason.

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ment;
- If the holder of identification Card is proved to have served
in the regular army or intelligence of of another country.
-If it is contrary to the public and national interest that the
person should continue to hold the Identification Card.
-If the holder of identification Card is a citizen of any country
at war with Ethiopia or is found willingly helping such coun-
try.

GIRMA WOLDEGIOURGIS
PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
OF ETHIOPIA

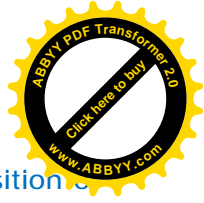
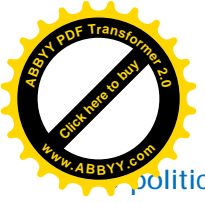
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Conditions for the Cancellation of the identification Card

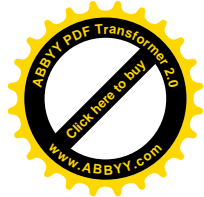
- If Identification Card was obtained by means of fraud, false representation, or cancellation of any material fact, or
- If the holder of identification Card has been convicted for crime of terrorism or smuggling of narcotics or arma-



political situation has resulted in developing legislative action over the existing linguistic composition of the population such as multilingual education, aimed at ensuring that the peoples have equal access to participate in government and society. Another proclamation is the language policy amendment aimed at restricting the government's working language to both Harari and Oromo languages, on fully equal footing.

As the decision was politically motivated, the viability of the anticipated goals are meant to justify the use of HO officially for the civil service. Despite the decision, however, its implementation has not yet been put into effect officially yet. As mentioned above, to date, the working language of the Region has been Amharic. This major function as official language, therefore, has been carried out by Amharic, a key choice, obviously taken in face of obstacles. These were mainly linguistic, socio-cultural and political. These problems constituted major barriers which delayed implementation of the new policy, whose formulation dates back to 1992. The Region has been taking steps, part of it being the present study, which include detailed descriptions and interpretations of the policy and its regulations, along with planning strategies for viable application and course of actions.

It is obvious that a planning agent, who decided and specified the working languages of the Region to be HO, primarily has to be concerned with the adequacy of both languages and with making the languages suitable for the new function allocated under the new policy, if needed. Though the study, as stated in the Terms of Reference, is limited to aspects of implementation, the concern mainly involves status planning, which is also called language determination, and corpus planning, called also language development. Roughly, the former deals with selection of languages for a particular official use and allocation of functions; and the latter refers to standardization (development of orthography, terminologies for use in professional areas, dictionaries etc.) of the selected languages. The HO languages have already been allocated official functions and used in public school systems and mass media in the Region. In this regard, language planning work by HPNRS can be considered to have accomplished most of the tasks in various stages of the activity. Hence, what is left now is to work towards the implementation of HO in government offices in the Region. The objective of the present stage of planning can therefore be interpreted as improving the status and role of the two languages for use in governmental administration. The status planning aimed at making HO working languages of the Region requires devising practical ways in which it can be implemented. (The Region has, therefore, contracted a consultant to devise practical ways in which HO can be implemented as working languages in the



government offices of the Region, hence this study.)

1.2 Objective and Scope of the Assignment

This study does not examine the procedures and processes undertaken by HPNRS to make the language(s) selection, involving both practical measures and theoretical considerations that led to the new policy. It does neither take into account the symbolic value of the languages, and language attitudes towards making HO the working languages of HPNRS, nor does it the acceptance of the new policy in the context of the Region so as to suggest a revision or a change of the policy. The study, as stated in the Terms of Reference of this project, is concerned with the implementation of the decision to promote HO languages to the new task they are now assigned for. This deals exclusively with the instrumental role of HO languages in light of the new status and official use. However, we have considered the above points in order to make the language policy practical, as implementation requires the consideration of these and other practical issues. Hence, the study although does not deal with status planning, it deals with the other aspect of language planning, i.e. corpus planning, as it is one and integral part of the implementation of the new language policy. In fact it deals also with status planning in regard to the assigned HO's functional allocation as working languages so as to determine the specific details of functional allocations in the Region's offices.

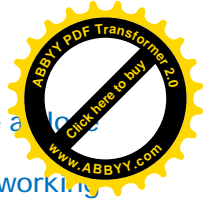
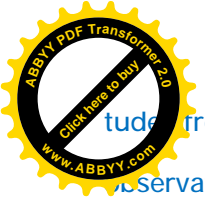
In conformity with the agreement held between the Harari Language Academy and the Consultant, this study is a guideline for implementing the policy. It assists with practical considerations of language planning which should be consulted to facilitate the process of implementation, particularly in the face of the situation in the Harari People National Regional State.

1.3 Methods, Approaches and Design of the Project

1.3.1 Approaches

As mentioned above, this study is an account of guidance for the implementation of the new policy. Hence, it was of great concern to this study to assess the way Amharic, the present working language of HPNRS, has been serving this official purpose. This has helped the researchers to better see the various aspects of the social, economic, political and linguistic potential changes and challenges that may result from implementing the new language policy.

With respect to the new language policy as well, the researchers have conducted random assessment of atti-



study from a number of government employees and the public towards the new policy, and also made a
Observation of the socio-political situation in the Region. The study has also assessed the present working
system and trends in the Region, which include requirements for government employment knowledge of lan-
guages and ethnic compositions of employees in governmental offices, and language use among the work-
ers. Moreover, the study takes into consideration the experience of other multilingual countries which use
two or more languages officially. The information obtained from such assessments has been relevant and in-
dicative of other implications of the new policy. Accordingly, it has served as an input, among other things,
to recommend the practical considerations that need to be addressed in implementing the policy.

1.3.2 Design of the Project

Promoting a certain language (or languages) to an official or working language status requires many activities
and decision which can be done mostly step-by-step. Having a policy can be considered as a first step where
the implementation is a final step. In between these two there are many issues which must be considered
from the technical and practical sides as well as from consequences that may result in implementing the pol-
icy in question with regard to social relations between the communities.

Preparing the implementation guideline is a straightforward matter from the technical point of view. It can
be done outlining how the new assigned working language or languages can be used in government and
public offices and other official service giving sectors. Implementation requires among others, practical con-
siderations, which have to do with the adequacy of the languages in question and the practical knowledge
and skills of the people who are going to apply these languages into effect. Furthermore, since a new lan-
guage policy in a multilingual society has an impact on social, cultural, political, and to some extent eco-
nomic relations of the societies, before implementing public awareness should be created among all lan-
guage speakers because some may feel that they will be disadvantaged. Hence, consensus with the would-be
disadvantaged community should be reached. This is crucial and mandatory, especially if the would be disad-
vantaged community comprises a significant portion of the society. This can easily be done by assessing the
attitude of the community in question towards the new language policy and, then, based on the findings, ex-
plaining the need for having the policy and the advantages can be made.

There are a number of countries which fail to implement new language policies mostly due to lack of proper
consideration of the above discussed factors. Hence, this work is designed to accommodate the above dis-



success factors, for the effective implementation of HO in the Region.

1.3.3 Methodology

As mentioned above, for effective implementation of the new language policy, preparing an implementation guideline alone is not enough. Hence, in this work we are not only presenting the implementation guideline but also other practical issues that facilitate the implementation of the policy.

Addressing such issues requires data from various sources which can be obtained by applying different methods. In this regard, we have employed questionnaire, interviews and made extensive discussions with lots of people from the Region comprising intellectuals and ordinary people, government workers (officials and non-officials) and private workers, students and other segments of the society from the Amharic, Oromo and Harari speakers. The interview is made by three groups, each having two members, where one in each group is working as an assistant.

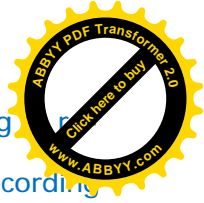
Extensive literature review has also been made that takes into consideration the experience of other multilingual nations and the regions of our country, including HPNRS, the present concern. Besides, various professionals have been consulted. This is in addition to the sub-contracted individuals who are directly involved in the project. We discuss the team composition who undertook the task of this project in the following section.

1.3.4 Team Composition and the Role of the Members

As the project is a very sensitive one and needs careful professional handling, the consultant sub-contracted five professionals and worked with others with various capacities and levels.

Among the five sub-contracted consultants, two are MA candidates who do their study in the Department of Linguistics of the Addis Ababa University, one a PhD holder, historian and literature expert by profession and with extensive experience in research and teaching in various universities of the world, one associate professor in the field of linguistics with a good number of publications and teaching experience in socio-linguistics, and one lecturer in the field of socio-linguistics with a good knowledge of the Harari Region.

The PhD holder and the associate professor were involved throughout the project in various capacities. The



Lecturer was engaged in the process of writing up the first draft. The two MA candidates were working as research assistants. Their role was to administer the questionnaire and assist the four researchers in recording and later transcribing the interviews.

Besides, two PhD holders in general linguistics with a wealth of experience in teaching and research and one lawyer, mediator (MA) and social scientist by profession, have been involved in this project as advisor and editor. The latter has a wealth of experience in peace and conflict resolution, international law and worked among others as Counselor with the German Foreign Office and as a Senior Official with one of the UN-agencies (ILO).

1.4 Organization of the Document

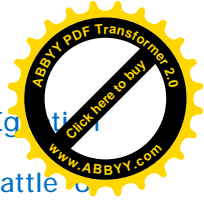
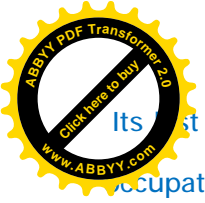
This document has seven chapters and an appendix. The first chapter is this introductory part which has four major sections. Chapter two deals with the new language policy and discusses some major facts about the Harari People National Regional State and its ethnic compositions. Chapter 3 is data analysis obtained from the questionnaire and interview. Chapter 4 discusses the implications of the policy to HO and non-Ho speakers and in general the working condition of the Region with theoretical consideration and the experience of other countries. Chapter 5 presents the technical implementation of HO. Chapter 6 presents in detail the practical considerations required for the implementation of HO. Chapter seven is a conclusion.

Chapter Two: The Facts about the Harari People National Regional State and the New Language Policy

2.1 The Harari People National Regional State

2.1.1 Short History

Historically, Harar has been a city-state, in the classical and literal sense of the word, for almost a thousand years. Its historians consider Emir Haboba Miladia (969-1000) to have been the first Emir or ruler of Harar. The city of Harar has been a walled and fortified city since the middle of the 16th century. It is popularly known that Emir Nur Bin Mujahid (1551-1568) built the city's fortified walls of 4.5 meters high, with its five gates. The historic and walled character of Harar has won it a "World Heritage Site" honor.



Its last and seventy-second ruler was Emir Abdulahi (1884-1886) who succeeded the decade-long Egafra occupation of Harar (1875-1885). The Emir Abdullahi fought against Menelik's forces in the Battle of Chelenqo some forty to fifty kilometers west of Harar. The Emir lost. The city of Harar as well as the very large province of Hararge came to be ruled by Ras Makonen, Menelik's cousin, and Emperor Haile Selassie's father. Since the present government came to power, Harar is considered as a regional state comprising the city of Harar, and the surrounding woreda of Hundane. The former is Harari-speaking and urban, and the latter is Oromo-speaking and rural.

2.1.2 The Present Regional State

As mentioned above, Harari is one of the regional states of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. On establishment, the Region covered the city of Harar and the immediate surroundings. Upon a bilateral political agreement between Harari and Oromia Regional States, the former incorporated the tangential locality, called 'Hundene' woreda,— a zone inhabited by Oromo speakers. This has sociological and political implications as we shall see later on. Politically, it has transformed the composition of the Regional Council. The Regional Council is formed in such away that the Harari and Oromo peoples share the seats of the Council equally. The Regional State has been established by the Harari people, who are politically empowered and federally legitimized by the Constitution to administer the Region.

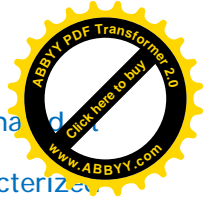
The Harari People National Regional State has been exercising full authority (granted by the Federal Constitution) such as making political decisions and planning strategies on local matters and affairs pertaining to the Region, i.e. education, health, legal system, language use (being the main concern here), etc.

One of the rights given to regional states is the determination of the role and use of languages at regional level. Article 39/2 of the Federal Constitution reads:

Every Nation, Nationality and People in Ethiopia has the right to speak, to write and to develop its own language; to express, to develop and to promote its culture; and to preserve its history.

2.1.3 The People and the Languages

Linguistically, Harar is a multilingual region. The languages predominantly spoken in the area are Harari, Oromo and Amharic. Moreover, varieties of Gurage and other languages are used. The population of the Re-



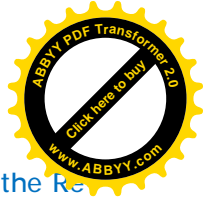
gion for the year 2005 is estimated at 190,000 (CSA 1998 E.C.) where the urban population is estimated at 128,000 and the rural 72,000. In the face of such ethnic and linguistic diversity, the Region is characterized by sociological and political complexities. Thus, this necessitates legislative actions of the Regional State to consider the linguistic, sociological and political setting to ensure healthy and stable inter-ethnic relations.

The Harari natively speak a Semitic language, closely related to the Eastern Ethio-Semitic languages such as Wolane, Silte and Zay (cf. Demeke 2001, Hetzron 1972 among others). The inhabitants of Hundane speak Oromo as a mother tongue. Nevertheless, both are basically at least bilingual, and often trilingual, Amharic being the third language. The Harari are mainly engaged in business administration, and other professions. The Oromo of Hundane are mainly agriculturalists. Both groups are Muslim and there is intermarriage between them.

The Amhara community, or to be appropriate the Amharic speaking community, is one of the major communities of the Region where the majority of them are Christians. The Region is also inhabited by the ethnic group called Argobba, who are considered as natives (or one of the early settlers in the Region). The Argobba, however, do not speak their language any more. They inhabit the surrounding rural area of Harar in a place such as Koremi. At present, the Argobba speak Oromo. However, the women also speak Harari as their mother tongue, being bilingual with Oromo. Intermarriage between the Harari, Oromo and Argobba is common. Although, we do not have the actual figure, according to most of our informants, intermarriage between the Argobba and Harari is higher than that between Harari and Oromo. There is also high intermarriage between Oromo and Argobba. As all these three ethnic groups are Muslim, they have strong social ties. Indeed, the social relations among all the ethnic groups of the Region are good with peaceful co-existence, as the saying goes ጸገር ምህላው ምህላው ምህላው” ‘Let (He) give us the sort of mutual love that prevails among the people of Harar’.

2.2 The New Language Policy

Given the multi indigenous ethnic composition of the Harari People National Regional State, and the provision of the Constitution for the rights of the peoples to be administered through their own languages, the Regional State has adopted a new language policy to use Harari and Oromo as the working languages of the Region. That, of course, does not exclude the use of Amharic for communication with Federal authorities. Nor does it annul the fact that Harari is the “national” language of the State.



The Harari People National Regional State has made a decision that defines its working language in the Region. This decision involves a shift and promotion of both language and status, from Amharic to Harari and Oromo languages. It is known that until now the official working language of the Region has been Amharic, both for intra-region and inter-region communications. In addition, Amharic is used as medium of instruction in many schools in the Region. Harari, besides its symbolic function as the “national” language of the Region, has been officially used in the Region’s media and as medium of instruction at elementary level. Similarly, Oromo has also had an official role in education, especially as medium of instruction.

In light of the distribution of roles of the languages outlined above, the new policy, on the one hand, elevates the roles and status of H and O, while, on the other hand, it restricts the role of Amharic in the Region.

Harari is probably the first regional state to assign the role of “government working language” equally to two languages. This, to some extent, can be indicative of the linguistic, sociological and political intricacies of the Region. The decision is not only political but also ‘special’. The decision that H and O equally be the working languages was made by the House of Peoples Representative in its 104th meeting. The same source states that the decision was made to attain the following political, social and economic goals:

- to ensure the basic political rights of peoples;
- to strengthen the social and cultural bonds of peoples; and
- to ensure a common social and economic development of peoples.

As the decision was politically motivated, the viability of the anticipated goals are meant to justify the use of HO officially in civil services. Despite the decision, however, its implementation has not yet been put officially into effect. The Region has been taking steps. As mentioned in section 1.1, part of the steps taken by the Region is the present study, which includes detailed descriptions and interpretations of the policy and its regulations, along with planning strategies for viable application and course of actions.



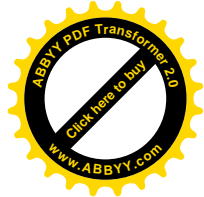
Chapter Three: Analysis and Interpretation of the Sociolinguistic Survey

3.1 Analysis and Interpretation of the Questionnaire

This analysis and interpretation is based on the sociolinguistic questionnaire distributed for the government workers in the Harari People National Regional State. The questionnaire was administered to 170 interviewees, 97 women and 73 men of different age groups, ranging from 18 to 57. Their educational background varied from 6th grade to Masters degree. This survey is conducted to assess the general language situation among the government workers and the attitude they may have towards the new language policy. Some of the answers given by the respondents could be politically motivated and the different answers are also subject to a variety of interpretations.

The questionnaire has two major sections, which is attached in this work as an appendix for ease of reference. The first section is titled "Önl% O[" literally means "General Information" which requests mostly background information. The second section is called "1u u ÖnmT" meaning "Language Use". However, not all of the questions presented in this section, i.e. section 2 of the questionnaire are focused only on language use. There are some questions that are designed to get information on the attitude of the respondents towards the new language policy and their reading and writing skills in HO. The division of the questions (in the questionnaire) in two sections under the titles of "General information" and "Language Use" is also a technical matter although not fully practical.

Based on the contents of the questions, the analysis and interpretation of the questionnaire in this section are presented into four sub-sections, which are sub-titled as Background of the Respondents, Language Ability/Skills, Language Use, and Attitudes towards the New Language Policy. We discuss each topic sections



3.1.1 Background of the Respondents

Among the 170 respondents of the questionnaire one of them did not indicate her educational background. Hence, the figure in Table II indicates only for 169 respondents. We consider first the age level of the respondents in Table I.

Table I: Age level of the respondents

Age group	18- 25	26 - 32	33-39	40-46	47-53	Above 54	Total
Number of respondents	45	52	35	29	7	2	170
Percentage	26.47	30.56	20.59	17.06	4.12	1.18	100

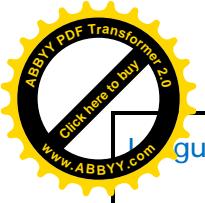
More than 57% of the respondents are aged between 18 and 32. Less than 6% of the respondents are aged above 47 and the remaining 37.65% of the respondents are between 33-46 years of age.

Table II: Educational background of the respondents

Level of Education	6 - 9	10+	10 +3	12 + 0	12 + 2	B.A Degree	MA/M SC Degree	To- tal
Number of respondents	5	7	17	54	65	20	1	169
Percentage	2.96	4.14	10.06	31.95	38.46	11.83	0.59	100

The majority of the respondents are diploma graduates, i.e. 12+2, (38.46%) and 12 complete (31.95%). Those who have a first degree amounts 11.83%, which is the third highest number. Only one of the respondents has a second degree.

Table III: Mother tongue languages of the respondents



Language	Harari	Oromo	Amharic	Oromo & Amharic	Harari, Oromo & Amharic	Other Languages	Total
Number of respondents	90	12	63	2	1	2	170
Percentage	52.94	7.06	37.05	1.18	0.59	1.18	100

Table III shows that more than 52% and 37% of the respondents speak Harari and Amharic respectively as their mother tongue. We examine the language ability of the respondents in detail in the following section.

3.1.2 Language Ability

As we saw in Table III above, two of our respondents claim that they speak Oromo and Amharic and one claim that she speaks the three languages of the Region equally as a mother tongue. The former two do not speak Harari at all. Excluding these three respondents the figure of second language speakers is as illustrated in the following table.

Table IV: Languages spoken as a second language (Harari, Oromo and Amharic)

Language	Harari	Oromo	Amharic	Harari & Oromo	Oromo & Amharic	Harari & Amharic	None	Total
Number of respondents	4	20	14	19	83	7	20	167
Percentage	2.40	11.98	8.38	11.38	49.70	4.19	11.98	100

Among the workers, the uses of Oromo and Amharic as second languages are dominant. More than 50% of them speak both languages.

As Amharic is serving as a working language in the Region and all our respondents are civil servants, as expected, all non-native Amharic speakers speak this language. The total figure of respondents who speak Oromo as a second language is 72.95%. The number of workers who speak Harari as a second language are



31 in number, which amounts 18.24% of the total figure. The number of respondents who speak both Harari and Oromo as a second language is less than 5%. This percentage and, indeed, all the percentages illustrated in this table, i.e. Table IV, do not give us the picture of the respondents who speaks say language X as a second language vis-à-vis who do not among the non-natives of X. Hence, we shall consider this issue further.

As we can see in Table III the Harari native speakers are 91 in number out of the total of 170 respondents. This means that only 79 are not native speakers of Harari. Among these 79 (100%) respondents, 30 (39.24%) speaks Harari as a second language whereas the remaining 49 (60.76%) which amounts 28.82% of the total 170 respondents, do not have a knowledge of this language. The total number of respondents that speak Harari as a first and second language is, therefore, 121 in number which is 71.180% out of the total 170 (100%) respondents.

Oromo native speakers amount only 15 (8.82%) out of the total 170 respondents. However, out of the remaining non-native 155 (91.18%) Oromo speakers, 125 (73.53%) of them speak this language as a second language. This means that out of the total 170 respondents 140 (82.35%) of them speak Oromo either as a mother tongue or as a second language whereas the remaining 30 (17.65%) do not.

The above analysis shows that, although the differences between those who do not speak Harari (28.82%) and those who do not speak Oromo (17.65%) are not much, i.e. around 11%, more classes and teachers are needed to teach Harari than that of Oromo. This is especially true to teach Harari at a basic communication level in the literacy classes discussed in chapter 6 of this document. However, when it comes to teaching HOs' reading and writing skills, it is Oromo that needs to have large classes than that of Harari as we discussed below.

With regard to the ability of writing and reading in HO, there is some difference with the above figures. Consider first the respondents answer with regard to Harari writing and reading skills.

Table V: Writing and reading skills in Harari Orthography (Harai Harfi)



Response	Number of respondents.	Percentage
Yes, I can	86	50.59
I know a little bit	38	22.35
No, I can't	46	27.06
Total	170	100

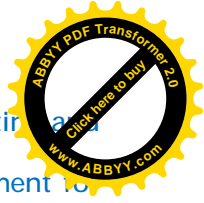
As pointed out above, among the 170 respondents, 91 speak Harari as a mother tongue. However, the number of workers who could read and write in Harari orthography (Harari Harfi) are 86 (around 50%). This means that 5 out of the 91 Harari native speakers do not have a good knowledge in Harari Harfi writing and reading skills. On the other hand, respondents who claimed to have little aptitude in reading and writing in Harari orthography are 38 (22%). The rest of the respondents, i.e. 46 (27%), do not have any skill either in reading or writing of Harari Harfi. This means that around 50% of the workers need to attend Harari language classes. Let us now turn to Oromo reading and writing skills.

Table VI: Writing and reading in Oromo using the Latin alphabet (Qube)

Response	Number of respondents.	Percentage
Yes	45	26.47
Little	53	31.18
No	72	42.35
Total	170	100

The data gathered from the respondents indicate that more than 73% of the workers have little or no proficiency in reading and writing in Qube. Only around 27 % of the workers claim to have aptitude in writing and reading in Qube. This means that although 140 out of our 170 respondents speak Oromo, when it comes to reading and writing in Qube most of them lack these skills. This, in turn, means that there is a need to have more classes for teaching the reading and writing skills in Qube than that is needed for Harari, as 73% of the respondents need to attend such classes in Oromo, compared to 49% that need to attend Harari.

Two levels of language classes could be arranged for those workers who have different levels of proficiency;



one for those who speak the languages in question but do not have (or have a little) knowledge in writing and reading skills and one for those who do not speak the languages at all. See chapter 6 of this document for the various levels of classes needed to teach HO.

3.1.3 Language Use

To get clear picture with regard to language uses of the civil servants, we have asked our informants what language or languages that they use within their family with their friends, at market and working places. We discuss our findings for each question turn by turn.

Table VII: Respondents language use within the family

Language	Harari	Oromo	Amharic	Harari & Oro	Harari & Amharic	Oromo & Amharic	Harari, Oromo & Am-	Other Languages	Total
Number of respondents	85	5	61	4	4	8	2	1	170
Percentage	50	2.94	35.88	2.35	2.35	4.71	1.18	0.59	100

The patterns of language use of the government workers, i.e. our respondents with their family members (with wife/husband, children and other siblings) indicate that 50% and around 36% of the respondents communicate in Harari (only) and Amharic (only) respectively. Only a very few (less than 5%) respondents use Oromo alone to communicate with their family members. Around 12% do not use one language alone to communicate with their family

Table VIII: Respondents language use with friends mostly



Language	Harari	Oromo	Amharic	Harari & Oromo	Harari & Amharic	Oromo & Amharic	Harari, Oromo & Amharic	Total
Number of respondents	63	2	64	3	23	7	8	170
Percentage	37.06	1.18	37.65	1.76	13.53	4.12	4.70	100

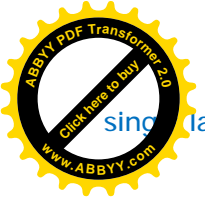
37.06% of our respondents use Harari with their friends. Almost the same figure, i.e. 37.65%, uses Amharic. Those who use both Harari and Amharic with their friends comprises also a good number, i.e. 13.53%. Those who use Oromo, HO, Oromo and Amharic or all the three languages are not much. All amounts about 12% only. As it is often the case to have friends from ones own language community, especially in the case where the person in question lives in his/her home land.

The above figure cannot be considered as surprising because 156 (91.76%), including the three “bilinguals” who speaks equally either two or three languages as mother tongues, of the respondents speak either Harari or Amharic (in one of the respondents case both languages) as their mother tongue.

Table IX: Language used at market places mostly

Language	Harari	Oromo	Amharic	Harari & Oromo	Harari & Amharic	Oromo & Amharic	Harari, Oromo & Amharic	Total
Number of respondents	16	5	72	5	14	22	36	170
Percentage	9.41	2.94	42.35	2.94	8.24	12.94	21.18	100

Although Amharic is a single dominant language (42.35%) used at market places, the use of more than one language at such places, as expected from the multilingual nature of the Region, is greater than that of any



single language, which is around (46%).

Table X: Language used at working place mostly

Language	Harari	Oromo	Amharic	Harari & Oromo	Harari & Amharic	Oromo & Amharic	Harari, Oromo & Amharic	Total
Number of respondents	14	1	87	2	39	10	17	170
percentage	8.24	0.59	51.18	1.18	22.94	5.88	10	100

The dominant single language used at working place is Amharic which amounts around (89%). This could be attributed to the fact that Amharic has been the working language and a lingua franca in the Region for a very long period of time. The usage of Harari and Oromo along with Amharic at working place is encouraging as around 49% uses these languages.

3.1.4 Attitude

In the questionnaire, there are five questions, i.e. items number 8,9,10, 11 and 12 that have to do with attitude. Items 8, 10 and 11 are closed questions whereas items number 9 and 12 are open. These two open questions are requesting the respondents explain their reasons for the reply, i.e. choice, that they gave to the immediate preceding questions, i.e. to item number 8 and number 11 respectively. The closed item number 8 and the open item number 9 request the informants whether they support the new language policy. Item number 10 is about the respondents' willingness to learn HO, if they do not know either of them, of course. The questions presented in items number 11 and 12 are designed mostly to cross check the respondents reply to items 8 and 9 so as to get the right picture of their attitude towards the new language policy. We discuss first items 8 and 9, i.e. respondents' general attitude towards the new language policy, in section



3.1.4.1. In section 3.1.4.2 we discuss item number 9 of the questionnaire that deals with the respondent's attitude towards learning HO. Finally in section 3.1.4.3 we discuss the respondent's reply to items number 10 and 12 of the questionnaire.

3.1.4.1 Attitude of the Respondents towards the New Language Policy

As mentioned above in the questionnaire, we have asked the informants in items 8 and 9 whether they support the new language policy. The respondents reply to this question is discussed in the following two sub-sections.

3.1.4.1.1 Item number 8

The respondents reply to the closed question that requests the respondents to rate their attitude towards the new language policy is illustrated in the following table.

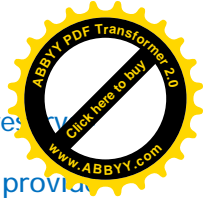
Table XI: Attitudes towards the new language policy

Response	Number of respondents	Percentage
I Support very much	74	43.53
I support	65	38.24
I Never support	10	5.88
I do not support	21	12.35
Total	170	100

As we can see in Table XII, more than 82% of the respondents support the new language policy and 18% of them do not support this new language policy of the Region that plans to use HO in government offices. In the questionnaire item number 9, as pointed out above we have put a blank space to set the respondents' reason why they support or do not support the new language policy. As the reasons of the respondents are crucial to have a smooth implementation of HO, we consider their reply in detail in the following section.

3.1.4.1.2 Reasons for supporting or not supporting the policy

When we examine the reasons why they say they are supporting or not supporting the policy", not all of the reply in item 9 correspond to their answer in item 8. Some who claim they support the policy in item 8 when



they provide their explanation in item 9, they claim that they do not support the policy or have some reservations on it. In the same way those who claim in item 8 that they do not support the policy, when they provide their explanation in item 9 we find some of them as supporting the policy. We discuss each case below.

3.1.4.1.2.1 Summary of the Data

Summary of the respondents who claim they support the policy (in question 8 of the questionnaire) and gave a matching explanation for their support in question 9 of the questionnaire is as follows.

- the policy helps to develop the languages in question
- HO are the recognized HPNRS's languages
- Using HO is the right given by the Constitution
- It helps developing a good working atmosphere

Summary of the respondents who gave positive reply as supporting the policy for question 8 but provide negative or reserved explanation in question 9 (of the questionnaire) are as follows:

- It would be better to use one of them
- It is only Oromo that must be used as a working language
- It may affect the work
- It does not bring peace and democracy in the Region
- The Region did not make any effort to teach HO

The above reasons are also given by those respondents who made clear in their reply to question 8 first, that they do not support the policy as we can see below.

- it may bring instability and conflict
- using two languages may create problems in work
- most of the workers only know Amharic
- most of the people in the Region speak only Amharic and thus HO do not serve the Region's people equally



The Region is Harari, hence, only Harari shall be used

it is the right to use only Oromo as it is the majority language of the Region

because no education in HO is available for workers who do not speak these languages.

Among the respondents who gave no-support reply to question 8, some of them claim in their explanations to question 9, on the contrary that they support the policy. Their reason is that using HO is the right given by the Constitution to the people of the Region. Hence, as long as the Region arranges for them classes to learn the languages in question, i.e. HO, they support the policy.

3.1.4.1.2.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Data

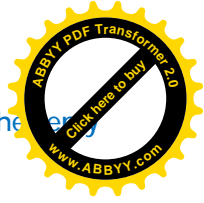
As we saw above, the reasons of the respondents who do not support the policy are not the same. Some claim that using two languages may create problems at work while the reasons for the others are rather political. That is, some claim that only Harari must be promoted as a working language in the Region whereas the others claim that Oromo alone shall be used as a working language. The latter referring to the higher number of Oromo compared to Harari speakers.

The fear that using two languages might create problems at work can be solved with an appropriate design of HO's implementation. However, there is a need from the Region's side to further sensitise and educate people who oppose the policy on the ground that either H or O should be the only new working language to be promoted,

On the other hand, most of the respondents's reasons for not supporting the policy have to do with the lack of working knowledge in HO. As we will see in a moment 97% of the respondents are willing to learn HO. Hence, in this regard the attitude of most of the respondents, in general, can be considered as good and it is encouraging to go a head with the implementation of the policy.

3.1.4.2 Attitudes towards Learning HO

Item 10 of the questionnaire reads as follows: "the Harari People National Regional State has decided to use Harari and Oromo as official working languages in the Region. If you do not know the Harari and/or Oromo



languages, are you willing to attend the language classes to be offered to government employees?" The responses to this question is as illustrated in the following table.

Table XII: Response to item number 10

Response	Number of respondents	Percentage
Yes, I will	165	97.06
No, I will not	5	2.94
Total	170	100

It is very encouraging to observe that more 97% of the workers are willing to attend the language classes, if they do not know one or two of the languages proposed to be used in the government offices.

3.1.4.3 Response for Items Number 11 and 12

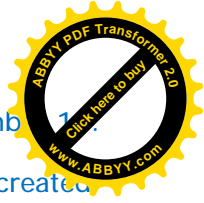
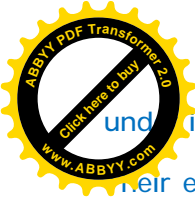
In item number 10 of the questionnaire, we have asked the following question with two alternative choices: "Does Amharic, the language which is being used as a working language at present, create a problem in the activities of your offices?" The responses to this question are summarized in Table XIV below.

Table XII: Respondents reply to item number 11

Response	Number of respondents	Percentage
Yes, it has	48	28.24
No, it has not	122	71.76
Total	170	100

The responses given by the workers regarding to the role Amharic is playing in their day to day office activities show their positive attitude towards the language. Out of the total of 170 respondents, 122 (more than 71%) of them have responded positively and witnessed that no problem has been caused by using Amharic in their offices. 48 (around 29%) of the workers, however, claimed that Amharic has created a problem while it is being used in the offices.

When we consider the reasons given by those respondents who claimed that Amharic has created a problem



Under item number 12 of the questionnaire almost all of them contradict their response to item number 11. Their explanations have to do with their attitude rather than practical problems that Amharic has created. They claim that, although Amharic has not created any problem at work, it is the right of the people to use HO as a working language in the Region. This means that even if Amharic does not create any practical problem at work, the Region has to consider the attitude of this kind of civil servants in order to promote HO as working languages smoothly without facing major challenges and obstacles.

3.2 Analysis and Interpretation of the Responses of Interviewees

This section deals on the analysis and interpretation of the responses given by the civil servants and officials of the Region. The interviews are made for two consecutive days by three groups, each comprising two members; one was working as an interviewer and one as an assistant. The groups have interviewed totally 25 civil servants from all the government offices. In our sample selection we have considered high ranking officials as well as clerks from each office of the Region.

The interviews were conducted based on pre-prepared leading questions. These leading questions are designed to obtain general information on the attitude of the civil servants towards the new language policy, the language situation of the Region, how the new policy should be implemented, their concerns towards the effects the policy might bring and some other practical considerations. We have also considered a question which asked the interviewees why the implementation of the new policy has been delayed. We raised this question especially for the officials who know about previous efforts made by the Region to implement the policy. We are going to discuss our findings of the interviews in the following sub-sections.

3.2.1 Language(s) Situation: Multilingualism

Although we have good understanding on the multilingual situation of the Region, we asked our interviewees to give us their opinion about this point. According to the interviewees the languages spoken in the Region include Harari, Oromo, Amharic, a variety of Gurage languages and/or dialects, Argobba and Somali. The Amharic and Oromo languages are spoken by a large number of the population compared to the other languages. According to them, almost all of the Harari people speak Amharic and most of them also speak Oromo. However, the Oromo who speak Harari are few. The Harari and Oromo usually communicate either in



Oromo or Amharic. They further state that Amharic is spoken as a second language by a large number of Oromo population as well.

To the best of our knowledge Argobba is ceased to be spoken around the beginning of this century. The Argobba community found in this Region at present speaks Oromo and Harari; where the latter is mostly spoken by women. The usage of Somali and the varieties of Gurage is not common. These languages are mostly used by newcomers as the residents in the Region who belong to these languages speaking communities are few in number.

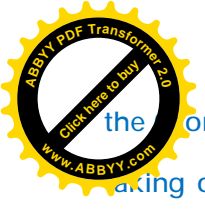
3.2.2 Attitude towards the New Language Policy

3.2.2.1 Positive Attitude

Most of the interviewees have asserted that the policy allows the people to implement the Harari and Oromo peoples' right given by the constitution of the Federal Government of Ethiopia to use and promote their language(s) and as a result develop their culture too. These interviewees stress that there is large number of Oromo speakers in the Region and the Oromo language is also spoken widely among the Harari people. On the other hand, Harari is the constitutionally recognized national language of the Region. Hence, promoting HO as working languages of the Region is appropriate and has also a number of advantages. Among the advantages mentioned by some of the interviewees are the following: The use of HO could solve communication problems, especially in the legal field and in court and also promotes the feeling of belongingness towards the languages and the Region.

3.2.2.2 Concerns and Worries

Although, it seems that there is a general consensus among the interviewees concerning the importance of the new language policy to use HO as working languages, there are also comments made by some of the interviewees that conflict with this general agreement. In a small Region like Harari with limited resources, the use of two languages in each letter to be written, advertisement, proclamation etc. seems to be uneconomical and a waste of time. The decision to use HO as official languages is perceived as of more political nature. It did not take into consideration the socioeconomic problems and objective situations of the Region. Implementing the policy may have negative repercussion by creating problems to carry out office activities efficiently – or at all. The other possible impact and worries spelled out concerning the use of HO include that



the Oromos are very large in population size compared to the Harari and that they may overwhelm the Harari people, taking over the political power and every job in the Region. Respondents who have such kind of worries prefer and suggest that the Harari language should be the sole official language of the Region and they argue that such kind of decision would not affect the development of the Oromo language as such, since the language is being used effectively and adequately in the Oromoiya Region. It has also been stressed that the Region belongs to the Harari people as it is also constitutionally recognized by the Federal Government of Ethiopia as Harari People National Regional State and, hence, it would be lawful only to use Harari as an official language of the Region.

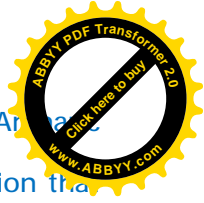
Some of the interviewees have different worries and concerns. According to these interviewees, many civil servants with little or no proficiency in HO languages have their own concerns and worries regarding the new policy and its implementation. They say that these government workers in the Region are literate in reading and writing in Amharic. It is obvious that this group may object the changes or be unhappy with what is happening. They are facing enormous challenges in learning to read and write in a new language, using even a different script from what they have been used to throughout their life. It could be difficult to use the new script, especially Qube, immediately. These government workers also feel that they are treated unfairly and to their disadvantages, since they have to go through the learning process, whereas the native speakers do not. When using Amharic language, they also argue, every one is at the same advantage or disadvantage, at least.

3.2.3 Previous Challenges to Implement the Policy

In relation to the question raised what problems had delayed implementing the policy, comments given by the interviewees revealed that one of the major challenges were the disputes and political rivalry between the Harari League and the OPDO. Other challenges include the mutual attitudes of the ethnic group towards each other. It has also been explained that the situation is better now than it was before and that both groups have established an alliance to promote the use of HO as working languages and develop the Region socially, economically, etc.

3.2.4 Issues Related to Second Language(s) Class Offerings

If second language classes in HO are going to be administered, most of our interviewees suggest that it would be of advantage for the Region to teach Harari first and then Oromo after the completion of the Harari courses. This is because, they argue, all non-HO native civil servants know Amharic, as it is the present



working language of the Region. Hence, they can learn Harari more easily than Oromo, as Harari and Amharic use the same Ethiopic script and are closely related languages with lots of similarities. Some mention that Harari is the national language of the Region as a major reason for giving priority to teaching Harari first.

Our interviewees also suggested to arrange and organize the classes in a way that it does not affect the non-HO speaking civil servants day to day activities in the offices. It is also pointed out to offer language classes during working hours for workers who attend extension classes. No fee should be requested to attend these classes and incentive mechanisms should be established for those workers who completed the course successfully. It is also recommended by most of the interviewees to continue using Amharic in the offices until the workers complete the language classes and feel at ease to use the languages in office activities.

3.2.5 The Harari Language Academy

Most of the interviewees have pointed out that compared to Harari the Oromo language is by far in a better position to start the language classes in Oromo immediately since grammar books and dictionaries are already prepared and available for users. These interviewees have recommended the Harari Language Academy to prepare dictionaries and grammar books, along with Harari teaching textbooks, to facilitate the teaching-learning processes in Harari and also to use them as a reference material for everyone who is interested to learn Harari as a second language.

Chapter Four: Experience of Multilingual Nations and Implications of the New Policy

4.1 Experience of Multilingual Nations

4.1.1 The Facts: The Experience of Some Countries

Since there are a number of multilingual nations we can not fairly discuss each country here. Hence, in this section we only discuss few countries which use more than one language with an official status.

In Europe, Belgium is one country where both French and Flemish are used equally officially. The population



is roughly half Flemish speaking and half French-speaking. Flemish is just another word for Dutch; it is simply the Netherlandic language spoken in Belgium.

Switzerland is another European country where many languages French, German, and Italian- are used in administration. Some Swiss are bi-lingual, speaking mainly French and German.

Recently, Spain legalized the regional languages of Spain and gave Basques, Catalans, Galicians and Valencians, altogether about one-third of the country's population, the right to use their native languages. The languages are now used in official events and are taught in the public schools of the respective regions.

In North America, Canada is a bi-lingual country with both English and French as the official languages. The English- speaking population is about 60% while the French-speaking is about 25%. Both English and French are used in all institutions.

Beside the above mentioned countries, there are some countries such as USA and South Africa which recognize more than one language as official languages. However, there are also a number of countries such as India that wish to promote different languages as official, but faced challenges in the practical implementation. In the following section we discuss some challenges multilingual nations are facing in promoting and implementing more than one language for official usage.

Our discussion mainly will focus on the recent South Africa's language policy as it is considered as a positive model of language policy and planning and as it is developed in the context of Africa which has similar issues with our country and the African states.

4.1.2 Theoretical Discussion: The Challenges

Decisions regarding language policy vary with the system of decision making that undertakes it (Fishman 1968: 24). Fisherman further states that:

When a new state faces the problem of competing languages, one response may be to suppress this competition and to impose one over the others. If the language situation is one where such competition involves minimal political challenges, such a policy may somehow succeed. In Indonesia, despite a great diversity of languages, it was possible to impose the language of a small minority as the national language because the political competition of the regional languages for national status was low. In



India and Pakistan, given the high degree of competition among several major languages, a policy of imposition will create more problems than it will solve (Ibid. 24).



In many multilingual nations, for instance as was the case in India (see Fasold 1989: 24), governments often face complicated conflict with respect to the language of the government. Real political reconciliation of the different language demands, so far has not been found to be impossible. We discuss in detail the language policy of south Africa, which was designed after the fall of apartheid, the steps taken to implement the policy and the challenges they faced. South Africa is a multilingual country having about 25 languages spoken by more than 44.8 million people (cf. Ibid.: 3). Out of these, two namely Afrikaans, and English are non- indigenous African languages and were the only official languages of South Africa recognized by the constitution till the fall of Apartheid although around "80% of the population use an African language as their home language" where English and Afrikaans are spoken as home languages by 8.2 and 13.3 percent of the total population which are ranked as 5th and 3rd respectively where the 1st and 2nd ranked individual languages are African languages amounting 23.8 and 17.6 percent each (Ibid). See the full list from the following table (P.5). After the inauguration of Nelson Mandela, on 27 April 1994, as the president of the Republic of South Africa a lot of major changes have been occurring among which the change of language policy is one. "The constitution enshrines plurilingualism: the former language dispensation based on official bilingualism has been replaced by official multilingualism. Equal rights are entrenched for the 11 languages used by 99% of the South African population". (Beukes 2004: 5).

In the following section, we discuss the implication of the new policy of HPNRS with regard to HO and non-HO speakers of the Region.

4.2 Implications of the New Policy

With respect to the new language policy in Harari, the use of HO languages for "government operation" should be interpreted as referring to use of the languages between linguistically diverse communities; apparently in the presence of HO speakers on the one hand, and non-HO speakers on the other. Practically, the policy will have serious implications which should require the attention of the language regulatory bodies charged with formulating and implementing language planning policies. The functional allocation outlined in chapter five would possibly be conceived as pure imposition among great number of the community who do not speak the HO languages.



This, however, is not a peculiar problem to the Harari region. It is a common language problem which comes to many multilingual nations, regions or provinces; they normally face this as a consequence of giving one language (chosen from many existing vernaculars) valid and priority status as a language to be used by the government or taught within the public school system etc. In most cases, planning measures, by denying or deriding the existence of the language divisions, to enforce the desired status of language(s) in a multilingual society hardly worked (see Fishman 24).

One of the implications of the new policy is the fact that it makes language the primary and binding requirement to get various opportunities, mainly government employment. It follows that the great portion of the population who do not speak HO will not have equal opportunity comparable to the HO speakers. The non-HO speaking communities wishing to enter the linguistically marked occupation will find their task made difficult by the fact that they must learn the languages. As a result, the attitude of these groups will not be in favor of the new policy, since they can not readily take advantage of the change or opportunity. On the other hand, for the H-speaking and O-speaking communities, this will not be a problem as they are exempted from the language requirement. Under this policy, it will be the case that the Harari People National Regional State will require competence in the selected languages as a prerequisite to civil service employment. This precondition for access to jobs might practically be quite as restrictive as barriers of kin and family background with respect to non- HO speakers.

In light of the above cross-nation experiences, it will obviously be the case that the new language policy of the HPNRS tends to disadvantage the big number of non-HO speakers of the population, for they will be required to learn and use these languages. In contrast, the policy will present a favor to HO speakers, for their languages will be used to execute any formal business communication in the Region. As a result, its implementation has to consider accommodating the rights of the non-HO speakers and minimize the possible inconvenience and opposition to its application. This study, later on in its subsequent chapters, will account for two important aspects of the policy: (1) potential implications (consequences) ensuing from the policy with respect to functionality (not applicability) of the candidate languages in the proposed function; (2) major practical considerations that need to be thought of and maintained before and during implementation. At this point, however, the study will attempt to briefly consider at core points of the strategies needed with respect to implementation of the policy. Here the study will also make use of draft documents of the Region that



state the rules and regulation and clarify the policy and its implementation.

Part Three: Implementation Plan

As Fisheman states “very little language planning practice follows language planning theory” (in Beukes 2004:7). One exceptions to this, is the South African case discussed in the preceding chapter. As mentioned in the introduction chapter, the scope to this work is limited to the preparation of an implementation guideline for applying Ho as working language of HPNRS. In theory proportion of such guideline should follow after the preparation of (detailed) language policy and implementation plan. However, in our case, NPNRS there exists no language policy and implementation plan document is prepared. This is indeed the case in general in our country. The country still awaits the preparation of a language policy. Many countries indeed do not have such documents. This does not mean, however, countries without such documents do not have policies with desired to language uses. They indeed have, which in most cases is described in their constitutions. Although, Ho has been given status to be used as working languages of HPNRS by the constitution and some proclamations have made to their function allocations, no detailed implementation plan that clearly breits Ho’s functional allocation and applications have been made so far. In this part, therefore, some basic information which can help the preparation of the implementation plan are presented along with the implementation guideline; The implementation guideline is off course is prepared taking into consideration all possible and thinkable alternatives so as to be flexible as much as possible to accommodate them.

Chapter Five: The Functional Allocation and Applica-



tion of HO

Since HO are going to be used side by side as working languages, there is a need to specify clearly the function of the two languages in some sectors/domains. For example, assuming that there could be individuals who do only speak one of the two languages, which of the languages is going to be used when a meeting is held among the officials of the two groups should be determined. Furthermore, in which sectors that the use of HO is expected should also be determined.

The draft document in Amharic prepared by the Harari People National Regional State regarding the implementation of HO as working languages has elaborated the functional allocation and application of HO in a well thought out and carefully designed manner. In this chapter we have, therefore, decided to adopt it by and large.

5.1 The Functional Allocation of HO

Under the new language policy, the promotion of HO languages can be seen as a political promotion since it is mainly restricted to administrative promotion sponsoring the need for government communication. Despite this, however, Harari alone would serve the symbolic function, being the national language of the Region.

In the new policy, either of H or O on equal footing will be used to carry out all government business communications in the Region. This involves all communications across the board of the administrative structure in the Region, hence from the smallest administrative unit (Kebele) to the highest Regional State Council.

Generally we have outlined the following functional allocation of the HO languages at various levels of communication: Intra-institution communication, inter-institution communication, communications from governmental bodies to the public and communications from the public to governmental bodies. We discuss below how such communication be effected in the Region. Our discussion though considers the draft prepared by the Region in 1992 E.C. which outlines these issues, it offers detail implementation guides.

5.1.1 Intra-institution Communication



At this level of communication, among offices or departments within the same governmental institutions/organizations either H or O may be used. This includes flow of message in all directions: upward, downward and horizontal communications.

5.1.2. Inter-institution Communication

Business communications between independent governmental offices (of equal or different power relations) may be carried out in either H or O; use of any one from the two will be accepted.

5.1.3. Communications from Governmental Bodies to the Public

All messages, like proclamations, laws, rules, notices, calls for meeting, vacancy, receipts etc, from governmental bodies to the public will be communicated by using both HO. However, nationally or internationally usable documents such as licenses, certificates of birth etc can be issued in other languages as required.

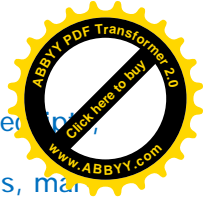
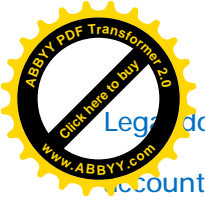
5.1.4. Communications from the Public to Governmental Bodies

The community can choose and use either of the languages, depending on its ability or willingness. Consequently, at this level of communication, any person may use written H or written O to communicate various matters to any concerned governmental body in the Region. However the policy shall give the right to any individual to orally communicate using the language she or he knows, for example, to request, explain, and present etc. various matters in any governmental office.

In contrast to the above functional allocation of the languages, the policy decides that the language of the Harari National Parliament be exclusively Harari. Thus, given the fact that the Parliament constitutes only members of the Harari nationality, they will be obliged to use H in the parliamentary discussions and debates. However any information, rules, directives, or decisions etc., coming out from the Parliament will be written, published or documented in both HO languages. In addition, at higher level of business, communications with other Regional States and the Federal Government, the language will be Amharic, as stated in the Constitution.

5.2 Applications

5.2.1 Bilingual Documents



Legal documents like sales contracts, lease contracts, rental agreements, deeds, wills etc., as well as receipts, account books etc. should be made available in both languages. Civil registration like those of births, marriages, deaths etc. should again be filled in either or both languages. A common way of accommodating two working languages, especially for forms, receipts, certificates etc. is putting language A on the first line and its equivalent in language B on the second line. This alternate juxtaposition of languages is convenient, clear, and manageable. Thus, for HO, the following is a hypothetical arrangement.

ሐረሪ ሐርፊ _____
 Qube _____

5.2.2 Multi Lingual Documents

The Region’s constitutions, proclamations, decrees, regulations etc. must be available not only in the Region’s two working languages of HO, but also in Amharic which is the working language of the Ethiopian Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

5.2.3 Outdoor posters

HPNRS has already made a proclamation, proclamation No. 13. with regard to the language of outdoor posters. According to this proclamation outdoor posters in the region primarily should be written with Harari where any other language could also be used along with it. Please, see for details the aforementioned proclamation. It is obvious that the application of H to outdoor poster, the usage of other languages along with it and in general the implementation plan should follow, proclamation No. 13.

Chapter Six: Practical Consideration for the Implementation

The implementation of the new language policy (HO as working languages) is a complex and formidable task that will require a long period of time to exercise it. It is important to go through the process of modernizing or making the languages suitable for the purpose intended, such as standardizing the language, preparing dictionaries, offering training for language teachers and offering the language courses, organizing the translation unit and offering training for translators. We discuss these and other practical considerations required



to smoothly implement the policy in this chapter in detail.

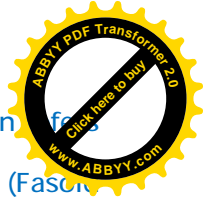
Our discussion gives due consideration to the draft document which was prepared in 1992 E.C. as a proclamation of the implementation guideline of HPNRS's working languages. Note however that this document cannot be considered as a proclamation since it is not officially declared by the Region as a proclamation. That is why we prefer to call it a draft document. This draft document can be considered as a professional work that addresses various practical issues which should be considered in the implementation of the policy in an interesting manner. That is why we like in this chapter to give due consideration to this document. However, although our discussion in this chapter can be considered as built upon of this draft document, there are some sections which are new. Furthermore, although some of the topics addressed here are also discussed in the draft document; there are some differences with regard to interpretations. In some cases a different account than that of the draft document is given in this chapter.

6.1 Language Planning

Language planning may involve, among other conscious measures, deliberate efforts and actions to influence the functional allocation of languages. It is often official, government-level activity concerning the selection and promotion of a unified administrative language or languages thus representing a coherent effort by individuals, groups, or organizations to influence language use of development. This normally involves an official setting up of goals, objectives and strategies to change the way a language is used. At government level, language planning takes the form of language policy (see Fasold 1984, and Fishman 1968 among many others). Many nations in the world have language regulatory bodies which are specifically charged with formulating and implementing language planning policies.

Language planning is made up of two major divisions: Language Determination (also called status planning) and Language development (also referred as Corpus planning). "Language determination refers to the choice of larger linguistic units, language or dialects of languages, for particular purposes" (Fasold 1984: 261). It deals, therefore, with two major issues, selection and functional allocation. Examples of language determination are decisions made by a particular nation or nationality to use one or more languages as working language(s) in government offices or medium of instruction in all elementary schools.

Language development "refers to the selection of variants within a language or dialect" (Fasold 1984: 261). It



deal on three categories, known as graphitization, standardization and modernization. Graphitization is the adoption of a writing system and establishment of spelling and other orthographic convention (Fasola 1984: 248). Standardization is a process in which one variety of a language is rated "best" and selected to be used officially. Modernization is a process of developing new vocabulary for a language that it requires to meet the needs of science and technology or make it suitable for the purpose planned to be used.

In light of the above explanation, we will try to see the remedial measures to be taken before putting the new language policy into practice. This specially deals on the categories of language development.

6.1.1 Language Determination

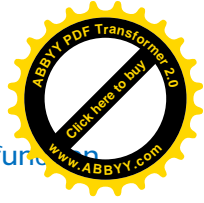
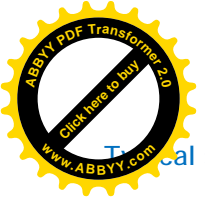
Language determination, as mentioned above, has to do with the selection of a particular language or languages for particular purposes. We will not deal here about language determination with regard to the Harari People National Regional State as it has already made a decision to use HO as working languages. Furthermore, the major aim of this work is to suggest implementation guidelines for the already determined working languages of the Region, i.e. HO, as we have clearly stated in the introduction chapter of this work.

6.2.2 Language Development

6.2.2.1 Graphitization

In developing orthography decision has to be made to select the kind of orthography to be used. The orthography has to be appropriate and designed carefully to represent the phonemic system of the language in question. Spelling and other orthographic conventions of the language have to be established. The spelling system has to be simplified and easy to learn. Since HO have already adopted their own scripts, there is no concern with regard to this point; i.e. graphitization. In fact the present Harari script has some problems as pointed out among others by most of the presenters of the workshop on the Harari Orthography held in Harar in 1995 E.C. However, this does not worry either us or the Region at present. HPNRS/ The Harari Language Academy has contracted a consultant to scientifically identify the problems and suggest solutions to them. The consultant has already submitted the project to the client (cf. Demeke 2006). As the Region is expected to use the findings of the project, i.e. Demeke (2006), the problem of Harari Harfi is hoped to be solved before the implementation of HO as working languages of the Region.

6.2.2.2 Standardization



Local standard language has to pass the processes known as selection, codification, elaboration of function and acceptance. We discuss each of them in detail below.

6.2.2.2.1 Selection

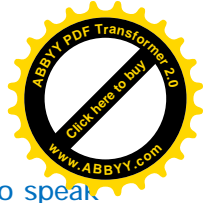
A particular variety must have been selected as the one to be developed into a standard language. With respect to the Harari language there is no need to dwell upon this point since there is only “one variety” of the language. With regard to the Oromo language, however, different varieties are used by various sectors of society. The Oromo people residing in the Hundene zone and some of the people dwelling in Harar city use the Harar variety of Oromo and a significant number of the population who work in government offices and live in Harar town speak a variety close to Shoa Oromo. Thus, a decision has to be made to use the “standard Oromo” in the offices and teach second language classes. Applications written in other varieties could be handled by the translation units.

6.2.2.2.2 Codification

This refers to the preparation of dictionaries and grammar books by some agencies such as a language academy ‘to fix’ the variety so that everyone agrees on what is the correct form (Hudson, 1980:33). Once the language is codified, the citizens will be encouraged to use the standard form in their speech and writing. In this regard the dictionaries and grammar books shall be as comprehensive as possible. However, for the purpose of teaching HO or any language to that matter, there is a need to prepare special types of dictionaries and pedagogical grammar books to serve that intended purpose (see section 6.3.2.2 in this chapter).

6.2.2.2.3 Elaboration of Function

This refers to the use of the selected variety in all functions associated with the central government and with official writing (for example, in the regional council, law courts, in bureaucratic and educational documents of all kinds). This process also requires extra linguistic items to be added to the variety, especially technical words and also developing new conventions for using existing forms – how to write formal letters and so on (Hudson 1980: 33). Since we have already pointed out in detail how the elaboration of functions of HO in the Region could be in chapter five, we will not discuss this issue further. However, with regard to developing technical terms we will come back in section 6.2.2.3 below.



This refers to the acceptance of the chosen variety for official use by the members of the society who speak different varieties of the language. In this respect, it seems that there is no problem with regard to Harari. However, there is a need to consider this aspect seriously with respect to Oromo, as the variety spoken in the Region is different from other Regions, and from the already standardized Oromic.

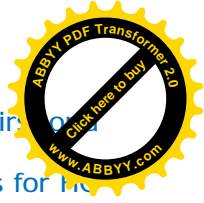
To sum our discussion on the issue of standardization, we have pointed out above that there is no much dialect variation in Harari and no need to decide to choose one of the varieties to be used officially. However, other issues related to standardization, such as preparation of dictionaries and books on grammar of the language have to be considered seriously. These materials are important and crucial to use the standard forms in office works and in teaching the language, along with the preparation of textbooks, and other literatures. Moreover, dictionaries are not only important for the entries they contain, but also for setting up principles for further lexical extension.

6.2.2.3 Modernization

A language has to be suitable for the intended purpose it is selected. Here, the question of modernization in particular regards the Harari language, as Oromo is in a better status than Harari. Although there have been some previous efforts, the task of modernizing the Harari language has to be confronted now; especially the lexicon of the language needs to be expanded. The language lacks adequate vocabulary for modern science and technology. New sources of vocabulary have to be sought. The Harari Language Academy, as also recommended by Demeke (2006), has to promote developing new vocabulary that the Harari language requires in order to make the language suitable for the new function allocated under the new policy. The new vocabulary could come from other languages (by borrowing) or made up by elements already in the language (coining new words). However, borrowing versus coinage often becomes an emotional issue in actual practice (Fasold 1984:249). Hence, the Harari Language Academy needs to consider seriously this and other related issues raised in Demeke (1999E.C.) in the development of new technical terms in Harari.

6.3 Teaching HO/ Offering HO Classes (Programs)

Although Harari is the national language, it has been legislated that both Harari and Oromo are to be the working languages of the Region. Fortunately, as pointed out in chapter three, the inhabitants of HPNRS are mostly bilingual, and in some cases trilingual that is, they speak either Harari and Amharic, Amharic and



Oromo or all the three almost equally fluently. Almost all the civil servants speak Amharic either as a first or second language as it was the Region's working language until the present legislation which provides for Harari to be so.

6.3.1 Bilingual Key to the Implementation of HO

The implementation of HO as working languages of the Region may be envisaged at different levels. HO use different scripts and they also belong to two different sub-families, Semitic and Cushitic, of the Afro Asiatic Family. Their use of different scripts necessitates the learning of their writing systems, in spite of oral proficiency. As discussed in chapter three, we have observed a situation where a native Harari or Amharic speaker also speaks Oromo fluently, but can not read or write it. We have also observed the opposite situation equally where an Oromo or an Amharic native speaker speaks Harari fluently but cannot read or write it. Therefore, the implementation of HO as working languages would require the setting up of effective and continuing teaching programs by the Regional State to enable its inhabitants not only to be bilingual but also biliterate. We discuss in the following subsequent sections how the Region can achieve this goal.

6.3.2 Designing HO Teaching Classes

One of the main integral parts for the implementation of the new language policy should be to open classes in Harari and Oromo languages. Taking into account the educational background of the learners and the goals intended to implement the language policy, HO learners could be divided into three groups. The first group includes current government employees working in various government offices of the Region. The second group could embrace other members of the community, especially those future employees of the Region who need to learn HO. The third group consists of members of the adult community who need or wish to attend literacy programs in HO.

6.3.2.1 HO Classes for Civil Servants

This program will be designed particularly for the currently employed civil servants. This program has to be carried out at government level by integrated official bodies charged with the task of designing and executing the programs including mobilizing and inspiring this community at various regional offices. Learners should be encouraged and concentrate on a practical knowledge of the languages that would be useful for their carrier. Learners in this group are those who have little or no knowledge in one or both of the HO lan-



guarantees. A special HO teaching program should be designed and given urgently to these civil servants. This policy immediately and directly affects members of this group.

6.3.2.1.1 Two Types of HO Classes

As we saw in Chapter three, the survey conducted to find out the proficiency of the civil servants of the Region reveals that a large number of the questionnaire respondents has little or no aptitude in reading and writing in Harari and/or Oromo languages, although the majority of them speak Harari (71.18%) and Oromo (82.35%) either as mother tongues or second languages. The percentage of the respondents who could read and write in Harari orthography (Harari Harfi) is around (51%) and Oromo (27%). This means that around (49%) and (73%) of the respondents have little or no proficiency in reading and writing in Harari Harfi and Qube respectively. This envisages the need to arrange and organize two levels of language classes for those workers who have different levels of proficiency; one for those who speak HO but have little or no proficiency in reading and writing skills in these languages and one for those who do not know HO at all.

6.3.2.1.2 Priority of Learning

The responses obtained from interviewing of the civil servants indicate that the classes should be offered in two phases for those who lack knowledge of both HO languages. Most of the interviewees suggest that this type of civil servants better to attend the Harari language classes first and then the Oromo language in the second phase. One of the reasons is that Harari is the Official language of the Regional State and, thus, it should be given priority. The other reason is that Harari could be simple to learn, since it is very "similar" to Amharic.

However, we recommend that these second language learners should be given the chance to decide by themselves whether they prefer to attend the two language classes at the same time or one of the languages, Harari or Oromo at a time. They should not be forced to learn both HO at the same time and no imposition should be made as to which of the two languages to choose. It should be noted that the civil servants should not attend this program under pressure; hence scheduling the language classes' program has to be arranged in a way that it does not affect their social interactions and family life. Ideally the classes should take place during the working hours. This is particularly important for those civil servant HO learners who attend extension classes in high schools or higher institutions. Their classes need to be arranged or facilitated by the task force or any other concerned body so that they are enabled to attend the language classes and meet the re-



quire language proficiency in HO while completing their education during night-classes.

6.3.2.1.3 Duration of HO Classes Offerings

The draft document prepared by the Region for the implementation of HO (cf. 1992 E.C.) has suggested the time required to learn HO by the civil servants. We adopt by and large this suggestion, as it is well thought of.

For those who speak HO but have little or no aptitude in reading and writing in these languages, three months for each language shall be given, as suggested in the above mentioned draft document. For those who do not speak one of them the program should be given for a period of a minimum of 6 months to one year as also recommended in the aforementioned draft document (cf. 1992 E.C.). For those who do not speak both HO a minimum of 18 months to two years time shall be given, as learning two languages is not an easy task.

Considering the above time schedule needed for civil servants to have a good command of both HO, before officially declaring the use of the new working languages, it seems practical that a minimum of 18 months is required after launching the teaching programs. This is assuming a transitional period in which this group can achieve the command of both HO to practically perform their duties in these languages.

The above suggested time schedules, however, can be extended after the implementation, if the result is not satisfactory. The learners should not be obliged to learn both HO at a time. They should not be forced as to which language to choose to learn, as mentioned above. It should be noted that the civil servants should not attend this program under pressure; hence a scheduling of the program has to consider time protection for the learners.

6.3.2.1.4 Costs Related to Offering HO Classes

All costs related to offering the HO classes, preparation of teaching materials and other supplies necessary for teaching-learning should be covered by the Regional States. No fees shall be requested to attend the classes, especially for current civil servants at least within the limit of the time set for the program.

6.3.2.1.5 Introducing Incentive Mechanisms



In order to encourage and develop interest in learning HO among the civil servants, the task force of the respective government offices should introduce incentive mechanisms. Various forms incentives, such as promotion, salary increment, other rewards, etc. could be introduced for those HO learners who completed the course successfully.

6.3.2.2 HO Classes for Future Employees and the Like

This special second language class includes those citizens who are interested to attend HO language classes voluntarily. The class could incorporate people who work in private enterprises, unemployed individuals, future employees, etc. Extension classes could be organized and arranged for such kinds of individuals. The designing of this special class and the textbook and other teaching materials preparation could be the same as current civil servant classes and texts.

6.3.2.3 Literacy Classes

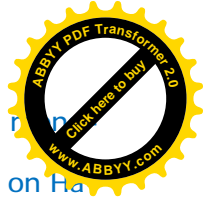
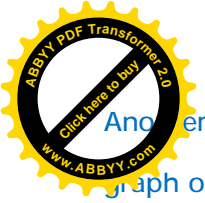
Literacy classes in HO for adults could be one of the processes that the new language policy should take into consideration. In this particular case, both government and private institutions can take part and offer HO in extension programs. The Region may need also to mobilize and inspire the adult non-HO and HO speakers to attend basic HO literacy programs.

6.3.3 Designing Language Syllabus and Preparing Teaching Materials

6.3.3.1 Designing Language Syllabus and Preparing Textbooks

In order to conduct and carry out as well as facilitate second languages and literacy classes it is crucial and important to design the syllabus and prepare teaching materials. This designing of the syllabus and preparation of textbooks concerns both HO languages. Conducting language classes without textbooks will make the teaching-learning process ineffective. With regard to designing the syllabus and preparing the textbooks, the Education Bureau and Harari Language Academy of HPNRS could play the leading role. If there is any teaching material already prepared, this Bureau and the Academy should make effort to revise them and to make them accessible to the learners.

6.3.3.2 Preparation of Pedagogical Grammar Books and Dictionaries



Another important issue related to teaching second languages is the preparation of a pedagogical monograph or book on the grammar of the language in question. With regard to this, the major concern is on Harari, as Oromo may have such books already. Hence, the Harari Language Academy has to work towards preparing a pedagogical monograph on the grammar of the Harari language. This preparation includes detailed descriptions of the sound system, the morphological structure (word formation) and the syntax (sentence structure) of the language with giving due consideration the pedagogical aspect.

Although the Harari Language Academy is at present preparing the most needed trilingual dictionary, i.e. Harari-Amharic-Oromo, for the present intended teaching HO purpose, there is a need to prepare a hybrid bilingual or trilingual dictionary. Furthermore, if there are no suitable pedagogical grammar books and/ or dictionaries in Oromo, the Region has to prepare such materials as well. The preparation of such materials could be done by contracting a consultant or consultants, if the Academy does not have (or could not assign, due to various reasons,) its own professionals who could undertake these tasks.

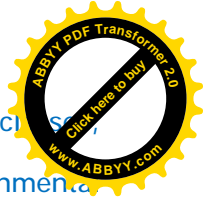
6.3.4 Identifying and Selecting HO Teachers

Teachers play a key role in making the second language programs and the literacy classes successful. They are the one who are directly involved in implementing the planned teaching programs into practice. Thus, the body concerned needs to identify and select qualified teachers in teaching second languages and proficient in Harari and Oromo languages. The teachers who are going to be involved in the programs could also be given further training to improve their teaching skills. Such kind of training could be arranged with the higher institutions, preferably located in the Region or neighboring Regions, for cost effectiveness.

6.4 Implementing body

6.4.1 A Task Force and Its Role

In order to interpret the implementation guideline presented in this work into practice, there is a need to have a task force that will be in charge of the overall activity. The need for having a task force for this purpose is also recognized in the draft proclamation document (cf. 1992 E.C.). In this draft proclamation document, this task force is assumed to play a major role in implementing the new language policy, i.e. making HO the working languages of the Region. In the aforementioned draft proclamation document, the major responsibilities of the task force include organizing and administrating the designing of the curriculum, prepa-



ration of teaching materials, facilitating the teaching-learning processes, administering the language classes, establishing, organizing and administering the translation units and the reading rooms in all government offices.

It seems that the responsibilities given to the task force by the above mentioned draft document are too much. Some of the responsibilities, such as organizing and administering the mini-libraries and administering language classes should and could be given to the respective government offices of the Region. Managing the translation unit, especially the actual translation processes, should be composed of professionals who could give assistance and watch over the actual translation processes. Hence, we recommend the role of the task force to be limited on the administrating, coordinating, organizing and leading HO's practical implementation at a higher level. It should be taken as a mainly coordinating higher body (with due assigned responsibilities) that will be in charge of implementing HO in the intended use at government offices, while making use of existing capacities.

6.4.2 The Role of the Harari Language Academy

Language regulatory bodies such language research centers and language academies play a major role not only in implementing a new language policy but also in the overall language planning activities. HPNRS has its own language academy called Harari Language Academy. This Academy could play a major role in interpreting the present work into practice, i.e. implementing HO for official use in government offices of the Region. A representative of the Language Academy should be included as a member of the Task Force which looks over the overall administration of the teaching of HO. The Academy should also be involved in the standardization of the languages in question by preparing dictionaries and grammar books. In order to carry out these responsibilities the Academy should recruit trained man power in the fields of linguistics and languages.

6.4.3 Bilingual Translation Units

Another key to the implementation of HO as the Region's working languages is the establishment of translation units in the various government departments. These units will be responsible for ensuring that directives, decisions, deliberations etc. are available in both languages. Where necessary, these may also be made available in Amharic and in other languages, as needed.

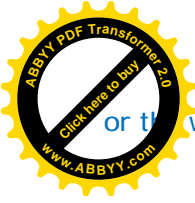


As also recommended in the draft proclamation document (cf. 1992 E.C.), therefore, there is a need to have translation units in each government office of the Region. Having such units is especially necessary during the first two or three years of the implementation phase of HO. After the use of HO becomes standard in the Region, however, translation units in each government offices may not be desired any more. Only one translation body might be enough for the whole Region as the task of translating is expected to be reduced as it is going to be limited only to some documents.

On the other hand, translating from one language to another is not a simple task. It requires a good knowledge of the languages in question as well as good writing skills and experience. Therefore members of the translation unit in each government offices should be proficient in both HO and selected on the basis of their merit. Special training in translation should be offered for all the recruited members of the translation unit. The task force could arrange this training with higher institutions.

6.5 Creating Awareness

As discussed in chapter three a significant number of respondents hold opposing views regarding the use of HO in offices. Recall that these respondents include both HO and non-HO speakers, who have various reasons for their stand. Among many, one of the main concerns is associated with the possible discriminatory effect of the HO-policy implementation on non-HO speakers, their future careers and position in the offices. Most non-HO speakers are worried about their future and afraid of losing their job. They also claim that there is no legal guarantee, or any regulative that would address these concerns adequately, or that creates awareness among the workers. Hence, it will be on advantage for implementing the policy smoothly and without challenges, if the Region could create awareness among these civil servants by being utmost transparent about the possible (side-) effects of the new policy. This recommendation applies also to others who oppose the policy on various grounds. This awareness could be created by arranging a discussion forum with the workers and giving explanations about the purposes and intentions of the new policy, how it is going to be implemented, what is expected from these workers, and which benefits they can expect in return. The workers also have to be reassured that they will be able to maintain their position in the offices, if they attend second language classes and meet the language(s) requirement(s). The discussion forums and awareness-programs are also needed to HO speakers who have negative attitude or some reservation towards the policy



or the way of implementing the policy.



Chapter Seven: Concluding Remarks

The decision to make HO the working languages of HPNRS has its background in the Constitution of Ethiopia. The Harari People National Regional State, like other regions of the country, is granted the right to employ its ethnic language, with the view to ensure development of the language and culture of the people. Given only this context, there would not be a problem by and in itself, and H would become the language of the regional State. By the same token, in addition to H, the decision to equally use O as the working language of the same Region, thus creating a bilingual state, is apparently politically motivated, not only addressing problems or needs of communication of the Region. This decision was justified with the need to accommodate and respect the rights of the large number of the ethnic (Hundene) Oromos who now live under the Harari governance. It was upon these calculations that the policy in favor of HO has been formulated. Taking these arguments into account, the policy-implementation on the ground should also consider the inclusion of the large number of non-HO speakers of the Region. This needs adequate time, as much as committed and integrated efforts at level of institutions to devise mechanisms in which the policy can practically serve and accommodate the needs of all these groups residing in the Region. This can be achieved through continuous HO teaching programs designed mainly in light of the need for employment.

In this work, we have presented possible approaches to designing such teaching programs, along with practical considerations to be taken into account both before and during the phase of implementation. The main objective of this work, as stated in the TOR, is to provide implementation guidelines. Hence, the practical considerations discussed in chapter 6 and the sociolinguistics' survey in chapter three are meant to facilitate the implementation of HO.

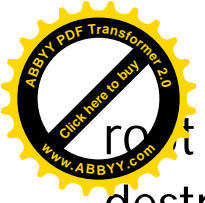
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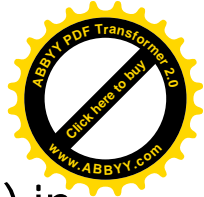


Introduction and Historical Background:

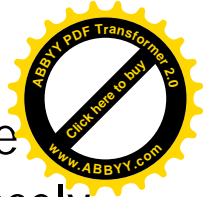
From the reign of Emperor Haile Sellassie I (1930-1974) to the military dictatorship of the 'Derg', led by Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam (1974-1991), the major factor or root cause of violence, internecine ethnic conflicts, civil wars and destruction in Ethiopia had been the denial by successive regimes of the rights of nations, nationalities, and peoples to determine their own affairs by themselves, to have sovereignty over their lands and other natural resources, to use and develop their languages, culture, history, to govern themselves, and in short, their rights of national self-determination and, in most cases not going beyond self-government or internal autonomy. Past Ethiopian regimes could not accept the fact that Ethiopia has always been a land of well over eighty different ethnic-linguistic communities---"nations, nationalities and peoples" as the FDRE Constitution later defined them, most of which had, until the end of the 19th century, their own systems of government and cultural/religious traditions. Failure to accept this phenomenon inevitably led to centralization and the bringing of these diverse ethno-national entities under the domination of the ruling classes/circles of one or two ethnic groups in the country. Most often this type of forcible centralization of the various peoples under the rule of one or two ethnic groups was explained by the ruling circles in terms of the need to maintain the territorial integrity and unity of the country. Nevertheless, this effort to maintain territorial integrity and unity at the expense of the rights of the various ethno-linguistic communities alienated most of the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethio-



root cause of violence, internecine ethnic conflicts, civil wars and destruction in Ethiopia had been the denial by successive regimes of the rights of nations, nationalities, and peoples to determine their own affairs by themselves, to have sovereignty over their lands and other natural resources, to use and develop their languages, culture, history, to govern themselves, and in short, their rights of national self-determination and, in most cases not going beyond self-government or internal autonomy. Past Ethiopian regimes could not accept the fact that Ethiopia has always been a land of well over eighty different ethnic-linguistic communities---“nations, nationalities and peoples” as the FDRE Constitution later defined them, most of which had, until the end of the 19th century, their own systems of government and cultural/religious traditions. Failure to accept this phenomenon inevitably led to centralization and the bringing of these diverse ethno-national entities under the domination of the ruling classes/circles of one or two ethnic groups in the country. Most often this type of forcible centralization of the various peoples under the rule of one or two ethnic groups was explained by the ruling circles in terms of the need to maintain the territorial integrity and unity of the country. Nevertheless, this effort to maintain territorial integrity and unity at the expense of the rights of the various ethno-linguistic communities alienated most of the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia. And, indeed the whole country was pushed to the brink of disintegration into its component parts or entities as a result of the war and repression unleashed by the past rulers of Ethiopia against peoples whose age-long aspirations

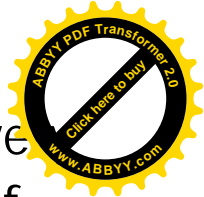


...e to assert their rights to determine their own affairs by themselves. Around the fall of the military government (junta) in 1991, there were more than seventeen or so national liberation fronts hailing from the various peoples and regions of the country. It was the Transitional Period Conference of June 1991 and the ensuing Transitional Period Charter crafted by those national liberation movements fighting the military junta at the time which made a complete break with the era of centralization and subjugation by recognizing the nations, nationalities, and peoples of Ethiopia, just like individuals, equals and subjects of their own rights, i.e. their inalienable rights of national self-determination up to, and including the right to secession, and political equality. It was based on these foundational principles which indeed reflected the "soul and spirit of the peoples" (to use the words of the great French philosopher, Montesquieu) of Ethiopia that the Constitution Drafting Commission established by the Council of Representatives in the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) in 1992 formulated and designed the draft constitution for the country which recognized and inserted in the draft basic document the right of national self-determination up to, and including the right of secession for each nation, nationality and people of the country. This draft document was deliberated upon and finally approved with an absolute majority vote by a -SF. All rights reserved

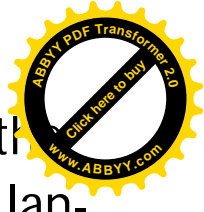


Constitutional Assembly (CA) of elected representatives of the various peoples of Ethiopia in October 1994. Any observer closely watching the tumultuous events at the time of approval of the draft constitution can clearly reminisce the immense jubilation and ululation of the CA Representatives, as splashed over the Ethiopian television and other media channels on October 10, 1994, over the wording of the FDRE Constitution: “ *Every Nation, Nationality and People in Ethiopia has an unconditional right to self-determination up to, and including the right to secession...; the right to speak, to write and to develop its own language; to express, to develop and to promote its culture; and preserve its history...the right to a full measure of self-government which includes the right to establish institutions of government in the territory that it inhabits and to equitable representation in State and Federal governments*” [FDRE Constitution, October 1994, Art. 39 (1, 2, 3)].

Be this as it may, no other topic has ever been as controversial and as sensitive to many scholars and pundits as well as the general public at large, at home and abroad, as this revolutionary issue of recognizing the right of nations, nationalities and peoples to self-determination, including the right to secession. Many academicians and critics vehemently criticized and condemned the ruling party and the TGE for entrenching this right in the Transitional Period Charter in 1991 and in the FDRE Constitution in 1994, and for allowing Eritrea to declare its unilateral independence through a referendum without the consent of the whole people of Ethiopia, which eventually resulted in Eritrea's inde-



pendence and unfortunately Ethiopia's loss of access to two very important sea ports--Assab and Massawa. Many opponents of the ruling party's political programs accused it of a sinister policy of "divide and rule" and conniving to facilitate the dissolution of the multi-ethnic empire state, wild accusations that have proved utterly false and unfounded bearing in mind the stark reality and practice of the past 18 years under the EPRDF ruling party and government. The author of this article also did not see the wisdom of inserting this right in the FDRE Constitution at the time. A few major opposition political parties have, in fact, made it their priority political agenda ever since Eritrea's divorce and vowed to scrap this provision from the Constitution if they ever succeeded in snatching state power from the ruling party by gaining a majority victory in the legislative elections of the country that are held every five years by the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia (NEBE), many of them still claiming Eritrea as part and parcel of the Ethiopian body politic and thus not recognizing it as a fully-fledged independent neighboring state. This article is aimed at exploding the misconceptions surrounding the constitutional right of secession and arguing that the recognition of this right in the FDRE Constitution is in fact what saved the Abyssinian empire-state from disintegrating into its component parts in the wake of the demise of the military regime of Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam in 1991, by resolving the long overdue national question: the "question of nationalities" and thus acknowledging the right of national self-determination for the various "nations, nationalities and peoples" of Ethiopia that would enable them to establish



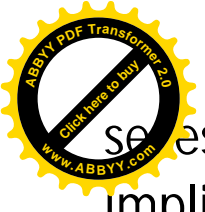
their own self-government (self-rule) , to share in governing the central or federal government (shared rule), to develop their languages, cultures, customs, history and ways of life, and to live together voluntarily, based on equality, equitable development, mutual interdependence and brotherhood under a federal political arrangement or system. Yes, instead of perpetuating the age-long centralist and assimilations policy of the past successive regimes, the FDRE Constitution recognizes the right of national self-determination of the more than eighty ethnic groups; encourages them to use their own languages in schools as well as in local courts, and to promote their cultures and customs, and vests sovereign power in nine regional states with the ability to exercise their sovereign power, in much the same way as any free and independent sovereign states anywhere in the world. Among the most important of the constitutional rights given to the nine sovereign states is the right to secede. Article 39(1) of the Ethiopian Constitution states that, *“every nation, nationality and people in Ethiopia has the unconditional right to self-determination, including the right to secession.”* Article 39(5) of the FDRE Constitution defines a nation, nationality or people as: *“A group of people who have or share large measure of a common culture or similar customs, mutual intelligibility of language, belief in a common or related identities, a common psychological make-up, and who inhabit an identifiable, pre-dominantly contiguous territory.”* Thus, it is not just the nine sovereign regional states that enjoy this right. Rather, every minority ethnic group in each of the nine states has the right of secession. In addition to expressly acknowl-



Regarding the right of secession itself, the Ethiopian Constitution contains the necessary procedures to effect secession in the constitutional text under Article 39(4) (e). A Two-thirds vote by the Legislative Council of the nation, nationality, or people desiring secession is required before the issue is put to a referendum organized by the Federal Government and voted on by the seceding population. Once the referendum has passed in favor of secession, the terms of secession are negotiated, including the division of assets, which is "effected in a manner prescribed by law." Territorial borders are negotiated between the seceding ethnic state and the non-seceding ethnic state. If agreement on borders between the states cannot be reached, the Federal Government decides the issue based on the settlement patterns and wishes of the peoples involved.

Frequently Asked Questions: Theoretical Justifications for Entrenching the Constitutional Right of Secession.

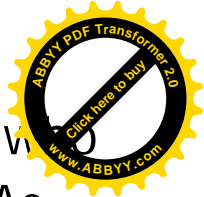
Whatever the case, there are yet a number of pertinent questions that should be asked by any critical politicians, lawyers, historians, economists, sociologists, social theorists and philosophers alike in understanding the theoretical justifications for entrenching the right of secession in the constitution of a democratic state. Should there even be any constitutional right of secession in the first place? If so, what should be the nature of such a right? Should the right be unilateral and unlimited? Should the right be heavily qualified so that constitutional democracies can use the rule of law to control the secession process through consensual negotiation? What is the true nature of a constitutional right of



secession? Is it substantive or procedural? Is the right explicit or implicit? Additionally, how does the existence or non-existence of a constitutional right of secession affect the behavior of centralized state actors and their secessionist counterparts? Finally, is the ultimate motive or purpose of constitutional secession aimed at effecting the political and legal dissolution of a multinational state and its disintegration into its component parts thus creating numerous sovereign mini-ethnic states, as some doomsayers fret to 'preach', or, on the contrary, crafting a strategy deemed at safeguarding and guaranteeing the territorial integrity of the state? These are indeed some vexed questions that must be duly tackled and properly answered to convince all pundits, historians, philosophers, politicians, lawyers, economists, and the wider public at large as to the political appropriateness and acceptability of entrenching the right of secession in a multi-ethnic state's basic document: the Constitution. Nevertheless, there is no consensus among many liberal democrats and scholars on the constitutional right of secession. Arguments for and against are in abundance. Let us examine some of these arguments turn by turn, here below.

Liberal Democrats Against Constitutional Secession:

Interestingly enough, liberal democratic political theorists are split on the issue of constitutionalizing secession. By understanding the liberal democratic theories of constitutionalizing secession, we can better understand the nature and effectiveness of the few constitutional rights and procedures governing secession that exist in the world today.



start with noted constitutional law scholar Cass Sunstein, who argues against granting any constitutional right of secession. According to Sunstein, a right of secession would promote strategic behavior by political subunits that are supposed to obediently carry out their democratic burden of providing the state with the “benefits” necessary to carry out distributive justice. For instance, economically rich regions like Padania in Northern Italy or the Canadian province of Alberta would try to avoid the hard work of creating a healthy democracy by not supplying the democratic state with the economic resources necessary to dispense justice to the citizenry. For Sunstein, the purpose of constitutional government is to promote democratic participation based on compromise, cooperation, and deliberation. Specifically, Sunstein believes that constitutionalizing secession would threaten “constitutional pre-commitment strategies” — a term that refers to the set of rights entrenched within a constitution designed to insulate minority groups from majoritarian politics. The constitutional pre-commitment strategies that Sunstein mentions include: *(Provisions like the right to free speech and the right to vote. Which are designed to ensure that majority rule does not become excessive; a healthy federalism that allows private liberty to flourish; structural provisions that allow for a healthy political “division of labor,” presumably through the separation of powers between the three branches of government; Provisions that take morally sensitive issues such as abortion away from the political process; and provisions that avoid “collective action problems or prisoners’ dilemmas” that occur*



When state units in federal polities like the United States act in their own self-interests to the detriment of the nation as a whole (Sunstein cites the federal enforcement of the Full Faith and Credit Clause and the Commerce Clause as examples of effective solutions to these collective action problems). The idea here is to use the constitution in ways that both protect and properly constrain the excesses of majoritarian democratic politics. For Sunstein, the mere introduction of a constitutional right of secession would mean a disabling or disruption of the democratic process. Sunstein worries that "if the right to secede exists, each subunit will be vulnerable to threats of secession by the others." The result of institutionalizing such a right would be political instability and chaos because the democratic polity would be so bogged down with the prevailing secession issue that day-to-day public policy formation would be needlessly obstructed. For libertarians interested in a world composed of a multitude of sovereign political entities of all sizes and forms, such a state of affairs could conceivably lead to the dissolution of the central state's authority and the emergence of a number of sovereign entities covering a territory where only one centralized state previously stood. However, for a liberal democrat like Sunstein, the occurrence of multiple secession movements among subunits of a larger democratic state resulting from a constitutional secession right would spell political disaster. Given the disparaging effects on democratic deliberation of constitutionalizing a right of secession, Sunstein concludes that the most effective way to deal with secessionist concerns is to rely primarily on the internal mechanisms provided by



Constitutional democracy: "federalism, checks and balances, entrenchment of civil rights and civil liberties, and judicial review."

Liberal Democrats For Constitutional Secession

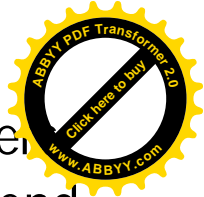
Unlike their fellow liberal democrat Sunstein, Rawlsian philosophers Wayne Norman and Daniel Weinstock argue in favor of constitutionalizing the right of secession. They agree with Sunstein that secession from democratic states should be avoided if at all possible because they believe that most Western-style democracies are already "reasonably just." If most democratic states do a reasonably good job of Rawlsian distributive justice, as liberal democrats claim, then no moral reason exists to justify the secession of any groups of individuals from the modern democratic state. Norman admits that Sunstein "is absolutely right about the pernicious effects of secessionist politics on democratic deliberation and political stability." He writes:

The issue here is not whether secessionist politics is bad for democracy and justice, but rather, what can be done through the constitutional engineering of a multinational state to take away the incentives for minority leaders to engage in secessionist politics.

Here, Norman gives us the real reason why liberal democrats would ever consider inserting a right of secession into a democratic constitution in the first place. It is not to grant a group of citizens, who no longer consent to the authority of their government, a substantive right of external exit for the purpose of establishing a new political jurisdiction. Rather, a constitutional secession right is meant to act as a procedural means of forcibly



keeping secessionists within the prevailing territory of the democratic state. Working with the assumption that secessionists are better off staying within the existing reasonably just democratic state, Norman makes a number of arguments in favor of constitutionally entrenching a secession right. First, Norman favors designing a secession procedure in such a way that it serves as a “choking mechanism” for secession. Such choking mechanisms include the enforcement of minority rights within a democratic state and the brutal suppression of minority ethnic secessionist leaders in non-democratic, dictatorial states. The most common choking mechanism would be the establishment of a high threshold supermajority requirement, most likely a two-thirds vote in a secession referendum. Making the “yes” vote requirement in a secession referendum higher than a simple majority would serve to deter secessionist movements with sub-50% popular support from proceeding further along the secessionist path. It would also ensure that only those secessions that are truly justified, such as those that involve the violation of human rights or discrimination against a cultural or ethnic group and supported by the majority of the seceding population, are allowed to prevail. Here, Norman has in mind “vanity secessions,” which he defines as “secessions by groups lacking just cause.” As an example of this, one could think of a group of relatively well-off citizens within a democratic state who no longer consent to being economically exploited (e.g., taxed heavily) and who vote to secede and form their own government. This type of secession is considered vain by liberal democrats because these rich citizens



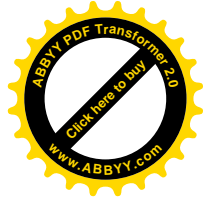
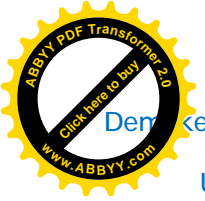
are selfishly thinking only of themselves and not of those others living within the “reasonably just” democratic state, who depend on receiving (from the rich citizens) the economic benefits of distributive justice. Second, Norman argues that constitutionalizing a right of secession serves to ground secession in the rule of law, thereby reducing the chance of violence and disruption to the democratic process. Otherwise, if there were no constitutional rules in place governing secession, “a victory for secessionists in a referendum amounts to little more than the strengthening of the secessionists’ hand in a game of power politics.”

In other words, we do not want secessionists to get an advantage over the central government in claiming the legitimacy to secede in a situation in which there are no legal rules in place to govern secession. Thus, it is better to have constitutional rules in place for secession than to have no rules at all.

Another argument Norman makes is that the existence of a secession clause would be “evidence that the state is united by consent and not force.” Here, Norman is essentially acknowledging the weak foundation of consent upon which the existence of the democratic state currently rests. He admits that:

Even in the democratic world, almost none of the existing national minorities ever gave their initial, democratic assent to their membership in the larger state; and few have had a formal opportunity to assent since.

Instead of concluding that a constitutional right of secession should be a right used by non-consenting minority groups to correct the past injustice of non-consent, Norman instead justifies



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Extracts

As the decision was politically motivated the viability of the anticipated goals are meant to justify use of HO officially for the civil service. Despite the decision, however, its implementation has not yet been put officially into effect. As mentioned above, to date, the working language of the Region has been Amharic. This major function, therefore, has been allocated to, and carried out by Amharic, a key alternative choice taken in the face of obstacles. These were mainly linguistic, socio-cultural and political. These problems constituted major barriers which delayed implementation of the new policy, whose formulation dates back to 1992. The Region has been taking steps, part of it being the present study, which include detailed descriptions and interpretations of the policy and its regulations, along with planning strategies for viable application and course of actions.

