



ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION AND BEHAVIORAL STUDIES

DEPARTMENT OF CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION

**Ethno Cultural Minority Students Experiences of Schooling:
Manifestations, purposes and Roles of Hidden Curriculum in Ethno
Culturally Diverse Primary Schools of Amhara Region, Ethiopia**

By

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Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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**Dissertation Report on Ethno Cultural Minority Students
Experience of Schooling: Manifestations, Purposes and Roles of
Hidden Curriculum in Ethno Cultural Diverse Primary Schools of
Amhara Region.**

**A Dissertation Report Submitted to the Graduate Studies of Addis Ababa
University, College of Education and Behavioral Studies, Department of
Curriculum and Instruction in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Curriculum Studies**

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**May, 2024
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Declaration

I the undersigned declare that this dissertation entitled: *“Ethno cultural Minority Students Experience of Schooling: Manifestations, Purposes and Roles of The Hidden Curriculum in Ethnocultural Diverse Primary Schools of the Amhara Region, Ethiopia”* is my original work. I have undertaken the research work independently with the guidance and support of the research supervisor. This study has not been submitted for any degree or diploma program in this or any other institutions and that all sources of materials used for the dissertation have been dully acknowledged.

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Certification

This is to certify that this dissertation report prepared by Tesfaye Ebabuye Andargie entitled with *Ethno Cultural minority students experience of schooling: manifestations, purposes and roles of hidden curriculum in ethno cultural diverse primary schools of the Amhara region, Ethiopia* and submitted to the Graduate Studies of Addis Ababa University, College of Education and Behavioral Studies, Department of Curriculum and Instruction in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Curriculum Studies complies with regulations of the universities and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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ABSTRACT

The focus of this research was to explore and understand the role of hidden curriculum in shaping the lived experiences of ethnocultural minority students. Close observation and in-depth interviews were conducted with 32 students and 8 teachers purposefully selected from four ethno culturally diverse primary schools. A phenomenological thematic case by case and cross-case analysis was used to explore and understand the manifestations and functions of the hidden curriculum in shaping the lived experience of minority students. The resulting codes and categories under each case were organized around themes related to the research questions. The emerging themes were examined using theories of critical pedagogy, cultural reproduction, culturally responsive schooling, hidden curriculum and multiculturalism. The study's findings revealed that the hidden curriculum is manifested through beliefs implicitly embedded in curriculum adaptation, classroom instruction and assessment techniques, disciplining practices, leadership positions, labeling language, and the celebration of marked national holidays. These beliefs subtly embedded in the process and structure of schooling, negatively shaped the lived experiences of ethnocultural minority students. As a result, students from ethnocultural minorities exhibited resistance toward schooling and the educational system as a whole. Furthermore, by perpetuating and fostering the implicit perceptions and beliefs ingrained in the design and operation of the educational system that hinder equitable quality education for all, primary school teachers and students from ethnocultural majority groups played detrimental roles. The result showed that the hidden curriculum is counterproductive to the goals of critical thinking, problem solving, and unity in diversity thereby discouraging equality, equity, and social justice. Ethno culturally diverse primary schools are lacking in the practical implementation of multi-cultural and culturally responsive education. Despite its profound impact on the socialization, lived experience, and identity of ethnocultural minority students, policymakers paid no attention to the effects of hidden curriculum on the ethnocultural minority students. The goal of achieving unity through diversity, which was not accompanied by an understanding and accommodation of our differences, resulted in a seemingly equal educational system that effectively marginalized and oppressed ethnocultural minority students. The nature of the hidden curriculum, how to manage it, and how it functions to promote the interests of ethnocultural majority students should be understood by teachers in multicultural and intercultural school environments. Therefore the research recommends policymakers should eradicate such a discriminatory, inhuman social treatment and prejudiced policy and practice environment that excludes the experience, aspiration and dreams of minority students. And hence the real and concrete malpractices that the research has uncovered must be stopped with urgency. Regional and national level Policy frameworks that are inclusive, culturally responsive and critical have to be designed by regional education bureau and ministry of education respectively and practically implemented in order for the life goals of minority students to be realized.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Education in order to accomplish its ends both for the individual learner and for society must be based upon experience, which is always the actual life experience of some individual (Dewey, 1938). Across the world, countries with a dynamics of ethno cultural majority and minority groups are highly interested and invested on education as they came to understand that it is a precondition required to trigger the subtleties that nurture a unified society. This is only possible if youngsters from various ethnocultural backgrounds and experiences perceive school as a pleasant learning environment that broadens their experience, knowledge, competencies, and level of confidence (Jayaram, 2010).

The majority of countries (e.g. Argentina, Ghana, Laos, and Zanzibar) stipulate in their education policy statements that their education system meets the needs of diverse learners. Countries have been working to improve the quality of primary education since the formulation of the Sustainable Development Goals, 2015-2030, especially objective four (Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all). The monitoring indicators of goal four focus on how education systems respond to gender equality, improving education for rural and marginalized students, students with special educational needs, and improving student performance in national learning assessments. The above macro-level indicators, it is argued (Dawit & Tesfaye, 2021), can be met if local actors and institutions cultivate schooling values and practices that promote equitable quality education.

According to research in educational change and reform (e.g., Jessica, 2012), schools and classrooms are actual sites for evaluating the institutionalization of new ideas and practices. To have an impact on the real lives of teachers, district education and school leaders, students, and parents in ethnoculturally diverse contexts, macro global and national level targets and goals must be effectively and coherently devolved into corresponding local interventions and practices. Sustainable development goals will not be meaningfully realized or implemented in the absence

of proper cascading and tracking of teaching and learning practices and school culture that promote equitable quality education. This condition is satisfied only as an educator views teaching and learning as a continuous process of reconstruction of experience. This condition in turn can be satisfied only as the educator has a long look ahead and views every present experience as a moving force in influencing what future experiences will be (Dewey, 1938).

It is crucial to recognize how teachers, students, school administrators, community members, and other actors shape the attitudes, perceptions, and educational practices that either advance or obstruct the provision of equitable, quality education. The struggle against the promotion of beliefs and school policies that prevent equitable access to quality education is specifically where teachers and students may play a key role. In order for education to serve the interests of solely the dominant culture, it is possible for teachers and students to perpetuate those beliefs and attitudes that indirectly undermine equitable and quality education. The opposite is also true: teachers and students could play a significant role in preventing the spread of educational practices and beliefs that hinder access to quality education for all students in order for the educational system's structure and procedures to work in their best interests and ensure that no child is left behind.

Scholars who engage in doing research in the area of curriculum studies contend that deliberations, activities, interactions, academic works, rewards and punishment, hierarchy of power, and logistics of educational contexts teach students more diverse beliefs, attitudes, values, practices, and interrelationships than formal curriculum (Dickerson, 2007). In line with this, scholars (e.g., Aktas, 2016; Apple, 2004, 2008; Bourdieu, 1986, 1990, 1992, 1993, 2011; Giroux, 1991, 2000, 2008; Margaret, 2014; Sabin, 2011; Sandra, 1982; Sarah and Brian, 2011) found out that the educational opportunity of students of ethno cultural minority groups, their access to equity and quality education has been by far influenced by the hidden curriculum of schooling being mediated through their minority status that includes ethnicity, language, gender, religion, and class. The hidden curriculum refers to this process of implicit learning and socialization.

The hidden curriculum is primarily transmitted in schools that serve low-income and ethnocultural minority students through the rule-oriented disciplinary code, curriculum content and structure, co-curricular activities, pedagogy, assessment, reward, and punishment. Hidden curriculum is a concept whose meaning encompasses various issues such as beliefs, perceptions,

attitudes, and values that students learn not from their textbooks but from their lived experience of schooling. These emerge from the unspoken messages sent by the school structure and process, student-teacher interactions, discipline and punishment, reward, and the various school cultures (Rigieta, 2017).

Ethno cultural minority students motivation for learning increases as the process and structure of schooling including the selection and organization of classroom contents, instructional approaches and assessment techniques accommodate and values their experience. One of the major reasons why ethno cultural minority students drop out of their education is because of the prevalent discrepancy between their home experience and school experience. Therefore, by constructing bridges of connection between the school and out of school experience of ethno cultural minority students, schools can work to retain these students at their education (Banks, 1995, 2010).

Ethiopia, a country in East Africa with a population of over 120 million and more than 80 distinct ethno-cultural groupings, has worked to realize the objective of equitable quality education by creating and implementing a five-year GEQIP program (World Bank, 2017). Amhara regional state, which is the focus of this study, is located in the north western and north-central part of Ethiopia. In the last decade, the Amhara regional state has made significant progress in expanding access to basic education service delivery. Access to education at all levels increased rapidly in tandem with a significant increase in the number of teachers, schools, and institutions (ANRSEB, 2021).

According to the Ministry of Education's newly designed Education Road Map (2018), Ethiopia has been working towards enhanced improvements in educational provisions, with a particular emphasis on providing "quality and equitable education for all," which is essential for developing 21st-century competencies and moving society forward. In line with this, the primary goal of the curriculum framework developed for the country's general education system is to enable learners to become creative and critical thinkers, decision-makers, and problem solvers, maximizing the individuality and potential of every student to achieve holistic development regardless of gender, ability or disability, ethnicity, religion, or geographical location, employ pertinent knowledge and values to promote solidarity, and nascent democracy (MOE, 2020). pp17-18).

The five-year program GEQIP-Equity is currently in the final stages of execution. GEQIP-Equity aims to effectively actualize equity at the primary school level on a national scale. Furthermore, promoting unity in diversity is one of the major principles of the newly developed general education curriculum framework. It states that “because Ethiopia is a country of people with a rich history of living together while being diverse in terms of ethnicity, language, religion, way of life, and inhabitation, it is important to acknowledge this diversity and value its people's history and traditions” (MOE, 2020. P.22). It is also beneficial to acknowledge and respect individual differences based on age, gender, beliefs, personal development, socio-cultural background, geographical location, ethnicity, religion, economic status, and physical and mental health.

It is typically argued that some values, such as democracy, tolerance, and responsibility, can only be learned by experience. That is why the concept of the hidden curriculum and resistance emphasizes the necessity of democratic practice in schools. Students at different levels of the Ethiopian education system have to develop skills of accommodating and appreciating these diversity and they have to be supported to develop a common national objective and narration to strive together towards it without discrimination and prejudice (Abebaw, 2014, Alemseged, 2004; Ambissa, 2010). The general education curriculum framework emphasizes that “all children can learn, grow, and succeed by: respecting diversity in all forms, promoting an inclusive environment, and sanctioning policies and practices that address the individual and specific needs of the learner and the learning community” (MOE, 2020. P. 22).

It also suggested that, while recognizing and appreciating the diversities, it is essential to work toward strengthening national unity. Thus, Ethiopia's primary schools with a variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds must put into practice what they hope to promote, particularly promoting diversity with unity. The Ministry of Education roadmap (2018), which was designed to guide education in Ethiopia from 2018 to 2030, identified the major challenges in providing quality, equitable, and efficient education for all at the primary level. In particular, regardless of the efforts made, increased participation in primary education was not accompanied by high-quality learning outcomes. Primary school graduates lack competence, which necessitates the integration of knowledge, skills, and the necessary values. Civic and ethical education has made

little contribution to the socialization of student behavior and do not strongly advocate unity with diversity in primary schools.

Furthermore, problem-solving skills that promote critical thinking and livelihood skills are undervalued. Co-curricular activities which are instrumental in promoting social competence and moral development are not part of the curriculum (MOE, 2018). In terms of student-related issues, the majority of primary school students lack motivation, interest, and commitment to their education. Absenteeism and an insufficient support system are still common issues affecting the quality of primary education. Amare, Carvalho, and Rose (2021) added that, despite ambitious goals, significant economic progress, and improvements in education access over the last two decades, primary school completion and learning outcomes have fallen short, particularly for the most disadvantaged. And hence the third General Education Quality Improvement Program for Equity (World Bank, 2017) has been on its implementation which is believed to have coincided with the MDG goal of inclusive and equitable quality education for all (Amare, Carvalho, and Rose, 2021).

Diversity along with ethnic, linguistic, religious, and many other indicators is the reality of Ethiopian societies (Alemseged, 2004; Ambissa, 2010). Ethiopia which is the general context of this study is one of the highly diverse sub-Saharan African countries. Ethiopia is the federal Democratic Republic consisting of eleven regional states and two city administrations. It is the second-most populous nation in Africa next to Nigeria with over 80 different ethnic and linguistic groups (MOE, 2020).

Compared to the imperial and the Derg regimes, the EPRDF led government has empowered ethnic groups in numerous areas of linguistic, cultural, and religious features (Abebaw, 2014; Alemseged, 2004). By understanding Ethiopia as an ethnically diverse country with a political history of ethno linguistic domination, the EPRDF led government introduced an ethnic-based federal system that believed to accommodate and encourage diversity (Abebaw, 2014; Alemseged, 2004). Accordingly, ethnicity became the ideological basis of the EPRDF government's political organization and administration (Abebaw, 2014; Alemseged, 2004). And hence, if Ethiopian children are to worth differences and work towards the common goods that are free from inherited biases, prejudice, and ethnocentrism, they have to be experienced with the

reality of the diversity of the population (Ambissa, 2010). Emphasizing the need for the practice of democracy in schools, it is usually suggested that some values, such as democracy, tolerance, and responsibility, grow only with experiencing them.

Amhara regional state which is the focus of this study is located in the north western and north-central part of Ethiopia. The historic Amhara Region contains much of the highland plateaus above 1500 meters with rugged formations, gorges, and valleys, and millions of settlements for Amhara villages surrounded by subsistence farms and grazing fields (Aynalem, 2021). The regional state of Amhara is divided into 13 zones and 140 Weredas. There are approximately 3429 kebeles (the smallest administrative units). Because decision-making power has recently been decentralized to Weredas, the Weredas is now responsible for all development activities in their areas. North Gondar, Central Gondar, West Gondar, South Gondar, West Gojjam, East Gojjam, Awie, Wag Hemera, North Wollo, South Wollo, Oromia special zone, North Shewa, and Bahir Dar City special zone are the 13 administrative zones. For the Amhara Region, the CSA estimated a total population of 20,136,000 in mid-2008, with a fifty-fifty numerical split between the sexes (Aynalem, 2021). In the last decade, the Amhara regional state has made significant progress in expanding access to basic education service delivery. Access to education at all levels increased rapidly in tandem with a significant increase in the number of teachers, schools, and institutions (ANRSEB, 2021).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

There is theoretical inconsistency among education scholars regarding the role of education as a great social and economic equalizer for students from different ethnocultural backgrounds and socioeconomic statuses especially among students from ethno cultural majority and ethno cultural minority students. One of the prominent and leading theories that argues for the prevalence of such a disparity and inequality among students from different ethnocultural background is the theory of cultural reproduction (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990; Jason, Lace & Tracey, 2013). The theory argues that the process and structure of schooling that includes the curriculum adaptation, teachers selection and application of classroom instructional approaches, contents and assessment techniques, election systems for school positions and celebration of marked national and international days communicate discriminatory messages to different

students based on their ethno cultural background. The covert nature of these divisive practices makes them difficult to observe, analyze and counter, hence rendering them even more detrimental to solidarity in any society (Foucault, 1979). Subtle forces, the hidden curriculum, shape experiences, learning, identities, and interactions within every school (Apple, 2004).

There is also a scholarly debate about the prevalence of persistent and consistent inequality and inequity among students from different ethnocultural backgrounds in ethnoculturally diverse primary schools. Cultural institutions such as schools have the potential to create situations and contexts that set aside the background experience of ethno cultural minority students and exclude their aspirations and dreams just because they are not part of the dominant and the majority ethno cultural group (Giroux, 1983a; Giroux, 1983b; Giroux, 1984; McLaren, 1993; McLaren, 1994; McLaren, 1995). Therefore, the hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in the process and structure of ethno culturally diverse primary schools works to silence the experience and voice of ethno cultural minority students. Ethno cultural minority students in these contexts are just expected to obey the rules and accept any authority without questioning like a soldier trained for docility (Foucault, 1979).

Schools provide few opportunities for self and social empowerment for many students, particularly those from ethnocultural minority groups and the lowest socioeconomic level of society. School for these ethnocultural minority students is a place that disconfirms their experiences, histories, and dreams. This alienation is expressed in part by the high rate of student absenteeism and school violence, as well as many students' refusal to take seriously the academic demands and social practices of schools, with existing inequality and inequity of access and opportunity to educational resources (Giroux & Stanley, 1986). Promoting harmonious inter-ethnic relationships is a new challenge for schools in multiethnic countries, including Ethiopia, with increasing ethnocultural diversity, but there are barriers to meeting this challenge. To put it another way, overt and covert knowledge found in school settings, as well as the principles of selection, organization, and evaluation of this knowledge, are value-laden selections from a much larger universe of possible knowledge and collection principles (Giroux & David, 1983). As value-laden choices, they must be made problematic, bracketed, so that the social and economic ideologies, as well as the institutionally patterned beliefs, values, and meanings that

stand behind them, can be examined. The latent meaning, the configuration that lies behind a position's common sense acceptability, may be its most important feature.

Furthermore, Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) argued that the process and structure of schooling is constructed on practices and beliefs that promote inequity of opportunities towards ethno cultural minority students and this is called symbolic violence. Therefore, the consistently prevalence of these inequality communicate an implicit message that ethno cultural minority students are not born for education and hence schooling is not a place for them. These students are made coerced to believe that their cultural background has no place in the process and structure of schooling (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu, 1992; Bourdieu, 1993; Bourdieu, 2011).

Ethno cultural minority students feel helpless and powerless just because they are coerced to believe that they do not have the right and legitimate cultural capital. However, ethno cultural majority students are supported to be empowered and powerful just because they are supposed to have acquainted with the required and arbitrarily legitimize cultural capital (Lee et.al, 2002). Similarly, Aktas (2016) found that ethno cultural majority students who have the 'required' cultural capital were in a better position to easily explore teachers and authority expectations of them and hence easily navigate through the education system. Students who had cultural capital that was out of sync with the social environment of the school and perceived a more repressive hidden curriculum, on the other hand, struggled during the activities related to those issues. As a result, providing students with superficially equal opportunities did not have the same effects because the students had characteristics that differed based on their cultural capital and perceived hidden curriculum. Schools appear to contribute to socioeconomic inequality by being tacitly organized to distribute specific types of knowledge and experience differently (Bordieu & Passeron, 1990; Giroux, 1983 a, b, 1986).

Several researches (e.g., Baysu, Hillekens, Phalet & Deaux, 2021) found out that ethno cultural minority and ethno cultural majority students do not interested to make friend ship outside their group peers therefore ethno cultural minority students became isolated. Caroline (2004) discovered that ethno cultural minority students and students with special needs experience discrimination and prejudice in primary schools. This implicates that ethno cultural minority students at ethno culturally diverse primary schools experience multidimensional abuse and harassment. Similarly, Berkowitz (2020) found out that ethno cultural minority students face

inequality, inequity and stereotype at multiethnic primary schools. The school system has the same structure everywhere, and its hidden curriculum has the same effect everywhere. The hidden curriculum of schooling develops the habit of self-defeating service consumption and alienating production, tolerance for institutional dependence, and recognition of institutional rankings everywhere (Illich, 1970).

The role of hidden curriculum and socialization in the perpetuation of implicit beliefs, values, practices and attitudes through the process and structure of schooling in multiethnic education contexts is also related to the prevalence of socio economic inequality among the wider society (Apple, 1979; Apple, 2004; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990; Giroux, 1979; Giroux, 1983a, Giroux, 1983b; Giroux, 1986; Giroux, 1997; Illich, 1970; McLaren, 1995). The scholastic belief that democratic and cosmopolitan citizen accommodates the ethno cultural diversity of the society through education is under critical scrutiny. The prevalence of asymmetrical power relations in schools among the students and the teachers in the process and structure of schooling is the marker of the failure of the above argument about education as a great equalizer (Illich, 1970).

Giroux (1981, 1983) and Willis (1977, 1981) argue, however, that students are not passive recipients of the values and beliefs implicitly embedded in the hidden curriculum of schooling that discourages equitable education. Schools are not only places of oppression and inequality, but also places of emancipation and resistance. As a result, resistance is a valued theoretical and ideological concept that provides a significant emphasis for investigating the relationship between schooling and society as a whole. Therefore, based on this argument students are viewed as active participants in the production of symbolic resistance to these arbitrarily defined and communicated beliefs and values that are subtly embedded in the process and structure of schooling. Resistance to teachers' and school leaders' arbitrarily defined power authority increases ethno-cultural minority students' sense of empowerment, emancipation, and liberation (Willis, 1978). Therefore the theory of resistance can be used for examining schools as cultural institutions that played significant roles in shaping the lived experiences of students from ethnocultural minority groups (Giroux, 1983a; Giroux, 1984; Giroux, 1988; Giroux, 1997).

On top of the theoretical disagreements over the role of education as a great equalizer, the researcher has also identified inconsistencies among the research findings regarding the role of hidden curriculum in molding the socialization and hence the lived experience and identity of

ethno cultural minority students. Education scholars in the critical camp propagate that the hidden curriculum negatively influences the lived experience and identity of ethnocultural minority students (Skelton, 1997). In contrast to this, functionalists argue that ethno-cultural minority students learn some codes of conduct in their interaction with the process and structure of schooling. They argue that implicit beliefs and values embedded in the process and structure of schooling as manifestations of the hidden curriculum have a positive influence on student's adaptation to the educational context and schooling. However, those ethno cultural minority students who do not possess the 'required' cultural capital cannot understand the teachers and, authority expectations and hence educational mobility becomes challenging for them. In support of this, Apple (2006a, 2006b, 2008, 2010 & 2011) indicates that schools as social institutions through their arbitrary power relations determine what is legitimate and what is not and hence they have the potential to positively or negatively affect the socialization and lived experience of ethno cultural minority students. Through their labeling of the dominant knowledge, schools engaged in differentiating students into different status groups for having or not having legitimate knowledge. Therefore schools have to be conceived of at the core of a struggle among different ethno cultural groups towards socio economic and political dominance (Giroux, 1983 a, b; 1986).

Schools also play a significant role in disseminating the kinds of normative and dispositional elements required to make this inequality appear natural and unquestionable, such as beliefs, values, and norms. They teach a hidden curriculum that appears to be uniquely suited to maintaining the ideological hegemony of society's ethnocultural majority groups. Elaine (2007) found out that events organized at multiethnic primary schools that were supposed to enhance togetherness and unity among students from different ethno cultural background may also trigger conflict among out of school and school experiences of ethno cultural minority students.

The hegemony of the ethnocultural majority groups' experience and background was served by the hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in the process and structures of the ethnoculturally diverse primary schools. As a result, the function of the hidden curriculum is social control, which has been variously identified as political socialization, value instillation, class structure maintenance, and training in obedience and docility, among other things (Apple, 1979; Apple, 1980; Apple, 1981; Apple, 2004; Giroux, 1983; McLaren, 1995). Furthermore, Margaret (2014)

stated that all of these elements interact to form a belief and perception which impacts students' abilities to function in a school setting. Only those who have lived the experiences can fully comprehend them. The perceptions, experiences, and insights of these students must be gained and reflected upon in order to create a better, more equitable learning environment that promotes school success for students from non-dominant cultures. In his book *Ideology and Curriculum*, Apple (2004) described how one form of reproduction of the values, beliefs, norms, and dispositions transmitted by the cultural apparatus of society through socialization and what has been called hidden curriculum supplements another (the formal corpus of school knowledge), each of which appears to be linked to social and economic inequality. Similarly, McLaren (1990, 1993, 1994 & 1995) stated that schools are historical and structural embodiments of ideological forms reproduced through uneven informal alignments that privilege certain groups, and asymmetrical relations of power that sustain such privilege.

Schools represent reality in monolithic ways that ignore the diverse and unique of identity construction. Schools are therefore social institutions that implicitly instigate ruthless competition over scarce resources among the ethno cultural majority and minority groups (Bernstein, 1975; Bernstein, 1981; McLaren, 1990; McLaren 1993; McLaren 1994 & McLaren 1995). Therefore schools are not free of implicit political struggles and messages communicated through the hidden curriculum. Schools construct conditions where the majority with the legitimate and dominant ethno cultural groups oppress the ethno cultural minority group's who have not the legitimate and dominant ethno cultural experience and background. This clearly implicates that the process and structure of schooling through implicit communication of beliefs and practices that discourage equitable education stratify students with different ethno cultural backgrounds for different status and roles (Apple, 1980; Apple 1981; Apple 2004; Apple 2006; Apple 2008; Apple 2010; Apple 2011; Atkin, 1999; Bernstein, 1975; Bernstein, 1981; Bernstein, 1995; McLaren, 1990; McLaren 1993; McLaren 1994 & McLaren 1995). The process and structure of schooling therefore implicitly works for socio economic and political inequality among different ethno cultural groups.

According to Regina and Cecile (2008), male ethno cultural minority students are usually labeled as the most disturbing students in multiethnic schools. Therefore they are most likely the ones to be registered as 'bad citizens' in the blacklist. This arbitrary stratification and labeling of

students as good and bad citizens send an implicit message that those students from ethno cultural minority groups do not belong in schools. In ethnoculturally diverse primary schools, the mainstream curriculum is also found to be one of the major parts of schooling in which ethnic-based biases and discrimination manifest. Banks (1995, 2010) remarked that a mainstream-centric curriculum that focuses on the experiences of ethnocultural majority groups but it set aside the identity and out of school experience of ethno cultural minority students.

Ethno cultural minority students have been challenged in the education system just because of the prevalence of cultural conflict between their school and home experience. Similarly, Elain (2007) stated that ethno cultural minority students face cultural conflict between their out of school experience and the multiethnic experience in the school compound. Giroux (1979, 1981, 1983a, 1988, and 1997), therefore argues that the socialization and reproduction through the process and structure of schooling has not contributed for critical thinking and problem solving among ethno cultural minority students. The hidden curriculum implicitly manifested through the positivist instructional approach has little to do with the knowledge construction and critical reflection of the school experiences among ethno cultural minority students.

According to Sandra (1982), implicit beliefs and values embedded in the process and structure of schooling promotes students drop out of school and they discourage their academic mobility. At the micro-level, students bring different sets of inputs to school, which influence the learning gains, or outputs, associated with schooling (Giroux, 1979). Therefore, the school's hidden curriculum, for Garcia and Lossovoy (2011), harm ethno cultural minority students through communicating implicit messages that they are not worthy of wasting their time in schooling and education as if education is not structured and organized for their experience and background.

Schools also communicate the hidden curriculum to students through the disciplinary measures and rules in place. Despite the fact that school regulations are constructed so as to enhance smooth running of the process and structure of schooling, they have also negative influences on the lived experience of ethno cultural minority students (Thornburg, 2009). The rules and regulations communicate implicit beliefs that discourage student's participation and agency through rejection of student's voice. Ethno cultural minority students receive implicit message that rule making and oversighting their proper implementation is the duty of adult's not primary school students (Sandra, 1982). Implicit beliefs and practices embedded in the practice of school

disciplining practices send a message that students have not the right to question and critically reflect on these rules and they are just expected to be blindly obedient to the schools (Thornburg, 2009). To support these claims, Jean, Floyd, and Jenny (2017) pointed out that the major learning take on by ethno cultural students from school rules and regulations is just passivity and obedience. According to McLaren (1994 & 1995), implicit beliefs and values embedded in the process and structure of schooling linked with hegemony that constructs and reproduces inequity and inequality among different students with different ethno cultural background. Teachers play important roles in producing and communicating hidden curriculum through their students' expectations (Giroux, 1983b; McLaren, 1995). In addition, Ann (2013) also stated that the asymmetrical power dynamics in multiethnic schools based on ethnocultural background entails the prevalence of inequality and inequity among students. Therefore schools implicitly propagates and reproduce the dominant cultural capital and enforce ethnocultural minority students to succumb to this hegemony.

According to Giroux (1979, 1981, 1983b, & 1984), implicit beliefs embedded in the process of the construction of knowledge and their functioning in serving the interest of specific groups is under researched. Positivist instructional approaches selected and applied by teachers in primary schools do not relate to the daily lived experiences of ethno cultural minority students. Therefore, there are several possibilities for these teachers to detach their instruction from the background of their students. Similarly, Padma (1990) argued that teacher perceptions, and behavior wittingly or unwittingly may serve to discriminate against students from ethnocultural minority groups. Similarly, Carol and Jane (2014), found out that students from low economic and ethnocultural minority status got lower academic expectations from teachers especially from ethnocultural majority groups. Likewise, Victor (2016) indicated that ethnocultural majority teachers exhibited lower academic expectations from ethno cultural minority students. And hence, the process and structure of schooling is a social site for the most radical production and reproduction of inequity and inequality among students from different ethno cultural background and experience (Apple, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010 & 2011; Bernstein, 1975, 1995 & 2013; Bourdieu, 1984, 1986, 2011; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990, Giroux, 1979, 1981, 1983b, 1986; McLaren, 1995).

However, despite the prevalence of several empirical findings regarding the role of schooling in the production and reproduction of inequality among different students from different ethno cultural backgrounds, scholars supporting the resistance theory suggested that, schools are not solely sites for the passive reproduction of inequality and yet they are also sites of resistance and emancipation. They argue that the reproduction theory and related findings narrated schools just as sites of resistance and they also sees students as passive participants and blind obedient which is not the only fact happening in schools (Apple, 1979, 1980, 1981, 2004). However, it is not correct to assert that ethnocultural minority students unquestionably accept these beliefs, attitudes, norms, and dispositions. In contrast to the main arguments of reproduction theorists, curriculum scholars on the side of resistance theory argue that disadvantaged ethnocultural minority students are not simply the result of hegemonic cultural capital, submissively succumbing to the prescriptions of dictatorial teachers and school authority that shape them for a life of oppression and depression. Schools, understandably, represent contested landscapes manifested not only through structural and ideological paradoxes, but also by mutually well-versed student resistance. Similarly, schools are social sites defined by explicit and hidden curricula, with multifaceted and innovative arenas of resistance in which ethnic, class, and gender-mediated beliefs and practices routinely reject the fundamental communications of schools (Giroux, 1983a). Of course, there has been a discouraging trend in officially and formally recognizing individual student agency for critical thinking, reflection, and questioning of the prevalent inequity and inequality in quality education. Ethno cultural minority students using their agency can question and critically reflect on the implicit beliefs and values embedded in the process and structure of schooling and sometimes they may also participate in resistance against schooling and education in general (Banks & Banks, 2010). And these implicit beliefs and values embedded in ethno cultural minority student's resistance and opposition to the process and structure of schooling are manifested through these students' activities and engagements (Apple, 1980). Therefore, schools are sites for the production of student resistance to the process and structure of schooling, and thus sites of emancipation and empowerment (Apple, 1980, 1981, 2004; Giroux, 1983, 1986; Willis, 1977, 1981).

Similarly, curriculum scholars such as Eisner (1979), Eisner & Vallance (1974), Giroux (1981, 1983a, 1984, and 1986), and Willis (1977 & 1981) argued that, while it is fashionable to view the hidden curriculum as having an entirely negative impact on education, this is not always the

case. They argued that the school's hidden curriculum may also have positive outcomes on the socialization and lived experience of ethno cultural minority students in the sense that it may help them acquire good code of conduct and moral citizenship. They are not part of the formal curriculum, but they are taught in schools.

In the case of Ethiopia and specifically related to the Amhara region, Ambissa (2010) discovered that ethnoculturally diverse students at multiethnic schools in Ethiopia lack the knowledge of other ethno cultural groups in their localities. On top of that they showed forms of hatred to the ethno cultural background of students who are not in the same group with them and sometimes they suspect they are harmful to them. Similarly, Girma (2008) and Tadesse (2020) disclosed that ethno cultural majority and ethno cultural minority students at Kemissie primary school got into conflict among each other and they never attend their education in the same shift (Girma, 2008; Tadesse, 2020).

They value their in-groups and have negative feelings about the out-groups. They suspect the "others" are dangerous and are afraid of them. Most children do not want to have positive interactions or relationships with people who are ethnically, culturally, or religiously different from them (Ambissa, 2010). Furthermore, fights and ethnic bullying have been common even at student sports tournaments, and there is ethnic discrimination in both the community and the school (Girma, 2008; Tadesse, 2020). When students enter the classroom, some written messages that insult each other's ethnicity or religion are usually seen on the blackboard, as evidenced by participating teachers (Girma, 2008).

In contrast to these findings however, Alemayehu (2010) found out that, the Amhara region's second cycle primary level social science subject textbooks reflect multiculturalism. Opposing this, Girma (2008) found that, the curriculum is not as sensitive as needed in terms of addressing diversity markers other than gender. Furthermore, Solomon and Sintayehu (2020) found that the goals of equity and equality in education for all in Ethiopia remain in the policy document, and "the nation has failed" practically to implement those policy intentions. Therefore, revitalizing the practical realization of diversity issues of the different policy documents through various strategies is a timely call for representation of different groups and identifies creating a fertile ground for equality and equity of all citizens (Tariku and Gara, 2016; Wondifraw, 2017; Yonathan, 2019; Yonathan & Christophe, 2013).

The researcher contends to explore and understand the level that the voices, backgrounds, and experiences of ethnocultural minority students represented and if they receive recognition or consideration in Ethiopia's policy formulation context. If there is an underrepresentation and exclusion of ethnocultural minority students' lived experiences and backgrounds it may result in negative socialization and educational experiences for these disadvantaged students. The current grand narratives and mantra of 'unity in diversity' may cover the practical reality of social injustice and inequity of educational opportunities in Ethiopia by implicitly silencing the voices and lived experience of ethnocultural minority groups.

Despite the prevalence of some initiatives in Ethiopia to actualize equal educational opportunity for diverse primary school students, the practical reality seems superficial so that internal minority students may face multidimensional discrimination, exclusion, and prejudice. Examining and understanding ethnocultural minority students' schooling experiences, and thus their counter narrative discourses on the recognition and accommodation of diversity with unity in the educational system, enables policymakers to design culturally responsive education.

International human and educational rights declarations, such as the UN declarations on human rights (1948, 1965, 1966a, 1966b, and 1992a), the minority group educational rights declaration (1992b), and the cultural rights declaration (1948) indicated the educational and human rights of ethno cultural minority groups. The FDRE constitution (1995) and national educational policy documents (MOE, 1994, 2010, 2012, 2015, 2018, 2020), have also well-depicted educational and human rights of minority groups. The researcher wants to explore and understand if the minority students experience and background and in general their human and educational rights were given the attention they deserved in the education system and structures of schooling in ethnically diverse settings. Implicit beliefs and school practices mediated through the hidden curriculum may alienate and exclude the experience of ethno cultural minority students from the process and structure of schooling. Because of this, the researcher is motivated to expose the hidden curriculum that has an influence on shaping the lived experiences and identity of students from ethnic and cultural minorities.

The researcher believes that the voices of ethnocultural minority students can prompt policymakers to create policy frameworks that are inclusive, culturally responsive, and critical in order for their dreams, aspirations, and life goals to be realized. Despite the fact that Ethiopia is a

country where people of diverse backgrounds and experiences coexist, ethnocultural minority students' schooling experiences have not been researched. As a result, we lack a deep knowledge and understanding of the lived experiences of ethnocultural minority students in school, as well as how the structure and process of schooling mediated by the hidden curriculum shape their socialization and lived experience. To the best of the researchers' knowledge, no research has been done on the role that teachers and students play in the production and reproduction of implicit beliefs and perceptions that affect equitable access to quality education in primary schools.

Even though numerous studies done on multicultural education in Ethiopia (e.g.,????), no studies have been done on the role that education plays in advancing the interests of specific ethno cultural groups. Furthermore, empirical research on the manifestations, functions and role of the hidden curriculum in shaping the lived experience and identity of ethno-cultural minority students are not done. And none of these local studies have used a phenomenological research approach to better understand the meaning of ethnocultural minority students' schooling experiences as they are shaped and influenced by the hidden curriculum of the schooling process and structure.

The assessment conducted as a base line for the preparation of the Ethiopian education roadmap identified the main inadequacies, and difficulties that prevent equitable, quality education for all at the general education level and more specifically at the elementary school level. This assessment report, which was finally incorporated in the education roadmap, showed that there are glaring inadequacies in the country's primary school settings. Yet, there are also observed gaps in the assessment's knowledge of how teachers and students contribute to the dissemination of the implicit attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs at the primary school level that affect equitable quality education. The important question of whose interests are served by the implicit beliefs and perceptions produced and reproduced in elementary school settings are not well addressed in the report. As a result, the researcher in this study is curious to fill the gap in the knowledge about the nature of the hidden curriculum and its effect in the socialization of ethno cultural minority students at ethno culturally diverse primary schools.

Therefore, the purpose of this study was to fill a knowledge, methodological and empirical gap by investigating and understanding the manifestations, functions, and roles of the hidden

curriculum in shaping the lived experiences of ethnocultural minority students in selected ethnoculturally diverse primary schools in the Amhara region.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

The objective of this research was to explore and understand the manifestations, functions and roles of the hidden curriculum in shaping the lived experiences and identity of ethno cultural minority students.

1.4 Research Questions

The research questions of this study were:

- How does the hidden curriculum of schooling manifest in the ethno culturally diverse primary schools of the Amhara Region?
- How does the hidden curriculum shape the ethno cultural minority students' experiences of schooling in ethno culturally diverse primary schools of the Amhara region?
- How does the hidden curriculum of schooling serve the interest of ethno cultural majority students in the ethno culturally diverse primary schools of the Amhara region?
- What roles do students, teachers and school leaders in ethno culturally diverse primary schools play in fostering the construction of beliefs, attitudes, values, and practices in schools that affect equitable quality education?
 - (A) What roles do students, teachers and school leaders in ethno culturally diverse primary schools play in fostering beliefs, attitudes, values, and practices in schools that affect equitable quality education?
 - B) What roles do students, teachers and school leaders in ethno culturally diverse primary schools play in fighting against beliefs, attitudes, values, and practices in schools that affect equitable quality education?)

1.5 Scope of the study

Even though there are many dimensions of diversity such as ethnicity, language, gender, disability, and others, the researcher of this study focused on the ethnocultural diversity of primary school students. The study was restricted to primary school ethnoculturally diverse students because scholars (Ambissa, 2010) argue that socialization, social control, and the development of beliefs and attitudes toward diversity are most evident at the primary school level. This allowed the researcher to gain a better understanding of the manifestations, purposes, and roles of the hidden curriculum in shaping the school experience of ethnocultural minority students.

This study was focused on the hidden curriculum of schooling. The focus of this study was on the parts of informal part of the internal schooling system, which consists of those unplanned, unofficial, and often unintentional aspects that exist alongside or independent of the formal, official functions of the school. The study only looked at the manifestations of the hidden curriculum of schooling, the functions of the hidden curriculum of schooling, the roles of teachers and students in combating or fostering inequity and inequality in schooling, and the role of the hidden curriculum in shaping the experiences of ethnocultural minority students.

The research was conducted in Ethiopia, Amhara region, three zones of central Gondar Zone, North Shewa Zone and Oromo special zone and four woredas, Alefa, Tegede, AngolelanaTera and Kemissie.

1.6 Significance of the Study

This research on the ethnocultural minority students' schooling experiences: manifestations, functions, and roles of the hidden curriculum in ethnoculturally diverse primary schools in the Amhara region is significant in a number of ways. It makes contributions in terms of practice, theory, and methodology. Practically it will help fine-tune practices of multicultural and inclusive education at school level. Theoretically it will indicate triangulation of different theories in developing workable policies for the inclusion of minority students. Finally on its methodological contribution different data collection instruments for researching the hidden curriculum will be developed and validated for replication.

This study will add to the knowledge on the manifestations and functions of the hidden curriculum, as well as the roles of the hidden curriculum in shaping the experiences of ethnocultural minority students in ethnoculturally diverse school settings.

Interrogating existing practices and approaches that alienate ethnocultural minorities is a timely work. Then proposing specific ways to transform traditional schooling to better serve the needs of ethnoculturally diverse student bodies is also demanded. The critical examination of the manifestations, functions, and roles of the hidden curriculum in shaping ethnocultural minority students' schooling experiences in ethnoculturally diverse schools can contribute to deliberation that leads to improved educational equity, equality, and inclusion of minority students in ethnoculturally diverse primary school settings. Furthermore, as multiculturalism and diversity become contemporary thematic areas in most ethnoculturally diverse primary schools across Ethiopia and other nations, this study will contribute to a growing body of literature on the experience of ethnoculturally diverse students in primary schools by focusing on the lived experiences of these students.

It will have implications for teacher training, curriculum and instruction theories and practices, and textbook organization. Knowledge about the school experiences of ethnocultural minority students has the potential to inform teaching practices, professional development for teachers and educators, and curriculum policy decisions for multicultural school contexts. The understanding of ethnocultural minority students' identity formation is critical to the cultural shaping of multicultural communities and countries. This research will also help policymakers and teacher training professionals understand the importance of taking students' ethnocultural diversity into account when recruiting, educating, hiring, training, and placing multi-cultural teachers. The study is also thought to set a precedent for programming, initiating, implementing, and evaluating multi-cultural education in a variety of settings throughout Ethiopia.

1.7 Operational Definition of Terms

The hidden curriculum: The hidden curriculum refers to the unwritten perceptions and beliefs that are communicated to and experienced by students that have differential effect of the experiences to diverse groups of learners through the fundamental structure and meaning

embedded in the process and structure of schooling both inside and outside the classroom context (Giroux, 1979; Skelton, 1997).

Experience: Ethnoculturally minority students perception of their schooling as mediated, produced, reproduced, and shaped by the hidden curriculum

Schooling: Refers to a wide network of school processes and structures to which ethnocultural minority students are exposed. In ethnoculturally diverse primary schools, it includes pedagogical and instructional activities, taught curriculum, classroom interaction, disciplining procedures, rules and routines, assessment techniques, language usage, differentiation, ability grouping, streaming, reward and punishment, leadership practices, and co-curricular activities.

Ethno cultural Minority students: refers to primary school boys and girls from numerically minority ethnocultural groups enrolled in Amhara region's ethnoculturally diverse primary schools. In this study, ethnocultural minorities may include ethnocultural majority groups based on their national status. In this case, the ethnocultural minority status is numerically small in comparison to the ethnocultural majority students in the selected ethnoculturally diverse primary schools. Agew Awi, Agew Himra, Argoba, Kimant, Oromo, Tigrayan, and other ethnocultural minority groups live in the Amhara region. Additionally, the Amhara are ethnocultural minorities in sections of the Amhara region controlled by other ethnic groups, such as the Oromia special zone and the Agew Hemra special zone. What the researcher refers to as a "ethnocultural minority group" does not necessarily represent the groups legally defined as minorities in the nation, nor does it indicate that these groups make up less than a particular percentage of the overall population.

1.8 Theoretical and conceptual framework of the Study

1.8.1 Theoretical frameworks of the Study

The researcher chose two critical theoretical camps to examine and understand the manifestations, functions, and roles of the hidden curriculum in shaping the lived experiences of ethnocultural minority students. These are; the theory of cultural reproduction (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990; Bernstein, 1975; Bernstein, 1981) and the theory of symbolic resistance (Giroux, 1981, 1983; Willis, 1977, 1981). This study also employed the radical critical theory of the

hidden curriculum (Giroux, 1983a, b; Skelton, 1997), the theory of critical pedagogy (Freire, 1970), the theory of culturally responsive education (Gay, 2020), and the theory of multicultural education (Banks, 1995, 2010).

1.8.1.1 The theory of cultural reproduction

The premises of critical theories, specifically theoretical and conceptual understandings of cultural and social reproduction theory, informed and guided this research (Bourdieu, 1986, 1992, 1993, 2011; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990). The theory assisted the researcher in uncovering more complex sociological reasons for the prevalence of inequity and inequality of opportunity in ethnoculturally diverse primary schools. According to the premises of the cultural reproduction theory, institutions are considered to be part of the ideological state apparatus act as socialization vehicles, either directly or indirectly, and while trading in ideas and values, they serve to mediate between power summits and everyday life (Bourdieu, 1986).

Schools socialize students differently depending on their majority or minority status and expected position in the class structure, and they legitimize these inequalities by creating the illusion of equal opportunity. Three major positions are emerging from the diverse range of reproductive approaches that currently use macro-sociological models to analyze the relationship between education and society. These are theories of social reproduction, specifically the work of Anyon (1980), Althusser (1971) and Bowls and Gintis (1976); theories of cultural reproduction, with a primary focus on the work of Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) and Bernstein (1975, 1981) and theories of symbolic resistance, an approach associated with the work of Willis (1977, 1981) and Giroux (1977, 1981, 1983).

The work of Anyon (1980) and Bowls and Gintis (1976, 2011), disclose that schooling in Capitalist America, best represents the critique of education. Bowls and Gintis (1976) indicate that inequality and inequity of opportunity among different students with different backgrounds is reproduced in schools. Bernstein's (1975, 1981, 1995, and 2013) analysis, which highlights some of the features of schooling's political nature, illuminates students learning more than cognitive skills. According to his analysis, students learn beliefs, values and norms that will produce 'good' students who internalize beliefs and values that emphasize authority respect, punctuality, cleanliness, docility, and conformity. What students learn from the curriculum's

formally functioned content is far less important than what they learn from the ideological assumptions embedded in the school's three message systems: the curriculum system, the classroom pedagogical styles system, and the evaluation system (Giroux & David, 1983a; Marios, 2007).

The prevalence of inequality among different students with different backgrounds was also theorized by Bourdieu as symbolic violence. The nature of symbolic violence is different from other forms of violence and this kind of violence brings significant harm on ethno cultural minority students at multiethnic education contexts. Symbolic violence exists and persists in multiethnic education contexts where the authority categorize knowledge construction as legitimate and not legitimate and in such contexts where authority coerce legitimate knowledge and meaning structures on minority students by force (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Symbolic violence is therefore a form of violence that effectively used by the majority to discriminate and prejudice ethno cultural minority groups and it is also an effective tool to legitimize stratification and arbitrary categorization and labeling.

1.8.1.2 The theory of symbolic resistance

Resistance theorists have attempted to demonstrate that the apparatuses of social and cultural reproduction are never complete and are constantly confronted with partially understood foundations of conflict (Giroux, 1983a). Resistance theorists have essentially established a theoretical framework and method of inquiry that reinstates the critical conception of agency. They argue not only about the role of students in questioning the most oppressive aspects of schools, but also about the techniques by which students aggressively participate through oppositional behavior for reasons that most of the time commit them to a position of disadvantage and political defeat (Giroux, 1983b).

According to symbolic resistance theory, radical educators must cultivate a critical rather than a pragmatic relationship with their students. In other words, any viable form of radical pedagogy must investigate how domination affairs in schools emerge, how they persist, and how students specifically relate to them. It encourages people to look beyond schools. It suggests that students critically examine the counter-logic that draws them away from schools. This resistance theory asserts that minority group students and their families, particularly ethnocultural minority

students and their families, frequently engage in a form of resistance to their schooling, and that this resistance (whether passive or active) may be counterproductive (Sanza, 1993). Currently, all of these school practices, such as tracking, testing, curriculum, pedagogy, school structure, and disciplinary policies, contribute to subordinate and ethnocultural minority groups' low achievement and high dropout rates (Apple, 2004).

Resistance is a valued theoretical and ideological concept that provides a significant emphasis for researching the relationship between school and society at large (Lewis, 1977). More importantly, it provides an innovative approach to understanding the multifaceted ways in which disadvantaged ethnocultural minority groups experience the structure and process of schooling, directing to new modes of critical pedagogy thinking and restructuring. Overall, resistance must be grounded in a theoretical rationale that provides a new framework for investigating schools as social sites that shape the experiences of ethnocultural minority groups (Giroux, 1983b). Furthermore, Willis (1977, 1981) found out that ethno cultural minority students and those students from the lowest socio economic background are not always passive recipients and conformists to the arbitrarily defined school authority and asymmetric power relationships. Too often, critical theorists have portrayed power in schools in a negative and one-dimensional light. Neither students nor teachers resemble the social puppet' image that emerges in reproduction theorists' writings. In the context of cultural hegemony, both teachers and students exhibit forms of resistance (Giroux, 1983a). Ethno cultural minority students and those from the lowest socio economic background exhibited their resistance to the process and structure of schooling through symbolic representations in their dressing and language styles. There is evidence that not all minority students simply 'take in' this hidden curriculum; that minority students frequently act creatively to control their school environments; and that, at least for some segments of the working class, they expressly reject the norms of obedience, respect for authority, and so on (Willis, 1977, 1981).

The theory of resistance provided a new perspective on how power is used on and by people in a variety of contexts that shape interconnected relations of dominance and autonomy. As a result, power is never one-dimensional; it is used not only as a means of dominance, but also as a form of resistance. Finally, an uttered hope for radical transformation is inherent in the radical conception of resistance, an element of transcendence that appears to be lacking in radical

theories of education (Giroux, 1983a, b). According to Willis (1977, 1981), these contradictions exist not only in competing forms of cultural capital that are unevenly distributed in schools, but also in the daily practices and life experiences of various ethnocultural and class groups both in and out of schools.

1.8.1.3 The critical theory of hidden curriculum

The researcher believed that, the neo-Marxist radical critical view of the hidden curriculum provides the most insightful and comprehensive model for a more progressive approach to understanding the nature of schooling (Skelton, 1997). The critical position emphasizes that schools are inextricably linked to the principles and processes that govern the society. The radical critical theorists of hidden curriculum are concerned with how social and economic conditions constrain and distort the social construction of meaning, particularly as mediated through the hidden curriculum. According to the critical viewpoint, students learn the beliefs, attitudes, values, and practices that govern both the educational system and the larger society through the hidden curriculum (Skelton, 1997).

1.8.1.4 The theory of multicultural education

Multiculturalism refers to a comprehensive school reform effort aimed at increasing educational equity for a diverse range of ethnic, cultural, and socioeconomic groups. Multicultural education is also a reform movement that aims to change schools and other educational institutions so that students of all social classes, genders, ethnicities, languages, and cultures have an equal opportunity to learn (Banks, 1995; Banks & Banks, 2010). It opposes and challenges forms of discrimination in schools and society, as well as affirms the pluralism (ethnic, linguistic, religious, economic, and gender) that students, their communities, and teachers reflect. Multicultural education pervades the school's curriculum and instructional strategies, as well as interactions between teachers, students, and families, and the very nature of teaching and learning.

Multicultural education is a broad concept with numerous distinct and significant dimensions. When attempting to implement multicultural education, practicing educators can use the dimensions as a guide to school reform. The dimensions are as follows: 1) content integration, 2)

knowledge construction process 3/ Reduction of prejudice 5/ an empowering school culture and social structure 4/ equity pedagogy (Banks, 1995; Banks & Banks, 2010). The process and structure of schooling organized based on the local culture can support students in comprehending the world based on their lived experience and ethno cultural background so that internalize and critically reflect on it.

Multiculturalism promotes democratic principles of social justice by utilizing critical pedagogy as its underlying philosophy and focusing on knowledge, reflection, and action (praxis) as the foundation for social change. The majority of successful cultural affirmation schools reinforce students' needs for caring teachers and a supportive environment in which they feel validated. These schools also help students make sense of the world and realize that they can be productive members of society. Teachers in these settings strive to develop meaningful pedagogies, concrete transformative knowledge, and critically literate citizens (Banks, 1995; Banks & Banks, 2010).

To implement multi-cultural education in a school, we must reform power dynamics, verbal interactions between teachers and students, culture, curriculum, extracurricular activities, attitudes toward minority languages, testing procedures, and grouping practices. The institutional norms, social structures, cause belief statements, values, and goals of the school must be transformed and rebuilt. Multicultural education holds that all students, regardless of gender, social class, ethnicity, or cultural background, should have an equal opportunity to learn in school (Banks, 1995; Banks & Banks, 2010).

1.8.1.5. The theory of cultural responsive pedagogy

The primary goal of culturally responsive pedagogy is to empower ethno cultural minority students with educational mobility, and development and enhancement of agency (Gay, 2000, 2013). The selection and application of classroom content, instructional approach and assessment techniques by teachers' plays significant role in this regards. Therefore teachers' selection, organization and application of these classroom contents, instructional approaches and assessment techniques has to consider the out of school experience and ethno cultural background of students. These teachers' practices in the selection and organization of classroom contents and the related and practical consideration of their experience and personal identity will serve the purpose of empowering all students with the development of their agency.

Pertinent selection and organization of classroom content for teaching ethno cultural minority pupil encompasses contentson the history of their ethno cultural background, and other related issues with their out of school experience. Creating openrelations between teaching methods applied in classrooms and students' lived experiences outside of school enhance academic achievement, academic engagement andthe motivation to learn (Gay, 2000, 2013).

The above explained theories of cultural reproduction, culturally responsive pedagogy, critical theory of hidden curriculum, theory of multiculturalism, theory of resistance and theory of critical pedagogy guides these research endeavor. The theory of cultural reproduction helps the researcher to uncover the reproduction of inequity and inequality among different students with different ethno cultural background and experience. The theory enabled the researcher to understand the influence of cultural capital in differentiating students into different roles, responsibilities and status in the school. The theory of culturally responsive pedagogy enabled the researcher to observe the class room pedagogy and instructional approaches if they are culturally responsive or not and if they accommodate the interest of diverse students. The theory of resistance enabled the researcher to unravel the acts of student's resistance and opposition to schooling and the education system as part of the hidden curriculum. The researcher identified acts of symbolic resistance to acts of inequality and inequity based on the knowledge of the resistance theory. The theories of multiculturalism and critical pedagogy were also used to observe and comprehend the class room interaction and selection, organization and delivery of contents, instructional approaches and assessment techniques. In general the theories enabled the researcher to investigate and understand the manifestations of the hidden curriculum, the purpose of the hidden curriculum, the role of the hidden curriculum in shaping the lived experience of minority students at multiethnic primary schools.

1.8.2 Conceptual framework of the Study

The researcher developed the conceptual framework for this study through a thorough reading of existing theories and premises, empirical research findings and arguments, and scholarly views on the operations, manifestations, and functions of the hidden curriculum, the lived experience of ethno-cultural minority students, dimensions of diversity and multiculturalism, educational reproduction, symbolic resistance, and opposition to schooling. The macro level sociocultural

and ethnic background, experience, and beliefs of a society are thought to be implicitly embedded and manifested in national education policy and guidelines as the society's general interest in the general objective and purpose of education. Similarly, at the macro level, the state's political interests are implicitly embedded and manifested in the general objectives and purposes of national educational policies and procedures. These societal and state-level interests will be cascaded and instilled at the school level, specifically through the process and structure of education. The taught curriculum, classroom instructional approaches, classroom assessment techniques, classroom discipline techniques, school rules and regulations, school election systems for school leadership positions, co-curricular and extracurricular activities, and others similar to these were all part of the process and structure of schooling at the micro level. As implicit beliefs and school practices, the hidden curriculum manifests in all of these components of the structure and process of schooling. As manifested in these schooling structures and processes, the hidden curriculum also serves the interests of of the ethnoculturally majority students and teachers. The hidden curriculum, which is implicitly embedded and manifested in the process and structure of schooling, also plays a role in shaping the lived experiences of ethnocultural minority students. And hence the hidden curriculum both negatively and positively shaped the lived experience of ethno cultural minority students.

Discrimination, exclusion, prejudice, stereotyping, stress, inequity, and inequality in access to quality education are among the negative lived experiences of ethnocultural minority students as mediated by the hidden curriculum. Resistance to schooling that exacerbates inequity and inequality for quality education, as well as school opposition to exclusion, discrimination, and prejudice, are examples of positive lived experiences of ethnocultural minority students as mediated by the hidden curriculum implicitly embedded and manifested in the process and structure of schooling (Giroux, 1983a; Giroux, 1983b; Willis, 1977; Willis, 1981).

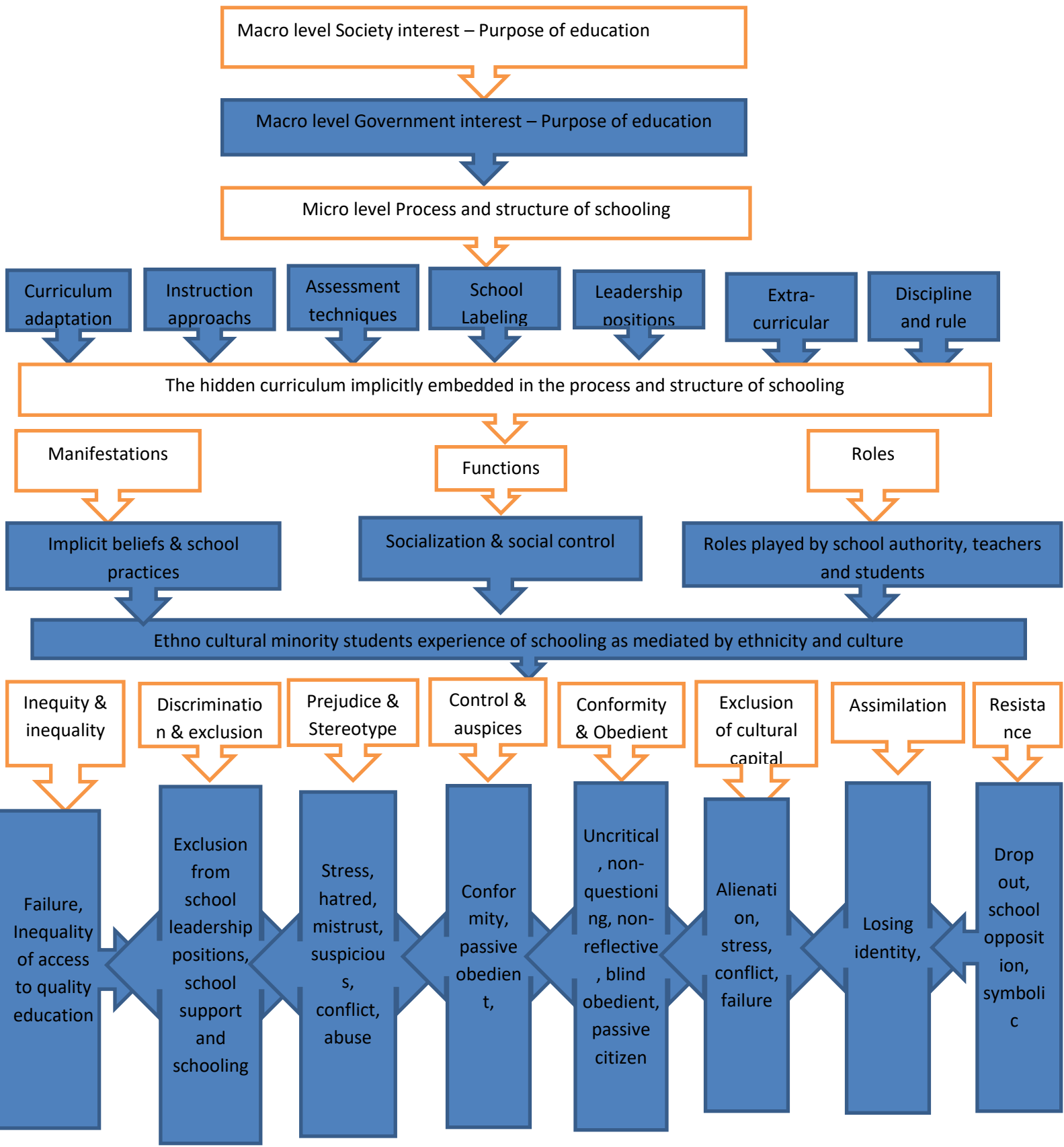
The researcher believed that an analysis of power should be included as part of a theoretical framework to examine the role of the hidden curriculum of schooling in shaping the experience of ethnocultural minority students in school. Furthermore, the researcher focus on the underlying conflicts in both schools and society and investigate how this can contribute to a more radical theory of resistance that reflects the role of the hidden curriculum in shaping ethnocultural minority students' experiences of schooling.

Once the researcher recognized the relationship between schooling, the state, and the larger society, he approached questions about the nature and meaning of schooling experiences from the theoretical perspectives of theory of reproduction, theory of symbolic resistance, theory of multiculturalism, theory of critical pedagogy, and theory of hidden curriculum, all of which are capable of illuminating the often overlooked relationship between school knowledge and social control.

The researcher focuses on the tacit beliefs and attitudes that occur in the structure and process of ethno-culturally diverse primary schools help to uncover the ideological messages embedded in the social relations of the classroom encounter and outside class room situations by viewing schools within the context of the larger society. As critical investigators of the hidden curriculum affirmed, the process of knowledge construction and the way these knowledge provided to different students mirrors the socio economic and political dynamics and the power relation existed outside the school compound in the larger society.

There is a social distribution of knowledge within classrooms of ethnoculturally diverse primary schools, just as there is a social distribution of capital in society. Different types of students (in this case, ethno-culturally diverse students) receive different types of knowledge, access to resources and power in the leadership structure, social labeling, and representation in reward and punishment. The process of social labeling, bias, discrimination, exclusion, and stereotypes that occurs in ethnoculturally diverse primary schools is inextricably linked to the differential distribution of classroom knowledge, power, and opportunity.

As a result, the researcher hypothesized that the functions, manifestations, and roles of the hidden curriculum are implicitly embedded in the schooling process and structures (the formal curriculum, pedagogy, assessment, classroom interaction, discipline activities and rules, school organization, and structure, co-curricular activities, reward and punishment). And the hidden curriculum shapes the identity and lived experiences of students from ethno-cultural minorities. The graphics depicting the conceptual framework for this study are shown below.



CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1. Hidden curriculum and its operations

According to Dreeben (1975), definition of hidden curricula consists the following two issues. Firstly, primary school students learn from the social interaction and relationships of the schools through the process of socialization and from the teacher's selection, organization and delivery of classroom content and instructional approaches. The second concept to be considered under the conception of the hidden curriculum is that any of the components of the process and structure of schooling communicates unintended and unplanned outcomes and messages related to implicit beliefs and values.

The hidden curriculum refers to the unwritten perceptions and beliefs that are communicated to and experienced by students through the fundamental structure and meaning embedded in the process and structure of schooling both inside and outside the classroom context (Giroux, 1979; Skelton, 1997).

According to the postmodern views of the hidden curriculum, it can be defined as any form of school practices related to disciplining and punishing students and that makes them to be coerced and act as passive obedient. They also contend that schools play active roles in the production and reproduction of beliefs that affect student's active engagement in the process and structure of schooling so that they contribute to the production of passive and unquestioning citizen (Skelton, 1997). The hidden curriculum appears to be very different from the conflict perspective. Routines and regulations that govern the school day are essentially tools that perpetuate the power and privilege of those in positions of authority (Ariev, 2008; McNeil, 1996; McNeil, 2009; Philip, 1968). These rituals encourage obedience in ways that benefit the dominant and powerful (Giroux, 1979; Skelton, 1997). Therefore for these critical camp the hidden curriculum has a far more negative impact on the socialization and identity formation of ethno cultural minority students. However, for the structural functionalists the hidden curriculum works for the

better socialization of students and can help them acquire skills that helps them in understanding the unwritten rules for academic success and socialization in schooling.

2.2. Manifestation of the hidden curriculum

The various teaching methods, the selection and organization of curriculum materials, the pedagogical and evaluation techniques it employs, the social interactions that take place in and outside of the classroom, the type of reward and punishment system it employs, the organizational structure it uses to maintain its existence, the physical characteristics of the school plant, and the power relations are all ways that the hidden curriculum of schooling is made manifest. Some of the key elements of the implicit curriculum at the school include these traits (Eisner, 1979).

In a similar vein, Dreeben (1975) argued that the process and structure of schooling with its social structures and school culture expose student's different levels and types of experience that may not be obtained through the formal and planned curriculum. These experiences gained through the implicit beliefs and values embedded in the hidden curriculum enable students to acquire skills and knowledge of the contemporary world. Researching the implicit intentions and beliefs embedded in the process and structure of schooling enables researchers to comprehend and explore the production and reproduction of hegemony that becomes the daily routine in contemporary schooling across the globe (Apple, 2004; Giroux, 1983a; McLaren, 1995). Therefore, the classroom teachers' selection, organization and delivery of classroom contents, instructional approaches and assessment techniques serve the production and reproduction of different knowledge for different students based on their ethno-cultural background (Giroux and David, 1983).

The manifestations of the hidden curriculum in the process and structure of schooling are made through practices of tracking, instructional approaches, asymmetrical power structure and leadership positions, and academic labeling of students based on their performance (Garcia and Lissovoy, 2012). These manifestations of the hidden curriculum are implicitly embedded in the process and structure of schooling and influence the lived experience and identity of ethno-cultural minority students (Willis, 1978). Student-student interactions, student-teacher interactions, student-principals interactions, the terminologies and languages used in the labeling process and

other social phenomena's are also manifestation of the hidden curriculum (Apple, 2004).The hidden curriculum is also manifested through the daily class room interaction which can be expressed through gestures and facial expressions and even side talks. The implicit messages, implicit beliefs and values communicated through the modes of classroom interaction also communicate messages of expectations, likes, and dislikes (Jean, Floyd, and Jenny, 2017). And the discussion over these components of the process and structure of schooling is directly related to the discussion on the manifestations of the hidden curriculum (Bernstein, 1995; Giroux, 1983b). These norms define student-teacher relationships and the classroom climate by dictating who can speak, what they can say, and when. People who govern what knowledge is conveyed in the curriculum also regulate how knowledge is transmitted; materials, organization, tempo, and time of knowledge transmission and reception (Bernstein, 1981, 1995, 2001, 2013).

The lived experience ethno cultural minority students obtain from their interaction with the process and structure of schooling and hence the implicit beliefs and values communicated to them through the hidden curriculum teaches them a knowledge on how social institutions like schools to be organized and their hierarchical status in the education system and in a long run in the wider society (Apple, 2004). The labeling of students, as well as the school's ameliorative ideology around its decision to employ specific social labels, has a significant impact on which students accept which distinctions as normal (Bernstein, 1981; Bernstein, 1995; Bourdieu, 1975; Bourdieu, 1981).

These seemingly ordinary language activities have an impact on student learning to the extent that students identify and use the language norms specified as legitimate within the educational setting. Social studies and civic resources can help to reinforce and educate certain dominating basic assumptions and, as a result, a pro consensus belief framework. Curriculum adaptation by teachers in these classroom curriculum components may be a manifestation of the hidden curriculum (Apple, 2004). The social studies and citizenship curriculums are the areas of schooling where one may uncover hidden curricular interactions with and tacit teaching of constitutive beliefs about conflict and that can be selected to openly focus on.

Teacher expectations and socialization also contribute to the hidden curriculum of schooling. Teachers believe that children from certain ethnic groups can learn more and faster than children from other ethnic groups. It is also suggested that teacher expectations have a role in converting

differences in student potential into variations in actual accomplishment (Jessica, 2012). Schools, as a secondary institution for child socialization, also exhibit the hidden curriculum through student socialization. Different socialization patterns provided by ethnic groups for their children may result in differences in potential.

Different socialization patterns, in other words, may be the mechanism through which ethnicity is related to abilities, aspirations, motivation, and values. Teachers may also establish their expectations for pupils based on relevant attained features of students. Educational institutions may then sort pupils based on these characteristics. These processes may eventually lead to significant disparities in educational and occupational attainment between ethnic groups. Children may be socialized within ethnic subcultures in order to modify their abilities, aspirations, motivations, and values to fit into specific educational and occupational status positions within society (Rodney and Jeffery, 1987).

According to Ellen (1996 a & b), the hidden curriculum of schooling is also evident in school exclusion and inclusion practices. The ethno cultural identity and experience of ethno cultural minority students may be included or excluded due to a specific selection criteria used in the process and structure of schooling at multiethnic schools (Banks, 2010). Therefore teachers at multiethnic schools may exclude the experiences, aspirations, dreams and histories of ethno cultural minority students so that, the hidden curriculum is implicitly manifested in teachers' classroom practices of content selection and organization, teaching methodologies, and assessment strategies.

Co-curricular and extracurricular activities in multiethnic schools can also communicate implicit beliefs and values related to power structures, leadership positions, winning and losing, inclusion and exclusion to students from the ethno cultural minority groups and hence the hidden curriculum is also manifested in these parts of school structures (Jessica, 2012). Similarly, Susn (2004) found out that most of the extracurricular and co-curricular practices in schools are manifestations of the hidden curriculum and communicate messages of participation and non-participation to different students based on their background experience. The cultural performances by each of these organizations, which featured only members of one ethnic community, were by far the most prominent school activities.

2.3. Functions of the hidden curriculum

The functions of hidden curriculum have been variably recognized as value instillation, political socialization, and obedience and docility training, as well as the continuation of historic class system functions that might be summarized broadly as social control (Apple, 2004; Thornburg, 2009). Therefore, these functions of the hidden curriculum as manifested in the process and structure of schooling are not explicitly comprehended and planned by school authority. This implies that despite the fact that sometimes these functions of the hidden curriculum explicitly exercised and practice in schools, they never acknowledge and covertly communicated by the school community (Giroux & David, 1983). According to Thornburg (2009), the functions of the school as an agency established to socialize pupils in social and moral patterns place a strong emphasis on the regulation of pupil behavior through formal rules as well as informal, unspoken social rules that influence every aspect of the student's life.

The major function of the hidden curriculum is also social socialization in which the learners implicitly came to understand the stratification and categorizations of themselves based on different dimensions of diversity and it is also aimed at enabling students understand their place in the communities and schools social structure (Juan, Floyd, & Jenny, 2017). The function of the hidden curriculum also includes enabling students to acquire skills of managing conflict and understanding its nature in the school compound (Apple, 2004; Apple, 2011; Giroux, 1986).

The other purpose of the hidden curriculum in multiethnic schools is inculcation of citizenship education. However, the kind of citizenship education promoted through the hidden curriculum discourages the development of student's agency and it cripples their active participation and engagement in the process and structure of schooling. Therefore the prominent moral virtue students gain from the hidden curriculum embedded in citizenship education is passive obedience (Thornburg, 2009). Progressive scholars indicated that a very strict control and oversight on regulations might hinder student's self-discipline, critical thinking, and democratic qualities. Therefore the hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in the citizenship education through school rules damage critical thinking and critical reflection skills of students.

According to Eisner (1979), the hidden curriculum more than the formal curriculum introduce students to a kind of expectations that may not be obtained through the planned and intended

curriculum. Therefore students may be acquainted with skills of identifying and comprehending teachers expectations and behave only as per these expectations so as to be blessed with grades and appreciations (Apple, 1980; Giroux, 1983a; Giroux, 1986; Illich, 1970 and Skelton, 1997).

As some economists have lately observed, the most economically significant hidden purpose of school life appears to be the selection and creation of personality traits and normative meanings that allow one to have a supposition of economic benefits (Apple, 1980, 2004). This is also directly related to the school's cultural function in optimizing technical knowledge generation. Because the school is the only significant institution that stands between the family and the job market, it is not surprising that particular social meanings with differential advantages are disseminated in schools both historically and now (Apple, 2004).

Although researchers in the field of education may differ in many other ways, they have consistently maintained that the educational culture system through the hidden curriculum embedded in its structure and process is an extremely significant component in the sustaining of current domination and exploitation relations in countries (Apple, 2004; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Even if we could change the school to equalize achievement, data shows that it may not make a meaningful effect in the wider context in which schools operate (Apple, 1980, 1981, 2004).

2.4. Teachers and Students role in the reproduction of beliefs that influence equitable education

The impact of perceived teacher norms may differ depending on the ethnicity of the students (Banks, 2010). When teachers prescribe good multicultural norms, minority students may feel supported by their ethnic majority teacher, making them more favorable towards the ethnic majority and the group as a whole (Ozdemir, Sun, Korol & Statin, 2018). This support may be especially important for these ethnic minority students since ethnic minority children face more discrimination (Jochem & Maykel, 2002).

Multicultural education, according to Banks and Banks (2010), has to consist different instructional approaches to assure that cultural responsiveness is included in the selection, organization and delivery of classroom lessons. This also implicates that, the role of teachers in

the selection, organization and delivery of classroom content, instructional approaches and assessment techniques has to be cognizant of the ethno cultural diversity of students. Similarly Jolien, Jochem, and Maykel (2019) indicated that ethno cultural minority students at multiethnic schools learn ways of interaction and code of conduct with students from the majority students through teachers practices of classroom interactions with students. Therefore, different teachers convey different modes of interaction with their students and the way they select, organize and deliver classroom instruction predicts the inclusion or exclusion of the background and experience of minority students (Baysu, Hillekens, Phalet & Deaux, 2021). Teachers in multicultural contexts should value the background experience, aspiration and dreams of ethno culturally diverse students (Banks, 2010). Ethnic cultural minority pupils are more likely to be rejected, ostracized, and mistreated in ethnocultural minority sparse classes than in ethnocultural minority crowded classrooms (Ozdemir, Sun, Korol & Statin, 2018). The level of discrimination, prejudice and harm on ethno cultural minority students decreases in multiethnic schools where there are high number of minority students (Ozdemir, Sun, Korol & Statin, 2018). In multicultural school settings, teachers facilitating instruction for ethnoculturally diverse primary school students have to live their words, the moral values and virtues narrated in text books have to be actually practiced by classroom teachers (Banks and Banks, 1995, 2010; Baysu, Hillekens, Phalet & Deaux, 2021; Ozdemir, Sun, Korol & Stain, 2018).

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODS

3.1. Research Paradigm

In terms of paradigm, the researcher's approach to this qualitative study had become increasingly influenced by the philosophical positions known as critical theory and constructivism. The critical perspective supports the researcher in understanding schools as politically engaged and participated in the production and reproduction of inequality. According to the above perspectives, schools are understood as social agents that works both in the reproduction of values and beliefs that perpetuate inequality and social injustice and at the same time sites of student's agency and resistance.

3.1.1 Research approach

Qualitative research is a way to examine the hidden curriculum because it is an umbrella concept covering several forms of inquiry that help educators understand and explain the meaning of social phenomena (such as the hidden curriculum) with as little disruption of the natural setting as possible, writes Merriam (2009). The study used a qualitative framework and a theoretical framework that recognizes the importance of hearing ethnocultural minority students' voices as well as the manifestations, functions, and roles of the hidden curriculum in shaping ethnocultural minority students' schooling experiences (Giroux, 1983; Caroline, 2004; Lee & Cole, 2002; Skelton, 1997; Merriam, 2009; Valance, 1980; Victor, 2016)

3.1.2 Rationale for selection of the research design

This was a qualitative phenomenological (Creswell, 2003a; Creswell, 2003b; Moustakas, 1994; Vanmanen, 1990; Van Manen, 2007; Van Manen, 2017a, Van Manen, 2017b) study. Phenomenological research by its very nature, investigates the specifically social perceptions of persons and subsequent in explanations of such experiences that straight demand to the senses of other people (Edmund, 1991). Phenomenology, as defined by Van Manen (2017a), is "the

systematic attempt to pinpoint and illustrate the essential meaning structures of lived experiences that are perceived or comprehended through a study of particulars or instances as they are experienced in lived experience”

Phenomenological research is pronounced as the study of lived experience (Van Mannen, 1990, 2007, 2017 a, b). Human experience encompasses perceiving, thinking, and acting in interrelated ways, and yet it starts with perception, and phenomenological research is a study into what is important in human experience (Van Mannen, 1990, 2007, 2017a,b). Therefore, perception is considered as the major source of data in the case of phenomenological research (Moustakas, 1994). The qualitative phenomenological research approach has the potential to uncover the invisible implicitly embedded in the hidden curriculum and the manifestations of the hidden curriculum, the purpose of the hidden curriculum, the role of teachers and students in combating or fostering social inequality, and the role of the hidden curriculum in shaping the ethnocultural minority students' experience of schooling in ethnoculturally diverse primary school settings.

3.2. Research Site and Participants of the Study

3.2.1 Research Site

The researcher developed and used criteria for selecting the included study sites. The criteria were the presence of more than two ethnocultural groups in the area, areas with a single majority ethnocultural group, and locations with several minority ethnocultural groups. Because most Zones in the Amhara region are ethnoculturally diverse (Tadesse, 2020), it was simple to identify specific woredas with ethnoculturally diverse schools. As a result, the research locations were carefully chosen from a larger pool of Amhara region prospective sites. The three zones that were carefully chosen and included in this study have multiethnic diverse contexts.

For the sake of this study, the researcher selected just four schools from among the many ethnoculturally diverse schools in the four woredas that met the selection criteria. The researcher purposely selected the following Amhara Zones and Woredas to include in this study: Central Gondar Zone (Tegede Woreda and Alefa Woreda), North Shewa Zone (Angolelana Tera woreda), and Oromia Special Zone (Kemise woreda). This study's research locations were purposely chosen to accommodate and get access to ethnocultural minority students in ethnoculturally diverse circumstances.

In Tegede woreda, which is part of the Amhara region's central Gondar zone, there are Amhara ethnocultural majority groups and Tigrayan ethnocultural minority groups. This study's participants were Tigrayan ethnocultural minority groups.

In Alefa Woreda, which is part of the Amhara region's central Gondar zone, there are Woyto ethnocultural minority communities coexisting with Amhara ethnocultural majority groups. As a result, the study's participants were Woyto ethnocultural minority students.

In Angolelana Tera woreda, which is part of the Amhara region's North Shewa zone, there are Amhara ethnocultural majority groups and Oromo ethnocultural minority groups. As a result, the Oromo ethnocultural minority students took part in the study.

In Kemise Woreda, which is part of the Oromo special zone in Amhara region, there are Amhara ethnocultural minority groups and Oromo ethnocultural majority groups. As a result, the study's participants were Amhara ethnocultural minority students.

The researcher is originally from the Amhara ethnocultural group, namely from the city of Gondar. The researcher received his college and university education at Gondar College of Teachers' Education and Bahir Dar University, worked as a high school teacher, college instructor, and NGO program manager in various locations around the region. The researcher has intimate ties and professional networks in the region as well as the study sites. The researcher believed that his professional connections and networks provided him with better collaboration (support letters, access to schools, research participant selection, and security) from government and non-government structures operating at the regional, Zonal, Woreda, town, and school levels.

Because the researcher is from the Amhara ethnocultural majority group, he was aware and very curious about his judgments, biases, and knowledge on the experiences of ethnocultural minority students in the region, and these were all bracketed out so that the researcher entered the research sites free of any judgments and biases. Anything or whoever arose in the researchers' minds was handled with openness. The researcher learned to know things by being predisposed to observe things as they appear, by returning to things as they are, devoid of prejudgments and prejudices. Approached with devotion and determination, the researcher avoided preconceptions, allowing

the true nature and substance of things to be shown more clearly, and dedicated to knowledge and truth.

3.2.2. Sampling Techniques and Participants of the study

Data were gathered from 32 ethnocultural minority students and 8 teachers from four ethnoculturally diverse primary schools in the woredas of Alefa, Angolelana Tera, Kemise, and Tegede (8 students and 2 teachers from each school). The research participants were Amhara, Oromo, Tigrayan, and Woyto ethnocultural minority students enrolled in purposely selected ethnoculturally diverse elementary schools and teachers.

The schools did not record students' ethnocultural minority status in their profiles, despite the researcher's use of several tactics to include Amhara, Oromo, Tigrayan, and Woyto ethnocultural minority students. For this reason, the mother tongue of all research participants in grades 5 - 6 at the four target schools involved in the study was surveyed. As a result, there was an opportunity to identify Amhara, Oromo, Tigrayan, and Woyto ethnocultural minority students. The researcher also used a snowballing technique so as to select and include the research participants.

The gender mix of the research participants were 16 female and 16 male students, as well as 4 female and 4 male teachers. The participants' ethnocultural and gender mix was done to understand their intersection in mediating the hidden curriculum of education that influences the experience and identity of ethnocultural minority students. The researcher also urged the respective school's focal person to incorporate gender balance, age, academic and behavioral mix, and ethnocultural minority status in the selection of research participants. Students were recruited opportunistically among individuals who did not have a class at the time of my visit. The research participant had experienced the phenomenon, is intensely interested in understanding its nature and meanings, is willing to participate in a lengthy interview, grants the researcher the right to tape-record, possibly video tape the interview, and publish the data in a dissertation and journal articles were all important criteria in selecting participants.

3.3. Data Collection Instruments and procedures

3.3.1 Data collection instruments

This study collected data through in-depth interview, close observations, and document analysis (Creswell, 2003a; Creswell, 2003b; Moustakas, 1994; Van Mannen, 1990; VanManen, 2007; VanMannen, 2017a; VanMannen, 2017b). This research also involved triangulating multiple data sources of information by assessing evidence from the sources and used it to develop a cohesive argument for themes. As a result, the researcher utilized both interactive (conversational in depth interview) and non-interactive data-gathering tools (observation and document analysis) (Creswell, 2003a; Creswell, 2003b; Maxwell, 2013).

3.3.1.1 Indepth interview

The researcher used in-depth interviews because it helps to examine and collect data on ethno cultural minority student's narratives that served as a base for detailed comprehension of the hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in the process and structure of schooling and that shapes the lived experience of ethnocultural minority students in the ethnoculturally diverse schools of the Amhara region. The interview items included semi-structured questions that assisted the researcher in exploring the hidden beliefs and values embedded in schooling (curriculum, pedagogy, assessment, classroom interaction, school rules and discipline techniques, school club leadership, and co-curricular activities), the functions of these implicit beliefs and attitudes, the role of students and teachers in constructing these beliefs and attitudes, and the role of these beliefs in shaping the lived experience of ethno cultural minority students. The interview items were developed through a thorough reading of theories and empirical findings concerning the conception of the hidden curriculum, the purpose of the hidden curriculum, manifestations of the hidden curriculum, lived experiences of ethnocultural minority students, the role of the hidden curriculum in shaping the ethnocultural minority students' schooling experience, the theory of critical pedagogy, critical theory, social reconstruction theory and methods and approached of researching the hidden curriculum and lived experience. The researcher developed semi-

structured interview questions based on the review literature and observations and personal experience.

The items were examined by the supervisor, and modifications for final use were made based on his constructive remarks. A pilot research was done with 8 students and 4 teachers from ethnocultural minority groups in an ethnoculturally diverse elementary school in Gondar. The pilot project allowed the researcher to identify methodological and practical issues that must be addressed during data gathering for the dissertation. Recruitment of study subjects, in particular, became a major practical difficulty for which the approach was fine-tuned.

3.3.1.2 Close observation

Close observation produced various types of experience material than the researcher typically obtains through the interview technique. Close observation, in contrast to more experimental or behavioral observational research methodologies, attempts to break through the gap produced by observational methods (Moustakas, 1994). Close observation by the researcher entailed adopting as intimate a relationship as possible while maintaining hermeneutic attention to events that allowed to continuously step back and reflect on the meaning of those situations (Van Mannen, 1990, 2007, 2017a, b).

The selected schools' classroom and outside classroom environments were the primary sites of careful observation in this study. The researcher identified implicit beliefs and perceptions embedded and manifested in the curriculum in use, the pedagogical and instructional techniques used, the classroom assessment techniques used, the social interactions, sitting arrangements, reward and punishment, communication and conversations, teaching aids, rules and regulations, discipline techniques, and assessment and feedback techniques were all observed in the classroom.

The researcher aimed to uncover the ideological concepts contained in the selection, organization, and structure of content, form, and knowledge through the teacher's practice of curriculum adaptation. The internal organizing methods that go into their assembly were revealed in order to expose the ideology they symbolize. The organizing notions that lie silently

within instructional content, approach and assessment were recognized by the researcher. These materials were decoded not just in terms of content, but also in terms of form and composition.

School knowledge was examined to see how far its form and content represented the unequal presentation of ethnocultural groups' cultural capital; that is, how does classroom knowledge embody modes of language, systems of meaning, and cultural experiences that invalidate other forms of cultural capital directly or indirectly. Throughout my classroom observation, I paid close attention to how children, teachers, staff, and administrators interacted with one another.

Many strong things occur in the classroom that goes beyond the typical course of study. Many verbal encounters invariably contain concerns of attitude, belief, and morality. Students, like other institutional citizens, develop ideas of fair play, fairness, and morality from how the institution, its officials, and fellow constituents treat them. In the numerous school regulations and practices ranging from the trivial to the substantial, schools surely educate about authority, justice, what is right and wrong, and priorities. Teachers were observed within the classroom while mediating, resolving disagreements, correcting, disciplining, and shielding students' misbehavior, and encouraging or discouraging collaborative efforts of students in problem-solving. In each of the carefully chosen schools, one part from grade 5 and another portion from grade 6 were observed.

Outside the classroom, the researcher closely observed the principal's office, teacher's staff room, playgrounds, student restrooms (latrine), library, resource center, ICT center, laboratory, notice board, sign boards, co-curricular activity areas, and school club offices, location of the flag ceremony, and school gate. There were also counseling and guidance services, athletic programs, and extracurricular activities like theater, music band, or debating club. Any of these programs presented opportunity for morally charged topics to emerge (for example winning and losing in a program of competitive athletics; or deciding who gets the leading the major school production, the talented but uncooperative or the modestly talented but even-tempered). I witnessed assemblies or rallies that aimed to emotionally and experientially engage students in moral, value, and belief concerns.

According to Van Mannen (1990), one of the major methods of gathering experiential material from others is the more indirect method of close observation with the partner students if it is

difficult to generate written descriptions or to engage in conversational interviewing. To gain access to the experience of young children, it was important to follow them into their play spaces and into the things they did while the researcher remained attentively aware of the way it was for them.

One of the out of the classroom observation places was the principal's office. Principals used to stamp different tabular, pictorial, and descriptive reasons for student categorization. Lists of students characterized as the most disruptive and disciplined students, leaders of co-curricular groups, students' council, and parliament, and other leadership responsibilities, for example. Another point of interest was the staff room. It was included in the research because it hosted staff meetings, student council meetings, other student organizations, and school club meetings. The informal discourse and dialogue of the teacher concerning norms, beliefs, and values rooted in schooling was comprehended.

Other outside classroom sites that were observed in the study included restrooms/latrines huts. These were places where people expressed their latent views, depositions, perceptions, resistance, and opposition to schooling through wall inscriptions, paintings, or graffiti. The location of the flag ceremony was another outside classroom venue seen throughout the inquiry. Through out the academic year, the principal and teachers communicated messages and updates to students, general student meetings were held, misbehaved students were punished, and the president of the students' council, students' parliament, and student leaders of various associations and clubs delivered speeches at the flag ceremony. The researcher also followed some of the research participants to their homes in order to gain a better understanding of the students' social and cultural capital, as well as the impact of primary socialization by family members of ethnocultural minority students. Outside of the formal framework of conducting interviews, the researcher spent time observing, listening, and debating in various educational settings and groups. In brief, the researcher investigated the implicit beliefs, attitudes, values, norms, dispositions, perceptions, messages, rules, and practices mediated by ethnicity and culture and molding the lived experience of ethnocultural minority students in four schools.

The researcher with a close support from the advisor therefore developed a detailed and comprehensive observation checklist so as to observe data both inside and outside class room context of the four ethno culturally diverse primary school settings. The observation was made

for four weeks, three days a week for 40 minutes each observation session. In some cases where there was a need to follow students to their home, 1 student from each school totally 4 students were followed to their home in consent with their parents. The researcher observed languages of communication, living condition with their neighbors, student's interaction with out of school friends.

3.3.1.3 Document Analysis

Individual schools and school systems as a whole communicated certain implicit beliefs, attitudes, and concepts that constitute the hidden curriculum. As a result, it was critical that the researcher become acquainted with the school's operating concepts. As a result, the researcher performed through reading of official materials such as bulletins, codes, rules, and regulations, as well as being sensitive to the schools' implicit mores. The following documents were examined in the study: ANRSBE policy and guideline documents, the standard of procedures, annual reports, curriculum framework, the blacklist, list of members and leaders of school clubs, lists and minute of students counsels and student parliament, list of students who have had access to school resources such as the library, computer center, pedagogical center, laboratory, PTA minute, staff meeting minute, office documents.

These documents assisted the researcher in understanding the manifestations of the hidden curriculum, the purpose of the hidden curriculum, the role of teachers and students in the construction of the hidden curriculum, and the role of the hidden curriculum in shaping the ethnocultural minority students' schooling experience. Studying these documents also allowed the researcher to assess if there were any trends, biases, or discrimination based on students' ethnocultural minority status in accessing these resources and power structures. They also allowed the researcher to examine who was penalized for misbehaviors and deviations and why, such that patterns in terms of ethnocultural minority status formed. The same reasoning might be used to school reward programs. Who was awarded, why, and if there was any significance in terms of the aspects of diversity were extensively investigated.

The blacklist was a document that featured a list of misbehaved students as well as their parents' names and signatures in most Ethiopian elementary, junior, and high schools, particularly in the

Amhara area. It also provided reasons for the violations of school regulations committed by students, as well as the type of punishment and remedial actions implemented by the school.

Lists of the most troublesome students, the most disciplined students, special class students, members of the students' council, monitors, student policies and leaders of various clubs, flag ceremony leaders, computer users, library pocket users, meeting minutes were all included and analyzed in the document analysis.

The researcher also developed a document analysis checklist so as to explore implicit beliefs and perceptions embedded in the official documents, standards of procedures and policy accounts of the studied schools.

3.3.2 Data Collection procedures

The researcher spent four months in the field and hence one month at each research site. Access to the research sites and collecting data was very challenging and sometimes very risky to the life of the researcher. This was just because as the devastating war in the northern part of Ethiopia was advancing to other regions out of Tigray, free movement and access to the research sites became very difficult. The security forces treat everyone traveling in the region being suspicious of spying. The security forces confiscated the researchers' laptop while he was collecting data at one of the research sites adjacent to the Tigray region despite the researcher showed support letters from Addis Ababa University, Amhara region Education bureau, central Gondar Zone education office and central Gondar zone administrator office.

The researcher protected data by loading backups of every piece of data via email daily and hiding memory cards while traveling in the war-torn areas. In most of the incidents that brought challenge and suspicion by the security forces the researcher used his NGO identity card to avoid arbitrary arrest. However, despite all these ups and downs in the collection of data, data saturation was assured after four months of stay in the field. At the end of the data collection, the researcher had detailed interview data from 32 ethno-cultural minority students and 8 teachers from four schools. A detailed note of the researchers' observation of the four schools and a broad description of data collected from document analysis was also secured.

In this phenomenological study, data was collected using field notes, tape recorders, video recorders, diaries, and checklists. The ethnocultural minority students' lived experience descriptions were found in a variety of expressions or forms; in transcribed taped conversation; in interview materials; in daily accounts or stories; in super time talk, informally written responses; in passing comments; in reflections on other people's writing; in accounts of vicarious experiences of school events; in the play acting of small children; in heart to heart conversations among friends. Each narrative of a lived experience is a good source for eliciting theme features of the thing it represents (Van Mannen, 1990, 2017a).

The interviews were recorded by tape recorder and notes. Document analysis was also carried out using pre-set checklists developed by the researcher for this purpose. As a result, the researcher investigated the over- and under-representation of ethnocultural minority students in the school structure and process. The data obtained from the different documents was shown in tabular form.

In this phenomenological interview; the researcher began with a social chat or a brief meditation practice aimed at generating calm and trusting environment. Following this introduction, the researcher advised that the co-researcher spend a few seconds to focus on the experience, particularly times of special awareness and impact, before completely describing the event. The interviewer was responsible for providing a comfortable environment in which the study subject may react honestly and completely (Moustakas, 1994). The interviews were conducted face to face.

The researcher tape recorded talks with students who were presenting personal life stories in order to acquire reports of personal experiences for use in the study (anecdotes, stories, experiences, incidents).The researcher was involved in the Epoche process prior to the interview, so that major past connections, understandings, facts, and prejudices were set aside and did not color or guide the interview. Participation in the Epoche process may also be required during the interview (Moustakas, 1994).

Field notes and video recordings were used to document the observation. The histories of the events were documented, including the location, time, and a complete history of the incident. Furthermore, the researcher was an external observer who was closely involved in the life world

of the research participants through careful observation of classroom and out-of-classroom circumstances.

Observation checklists for the classroom and out of classrooms visited were created and implemented in order to collect data on the implicit beliefs and attitudes embedded in the activities and interactions conducted both within and outside of the classroom. The researcher conducted a 1:15 hour's interview with each of the 40 research participants. Data collecting began on January 4, 2022, and data saturation was achieved on May 8, 2022. When the researcher thought that there was nothing new that could be acquired from the participants, and so data redundancy occurred, the data collection was terminated.

3.4. Data Analysis

3.4.1. Familiarization and Transcription

Reading the interview transcripts, observational notes, or materials to be analyzed was the first stage in this phenomenological qualitative study. Listening to interview recordings before transcription, as well as the actual process of transcribing interviews or editing and rearranging basic observation notes, provided opportunities for analysis. During this listening and reading, the researcher made notes and memoranda about what he saw or heard in the data (Maxwell, 2013). The data gathered from the interviews of the participants and captured on tape recorder was transcribed. Because the interview was done in Amharic, it was translated into English.

The researcher then studied the data several times and thoroughly comprehended it. As a result, data from texts that support and contradict the emerging themes were selected and examined. Each unit was thoroughly questioned to determine what it revealed. The transcription of the data and translation of the transcriptions was made for each of the 40 research participants and hence at the end of the transcription, the researcher produced a total of 900 pages of the transcribed data which accounts for 225 pages per each school and 20-25 pages per individual participants. After completing the transcription and translation of the interview data, the researcher immersed himself in the data, review each transcription, and repeatedly read each interview transcript for further understanding. The data obtained from observation of the research sites through field notes and observation checklists were also organized and coded. The evidence for this

phenomenological study came from first-person accounts of life events. According to phenomenological principles, scientific investigation was valid when the knowledge sought was obtained through descriptions that allow for an understanding of the meanings and essences of experiences (Edmund, 1991).

3.4.2. Credibility and Trustworthiness

The researcher used many methods to preserve the study's integrity and reliability. One of the tactics to assure the credibility of this research was triangulation, which is the collecting of evidence from a varied range of persons and locations using a number of approaches. This procedure lowered the possibility of chance connections and biases caused by a single approach, allowing for a more accurate assessment of the generality of the explanations developed (Creswell, 2003a; Maxwell, 2013). As a result, theory, instrument, and source triangulations were employed in the data analysis. The emerging themes were accompanied with supporting data triangulated from all data gathering procedures and data sources. Lastly, the themes were analyzed and observed through the lenses of the theories of reproduction (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986), symbolic resistance (Willis, 1977, 1981), hidden curriculum, theory of multiculturalism (Banks, 1995), theory of culturally responsive pedagogy (Gay, 2000, 2013) and empirical study on the subject.

The data that contradicted the themes were discovered and consisted in the analysis from all observations, interviews, and document analysis. A crucial aspect of the logic of validity testing in this qualitative research was searching for discrepant evidence and negative instances, which included locating and evaluating discrepant data and negative cases (Maxwel, 2013). In addition, the researcher arranged and led respondent validation sessions. This is an approach that involves routinely obtaining input regarding data and findings from the people researched in the study. A series of phone interviews with selected participants were arranged for this purpose, allowing for reflection on the emerged themes.

The researcher was also engaged in extensive long-term participation at the field level for more than four months. The long term engagement of the researcher on the research sites enabled him to better understand and comprehend the dynamics of the research sites and collect quality and rich data. Long-term involvement and intensive interviews enabled the researcher to collect rich

data that are detailed and varied enough to provide a full and revealing picture of manifestations of hidden curriculum, functions of hidden curriculum, and roles of the hidden curriculum in shaping the experiences of ethnocultural minority students, as well as teachers and students' roles in fighting or fostering social inequality through the hidden curriculum of schooling.

3.4.3. Data Analysis

Data analysis was initially done on a case-by-case level. Each school was a separate, unique, and special case for which the researcher made data analysis. The data obtained from 32 students and 8 teachers and the data obtained from the observation of each school context were analyzed at a case level. Therefore, four separate data analysis was made for each of the research sites and hence unique themes emerged that characterize each research context.

The essence of qualitative research is interpretation. This signifies that the data was interpreted by the researcher. This involved creating a description of an individual or place, evaluating data for themes or categories, and lastly interpreting or forming a conclusion about its personal or theoretical significance (Cresswell, 2003a, b).

Then, continued with a cross-case pattern analysis of data among the four case schools based on the major themes that emerged from the individual case analysis. Analyzing the data allowed the researcher to see the main similarities and differences and code based on them. Ultimately, significant themes developed that demonstrated parallels across the majority of the data. These themes or categories were expanded into broad patterns which were then compared to existing literature on the subject (Creswell, 2003a, b).

The cross-case data analysis among the four unique cases, four schools, was made using a qualitative research matrix. The repeated reading of the transcribed and translated data and the cross-case analysis enabled the researcher to explore and understand implicit meanings, emerging statements, and categories about the ethno-cultural minority student's lived experience of schooling and the manifestations, functions and role of the hidden curriculum in the ethno culturally diverse primary schools of the Amhara region.

Therefore, from the cross-case analysis, major themes built from a matrix of data from the four research sites that answered the research questions of this study emerged. The emerged codes

and categories were clustered around themes that correspond to the research questions and literature review. The researcher triangulated different data sources information by examining evidence from the sources and using it to build a coherent justification for themes. Then, the researcher identified coded, and sorted the data to identify and record major themes across the cases, identified commonalities and variations among experiences in the different cases, and categorized the patterns of repeated statements, phrases, and words that match across the different case accounts.

Finding major themes across all four cases were made and a critical reflection and intuition of these emerged themes were done by the researcher. Then, the researcher developed four major themes as per the research questions of the study, and sub-themes for each of the major themes have also emerged. Finally, these themes that answered the research questions were scrutinized through the lenses of the theory of multicultural education, culturally responsive education, critical pedagogy, symbolic resistance, and educational reproduction.

In general, the researcher used the phenomenological research analysis approach proposed by Moustakas (1994) to analyze data obtained from 32 ethnocultural minority students and 8 teachers.

3.4.4. Issues of responsibility and ethics concerning participants of the study

The study's scope and the type of the research instruments considered a number of elements that might impact the lived experiences of ethnocultural minority students. The study focuses on manifestations, functions and role of the hidden curriculum, teachers and students' roles in producing the hidden curriculum, and students' experiences with school. The researcher established a moral commitment to the research participants, which should avoid an exploitative scenario. The study adhered to the appropriate ethical standards, created explicit agreements with research participants, acknowledged the importance of confidentiality and informed consent, and devised processes to ensure full disclosure of the nature, purpose, and needs of the research endeavor. Therefore, a research participant consent form was established, communicated to participant students and their parents and finally signed by the research participants with the agreement of their parents.

The researcher selected participants of the study who are volunteers to participate in the research as co researchers and then the methods, process and over all structure of the study was cleared to the participants. The emergent nature of study so that a consequent change in procedures may also be occurred and hence this was also told to the participants and allowed for alternatives in response to participant thoughts and recommendations, as needed for accuracy, safety, and comfort. The participants of the research also were provided with the information that they may withdraw from the research as per their interest. The identity of the research participants was anonymous and the confidentiality of the data was secured. Data were only used with the consent and agreement of the research participants. The researcher recognizes that the theories and premises of radical critical theory have greatly informed the research and influenced him. The reproduction theory of Bourdieu (1977, 1986, 1992, and 1993) and the symbolic resistance theory of Giroux (1981, 1983) and Willis (1977, 1981) were utilized in the research as radical critical theories. According to Van Mannen (1990), a phenomenological researcher has to acknowledge the prejudgments and preconceptions and hence bracket them just to deliberately keep them at distance. As a result, when performing my research endeavor, I tried to stay neutral by admitting and bracketing my own opinions, biases, assumptions, and presuppositions.

CHAPTER FOUR

WOYTO ETHNO CULTUTURAL MINORITY STUDENTS (SCHOOL 1)

4.1 Context of the case data - Alefa Woreda (Dengel Ber Town)

Alefa woreda is one of the largest woreda in the central Gondar zone of the Amhara region. Qwara woreda, Metema woreda, West Achefer woreda, Takusa woreda, Chilga woreda, and Jawi woreda surround Alefa. Lake Tana is also a key element of the Alefa woreda. Dengelber is a small town with its own municipality placed in Alefa woreda. According to information gathered from the Woreda communication office, the name Dengelber was derived from two Amharic words: Dengel and Ber. Dengel is a kind of wood found mostly in and around Lake Tana. Dengel is a material used in the building of tiny fishing boats. It is also utilized in the construction of buildings, raincoats, and as firewood. 'Ber' is an Amharic word that stands for door. Dengelber's community members are organized around the Amhara and Woyto ethnocultural groupings. In the town, the Amhara ethnocultural groups are in the majority, while the Woyto ethnocultural groups are in the minority.

Dengelber's village members make their living from fishing, as well as trading and agriculture. Woyto ethnocultural minority communities are also well-known for their fishing interests. They also collect firewood from Lake Tana's islands and sell it to the residents of Dengelber town. Members of the Woyto ethnocultural minority population have limited access to fair quality education owing to a variety of variables such as history, grand narratives, means of subsistence, and others. Because of historical narratives that portray Woyto community members as inferior in social structure and overall interaction in comparison to other ethnocultural groups, they shun schooling for fear of being stereotyped and prejudiced by peers, teachers, and school authorities. Because they were uneducated, they were unable to find alternate sources of income and were forced to engage in fisheries and everyday labor activities.

They make little money from these jobs and are hence unable to amass wealth and property. Their village is similarly located near Lake Tana and was nearly completely isolated from social connections with other ethnocultural groups. Moreover, like the other ethnocultural minority

groups in the region, the Woyto ethnocultural minority groups have lately requested acknowledgment of their ethnocultural identity by the regional parliament. Scholars in the field of politics agreed that the Amhara region is a progressive region as it acknowledged the self-administration of minority groups in the region such as Agew Himra, Agew Awi, Argoba, Oromo, and Qimant. It appears that the Amhara regional constitution designated some ethnocultural minority groups as "others," and the Woyto ethnocultural minority groups may have been included in this category. But, they have lately been able to send their children to school, and their livelihoods have improved as the price of fish and firewood in town has risen.

Both Amhara ethnocultural majority pupils and Woyto ethnocultural minority students were integrated in the same classroom, with the same curriculum and Amharic as the language of instruction (Dengelber primary school). They were given the same curriculum, instructional medium, classroom, instructional strategy, and assessment techniques. Dengelber elementary school was founded in 1981GC with the assistance of the Swedish government. Remodeling and building of new classrooms were also completed lately with the help of the woreda administration and community members. In 2021 GC, the school has 1609 (719F) pupils. The school has grade levels ranging from pre-primary through middle school. All of the teachers at Dengelber elementary schools are members of the Amhara ethnocultural predominant group.

4.2 Profile of the research participants

Table 1. Profile of Woyito ethno cultural minority students

S.N	Pseudonym	Sex	Grade level	Ethnicity
1	Student A	F	5	Woyto
2	Student B	F	5	Woyto
3	Student C	F	6	Woyto
4	Student D	F	6	Woyto

5	Student E	M	5	Woyto
6	Student F	M	5	Woyto
7	Student G	M	6	Woyto
8	Student H	F	6	Woyto
9	Teacher A	M		Amhara
10	Teacher B	F		Amhara

4.3. Results for Dengel Ber primary school – School -1

4.3.1 Manifestations of the hidden curriculum at Dengel Ber primary school

The researcher triangulated data from in-depth interviews, observations, and document analysis at Dengel Ber primary schools and discovered that the hidden curriculum manifested itself through the implicit beliefs and values embedded in the process and structures of schooling. Curriculum adaptation, teacher selection, organization, and delivery of classroom content, selection and application of classroom instructional approaches, selection and application of classroom assessment techniques, school labeling language and terminologies, and celebration of marked national days were all manifestations of the hidden curriculum.

Regarding curriculum modification as manifestation of the hidden curriculum, student G from school 1 noted that,

social study and civics teachers from ethnic cultural majority group in our school deliver lessons that are not part of the formal curriculum and our text book. These contents and experiences are most of the time about discipline, not to critically question authority of teachers and only to stay silent and be submissive to the ethnic cultural experience of the dominant group (Student G, January 13/2022, Dengel Ber)

Teacher B from School 1 was also overheard remarking, "You know what, our language, cultural clothing rules, knowledge, and in general our ethnic origins and experiences are the finest of the bests. We are the history and the future. But no one else" (Teacher B, January 14/2022, Dengel Ber)

Student 'D' claimed that

teachers never chose me to lead group projects and even never offered me the opportunity to answer questions. Even though I raised my hand to answer questions and occasionally to ask them, I never had a chance to do so. Only students from the ethnocultural majority group have the right to both ask and answer questions. And I never complained about it. (Student D, January 11/2022, Dengel Ber)

Similarly, student 'A' stated, "our teachers typically converse and debate with students from the same ethnocultural backgrounds, primarily ethnocultural majority teachers and students" (Student A, January 10/2022, Dengel Ber). The study also discovered that the hidden curriculum denied ethnocultural minority students access to classroom tools and materials. To put it another way, these belief systems prevent ethnocultural minority students from using classroom instructional aids, resources, and materials.

Despite the fact that the purpose of differentiated instruction at the elementary school level is to provide differentiated support for different students based on their learning styles, the practice of differentiated instruction observed at Dengel Ber primary school was in conflict with this purpose and the principles of curriculum differentiation. The researcher observed different classes for "high achiever" and "low achiever" students.

The document analysis of the list of students in the 'high achievers' class and the list of students in the 'low achievers' class revealed that those identified as high achievers had academic performance between 80% and 99%, while those labeled as 'low achievers' had academic performance less than 50%.

According to the triangulation of evidence from observation, in-depth interviews, and document analysis, the practice of individualized teaching at Dengel Ber primary school was interlocked with ethnocultural connections that discriminate students based on their ethno cultural

experience. In this regard, student 'C' stated that "although schools appear to give diversified academic support for various children with varying abilities, the real practice of differentiated education is discriminatory" (Student C, January 11/2022, Dengel Ber)

Similarly, student 'F' remarked that,

ethno cultural minority students were the 'lower achievers' that never supplied with tailored teaching as per their learning style and interest. In contrast, ethnocultural majority students were labeled "high performers" and so received the greatest academic assistance system in the school (Student F, January 12/2022, Dengel Ber)

The researcher also discovered that the hidden curriculum showed itself in the designation of students as most disturbing and benevolent via a document known as the black list. This document contains a list of students who have been identified as the most hazardous and require stricter supervision and control by the school community. It also lists the types of wrongdoing committed by these students and the sanctions imposed on them. The black list was utilized at Dengelber School to separate ethnocultural minority students and classifies them as benign and most problematic groups.

The triangulation of data acquired from Dengel Ber primary school also revealed that the hidden curriculum was represented in the school's rule and punishment systems. Ethnic and cultural minority students were passive participants in the school's rule-making and discipline procedures. It appears that ethnocultural minority students at Dengel Ber primary school feel that setting school regulations necessitates the sorts of experiences and competencies that ethnocultural minority student's lack. One of the in-depth interview participants, student 'F,' stated,

What you should know here is what sort of talents is required to develop school laws. Indeed, leadership and managerial abilities are required to pick the worthwhile school regulations that allow the school to govern students' conduct. As a result, they do not anticipate to include the perspectives of ethnocultural minority children in such crucial school choices" (Student F, January 12/2022, Dengel Ber)

While discussing school regulations with his peer groups in the classroom, Student 'B' stated, "...guys, it is the school rules that safeguard us from feeling such delight. If school regulations are not available, I will bring a jar of tela or a local beer to class. I'll drink without fear in the classroom...oooh" (Student B, January 10/2022, Dengel Ber)

Teacher 'A' similarly thought that without school regulations, students would be rebellious and impossible to handle. Upon reviewing the list of the most troublesome students in the classroom, he stated "at our school, we have policies in place to ensure peace and harmony. Rules are our right hand when it comes to controlling your actions. What is just asked of us is that we take strong measures against those students who refuse to respect us. So that our school's order and stability be preserved" (Teacher A, January 14/2022, Dengel Ber)

In line with this, student 'F' also replied that "I heard some students appealing for compassion from teachers for breaching school regulations, citing a lack of awareness about them. I'm sure they were present when the school regulations were read to us. Laughing... they're attempting to defraud teachers in order to avoid punishment..." (Student F, January 12/2022, Dengel Ber)

Participant 'G' nevertheless remarked that "the school did not only present school regulations on September but also imprinted them in each classroom at the same time. Introducing and stamping them in the classroom is enough to keep us from doing crimes" (Student G, January 13/2022, Dengel Ber)

On accepting any action imposed by school authorities and instructors, student 'D' stated, "When we were discovered breaching school rules, we used to clean latrines, clean dusty and unclean stores and offices, and carry stones." (Student G, January 13/2022, Dengel Ber)

Similarly, student 'N' stated that "when teachers wanted to punish us for what they perceived as misbehaving, they prohibited us from entering the classroom for three consecutive periods a day, and they used to bite us regularly." (Student H, January 13/2022, Dengel Ber)

The study also revealed that ethno cultural minority students at Dengel Ber elementary school do not question or reflect on school policies. Similarly, student 'B' stated, "... Several students who were dissatisfied with the school decision went to the woreda educational office. Nonetheless,

they were punished by being classified as rebellious..." (Student B, January 10/2022, Dengel Ber)

Student 'A' said that "I believe students, as decent citizens, should comply with school norms without questioning or reluctance. Yet, rejecting, confronting and questioning school norms is a purposeful attempt to disrupt the school's order and stability." (Student A, January 10/2022, Dengel Ber). Similarly, Teacher 'B' added that, "I believe school regulations were established to help pupils live in harmony as civilized democratic citizen. What I mean is that these principles, which are meant to create a pleasant teaching environment, should be accepted by students without objection or resistance." (Teacher B, January 14/2022, Dengel Ber)

Teachers were observed while using the implicit ideas and values encoded in the hidden curriculum of school regulations as a form of social control and passive obedience. When urging students to be punctual, teacher B stated;

This year, we welcomed a large number of new students. The number of new students has exceeded our capability. As a result, we have a student-to-class ratio issue. We need ridiculous mistakes to keep you all out of our institution. Nobody could ever urge me to retain you in my school. I will never have pity on anyone who is found making such stupid blunders. Nobody is tolerable. I can guarantee you that no one can accuse me for doing this (Teacher B, January 14/2022, Dengel Ber)

Data triangulated from in-depth interviews, observations, and document analysis also revealed that Dengel Ber primary school's rule and disciplinary system communicated to students the moral ideals of obedience, respect, and punctuality. In relation to this, Student 'B' responded that "... I feel that following school regulations without breaking them will help us become decent citizens." (Student B, January 10/2022, Dengel Ber) Similarly, student 'D' indicated that "... We are obedient students who respect teachers, the principal, and school rules." (Student D, January 11/2022)

Student 'A' also disclosed that a "good student is one who constantly follows school regulations and accepts sanctions without complaint." (Student A, January 10/2022, Dengel Ber) In agreement with this, student 'R' stated, "We should accept school regulations and the

consequences of disobeying or breaking them without questioning." (Student C, January 11/2022, Dengel Ber)

The study revealed that respect has a context-specific connotation at Dengel Ber Primary School. It includes: not displaying indicators of negative facial expressions or ignorance to the actions of the teacher, to be vigilant in monitoring and adhering to school policies, to greet teachers or classmates first, before they express their greetings to you

According to student 'G' during an in-depth interview, "respect for me is to put a fair attention for what teachers and the principal advise us both on the flag ceremony and in the classroom."(Student G, January 13/2022, Dengel Ber)

According to the findings, the moral value of punctuality has a context-based significance at Dengel Ber elementary school. They include: entering the classroom before the homeroom teacher arrived; and Submitting test answers before the bell sounded.

Student 'H' stated, in accordance with these meaning structures encoded in the moral value of punctuality that "The main lesson that we may acquire from the school norms of time keeping is punctuality. We must get at school before the bell rings..." (Student H, January 13/2022, Dengel Ber)

"I lost 50% of my social studies result in the first semester since I didn't heed the bell and continued working after it was rung. If I were punctual, I may not have missed that deadline..." claimed student 'E' (Student E, January 12/2022, Dengel Ber)

Teacher 'B' stated, "...what I am trying to imply by punctuality is to get to school early in the morning, leaving the class room while the bell rung to announce the last period or the seventh period..."(Student B, January 10/2022, Dengel Ber)

The research data obtained at DengelBer elementary school also revealed that the hidden curriculum was expressed and implicitly incorporated in teachers' and pupils' support of Ethiopian Premier League football clubs.

In line with this, student 'G' responded that "Since most of the teachers and students at our school support a team in the Ethiopian Premier League, they wear this club's uniforms. They

don't want to see other kits of a different color or brand." (Student G, January 13/2022, Dengel Ber)

"With commonalities in their clothing code, they formed bridges of good affiliation and connection among teachers and students from the same ethnocultural heritage," remarked student 'E. (Student E, Jnaury 12/2022, Dengel Ber)

In the in-depth interview, student 'B' also revealed that, "most of the teachers are supporters of one club that is also recognized as one of the key sign of liberation, power and togetherness of the ethnic cultural majority group in the region. If you mention something unpleasant about the team, you may wind up being assaulted and reprimanded by ethnocultural majority teachers and students who are rabid fans and supporters of that club."(Student B, January 10/2022, Dengel Ber)

4.3.2 The lived experiences of the Woyto ethno cultural minority students

Data from in-depth interviews with participants, observations of inside and outside class room contexts, and analysis of appropriate and relevant documents revealed that the hidden curriculum embedded in curriculum adaptation socializes Woyto ethnocultural minority students into a single hegemonic ethnocultural experience and background, with their history, experience, and aspirations relegated to the corner of the classroom.

In this respect, student 'G' stated,

we learn that we need to embrace and know the great narratives of the ethnocultural dominant groups in order to be academically successful and have better prospects in our future life. This is what I recall from what our teacher taught us in class (Student G, January 12/2022, Dengel Ber)

Student 'B' replied "our teacher informed us that the mainstream curriculum, with its structure and content selection based on the experience and history of the majority groups, is the greatest way to study and become hired in the economic sector, leading to a better life." (Student B, January 10/22, Dengel Ber)

The hidden curriculum implicitly incorporated in teachers' selection and use of classroom instructional methodologies and pedagogy molded Woyto ethnocultural minority students into passive citizenship and non-critical thinking. Student 'C' stated in the in-depth interview, "I feel we are not naturally capable of managing group leadership, presentation, role play, and active participation, and classroom time, space, power, and resources are not for us to exploit" (Student C, January 11/2022, Dengel Ber) Similarly, student 'F' stated, "I believe I am not competent of leading group discussions and delivering results presentations; I believe students from the ethnocultural majority group can do it far better than I can." (Student F, January 12/2022, Dengel Ber)

The data gathered at Dengel Ber primary school also revealed that Woyto ethnocultural minority students were subjected to exclusion as a result of the hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in the beliefs and values manifested in school election systems for leadership positions. Similar to this reasoning, student 'A' remarked that, "there are several extracurricular activities and organizations in the school. These clubs are led and coordinated by students from ethnically majority backgrounds. They deserve to be leaders because of their academic achievements and linguistic skills." (Student A, January 10/2022, Dengel Ber)

In relation to this, student 'D' stated, "I feel we are not excellent football players, we are not good at acting and theatre, we are not good at leading and managing multi-thematic clubs, and we are even awful at leading the flag ceremony." (Student D, January 11/2022, Dengel Ber) This suggests that the Woyto ethnocultural minority students were trained to be passive observers and consumers of the many rites and activities organized and facilitated entirely and largely by ethnocultural majority students at Dengel Ber elementary school.

The study also indicated that the Woyto ethnocultural minority students at Dengel Ber primary school faced inequity and dropout as a result of the hidden curriculum exhibited through the schools disciplinary and punish methods. According to the interview data secured from teacher 'B' "ethnocultural minority pupils are problem makers that do not follow school regulations, law violators, violent, late arrivals, disruptive, and destructives." (Teacher B, January 14/2022, Dengel Ber) Students from the Woyto ethnocultural minority groups appear to accept these arbitrary labeling and behave accordingly.

The hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in the labeling language at DengelBer elementary school generated stereotype on minority students. In this regard, student 'G' claimed that "the teacher once reprimanded me as 'sheep dung' and ordered me to get out of the classroom till he finishes his lecture. I walked to the building's roof, where I used to hide when teachers forced me to leave the classroom. In class, I did nothing wrong. Simply because I'm different from him, he despises me."(Student G, January 13/2022, Dengel Ber)

In connection to this, student 'H' claimed that, "I feel there is not need to squander time in school as long as we get excluded by the system someplace before we actualize our ambition and aspirations. I don't think schools and education are for me."(Student H, January 13/2022, Dengel Ber)

Similarly in the in-depth interview, student 'E' remarked that "I feel that social mobility will never be attained via education as long as I am terminated from school due to violation of the so called school regulations. To live a prosperous life, I would rather pursue alternative sources of income and economic areas such as agriculture and pity commerce." (Student E, January 12/2022, Dengel Ber)

The triangulated data also revealed that the Woyto ethnocultural minority students were passively obedient as a result of the hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in the communication systems and meanings inherent in the moral values of respect, obedience, and punctuality. In this respect, student 'A' claimed that, "If you are a terrible student who never support holding of dusters and bags from teachers as soon as they enter a classroom and never laughed when a teacher creates a joke, then better should seek your spot early and cease schooling... chuckle". (Student A, January 10/2022, Dengel Ber)

The data also showed that the celebration of marked national and international days conveyed the hidden curriculum, which negatively influenced the lived experiences of Woyto ethnocultural minority students at Dengel Ber primary school. In the in-depth interview, student 'B' claimed that

As you can see all the history presented in the play and music in the celebration of this day of nations and nationality is about the ethnic cultural majority groups. They've got

all the heroes. There isn't one from our side. They deserve to be celebrated in this manner.

Woyto ethnocultural minority students were subjected to threat as a result of the hidden curriculum implicitly entrenched in beliefs and attitudes embedded in supporting Ethiopian Premier League football clubs. The researchers' observations of the classroom environment revealed that there was a lot of graffiti scrawled on the walls of classrooms concerning the football clubs that students like and dislike. The graffiti contains discriminatory, stereotypical images labeled to ethnocultural groups associated with such clubs. A graffiti observed by the researcher on a classroom wall states that "My city is my life. My club is my entire existence. He who attempts to be indifferent to me may commit suicide."(School 1, Room 4, Dengel Ber)

4.3.3 The functions of the hidden curriculum at Dengel Ber primary school.

The data obtained at Dengel Ber primary school revealed that the hidden signals sent by the hidden curriculum implicitly incorporated in the school's election system for leadership posts benefited the Amhara ethnocultural students, who are the predominant groups in the area. In this regard, Teacher 'A' responded that "the 'top three students' manage all student disciplinary concerns as leaders in the student police. They have the authority to make allegations against any student and to suggest measures and punishment for any wrongdoing."(Teacher A, January 14/2022, Dengel Ber)

Similarly, student 'C' stated that "being students from the ethnocultural majority group, they are frequently lauded by the school community and woreda education offices for being voted as our school's ethical ambassadors." (Student C, January 11/2022, Dengel Ber)

The data also revealed that the election processes and practices at Dengel Ber primary school benefited the Amhara ethnocultural majority students' interests. Similarly, student 'G' replied that

Teachers give us directions so that we can elect top ten students who are from ethnocultural majority students for school leadership positions such as; students parliament members and leaders, students police members and leaders, teacher assessment committee members and leaders, parent teacher and students

association members, ethical ambassadors, high achiever students parliament members and leaders, monitors association members and leaders, and monitors association members and leaders (Student G, January 13/2022, Dengel Ber)

4.3.4 Teachers and students hidden curriculum related roles at Dengel Ber primary school

Data triangulated from the researchers' observations of Dengel Ber primary school, in-depth interviews with student participants, and document analysis revealed that the teacher's role in the selection, organization, and delivery of classroom contents through curriculum adaptation had a negative impact on the lived experiences of Woyto ethnocultural minority students.

According to the researchers' classroom observations, ethnocultural majority teachers adapt the intended curriculum and teach their own curriculum that has been fine-tuned based on their own ethnocultural background and experience. The researcher witnessed teacher 'B' remark that "today we will study about concepts of democracy. Yet we don't stick to what's in the textbook. As you are aware, there is an excellent example of democracy in our ethnicity's cultural tradition. Every year when I got to this chapter, I never taught students anything that is depicted already in the book. I teach the finest democratic practice in my ethnicity." (Teacher B, January 14/2022, Dengel Ber)

The study also showed that ethnocultural majority teachers at Dengel Ber primary school played a role in producing beliefs that discourage equity of educational opportunity through their involvement and messages in the school's election system for leadership posts. According to student 'B', "teachers play roles in compelling pupils to pick those students from the ethnocultural majority group who have the 'desired' social and cultural capital to be leaders in school leadership positions and wield school authority." (Student B, January 10/2022, Dengel Ber)

Similarly, student 'H,' responded,

I believe the repeated narration from both teachers and ethnocultural majority students about students from ethnocultural minority groups not possessing the 'desired' social and cultural capital so that there is no way they could be elected as leaders is the major

reason why we don't access school leadership positions (Student H, January 13/2022, Dengel Ber)

As a result of the implicit practices and roles of school teachers toward ethnocultural majority pupils, access to power positions and leadership roles was inequitably distributed to students depending on their ethnocultural background.

These beliefs perpetuated by teachers resulted in a noticeable imbalance between students from diverse ethnocultural backgrounds in terms of access to membership and leadership of school co-curricular and extracurricular clubs and their facilities, and hence inequitable access to the schools few resources.

The researcher also observed teachers at Dengel Ber primary school actively participated in the production and usage of labeling phrases and words that transmit discriminating, stereotyping, and bias messages to Woyto ethnocultural minority students.

In this regards, student 'G' said that "We were continuously reprimanded by teachers from ethno cultural majority groups and hence we are made to accept and act according to the pre judgments and perceptions of teachers and students from ethno cultural majority groups against us in the school compound"(Student G, January 13/2022, Dengel Ber). This indicates that students actively participated in developing and fostering implicit beliefs and values that hinder equitable education through the hidden curriculum entrenched in the process and structure of schooling.

Student 'C' in the in-depth interview noted that "in group work and conversations typically male ethno cultural majority students execute the activities by themselves and disclose the findings to us without considering our thoughts and opinions. And we accept their beliefs as always being truthful and correct." (Student C, January 11/2022, Dengel Ber)

The researcher observed students' reactions during the delivery of teacher-made assessment test results in classrooms. The findings demonstrated that male high achievers discriminated 'low achievers' ethnocultural minority students. At one occasion at Dengel Ber elementary school, the researcher observed a student who scored high from teacher made test results declaring "I am the one and only one who earned high in test scores on any subject area. Take a lesson from my success, you slow learners." (Student D, January 11/2022, Dengel Ber)

According to an in-depth interview with student 'F' "the ethnocultural minority students are being discriminated against and have created the perception that it is only students from ethnocultural majority groups who can obtain the highest of the scores in the school and the classroom." (Student F, January 12/2022, Dengel Ber)

Ethnocultural majority teachers had a role in reproducing beliefs, perceptions and practices that discourage equitable educational opportunity among different students with different ethnocultural background through the hidden curriculum implicitly incorporated in school discipline and punishment procedures. The researcher observed teacher 'B' as he facilitated group work in a grade 6 class room. He was reprimanding a kid who was not actively participating in the group, stating,

Hey you, what are you doing in there just putting your hands on your chest? I believe you are an elderly man who is preoccupied with domestic tasks and feeding his children. Education, without a doubt, is not for an elderly guy like you, who is there in flesh but absent in thought. Go away! Get the hell out! (Teacher B, January 18/2022, Dengel Ber)

CHAPTER FIVE

AMHARA ETHNO CULTURAL MINORITY STUDENTS (SCHOOL 2)

5.1 Context of the case data (Kemissie city administration)

Kemissie city administration is part of Oromo special zone in the Amhara region. The Amhara region acknowledged and expressly stated in its regional constitution the self-administration of the Oromo special zone. Experts in the fields of law and political science have frequently acknowledged that the Amhara region is quite advanced in dealing with the challenges and conditions of internal minorities. They claim that the Amhara region is the only region in the country that respects the self-administration of four ethnocultural internal minority groups, including Agew Awi, Agew Himira, Oromo, and Argoba. The regional government has granted the Kimant's plea for acknowledgment of their identity as well as their request for self-administration. Yet, their attempt to organize themselves at the Zonal level, as well as their request for more Kebeles, has failed, resulting in continuing clashes and ethnic disputes in the area.

The Oromo ethnocultural majority and the Amhara ethnocultural minority groups are the two primary ethnocultural groupings in Kemissie town. According to the 2007 census, the share of the town's two ethnocultural groupings was about equal. Due to a variety of factors, there were ethnic disputes in the town between the two ethnocultural groups. The principal reasons and causes of the two ethnic groups' deadly confrontations included epic historical narratives, religious disputes, political ambitions, and a fight for resources. The mutual skepticism, mistrust, and hostility instilled in members of the two ethnic groups was extreme.

According to the data collected from the regional communication bureau, the toxic political and historical narratives instilled in the Oromo community by the OLF/OLA have resulted in a deadly confrontation between the two ethnic groups during the last four years. Several individuals from the Amhara ethnic groups were killed as a result of the ethnic conflict in Kemissie town. Part of the city's infrastructure was also destroyed, and people were killed as a

result of the recent fighting in northern Ethiopia, particularly as Tigrayan troops advanced to the capital in June 2021.

The amount of hostility, and mistrust noticed among community members from the Amhara and Oromo ethnocultural backgrounds was similarly mirrored among primary school students from the Amhara and Oromo ethnocultural backgrounds at Kemissie primary school, one of the research sites.

The school was founded in 2005 GC. In 2022, the school served a total of 1062 (470Female and 592 male) pupils ranging from kindergarten through middle school. The school divided students from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds into separate classroom, curriculum and shift systems. Despite the fact that students from the Oromo and Amhara ethnocultural groups were educated in the same compound, they were not permitted to learn during the same shift. Instead, if the Oromo students learned in the morning shift, the Amhara students learn in the afternoon shift.

There are separate groups of teachers for the two groups of students who served in distinct shifts. The majority of teachers at the school are from the Oromo ethnocultural dominant group. Afan Oromo is the language of instruction for the Oromo ethnocultural majority groups. Nonetheless, Amharic is the language of instruction for the Amhara ethnocultural minority groups. Despite the fact that Amharic is the medium of instruction for Amhara ethnocultural minority students, teachers who conduct subjects to Amhara ethnocultural minority students are from the Oromo ethnocultural majority group. The researcher selected the teacher participant’s purposefully and a snowballing technique was deployed. The school code is 2, the town is Kemissie in Oromo special zone.

5.2 Profile of the research participants

Table 2. Profile of Amhara ethno cultural minority students

S.N	Pseudonym	Sex	Grade level	Ethnicity
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1	Student I	F	5	Amhara
2	Student J	F	5	Amhara
3	Student K	F	6	Amhara
4	Student L	F	6	Amhara
4	Student M	M	5	Amhara
6	Student N	M	5	Amhara
7	Student O	M	5	Amhara
8	Student P	M	5	Amhara
9	Teacher C	M		Oromo
10	Teacher D	F		Oromo

5.3. Results for Kemissie primary school – School - 2

5.3.1 Manifestations of the hidden curriculum at Kemissie primary school

The in-depth interviews with research participants at Kemissie primary school revealed that the hidden curriculum implicitly manifested itself in curriculum adaptation. According to student 'K,' in an in-depth interview, "teachers from the Oromo ethnocultural majority groups adapted the formal curriculum for civic education and social study as per their own cultural capital, which was different from the Amhara ethnocultural minority students and solely based on their personal area of interest, likes and dislikes" (Student K, February 8/2022, Dengel Ber)

The findings also showed that the hidden curriculum was represented at Kemissie primary school through the implicit beliefs and values entrenched in the teacher's choice and use of classroom instructional approaches. The observation of classroom teaching techniques in social science and moral and citizenship education for grades 5 and 6 students at Kemissie Primary School

indicated that the hidden curriculum was implicitly entrenched in the classroom instructional process. The researcher's observation of the classroom revealed that the similarities or differences in the ethnocultural identities of teachers and students heavily affected classroom interaction.

The Oromo ethnocultural majority teachers were seen to have a healthy connection and to have high expectations for those Oromo ethnocultural majority students who share their ethnocultural background. During one of the observations at school 2, when grouping pupils for a class task, teacher 'C' mentioned that, "Please make a group of five and discuss the question. I believe I have given you a clear directive as to what you are required to perform. I don't believe you can hear me. Better to teach on the other shift, where I can teach pleasantly and students can grasp my instructions." This indicates that the hidden curriculum was implicitly embedded in the teacher adapted curriculum that set aside the capability of the Amhara ethno cultural minority students and hence hampered the overall development.

Students from the Amhara ethnocultural minority groups formed an unfavorable image of teachers from the Oromo ethnocultural majority groups as a result of the teachers' prejudice. This was also corroborated by data acquired from in-depth interviews with students. "All of our teachers are from the Oromo ethnocultural majority group, thus they despise us and never offer us the opportunity to constructively communicate with them," student 'K' explained. (Student K, February 8/2022, Kemissie)

Student I responded "Teachers from the Oromo ethnocultural majority group never pay adequate attention in the classroom to our experience, family background, history, dreams, and goals. They just despise us, and we despise them all." (Student I, February 7/2022, Kemissie)

Similar to this, student 'J' remarked that "Those of us who are ethnoculturally different from them were never permitted to express questions and we never received opportunity to engage active discourse with teachers, we simply remain silenced and listen to what they are saying." (Student P, February 10/2022, Kemissie)

The researcher also found that the hidden curriculum was visible and implicitly integrated in differentiated instruction techniques at school 2. In the in-depth interview with student 'L' she revealed that,

we all have been grouped in three performance based categories. The high achievers have an academic achievement of more than 90%, while the rest of us are classed as low achievers. There are students among us who have over 80% academic performance yet are categorized as middle achievers, whereas another student in the school has 51% academic performance (Student N, February 9/2022, Kemissie)

The hidden curriculum was expressed and implicitly incorporated in school 2 through the selection and deployment of classroom evaluation methodologies by teachers. In this regard, student 'O' highlighted that, "Since the teaching methodologies employed by our teachers in the classroom neglected and omitted our histories and experiences, teacher designed class room assessment procedures have likewise marginalized our histories and experiences"(Student O, February 10/2022, Kemissie)

Another student from School 2 remarked,

As teachers examine what they teach in the classroom while neglecting our culture and identity, they neglected our experiences and cultures in their evaluation methodology. Teacher's classroom evaluation is a fundamental strategy to prevent minority students from accessing school resources (Student L, February 8/2022, Kemissie)

In this respect, student 'K' stated, "The school administration and teachers informed us that this was part of a differentiated education that was designed and conducted for the benefit of those from the ethnocultural minority students." (Student K, February 8/2022, Kemissie)

Supporting this, student 'N' also asserted that,

typically teachers come into classroom wearing sport kits of the football teams which they are ethnoculturally linked with. Teachers typically wear the sport kits of the football teams to which their ethnocultural identity is linked. Pupils also enter the classroom wearing the athletic uniforms of the football clubs with whom they identify ethnoculturally (Student N, February 9/2022, Kemissie)

Similarly student 'K' said that,

Different dress codes specifically related to sport kits of football clubs in the Ethiopian premier league propagated and enhanced sense of competition and sometimes physical and verbal confrontation among different students from different ethno cultural categories. These physical and verbal clashes have occasionally occurred among teachers from various ethnocultural backgrounds and experiences who support different football clubs based on their ethnic affiliation. (Student K, February 8/2022, Kemissie)

The data also showed that the hidden curriculum was manifested implicitly in the school's disciplinary and rule structures and practices. The researcher found out that there is a detailed list of the most disturbing' and 'benevolent' students, the type of punishment measures taken against them, the advices and warning measures taken against them, the signature of their parents, and other related cases from a document analysis of a 'black list' in Kemissie primary school.

The researcher discovered in this paper that students from the Amhara ethnocultural minority groups are solely and heavily represented and penalized for activities viewed as rule breaking by school authorities and teachers from ethnocultural majority groups. According to the findings of a document analysis of the black list, students from the Amhara ethnocultural minority groups were accused of class cutting, jumping over fences, breaking classroom materials and destroying classroom resources and teaching aids, owning dangerous and life-threatening materials such as knives, abusing and harassing girls, exam cheating, disrespecting teachers and authorities, physical confrontations with guards, students, and tea sellers.

Actions and penalties taken against these Amhara ethnocultural minority students as explicitly indicated on the blacklist include first and final order warnings with parental warning signatures, monetary sanctions, exclusion and termination from school for one or two years. It appears that hidden curriculum manifested through the belief system embedded in discipline rules, regulations, and consequences for breaking these rules are instruments of exclusion strategies, thereby coercing the Amhara minority students to terminate and permanently drop out of school.

Furthermore, evidence from teacher interviews revealed that teachers feel students lack the maturity and capacity to set school policies. As a result, they assume adults know everything and

make sound decisions when developing school regulations, which should be taken for given and unquestioned by students.

In this regard, teacher "D" claimed that;

no doubt the principal and teachers developed school regulations which are important to govern student's behavior. We devised the greatest guidelines for them to follow at school. And, without a doubt, it is a difficult work that needs the assistance of intelligent and mature individuals. If we have the opportunity to discuss school regulations throughout the decision-making process, we will undoubtedly support and favor rules that do not include punishment. As a result, control will be difficult, and conflict will abound (Teacher D, February 11/2022, Kemissie)

In this regard, student I said that

Ouch... who do you expect to create school regulations other than teachers and the principal? Without a doubt, the principal and teachers with the authority to set school regulations made them for us. They have more in-depth knowledge than we have about what it means to be a primary school student. As a result, they always set the finest regulations for us to follow... (Student I, February 7/2022, Kemissie)

Similarly, teacher 'C' indicated that "...brother, student conduct is really difficult to regulate even with these harsher restrictions imposed by the school authorities, as I am daily experiencing in our school" (Teacher C, February 11/2022, Kemissie)

Similarly, student 'M' responded that "I do not wish to engage in altering and discussing school policies during the flag ceremony or in the classroom. I only respect regulations established by the principal". (Student M, February 9/2022, Kemissie)

Data from school 2 also revealed that the hidden curriculum was reflected in the rule systems by conveying and transmitting messages to the school community that children at school 2 cannot function properly or live in peace in the absence of repressive school rules and punishments.

In relation to this, student 'K' stated, "I cannot fathom a secure educational atmosphere without the existence of laws that can provide pupils serenity and security. There will be no education if

school regulations are not followed. Conflict and confrontations would be more rampant..."(Student K, February 8/2022, Kemissie)

Student "M" noted, "Students cannot operate successfully in school unless school regulations are enforced. Pupils will place themselves in the same power and status structure as teachers and principals." (Student M, February 9/2022, Kemissie)

Student P from School 2 stated, "I feel that having little understanding of school regulations and the consequences of breaching these rules cannot ensure escape penalty for breaking school rules."(Student P, February 10/2022, Kemissie)

Similarly, student 'K' from School 2 stated, "as we all know, regulations were presented to us during the flag ceremony once or twice a year, I believe."(Student K, February 8/2022, Kemissie) As a result, it seems students believe as long as they are aware of them, they are expected to follow them and take any consequences for breaching them.

"I feel our school is not obligated to recite its regulations everyday on a flag ceremony to assist us obey these standards. They informed us at the start of the school year. What more should we expect from them?" Student L remarked. (Student L, February 8/2022, Kemissie)

Student 'N' was spotted roaming around the school complex and conversing with the school unit leader while paying 50 birr. On that particular instance, he stated;"... When the regulations were read to us in September, I heard the repercussions of being caught traveling around the school grounds while I was supposed to attend classroom lesson. I merely break the rules casually and am terribly sorry by my terrible behavior."(Student N, February 9/2022, Kemissie)

Teacher 'C' observed when punishing misbehaving students during his session and stated:"... do you think I'm unaware of the penalties that may be imposed for such misbehavior? I'm sure what you heard in September was enough to get you to behave nicely..."(Teacher C, February 11/2022, Kemissie)

The triangulated data also revealed that the hidden curriculum was implicitly manifested through beliefs that propagate school policies and discipline measures should not be questioned or amended. In this regard, student 'M' states, "... I feel that students do not have the right to

criticize anything they consider to be an unfair decision made by the school." (Student M, February 9/2022, Kemissie)

In contrast to the preceding arguments, Student 'P' believed that "school regulations are unjust. Most sanctions or repercussions for breaking school regulations are unjust. They must be reformed and enhanced. For example, a student was expelled from school for minor infractions. This is a violation of our human rights."(Student P, February 10/2022, Kemissie)

Student 'M' did not mind handing up his books and practice books to be detained in the unit leader's office till he paid 50 birr for his misbehaving. The researcher witnessed this students academic materials being taken by the unit leader until he paid 50 birr for his disobedience. Regrettably, the student did not get the 50 birr to be paid to the school sooner. He got that money after a week, so he could return to the office, pay his debt, get his scholastic supplies returned, and return to the classroom. Until then, he was unable to return to his education fear of additional punishments by the school authority.

Large quantities of clothes were taken from children and accumulated at the unit leader's office at school 2. According to the researcher's discussion with teacher 'D,' these cloths were taken away from students since they were not permitted to be used by students in school compounds. Owners of these garments were also asked to pay for their improper attire. They were instructed to reimburse the school with money ranging from 100 birr to 200 birr for their 'misbehavior'. These properties will never be released to students until they pay their obligations, so they accumulate in the unit leaders' office.

Results from observation, interviews and document analyses of research participants at school 2 demonstrated that the hidden curriculum communicate moral principles to students and staff in the school that have context-based and situational implications. According to the findings, the hidden curriculum included in these context-based value systems transmitted distinct context-based interpretations of the moral virtues of respect, obedience, and punctuality.

According to teacher 'C' "children in ethnoculturally diverse primary schools should establish and understand some moral principles that will enable them smoothly and successfully connect with the school community, peers, teachers, and principals."(Teacher C, February 11/2022, Kemissie)

Similarly, student 'L' said that "I believe being an obedient student requires respecting teachers and the principal. I feel that an obedient student accepts what his teachers have instructed and requested him to perform without question or hesitation." (Student L, February 8/2022, Kemissie)

Likewise, student 'M' stated that "... I feel an obedient student offers a suitable attention and respect to school regulations without any symptoms of negative emotions (meaning disregarding what teachers and principals expect the student to be". (Student M, February 9/2022, Kemissie)

Student N also remarked that "sometimes, teachers and principals remove our possessions as a punishment for our wrongdoings. They used to keep us away from our educational and academic resources for weeks at a time." (Student N, February 9/2022, Kemissie)

The research also showed that, the hidden curriculum is implicitly embedded in the Amhara ethno cultural student's resistance against teachers and principals authority. The researcher noticed Amhara ethnocultural minority students expressing their superficial compliance by yelling in groups and displaying negative facial expressions toward teachers, administrators, and students from ethnocultural majority groups who despise them.

Although they appear to be submissive to the repercussions of disobeying school regulations and the words of school administration, it appears that the Amhara ethnocultural minority students utilize symbolic resistance against the harsh measures implemented against them. Their hypnotic noises and their passive or symbolic resistance were reflected through their clothing choices and sounds. Throughout their interactions within the school, they also have certain nick names for teachers that they despise the most. Their symbolic opposition was also represented via the creation of some despicable images of teachers and school officials whom they despise.

The researcher discovered that the moral value of respect has the following context-based meaning messages in school 2 do not knock on the door after the teacher has entered the classroom, do not raise your hand to ask a question when the teacher is explaining anything.

"... I think respect for instructors may be displayed by wiping the black board before the teacher enters the class," remarked student 'P.'" (Student P, February 10/2022, Kemissie)

Respect, according to student 'M,' is "...being afraid of teachers and the principles spoken..." (Student M, February 9/2022, Kemissie)

The data also revealed that punctuality has the following context-based meaning messages integrated in the overall interaction of the school community in school 2. Time is gold to be sold, time may both mend and shatter hearts, time is both a boon and a curse.

Student 'P' also stated that "You see, you should have arrived at school before the bell rung. Before the teachers begin the class, you should take your seat. As a result, timeliness is essential..."(Student P, February 10/2022, Kemissie)

The data triangulated from the in-depth interview, observation of classroom and beyond classroom contexts of school 2 also revealed that the hidden curriculum was expressed in labeling language and terminology.

Student 'P' remarked that "We uncovered a vocabulary and terminology that scolds and prejudices students and teachers from diverse ethnocultural backgrounds. They frequently scribbled on the chalkboard or the classroom wall. Some are really hilarious, while others are highly offensive and cause ethnic tension among students" (Student P, February 10/2022, Kemissie)

The researcher also observed the school's classroom and outside classroom context and discovered some codes, narrations, and graffiti written on the class room chairs, tables, windows, doors, walls, and blackboards that scold and glorify both the Oromo ethnocultural majority and the Amhara ethnocultural minority groups. During shift exchange, the researcher witnessed several disgracing narrations and praising codes and slogans written on the chalkboard. Students in the morning shift write scolding and biased terms to be viewed by students in the afternoon shift, while students in the afternoon shift write scolding to be seen by students in the morning shift.

As a result, it appears that the hidden curriculum is manifested through the school community's labeling languages to send messages of stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination against students from the Amhara ethnocultural minority group as well as students from the Oromo ethnocultural majority group. Yet, the majority of the labeling language and terminology were intended to discriminate against ethnocultural minority students. The researcher witnessed and documented several disgracing labeling terms and comments scrawled as graffiti on school buildings and adjacent areas. The researcher never mentioned them here for ethical reasons.

The data showed that the hidden curriculum was reflected in schools through the commemoration of marked international and national days. Similarly student 'K' claimed that, "I would cut class and go to home to engage in domestic duties. I don't want to stay here only to see a theatrical presentation by students from ethnic majority groups. Nowadays, the majority of performances are political in character, and they sometimes disrespect our ethnocultural heritage and experience."(Student K, February 8/2022, Kemissie)

5.3.2 The lived experiences of the Amhara ethno cultural minority students

The triangulation of data from in-depth interviews with Amhara ethnocultural minority students, observation of the classroom and outside classroom environment, and document analysis revealed that the hidden curriculum embedded in the process and structure of schooling at Kemissie primary school negatively shaped the Amhara ethnocultural minority students' experience of schooling.

The study found out that the hidden curriculum demonstrated through the implicit ideas incorporated in curriculum adaption at Kemissie primary school produced contradiction between the school experience and the home experience of Amhara ethnocultural minority students. Some children were at odds with their family members at home because they capitalized on their educational experience. Because of their home experience and background, they were also at odds with their peers from the schools ethnocultural majority.

In accordance with this, Student 'L' claimed that,

we are involved in a continual social cultural and linguistic struggle owing to the varied experience we have been going through in the two distinct contexts; home and school. Because of my family history, I frequently clash with teachers and students at school. Because of my educational background, I have disagreements with my family members while I am at home (Student L, February 8/2022, Kemissie)

In this respect, student 'P' responded, "the Oromo ethnocultural majority students' cultural capital is the most appreciated sort of capital in the school and has many things to do with school and in general life success."(Student P, February 10/2022, Kemissie)

The research also revealed that the hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in the teacher's selection and deployment of classroom instructional methodologies in Kemissie primary school indoctrinated Amhara ethnocultural minority students into passive citizenship and non-critical thinking. These instructional approaches includes one way transfer of facts and information only from the teacher to students and a positivist instructional approaches. On top of that students got no opportunity to critically reflect on the contents and instructional approaches and just obey to the teachers dominance.

According to student 'J' "the ethnocultural minority students drop out of school and are subject to internal migration and travel to other places in pursuit of a better living situation owing to driving forces in the home area." (Student J, February 7/2022, Kemissie)

"I feel that the Oromo ethno cultural majority teachers in the school omitted the Amhara ethno cultural minority students back ground experience, aspiration, history, and social identity in the classroom such that it was never taught and graded," claimed student 'M' from school 2. (Student M, February 9/2022, Kemissie)

Similarly, student 'J' stated,

Since our teachers overlooked our capacity and knowledge areas in the preparation and delivery of tests and examinations, we experienced failure and felt hopeless. As a result, it appears that these assessment techniques failed to recognize ethnocultural minority students' prior experiences as valid and trustworthy material and objectives to be assessed through teacher-created assessments.(Student J, February 7/2022, Kemissie)

In this regard, student 'M' stated:

We should be prepared and be equipped with the language, history, narration and experience of the ethno cultural and linguistic identity and experience of the ethno cultural majority groups in this city so as to be academically successful and score the best in teachers made assessment tests and exams. Also, teachers from the Oromo ethno cultural group warns us that if we want to get employed in the

future, we must learn the language and culture of the majority ethnocultural groups in the area.(Student M, February 9/2022, Kemissie)

The data also shows that the hidden curriculum implicitly integrated in school discipline and rule systems reproduces self-exclusion and school dropout among Amhara ethnocultural minority students. In accordance with this student 'T' indicated that

"I will never continue school after grade eight. Before it's too late, I'll start producing my own money. I will never invest my golden years in education since I don't know when I will be terminated from the system because of these ridiculous school restrictions. In our community, it is commonly remarked, 'Timihirt eske simint zemed eske akist' which is equivalent to education up to grade eight and relative up to aunt" (Student I, February 7/2022, Kemissie)

Despite the fact that Amhara ethnocultural minority students were not actively resisting the contents and consequences of school rules, the researcher observed that the Amhara ethnocultural minority students demonstrated symbolic resistance to school rules and the consequences of breaking these disciplinary practices.

The Amhara ethnocultural minority students were seen to exhibit a passive resistance to the school regulations and the repercussions of breaching them in one of the incidences witnessed by the researcher in Kemissie primary school. One of the school rules of Kemissie primary school stated that 'every student can never wear nor carry scarf or garments linked to that in the school compound'. Then based on this rule, the school unit leader was removing the scarfs off the girls and collecting them at the school gate one morning. He began to cover the scarfs on the ground with trees and leaves as soon as all students entered the school complex. Then, with the assistance of the school guard, he set fire to the scarfs.

This time, several students in the vicinity of the occurrence yelled angrily and opposed the burning of their scarfs and hence the practice of the unit leader. Yet, as soon as the unit leader looked at them, they were silent and returned to their classroom. But, a girl returned in a hurry and immediately sent her hands to the scorching fire to remove her garment from the flaming fire. The unit leaders swung sticks at her. They were unable to stop her. She dragged her scarf from the flames and dashed back to her classroom. Students watching the scene applauded, clapped, and yelled loudly in celebration of her victory. They enveloped her with their feelings.

The furious stares of those Amhara ethno cultural minority students encircled the girl was much to the chagrin of the unit leader and the guards so that they never touched her. Students triumphed!

This incident, as captured on video by the researcher, demonstrated that, while students from the Amhara ethnocultural minority groups appear to be very passive and obedient to school rules and harsh discipline systems, they also developed and produced symbolic resistance against some forms of injustice and harsh treatment of them by the school community, particularly by Oromo ethnocultural majority teachers, and authority in Kemissie primary school.

According to the researcher's observations in school 2, as part of their passive resistance the Amhara ethnocultural minority students were observed drawing green, yellow, and red lines on their uniforms, wearing Fasil Kenema and BahrDar Kenema sport kits, and wearing T-shirts with images of some Amhara historical Hero and political leaders with political slogans. The study also found out that school authorities compelled these students to return home and change their clothes, as well as remove the colors painted on their uniform. The Amhara ethnocultural minority students were then witnessed refusing to remove their clothes and returning home, skipping classes and abandoning their studies.

It was also discovered that ethnocultural minority students form friends with 'in-group' students, believing that doing so will allow them to defend any offensive action taken by ethnocultural majority students, teachers, and authorities at ethnoculturally diverse schools. In this regard, student 'P' claimed that, "with these in-group connections and attachments we normally involved ourselves in opposition to school activities and felt unfairness and prejudice against us. These in-group connections and groupings are sometimes employed in group physical combat, particularly outside the school compound."

During an in depth interview, student 'P' while questioned about his beliefs regarding the languages and labeling terms used in the school replied that "there are some labeling phrases we used to refer to both students from the minority and dominant ethnic cultural groups. It is not a problem for us to use these terminologies outside of the school grounds" (Student P, February 9/2022, Kemissie).

Student 'J' also stated, "We never use these names against the ethnocultural majority kids directly, but we use them when talking about them with our in-group class mates and school buddies." (Student J, February 7/2022, Kemissie)

"Outside the school, we utilized these phrases and labeling words to call and chastise ethnocultural majority kids. Outside the school compound, when the ethnocultural majority children call us with labeling and reprimanding phrases, we used to call them with different labeling terms." Student 'I' added (Student I, February 7/2022, Kemissie)

The triangulated data also revealed that the hidden curriculum manifested in the production of the 'good pupil' through implicit beliefs molded Amhara ethnocultural minority students in ways that appear unquestioning, uncritical, and uncreative. The moral ideals ingrained in the process and institutions of schooling at Kemissie Primary School enhance students' notion that they must blindly obey school regulations and teachers' authority.

In contrast to these results however, according to teacher C, "school values and beliefs educate children into a decent character and ways of behavior that are expected to assist them succeed better both in school and later on in their future profession and job life in society." (Teacher C, February 11/2022, Kemissie). Therefore, it seems the hidden curriculum also contribute positively for the development of social skills and moral values that help students develop good character.

Another teacher from school 2, teacher 'D' remarked that "the issue of the moral worth of punctuality is a case in point where kids may learn the importance of time and work culture that may aid them in their future attempt. They must obey the bell. Only good pupils are capable of doing so." (Teacher D, February 11, 2022, Kemissie)

Nevertheless, teacher 'C' stated that "both the ethnocultural majority and minority students have been molded as good citizens by the good moral principles of punctuality, respect, and obedience. There are also terrible students on all sides who will not comply, accept, or live by these moral standards". (Teacher C, February 11/2022, Kemissie)

Data from observation, in-depth interviews, and document analysis about the role of hidden curriculum embedded in school labeling language in shaping the lived experience of

ethnocultural minority students revealed that at Kemissie primary school, Amhara ethnocultural minority students experienced prejudice, stereotype, stratification, discrimination, and exclusion. According to the data, language has a crucial influence in categorizing pupils from various ethnocultural origins into stratified social structures and categorizations.

Student 'P' replied "I feel ostracized, and I began to assume that they had established a permanent animosity for us. During shift exchange, they always paint prejudiced and stereotypical comments on the wall." (Student P, February 10/2022, Kemissie)

Student 'M' who agreed, responded "they, I mean those from the majority group, reprimand us with discriminating and biased labels, which is really bothersome and typically gets me quite upset. Sometimes I feel like school isn't for me, and I'd rather remain at home than get reprimanded day after day." (Student M, February 9/2022, Kemissie)

Data obtained from the observation of marked national days at Kemissie primary school revealed that the hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in the celebration of marked national days communicated a message that political resistance and fighting for freedom were only the history and cultural capital of the ethnocultural majority groups. At one of the observation of the researcher at school 2 when they were celebrating a recognized national day, the principal claimed that, "most of ethnic cultural groups in our city never have a major history of struggle against tyranny and never fought for independence and liberty. Yet we who battled for almost a century were successful in freeing ourselves." (Principal B, February 21/2022, Kemissie)

Furthermore, the results showed that the Amhara ethnocultural minority students were subjected to stereotypes, exclusion, discrimination, and abuse as a result of the messages sent to them through the hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in the support of Ethiopian Premier League football clubs. Similarly, student 'P' remarked that, "there is a football club established in the name of the city of Adama and Jimma that the majority of the Oromo students and teachers support. They will simply hate you if they know you are supporting Fasil and BahrDar city football clubs" (Student P, February 10/2022, Kemissie)

Another participant from school 2, student 'L,' added in the same tone, "I witness a student knocked down by students from the Oromo ethnocultural majority group only because he arrived

to class with a sport kit of Fasil Kenema football club ahh" (Student L, February 8/2022, Kemissie)

Graffiti on a classroom wall at School 2 reads, "Club Jimma is our symbol of independence and emancipation. Those who seek to steal our liberty hates our club. Attempting to do so will cost you your life."(Class room 2, Kemissie)

5.3.3 The purpose of the hidden curriculum at Kemissie primary school.

According to the triangulated data, the hidden curriculum integrated in the process and structure of schooling at Kemissie primary school benefited the Oromo ethnocultural majority students. The researcher found that the hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in the practice of curriculum adaptation at Kemissie primary school exactly replicates the hegemonic domination of the Oromo ethnocultural majority groups' cultural capital and experience.

Student 'N' stated that

"Teachers from the Oromo ethno cultural majority groups were unilaterally picking and structuring classroom topics that capitalized exclusively the Oromo ethno cultural majority group's cultural capital. They are unconcerned with our identities"(Student I, February 7/2022, Kemissie)

Similarly, classroom observations by the researcher revealed that teachers from the Oromo ethnocultural majority group disregarded the Amhara ethnocultural minority students' history, narrative, background experience, aspiration, and desire. Moreover, student 'P' claimed that

The data triangulated from in-depth interviews with Amhara ethnocultural minority students, as well as the researchers' observations of the school, revealed that the hidden curriculum embedded in the power and leadership structures of Kemissie primary school empowers only the Oromo ethnocultural majority male students. It supported the interests of high-achieving Oromo ethnocultural male students by giving them exclusive access to leadership positions and decision-making authority in the students' council. Teacher 'C' stated that "In all topics that concern the involvement of all students, the top three students represent their classroom and participate in the decision-making process. Only high-achieving students are chosen to the student parliament and

participate in the school's overall decision-making process" (Teacher C, February 11/2022, Kemissie)

As members of the parent-teacher-student organization, the high-achieving Oromo ethnocultural majority male students had the option to vote on topics affecting students' lives at school. In response to this, teacher 'D' responded, "as members of the parents, teachers, and students association, our students are aware of what is going on in terms of education policy, rules, regulations, and legislation that effect students' everyday interactions and school life."(Teacher D, February 11/2022, Kemissie)

Similarly, student 'N' stated, "I believe members of the parent, teacher, and student associations are aware of changes and additions to school rules and regulations."(Student N, February 9/2022, Kemissie)

Student M claimed "I believe that ethnocultural majority students who are members of the parent; teacher, and student organization filed a false charge against my friend. They themselves examined the so-called disciplinary problem and chose to expel him from school for two years. He did not return." (Student M, February 9/2022, Kemissie)

The data also indicated that the Oromo ethno cultural majority students got exclusive access to the scarce material resources of the school. According to student 'K,' "as many of the teachers and students from ethnocultural majority groups label us with different prejudiced terms that are very discriminatory, inflammatory, and toxic language, they quit schooling saying let us leave this compound and let them exclusively use school resources" (Student K, February 8/2022, Kemissie). This also implies that ethnic cultural minority students appear to be bullied into believing and accepting that few resources are for those students and teachers from the ethnoculturally dominant group, thus they left that precious resource to them.

5.3.4 Teachers and students hidden curriculum related roles at Kemissie primary school

The data gathered for this study revealed that the Oromo ethnocultural majority teacher's choice and implementation of classroom instructional methodologies deepens implicit beliefs, attitudes

and behaviors that impede the achievement of equitable quality education in the Kemissie primary school.

The selected and implemented teaching methodologies seen in these institutions encouraged and promoted only the ethnocultural majority groups' cultural and social capital while disregarding the experience and background of ethnocultural minority students. In line with this finding student 'I' indicated that

I believe that during instructional time, teachers and students from ethno cultural majority groups developed and demonstrated hatred, fear and suspicion of the 'out group' members who have not the same ethno cultural and linguistic background with them. In consequence, ethnocultural minority pupils developed hostility, animosity, and suspicion against ethnocultural majority students and teachers. (Student I, date and place of the interview???????)

Similarly, in one of the researchers' classroom observations at School 2, the researcher noticed ethnocultural minority students playing roles based on medieval heroes' historical achievements. The play's hero belonged to the ethnocultural majority group. The researcher noted that performing that character was not difficult. Yet, it would be fantastic if students could also play heroes from their own ethnocultural heritage. In relation to this remark, student 'I' stated that

"The Oromo ethno cultural majority students refused to recognize the achievements of heroes and role models from the Amhara ethno cultural minority groups, so that their history of achievement could not be acknowledged in the classroom. This is very worrisome to us" (Student I, February 7/2022, Kemissie)

Moreover, student 'M' stated, "I feel teachers used to base their experience sharing and role modeling sessions solely on the sociocultural and linguistic background of the Oromo ethnocultural and linguistic majority groups in society. I feel my identity is being deliberately denied and not acknowledged in the school"(Student M, February 9/2022, Kemissie)

The triangulation of data collected for this study also revealed that Oromo ethnocultural majority teachers play roles in exacerbating beliefs and practices that discourage equitable quality

education through the hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in their classroom assessment techniques and practices. In line with this, student 'K' in the in depth interview replied that,

"How can a school measure the level of accomplishment of all students based on a teacher-created exam that discriminates against and ignores the sociocultural and linguistic background and identity of sociocultural minority students?"(Student K, February 8/2022, Kemissie)

The data also showed that the Oromo ethnocultural majority teachers contributed to inequitable quality education through the hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in school practices such as election processes for school leadership posts.

During the flag ceremony, the researcher witnessed teacher 'D' at school 2 telling all children,

It should only students who can fluently speak the majority language, who have excellent skills of expressing their ideas, students with excellent academic performance usually ranked 1 - 3 in the morning shift, students with a very good display of ethics, and students who can be supported by the majority of the students in the school be selected as club leaders, students parliament, students counsel, parent teacher and student association

Data from the triangulation of observation, in-depth interview, and document analysis at Kemissie primary school also revealed that teachers play roles in fostering beliefs and school practices that deter equitable quality education in the school through the hidden curriculum embedded in the school practice of discipline and punishment.

CHAPTER SIX

TIGRAYAN ETHNO CULTURAL MINORITY STUDENTS (SCHOOL 3)

6.1 Context of the case data (Tegede Woreda, Kirakir city)

Tegede woreda is one of the 15 rural woredas in the central Gondar zone of the Amhara region. Before the brutal and catastrophic battle in northern Ethiopia began in August 2020, this territory was under the control of the Amhara regional authority. Tegede woreda has 78.9% hot weather, 21% moderate weather, and 0.4% rainy weather. Tegede woreda is home to various tourist attractions, monasteries, and huge rivers such as Angereb, Arema, and Soroka. The woreda is also well-known for its extensive commercial agriculture, livestock, and mining operations.

The Amhara ethnocultural majority group and the Tigrayan ethnocultural minority group are the two ethnocultural groups in the woreda and specifically at Kirakir town. As stated explicitly in the 2007 census, several ethnocultural groups are also present in the woreda. Tegede woreda's capital is Kirakir. According to information obtained from the woreda communication office, Kirakir town was created prior to the creation of Addis Ababa in Ethiopia's medieval history. Yet, the town facilities have not been appropriately developed in comparison to its age.

Several ethnocultural groups coexisted peacefully throughout the town's history, and there was no major confrontation between them until the recent crisis in northern Ethiopia. But, since the outbreak of that horrific battle, there have been ongoing skirmishes and clashes between various ethnocultural groups in both the neighboring towns and at Kirakir. Kirakir town as a fighting field was faced with destructions on some of its infrastructure during the start of the war on November/2020, and a number of people were killed. But, after a few days, it appears that the combat fronts were well behind the town of Kirakir, and therefore ordinary life and development initiatives, including education at all levels, proceeded.

Some Tigrayan ethnocultural group members appear to have left their homes and possessions behind at the start of the conflict and fled to adjacent woredas in Tigray region, while some of them went to neighboring woredas in Amhara region that were remote from the fighting field. Yet, as the battleground grew further away from Kirakir, they returned home.

During data collecting, the researcher observed that all academic levels, from primary to secondary, were servicing students from both from the Amhara and Tigrayan ethno cultural backgrounds. The researcher noticed that both Amhara and Tigrayan ethnocultural students were attending their primary school education in the same compound at Kirakir.

Kirakir Primary School was established in 2001, when the number of elementary students rose and became too large to be accommodated at a single primary school. According to the researchers’ observations in 2022 GC, the school provided service to 1058 (641 Female and 417 Male) students in the neighborhood. For both the Amhara ethnocultural majority and the Tigrayan ethnocultural minority students, the school employed the same curriculum produced by the Amhara regional education office. Tigrayan ethnocultural minority students were enrolled in classrooms with Amhara ethnocultural majority pupils. There was no diversified classroom, differentiated curriculum, or differentiated instructional strategy for Tigrayan ethnocultural minority students. The teachers and principal were all Amhara ethnocultural majority group members.

6.2 Profile of the research participants

Table 3. Profile of Tigrayan ethno cultural minority students

S.N	Pseudonym	Sex	Grade level	Ethnicity
1	Student Q	F	5	Tigrayan
2	Student R	F	5	Tigrayan
3	Student S	F	6	Tigrayan
4	Student T	F	6	Tigrayan
5	Student U	M	5	Tigrayan
6	Student V	M	5	Tigrayan

7	Student W	M	5	Tigrayan
8	Student X	M	5	Tigrayan
9	Teacher E	M	???	Amhara
10	Teacher F	F	???	Amhara

6.3. Results for Kirakir primary school – School - 3

6.3.1 Manifestations of the hidden curriculum at Kirakir primary school

According to data triangulation from in-depth interviews, observations, and document analysis acquired from Kirakir primary school, the hidden curriculum was implicitly manifested in the process and structure of schooling at Kirakir primary school,. The researcher discovered that the hidden curriculum was implicitly embedded in curriculum adaptation, teacher selection, organization, and delivery of curriculum contents, classroom instructional approaches, classroom assessment techniques, school discipline and punishment practices, school leadership and power structures, school languages of labeling, and practices in the celebration of marked national and international days at Kirakir.

The data showed that the inclusion and exclusion of contents in curriculum adaption at Kirakir primary school was exclusively decided by the Amhara ethnocultural majority teacher's judgment of ethnocultural minority students' cultural capital. Teachers' habitus, their ethnocultural background experience influences the selection and structuring of instructional content.

Student 'R' agreed, saying, "I notice the teacher discussing concerns and teaching subjects that were not part of our civic textbooks." (Student R, March 14/2022, Kirakir). This clearly indicates that teachers from ethnoculturally dominant group select curriculum contents that reflect the history, experience, and background of ethnoculturally dominant groups.

The researcher observed various classrooms of civics teachers at Kirakir Primary School. Classroom observations demonstrated that hidden curriculum presented itself through implicit views and values that were implicitly integrated in the taught curriculum.

The researcher observed a civic and ethical education teacher while he was teaching a lesson on patriotism to grade 6 students at Kirakir primary school. In this observation, teacher 'F' told his students that,

Our textbook, politicians, and public leaders used to emphasize that, we need to cultivate a sense of national patriotism. Yet, the moment has come for ethnocentrism and regionalism rather than national patriotism. It was something I used to say to my family and friends. I am not a fool to be fixated on national patriotism in this complicated and unpredictable moment (Teacher F, March 18/2022, Kirakir)

Furthermore, the researcher discovered that the hidden curriculum embedded in Kirakir primary school's classroom instructional approaches and teaching methodologies manifests itself by excluding ethnocultural minority students from the proper utilization of classroom space, power, time and resources. Teachers from ethnocultural majority groups provided enough opportunities to students from ethnocultural majority groups. They enable students to act out scenarios, give presentations, and critically analyze and defend group projects. These students also get the option to use the classroom space while reading passages and articles and presenting their experiences. Students from the majority groups often occupy classroom space.

The researcher discovered that hidden curriculum presents itself in classroom teaching techniques in such a way that it solely vests leadership power in the hands of pupils from the Amhara ethnocultural majority groups. It implicitly delegated power and leadership positions to ethnocultural majority students as group discussion leaders, story tellers, experience and knowledge presenters, energizers, role players, black board cleaners, time table checkers, passage readers, and king makers, particularly in nominating and selecting class monitors and group leaders.

Similar to the above observation, student 'Q' from school 3 during the in depth interview said that,

I was never nominated or chosen as a class monitor. It is obvious that the class monitor is chosen for one month at our school through a rotation method. Yet, students from the ethnocultural majority groups are always given exclusive access to these power and leadership structures. The majority language proficiency is important, brother." (Student Q, March 14/2022, Kirakir)

The researcher observed teacher 'E' in school 3 as he created exclusionary access to classroom resources and instructional materials for ethnocultural majority children. He brought a map and a globe into the classroom as teaching tools for his lecture and let the ethnocultural majority group of students to use and demonstrate to other students in the classroom.

The researcher then discovered that students from ethnocultural minority groups did not have access to this instructional assistance to learn by doing. They simply remained silent and gazed at others who were learning by doing. Although teachers organized students for classroom tasks and activities at Kirakir primary school, the researcher observed students grouping themselves based on their ethnocultural background. Teachers appear to be perplexed as to how students organize themselves to complete assigned classroom activities and home projects. Observations in the social studies and citizenship education classrooms at Kirakir primary school revealed that children were arranging themselves according to their ethnocultural affinities thereby classroom instructional approach implicitly instigate conflict.

The data obtained from Kirakir Primary School further revealed that the hidden curriculum was manifested through implicit beliefs entrenched in differentiated instruction practice. The researcher discovered that the school differentiated students based on their academic success as measured by teacher-created examinations. Student 'U' replied

The high achievers are only the top ten in this school. Those children who are designated as low achievers and have a performance of less than 50% receive the least academic help from our teachers. Regrettably, there are separate classrooms for those who achieve well academically and those who perform poorly (Student U, March 16/2022, Kirakir)

The research also indicated that the hidden curriculum was reflected in Kirakir primary school through the students' and teachers' demonstrated behavior of supporting Ethiopian Premier League football clubs. Supporting clubs other than those supported by the ethnocultural majority

teachers and students at Kirakir primary school might result in harassment and scolding of ethnocultural minority students. These attitudes and principles appear to deprive ethnocultural minority students the freedom to support any soccer team of their choice and interest.

Data from observations of both classroom and outside classroom situations in Kirakir primary school revealed that students, particularly male ethnocultural majority and minority students, group themselves in terms of their preference for and support for ethnoculturally affiliated football clubs in the Ethiopian Premier League.

"They are displays of pride and courage to students and teachers who are from the ethnocultural groups for which these football clubs were founded," stated student participant 'T' in an in-depth interview. Students from that ethnocultural group associate themselves with this football club since the names of the football clubs and organizations are entrenched in the names of the cities and towns where they were formed.

The researcher witnessed teacher 'F' remark, "My club is my blood, my life, and my breath. I can't negotiate anything that has to do with my club! Never, ever, ever! Is there anyone who does not enjoy this athletic attire? Don't even think about it, folks..." (Teacher F, March 18/2022, Kirakir)

Similarly, student 'X' responded that

Their T-shirt is the sport outfit of an Ethiopian top league team that is Fasil Kenema. They all support the club as though it were a significant part of their ethnic identity and a brand for their freedom. My support is for Mekele Seba Enderta and Adigrat football clubs. But I can't wear their sport attire here (Student X, March 17/2022, Kirakir)

The data also revealed that hidden curriculum was implicitly embedded in teachers' choice and deployment of classroom assessment approaches. The researcher did a detailed document analysis to comprehend the implicit belief systems incorporated in teachers' assessment and feedback practices. The researcher examined 4 classroom assessment sessions of 2 teachers at grades 5 and 6 in his stay at the school for one month. The analysis of the exam items and instruments demonstrated that the Amhara ethnocultural majority pupils' backgrounds and

experiences were given due weight. The experiences and histories of Tigrayan ethnocultural minority students are undervalued, resulting in less teaching, testing, and assessment.

In line with this student 'U' suggested that,

Classroom assessment also predicts students' access to and possession of school leadership roles and power structures. Academically 'high achieving' students who are predominantly from the majority group were given several opportunities to assume leadership roles and power structures (Student U, March 16/2022, Kirakir)

The hidden curriculum showed itself at Kirakir primary school through the implicit beliefs and practices contained in the school's election mechanism for school leadership posts. Tigrayan ethnocultural minority pupils were forced to self-exclude themselves from school leadership roles and power structures.

Document analysis of the list of students who hold school leadership positions, the majority of the power structures and positions in various co-curricular clubs such as students' parliament, monitors association, Top Ten students association, teacher assessment committee, teachers' parents and students association, flag ceremony leaders, student police, and ethics ambassadors were controlled by students from the Amhara ethnocultural majority group.

The hidden curriculum was deepened and expressed in the operation of co-curricular activities and co-curricular club administration at Kirakir elementary school. It was discovered that the implicit beliefs embedded in the operation of co-curricular activities effectively marginalized Tigrayan ethnocultural minority students from school leadership roles in co-curricular organizations. The data acquired from the in-depth interview also corroborated this.

Student 'R' responded that "Even if there are multiple multi-thematic and multi-purpose co-curricular activities and clubs, I feel that we couldn't contribute in these groups both as members and as leaders. I believe we are unable to actively participate in these engaging clubs because we lack the social and cultural capital to communicate with the majority of students" (Student R, Date and place of the interview)

Furthermore, the hidden curriculum was also manifested in the schools disciplinary and punishment practices. During the in-depth interview, student 'Q' replied that "I perceive that we

are the only ones who are penalized and chastised for our alleged wrongdoing and misconduct. We are typically the ones that are ordered to bring parents for breaking school regulations. I used to wonder why this occurred to us." (Student Q, March 14/2022, Kirakir)

The researcher discovered a detailed list of the most disturbing' and 'benevolent' students, the type of punishment measures taken against them, the advices and warning measures taken against them, the signature of their parents, and other related cases from a document analysis of the 'black list'. The researcher discovered in this document that students from the Tigrayan ethnocultural minority group were over represented and punished for their activities.

In Kirakir elementary school, the researcher observed that guiding norms were stamped both inside and outside the classroom. The rule structure prevented students' active engagement in the preparation of these rules. In this regard, student 'X' stated,

"I'm not sure who set the school regulations. Yet, whoever established the school regulations, I feel it is the person who is more competent of producing them than those of us who lack the necessary experience and talents..." (Student X, March 17/2022, Kirakir)

The belief of ethnocultural minority students here demonstrates that participation in the rule-making process is not always essential for students from ethnocultural minority groups. They argued that ethnocultural minority students lacked the necessary maturity that adults have in the making of school rules. The study also discovered that ethnocultural minority students thought that hearing students' voices was not required to set school policies.

In this regard, student 'V' stated that

"Questioning and critically thinking on school regulations, as well as refusing to accept certain of them, are the actions of terrible students. The good kids just obey the rules notwithstanding our resistance". (Student V, March 16/2022, Kirakir)

Similarly, student 'S' also said that

"If miss behaved students do not penalized for wrong doings they would continue disrupting the disciplined students and teachers. As a result, the whole teaching and learning process will fail. We require school regulations to function properly." (Student S, March 15/2022, Kirakir)

They also feel that if school regulations are not enforced, student-student disputes, student-teacher conflicts, class cuts, drug misuse, disruptions, and clashes will be the norm. As a result, the teaching and learning processes will be hampered. Participant 'R' agreed, saying,

"... Disruption and disagreements will be the very features of our school. Students cannot operate effectively in the absence of rules. Students are afraid of getting penalized for breaking school regulations. As a result, regulations motivate children to live in peace with their peers and teachers..." (Student R, March 14/2022, Kirakir)

In line with this student "V" also suggested that,

"...without school norms, students cannot acquire excellent morals. Students may believe they are on equal footing with teachers. They will have no regard for anyone in the school and will be free to engage in any type of crime, wrongdoing, or dispute..." (Student V, March 16/2022, Kirakir)

Yet student 'Q' oppose the argument that reading school regulations once a year is enough to perform well in their school life saying that;

No, it is not enough for us students to hear school rules once a year to function effectively and harmoniously in schools. You know what, I heard them in October of last year. How are we supposed to remember the rules and the consequences of breaking them throughout the year? Six months later, for example, it is March. If you asked me to recall one of the rules, I'd have nothing to say... laughed.
(Student Q, March 14/2022, Kirakir)

Similarly student 'W' from school 3 remarked that

"We do have the human right to obtain free access of education. I feel that school regulations, as well as the consequences for breaking them, inhibit the protection of human and democratic rights. As a result, they should be changed in such a way that they take into account our human and democratic rights. Please notify the Ministry of Education, loud chuckle..." (Student W, March 17/2022, Kirakir)

While speaking with his classmates on school rules and discipline practices, Student 'X' said that,

If we accept teacher's words and recommendations, if we follow school regulations without question, I am confident that no student will be penalized for breaking them. Comrades, can't you see the fate of our comrades who seek the woreda educational office to intervene in what they claim is an unfair school decision? It would be preferable for them to accept the school's judgment without protest, lay their hands on their chests, and attend their classes quietly ehe.

(Student X, March 17/2022, Kirakir)

The researcher also saw a large amount of school supplies and back packs in the unit leader's office at Kirakir Primary School. The researcher researched whose resources these materials were and discovered that they were removed from misbehaving students until they paid back their debts assigned as a penalty for their 'crimes'. Several students never returned to school because they were unable to repay their obligations. Anticipating further punishment from unit leaders and administrators, some pupils dropped out and never returned to request their properties.

The researcher also observed Teacher 'E' while disciplining students who were late to class. He was using any metric he wanted against them. Initially, while standing on the gate and opening the tiny gate, he used to kick pupils in the forehead, chest, legs, and hands with sticks. He made them lean on their knees three times in a row. He requested that their name be added to the blacklist. Ultimately, he made them clean the toilets and his office. They walked into their classroom, having missed the first three periods of the day. Teachers' and principals' power in taking measures against pupils is arbitrary and unquestionable, as evidenced by multi-dimensional sanctions and severe treatment of late-arriving students. And yet the researcher observed that this measure and disciplinary practice against late comers was taken on both the Amhara ethno cultural majority students and the Tigrayan ethno cultural minority students at the school.

The data also showed that the hidden curriculum was embedded in the process and structure of schooling and communicated moral values of obedience, responsibility, respect, punctuality, and honesty that have specific and context-based meanings embedded in the lived experience of ethnically diverse primary school students at Kirakir primary school. The researcher researched

and analyzed the precise significance of these moral principles to the research participants, as well as observed school behaviors in which these values were clearly reflected.

The researcher highlighted the inherent meanings embedded in these moral standards as experienced by the research participants. The sources and tools of the research into the hidden and implicit meanings of these moral ideals entrenched in the process and structures of schooling are triangulated below.

The moral value of obedience appeared as a prominent moral value from the triangulated data. In this respects, student 'X' remarked that "I know students dismissed and excluded from school without asking for reasons about their faults, monetary sanctions for their bad doings. And they never return to school." (Student X, March 17/2022, Kirakir)

Ethnocultural minority students do not know where to go to dispute or reflect on the arbitrarily imposed school regulations and various levels of abuses of their human and educational rights. They fostered a blind and passive submission to teachers' and principals' authority, which severely discouraged the tradition of questioning, reflecting, and critical thinking about the implementation of school regulations. Several students felt that challenging teachers' and principals' actions against them would result in harsh sanctions. Yet, the majority of students agreed that teachers' and principals' decisions regarding student misbehavior were always right and fair.

According to the observational data recorded on field notes about school discipline practice and process, the school community in the studied area frequently used the term obedience to refer to the need to maintain school order and social control without critical reflection and questioning by students from ethnocultural minority groups. Nonetheless, the researcher noticed instances of ethnocultural minority students' passive resistance to arbitrarily defined negative measures and labeling employed by ethnocultural majority teachers, principals, and students against them. There were symbolic protests by ethnocultural minority students against the power and authority of teachers and principals from ethnocultural majority groups.

The moral value of respect emerged as the second moral value from the triangulated data. In this regard, the following meaning messages were incorporated in the moral value of respect at Kirakir primary school:-

Not to argue with classmates; not to talk when the teacher corrects misconduct; and not to yell or interrupt when a classmate remarks on something mentioned in class.

Student 'X' also stated, "... Respect for me means not shouting as we are penalized for disobeying school regulations..." (Student X, March 17/2022, Kirakir).

"What I mean by respect here relates to not speaking anything while the teacher corrects errant actions in the classroom," (Student T, March 15/2022, Kirakir)

Punctuality emerged as the third moral virtue from the triangulation of data obtained from Kirakir elementary school. The hidden curriculum was discovered to impart implicit instructions to students embedded in the moral importance of timeliness. According to the data, punctuality at Kirakir Primary School refers to; Time improves and degrades, arrive at school before the bell rings.

In relation to this, student 'Q' stated:

"School regulations teach us how to manage our time wisely. We should arrive before the bell rings..." (Student Q, March 14/2022, Kirakir).

The research also revealed that the hidden curriculum was manifested through language competency expectations and students accent. As a result of school labeling language ethnocultural minority students were discriminated against and classified as 'inefficient' and 'disabled' for their failure to flawlessly articulate words and terminology in the majority ethnocultural groups' languages.

In this regard, when criticizing a student from the ethnocultural minority group in grade 6, teacher F at Kirakir primary school said, "hey, what are you arguing with him about? Don't pretend to have a decent accent in our language. When did you start using our language for gossip? Can you even precisely express what you enchant and gossip about? Take care, dude!" (Teacher F, March 18/2022, Kirakir)

The researcher found that the school community created and used prejudiced and discriminatory word and phrase codes to classify ethnocultural minority students. These word and phrase codes were often employed in the school community's oral and occasionally written communication,

and they were frequently recounted in in-depth interviews with students. As a result, it appears that the hidden curriculum manifests itself through school labeling languages and terminology to communicate signals of preconceptions, bias, and discrimination towards pupils from ethnoculturally minority groups.

The majority of the labeling language and words were intended to discriminate against ethnic and cultural minority students. Participants in the study also stated that stereotyping and biased comments are commonly used by students outside of the school compound. There are scolding remarks often written and reprinted on walls and blackboards in class rooms and restrooms.

Similarly, student 'V' replied “for fear of punishment and negative repercussions, most people do not speak up or call others out openly. Yet, we routinely discovered discriminatory phrases scribbled on walls and desks” (Student V, Marchj 16/2022, Kirakir).

The researchers' observations of several of the marked national days at Kirakir primary school proved to the fact that the hidden curriculum was integrated and expressed in the practice of these festivities. The celebration of these recognized national days, particularly the day of nations and nationalities, transmitted and communicated discriminatory signals to the ethnocultural minority students. This observation reflected the history and experience of ethnocultural majority groups through clothing rules, roll up banners, posters, and brochures. Drama and musical arts performed at the celebration of the Day of Nations and Nationalities were a superb reflection of the ethnocultural majority groups' cultural capital.

In an in-depth interview regarding the celebration of the Day of Nations and Nationalities, student 'R' claimed, "we watch theatre, music, and art performances planned and supervised by extra-curricular club leaders. I enjoy how they execute the music and drama, but it is difficult for me to comprehend the true themes conveyed in the play and music. I believe they are all about the political struggle of the ethnocultural majority group during the Derg rule" (Student R, March 14/2022, Kirakir).

6.3.2 The lived experience of the Tigrayan ethno cultural minority students

The triangulated data obtained from Kirakir primary school regarding the function of the hidden curriculum revealed that the hidden curriculum expressed in the process and structure of schooling supported the Amhara ethnocultural majority students' interests.

Similar to this finding, student "W" stated, "I believe that we won't be able to have any good interaction and relationship with teachers who are from the ethnocultural majority group unless we can develop and learn to live up to the teachers' expectations and learn their cultural capital" (Student W, March 17/2022, Kirakir).

"I feel what our teachers teach us is a mirror of the goals, background, and experience of the ethnocultural majority groups in the area, and therefore we used to live others' dreams," (Student R, March 14/2022, Kirakir).

The hidden curriculum embedded in Kirakir primary school's instructional approaches and teaching methodologies also had a negative impact on the lived experience of Tigrayan ethnocultural minority students by sending messages of low expectation, negative relationship, and interaction with their teachers.

Similarly, student 'S' said that, "Since most of our teachers in the school are from the ethno cultural majority group, they express a low expectation for us from ethno cultural minority groups. As a result, our educational mobility is highly limited, and we are frequently dropped out." (Student S, March 15/2022, Kirakir)

The researchers' observations of the practice of ability grouping and document analysis of the list of students classified as high achievers and low achievers in Kirakir primary school confirmed that students are differentiated based on their ability. Because the ethnocultural majority students' cultural capital was taught and quantified in school assessment methodologies, they gained an edge over the ethnocultural minority students whose experience and background were ignored and never taught or measured. As a result of these advantages, students from ethnocultural majority groups appear to be classified as 'Top Ten' and 'Special courses.

However, students from ethnocultural minority groups continue to be placed in the 'low achievers' classroom, resulting in marginalization and failure. The researcher discovered that the hegemony of mainstream culture, language, and experience exhibited in the teacher's evaluation methodologies and feedbacks negatively influenced the lived experience of ethnocultural minority students. By adopting the hidden curriculum implicitly incorporated in classroom assessment methodologies and practices, ethnocultural minority students' experiences of education became everyday alienation.

Data from in-depth interviews, observations, and document analysis revealed that the hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in power structures and leadership positions of co-curricular and extracurricular activities and clubs deepen implicit messages that negatively influence the experience of Tigrayan ethnocultural minority students. In this regard, student 'T' stated that "we should not be leaders in the school co-curricular clubs and extracurricular activities since we are not capable of connecting with the school community fluently" (Student T, March 15/2022, Kirakir)

With severely discriminating disciplinary policies and laws that pushed them to believe early drop out and self-exclusion from schooling fearing punishment and harsh penalties for little crimes, Tigrayan ethnocultural minority students were denied access to basic education.

In accordance with this, student 'S' said that "I am always in fear of severe Punishment for nothing wrong I did in the school. I'm simply trying to be respectful. But I know I can't get away like this. I despise the rules, the disciplinary system, and the arbitrary penalties. Better to cease education and aid my parents in home tasks". (Student S, March 15/2022, Kirakir)

Students from ethnocultural minority backgrounds appear to have been exposed to a variety of discriminatory and biased terminology and languages, which have harmed their motivation and interest in the process and structure of education and academic engagement.

6.3.3 The function of the hidden curriculum at Kirakir primary school.

Evidence from the triangulation of researchers' observations, in-depth interviews, and document analysis revealed that the hidden curriculum entrenched in the process and structure of schooling

at Kirakir primary school supported the interests of the Amhara ethnocultural majority students. The majority of the practice and belief systems embedded in curriculum adaptation, teacher selection, organization, and delivery of contents, teacher selection and application of instructional approaches, teacher selection and application of assessment techniques, school discipline and punishment practices, and school leadership positions served the ethnocultural majority students' interests.

The researcher discovered that the hidden curriculum incorporated in the process of curriculum adaptation at Kirakir primary school benefited the interests of children from the ethnocultural majority. According to the researchers' classroom observations, because the majority of the instructors were from ethnocultural majority groups, they employed curriculum modification to instill their ethnocultural capital and experience.

Similarly, student 'X' stated, "I observe teachers from the ethnocultural majority group provide students from the same ethnic group the opportunity to share their home experience with cultural cuisine and culture dressing that we don't know much about" (Student X, March 17/2022, Kirakir).

"Ethno cultural majority students are always viewed as resource individuals for the everyday experience and substance of lessons studied in the classroom," (Student S, March 15/2022, Kirakir). Thus, the hidden curriculum indirectly exhibited in the taught curriculum hinder the development of critical thinking, problem solving and creative thinking by leaving aside the hands-on experience and social and cultural backgrounds of Tigrayan ethnic cultural minority children.

The researcher also observed ethnocultural majority students frequently role play and perform art in the classroom, so that they were served by the hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in teachers' choice of classroom instructional approaches that exclusively served them to experience much better utilization of classroom time.

In accordance with this, student 'S' remarked that, "some of us never utter a word in the classroom during the year. We never ask questions, never respond, and never even speak during group discussions" (Student S, March 15/2022, Kirakir).

As members of teacher evaluation committees and leaders, high-achieving ethnocultural majority male students had several opportunities to acquire critical thinking, true judgment, critiques, reasoning, and evaluation abilities. The hidden curriculum produces ethnocultural majority male students who critically examine and reflect on their teachers' and school authority's performance. Students were given the opportunity to create a counterbalance and check and balance authority against school officials. In this respect, teacher 'E' remarked that "since the top three students have been picked as teacher assessment committee they received an opportunity to evaluate us. I despise how these pupils sometimes act as though they are our employer hahah" (Teacher E, March 18/2022, Kirakir).

6.3.4 Teachers and students role at Kirakir primary school

Through the selection, organization, and delivery of the taught curriculum in the classroom, teachers from the ethnocultural majority group played roles in deepening favoritism beliefs and school practices that favor the interests and ethnocultural background of majority students. As a result, they tacitly support practices and ideas that obviously discourage equitable quality education.

"Ethno cultural majority teachers prefer kids from their ethnic group," student 'O' stated. They exaggerate their ethnic origin, and their examples are invariably drawn from their own ethnocultural background. I didn't hear any of them using instances from other ethnocultural groups' experiences. They are prejudiced" (Student U, March 16/2022, Kirakir).

Ethnocultural majority teachers choose and pick instructional course contents and objectives to incorporate their personal narrations, histories, and areas of interest while excluding 'others' cultural capital, background, and experience. These teachers observed while only relying on their cultural and social capital to create and deliver classroom teachings that omit minority students' experience, aspiration, dream, background, history, and narration.

Student 'Q' claimed that,

I don't know why these teachers continually teach us additional topic that never falls in accordance with the text book. This is what the text says, and this is what they say. It's

always a contradiction, and I despise their inflated retelling of their ethnocultural past. At the very least, they should respect and listen to others' experiences (Student Q, March 14/2022, Kirakir).

The researchers' classroom observations demonstrated that teachers' views influence their classroom practice, particularly in the selection, arrangement, and delivery of instructional information.

In a support to this observation, student 'S' stated, "I believe our teachers from the ethnocultural majority group believe the 'appropriate' knowledge to impart to students from diverse ethnocultural backgrounds should be solely based on the experience and background of ethnocultural majority groups, which I completely disagree with" (Student S, March 15/2022, Kirakir). And it was discovered that these belief structures realistically reflected on their classroom teaching style and curriculum adaption activity.

Student 'R' claimed "teaching approaches utilized in our classroom enable ethnic cultural majority students to take the lead in group discussion and other classroom duties. Teachers have allocated and nominated them to lead the rest of us. When given the chance, they never include our views and opinions" (Student R, March 14/2022, Kirakir). This implicates that teachers played significant roles in the production of beliefs and attitudes that deter equitable education at the school.

Similar to the ideas of the previous two students, student 'S' stated that "teachers from the ethnocultural majority group have a terrible relationship and interaction with us, we are the "out group" (Student S, March 15/2022, Kirakir). It appears that the current national situation, which is marked by a massive ethnic conflict and widespread war, has an impact on the over relationship and code of conduct of teachers from ethnocultural majority groups towards students from ethnocultural minority groups.

"Ethno cultural majority teachers frequently practice criticizing, punishing, and disgracing ethno cultural minority students even for reasonable mistakes and flaws throughout their instructional time" (Student X, March 17/2022, Kirakir). Therefore this clearly indicates that teachers' choice and implementation of classroom instructional approaches and assessment procedures reinforced ideas and practices that discourage equitable education at Kirakir primary school.

The data gathered in this study revealed that ethnocultural majority teachers at Kirakir primary school played a role in fostering beliefs and practices that discourage equitable quality education through an unfair and non-inclusive school election system that discriminates students in access to leadership positions and power structures in schools. Document analysis of the list of school leaders of various leadership roles and power structures revealed that the Kirakir primary school's practice of an election system for leadership positions promoted views that hinder equitable education. According to the data, the ethnocultural majority students held the majority of the leadership posts.

It was also discovered that teachers and school authorities at Kirakir primary school played roles in instigating negative labeling language and terminologies that affect the lived experiences of ethnocultural minority students, thereby contributing to the promotion of beliefs and school practices that cripple equitable quality education.

In regard to this result, student 'T' expressed that, "these labeling words, and terminology used by teachers and students from ethnic cultural majority groups' anger me so much. I prefer abandoning school" (Student T, March 15/2022, Kirakir).

During one of the classroom observations at Kirakir Primary School, a teacher was overheard stating, "Those of you who are not originally from this woreda, you better be silent and laud the Lord for this chance. We allow you continue studying in our schools intended to serve our own children but you appear haughty such upsetting the classroom ehe" (Teacher E, March 29/2022, Kirakir).

Teachers also play multiple roles in reproducing beliefs and school practices that deter equitable education with their discipline practices. The researcher observed school authorities and teachers at Kirakir primary school while taking measures against ethnocultural minority students ranging from reprimanding, scolding, deducting marks and test scores, corporal physical punishment, warning letters, calling parents and giving warnings, and exclusion from school for a year. The researcher saw teachers' school practices as delivering an implicit message to ethnocultural minority students that they have no authority to modify or question teachers' measures, and that their only choice is to remain silent and accept the measures imposed on them.

Teachers and school authorities took students' property as a punishment for minor infractions. Teachers were also seen burning students' belongings in the school compound and harassing students who attempted to fight for their educational and human rights. The researcher also observed teachers breaching childrens' educational rights by excluding them for a number of periods, including a day, weeks, and many times a year. As a result, teachers have a role in establishing discipline practices that undermine equitable quality education.

The data also revealed that ethno cultural majority students at Kirakir primary school played multiple roles that discourage equitable quality education. The researcher observed real-time interactions and discourses among students and discovered that students from ethnocultural majority groups propagate the belief that ethnocultural majority students are the most brilliant, high achievers, well-disciplined, and capable of handling leadership and management power in the school structure.

Observation of a classroom group work of students at Kirakir primary school revealed that, while leading the group works and group project tasks, the researchers observed male ethnocultural majority students facilitating the sessions with clear dominance over the ethnocultural minority students and ethnocultural majority girl students.

And as one of the students from the ethnic cultural majority group at Kirakir primary school was presenting the findings of the group work, he remarked that "let me share the finding of my group. The following are my thoughts on the responses to these questions. I obtained the answers by referring to another book I read in the library last week." This suggests that high achiever students from ethnocultural majority groups play roles in developing ideas and values, which reinforces the notion that other students from ethnocultural minority groups can never contribute to probable group work replies.

Similarly, Kirakir elementary school student 'S' responded,"Both teachers and students from majority group used to tell us that, high results from teacher produced exam is solely for majority students. I believe they are right. Because I have never seen any of us from minority group achieve highest results. And none of us mentioned in high achievers list of the school and the classroom" (Student S, March 15/2022, Kirakir).

Feedback and reactions of teachers and students while celebrating high achievers have been used as a strategy to deepen beliefs that students from ethnocultural minority groups are 'low achievers' who should never strive for better achievement and schooling is not for them. It appears that teachers play roles in deepening these beliefs and values, as well as the definitions attached to these stereotyping and discriminatory languages and biased terms used to refer to different groups of students, thereby contributing to the deterrence of equitable quality education.

CHAPTER SEVEN

OROMO ETHNO CULTURAL MINORITY STUDENTS (SCHOOL 4)

7.1 The context of the case data (Angolelana Tera woreda, Chacha town)

Angolelana Tera Woreda is one of the largest woredas in Amhara region, north Shewa zone. The capital for Angolelana Tera woreda is Chacha. According to the data from central statistics agency the Amhara ethno cultural majority (80.61%) and the Oromo ethno cultural minority groups (18.33%) coexist in the town of Chacha. According to the data from central statistics agency

In the northern Shewa zone, there were skirmishes and ethnic confrontations between the Amhara ethnocultural majority and the Oromo ethnocultural minority groups. There are several motives and causes that have sparked confrontations among these ethnocultural groups in the area, all of which are politically driven and include multiple individuals from diverse groups. In the school, students from the Amhara ethnocultural majority and the Oromo ethnocultural minority attend education in the same classroom with the same curriculum and media of instruction.

7.2 Profile of the research participants

Table 4. Profile of Oromo ethno cultural minority students

S.N	Pseudonym	Sex	Grade level	Ethnicity
1	Student Y	F	5	Oromo
2	Student Z	F	5	Oromo

3	Student AA	F	6	Oromo
4	Student AB	F	6	Oromo
5	Student AC	M	5	Oromo
6	Student AD	M	5	Oromo
7	Student AE	M	6	Oromo
8	Student AF	M	6	Oromo
9	Teacher G	M		Amhara
10	Teacher H	F		Amhara

7.3. Results for Chacha Primary school – School -4

7.3.1 Manifestations of the hidden curriculum in Chacha primary school

The researcher found out that the hidden curriculum was embedded and manifested in the practice of curriculum adaptation, the practice of discipline and punish, teachers selection and application of classroom instructional approaches and classroom assessment techniques at Chacha primary school.

In the school, students from the Amhara ethnocultural majority and the Oromo ethnocultural minority share the same classroom, curriculum, and medium of instruction. Students from the two ethnocultural groups are educated using a curriculum created by the Amhara regional education agency. Amharic is the medium of instruction for the Amhara ethnocultural majority students and Afan Oromo for the Oromo ethnocultural minority students. The triangulated data also revealed that the hidden curriculum was implicitly integrated and expressed in Chacha primary school's differentiation practice.

In a similar vein, student 'AD' stated, "I believe that, despite the fact that the authority and leadership of the school for both of us from ethnocultural minority and majority students is the same, I feel there is inequitable resource allocation across schools for ethnocultural majority and minority students" (Student Ad, April 12/2022, Chacha).

Another student from school 2, student 'O,' remarked, "categorizing students with different ethnocultural backgrounds but based on their academic performance supported teachers and school leaders."

The researcher observed teachers classroom assessment practices and discovered that the hidden curriculum was represented in the beliefs implicitly incorporated in the process and practice of teachers' classroom assessment and feedback practices and procedures. The hidden curriculum expressed in school assessment techniques was discovered to marginalize and separate ethnocultural minority pupils.

Similarly, student 'AC' said that "Ethno cultural majority students are capable of getting the greatest results from class room assessment activities and practices. Because they are capable of delivering up to the teachers expectations. Perhaps because they have a common identity with teachers" (Student AC, April 13/2022, Chacha).

The research also revealed that classroom assessment strategies impact students' access to school leadership roles and power structures implicitly. In other words, it was discovered that ethnocultural majority students become "high achievers". As a result, they gained exclusive access to and control of the school's leadership and power structures.

This was supported by the findings of the document analysis of school rosters, library reference material users, ICT club users, lists of members and leaders of various co-curricular clubs and student associations, lists of leaders in the students counsel, students parliament, teachers assessment committee, lists of student teachers and parents association, lists of class room monitors and monitors association, lists of members of the high achievers association, lists of members of the high achievers association, lists of members of the high achievers association. According to the examination of all records at Chacha primary school, the high achieving ethnocultural majority students have hegemonic domination over school leadership and power structures. These 'high achieving' students from the ethnocultural majority group also have

exclusive access to the Chacha primary school's limited material and human resources. Yet, students from ethnocultural minority groups are denied access to school leadership roles and power structures.

The study discovered that hidden curriculum was also expressed in the implicit ideas and values inherent in Chacha primary school's school regulations, disciplinary systems, and reward and punishment systems. Children from ethnocultural minority groups were overrepresented in the undisciplined and beneficent categories of pupils, and they were primarily reprimanded for 'misbehaviors' in school.

Students at Chacha Primary School appear to have accepted this categorization and labeling and felt that they need stringent rules and discipline restrictions in order to operate successfully and live in peace with their peers.

In this regard, student 'AE' stated, "I believe that unless there is a strict rule and regulation that punishes us while we are misbehaving, the school compound will be turned into a turmoil, war, and conflict zone, physical confrontation will be rampant, and students will be unable to attend their education properly" (Student AE, April 14/2022, Chacha).

The researcher also investigated the 'black list' at Chacha primary school and when confirming the list of the names it was found out that, the ethnic cultural minority students represented prominently in the list and different steps as repercussions of their perceived wrong doings done.

The data also revealed that students had no say in the making of school regulations, and criticizing these norms was viewed as a 'poor' student's behavior at Chacha."...I feel it is the government that developed guidelines for the regulation of our behavior. As you are aware, any policy devised by a democratic government is superior to all others..." (Student AC, April 13/2022, Chacha).

Supporting this student 'AF' also said "I believe the school regulations were established by the principal and teachers. They know the very processes and have the power of setting school rules..." (Student AF, March 14/2022, Chacha).

Data obtained from school observations, in-depth interviews with participating students, and analysis of appropriate and selected documents at Chacha primary school revealed that the

hidden curriculum embedded in school rules communicated to students a belief system that rules are mandatory to the social order and stability of schools and society as a whole.

From the in depth interview in this research, student 'AC' from school 4 mentioned that, "I feel that regulations are necessary to provide an orderly and stabled school atmosphere. I feel that regulations are a must in order to regulate our bad actions" (Student Ac, April 13/2022, Chacha).

In line with this student 'AB' claimed that "I feel harmony may be established with the presence of regulations in schools. You know, this age is prone to a variety of disciplinary issues, such as drugs, group disputes, and others. We can only live in peace with one another if our educational system has rules that include the penalties of violating them..." (Student AB, April 12/2022, Chacha).

Data acquired from the researcher's observation of the school environment at Chacha primary school suggested that they believe students cannot function properly in school unless school regulations are enforced. The observations of student participants indicated that they believe they lack the self-control necessary to live in peace with their teachers and classmates in the absence of school norms.

On discussing disciplinary issues with his friends, Student 'Z' stated, "It is the school rule that should be the fence that supervises us in the school enclosure," (Student Z, April 11/2022, Chacha).

Similarlry teacher 'G' observed while disciplining two female students caught engaged in personal conversation during his lecture stated that "... Kudos for the school's rule procedures, which have the correct consequences to make you zipped. Go to the unit commanders' office and pay 50 birr. This will snap your gaping lips shut. The proper method..." (Teacher G, April 15/2022, Chacha).

Similarly student 'AF' from school 4 remarked that,

I believe those who did not attend the event where school regulations told to us once a year on the beginning of the academic season cannot ask for pity or not to be penalized. I believe that being discovered violating school regulations will result in heavy

punishment, regardless of whether the law breaker is aware of these restrictions or not (Student AF, April 14/2022, Chacha).

Student 'Y' responded that "I believe that, not only at our school, but also according to the constitution of our country, no one who is caught as a law breaker gets pity because he does not understand the laws and the consequences of breaking them." (Student Y, April 11/2022, Chacha).

They believe that both students from ethnocultural minority groups and students from ethnocultural majority groups lack the inherent capacity, psychological preparation, and motivation to follow school regulations and self-control. They say they have been aware of school regulations from the first grade levels in elementary school. Nonetheless, they continue to disrupt the classroom, cut class, and arrive late to school.

Asserting that Student 'AD' stated "Even if you read a million times, less than one percent of the students will pay attention to what you are reading. Teachers and principals fill a vacuum with school rules and discipline concepts. For those students who devote their concentration and effort, which may be less than one percent, reading once a year on September 7th suffices..." (Student AD, April 13/2022, Chacha).

The information collected via document analysis, particularly the PTSA minutes and staff meetings at Chacha Primary School, verified these beliefs. The principal's and teachers' suggestions and opinions were analyzed in these documents. Principals attended PTSA meetings to discuss student disciplinary concerns. The belief that reading school regulations in September is sufficient to enable students to perform properly in school was widely held. Specifically, while principals charge rule violators and address disciplinary concerns, they used to convey these concepts in their comments as a necessary prerequisite for students to establish peaceful contact among themselves and with other members of the school community.

Data gathered from teacher observations indicated that school regulations are among the most taken for granted parts of school life. The research demonstrated that teachers instill their thoughts and attitudes on students without enabling or allowing them to think on it.

In assessing students' progress through quizzes, Teacher 'H' stated that

I'm sure most of you forgot what you learned in Chapter 4. As a result, you may receive the lowest possible score. But you should know that it is entirely at my discretion to assess you using whatever technique, whenever the time, and in any chapter I see fit... take care of yourself. I can use whatever means or punishment I want against you. This one is for those who never show up to today's lesson

Results from in-depth interviews, observations, and document analysis revealed that participants used the term respect frequently in the course of their daily routine interactions with the process and structure of schooling. The researcher attempted to elicit the respondents' notion of the moral worth of respect this time by asking them to describe what they meant by respect. Respect was used to refer to the following belief statements that were implicitly contained in school practices. Respect entails; Being vigilant while receiving the teacher's duster and cleaning the blackboard and avoid remaining quiet as the teacher takes attendance.

Student 'AE' also stated;"... Respect is simply not demeaning teachers and not disturbing them when the administrator conveys information about the flag ceremony..." (Student AE, March 14/2022, Chacha).

Data from participant interviews, document analysis, and researchers' observations demonstrated that the moral value of punctuality was entrenched in the rule structure of Chacha primary schools. The hidden curriculum represented in rule systems mediates the communication of the moral value of timeliness to children. While responding to interview questions, research participants commonly used the term punctuality. Observations also demonstrated that the school community utilized punctuality as a moral virtue to deliver context-specific signals to students. As a result, the following meaning structures are embedded in the contextually relevant meanings embedded in the moral value of Punctuality at Chacha primary school: to wait for the teacher to enter the classroom before entering, do not enter the classroom after the teacher has entered and latecomer has no future prospects in life or in the workplace.

In line with this, student 'AE' responded that "I feel timeliness is the main democratic and moral trait that might be acquired from our school standards. We will be successful if we establish the habit of timeliness not just in school but also in our future lives..." (Student AE, April 14/2022, Chacha).

Supporting this student 'Y' also said that "...most of us do not have the habit of timeliness. We arrive late to school; we bang on classroom doors after teachers have left the class..." (Student Y, April 11/2022, Chacha).

Additionally, teacher 'H' stated that"... Educational regulations encourage the idea that time is money. They promote the notion that time is money in and of itself. As a result, the purpose of school rules is timeliness..." (Teacher H, April 18/2022, Chacha).

The hidden curriculum was also embedded in the discrimination, and prejudice entrenched in school labeling language and terminology. Implicit prejudice was built in school labeling language, which was transmitted to ethnocultural minority pupils by the school community. Discriminatory, stereotypic, and prejudiced word codes were also discovered in graffiti collected from observations of writings and symbol drawings on the school building, specifically in the latrine and rest rooms, door and windows of class rooms, combined desks of class rooms, and black boards.

The celebration of national days inculcates ethnic cultural minority students into the cultural capital of ethno cultural majority groups. Data triangulation demonstrated that there is hegemonic control of ethnocultural majority groups' cultural capital in the practices of celebrating these days. The hidden curriculum was implicitly integrated in the Chacha primary school's dress regulations and theatrical performances.

7.3.2 The lived experience of the Oromo ethno cultural minority students

Data from in-depth interviews with participants, observations at Chacha primary school, and analysis of appropriate and relevant documents revealed that the hidden curriculum embedded in the taught curriculum socializes ethnocultural minority students into one hegemonic ethnocultural experience and background, with their history, experience, and aspirations relegated to the classroom corner.

The findings also confirmed that implicit assumptions incorporated in curricular adaptation negatively shaped ethnocultural minority students' lived experiences by ignoring their socio cultural experience and background.

Supporting this, student 'Z' responded that "I feel that our experience and history have no place in the academic pursuit and have not been appreciated in the school complex" (Student Z, April 11/2022, Chacha).

The hidden curriculum implicitly integrated in primary school instructional techniques and teaching procedures molded ethnocultural minority students' lived experiences as non-interactive, passive, and non-questioning citizens. When the ethnocultural majority students grabbed and used the classroom space, time, resources, and power, the ethnocultural minority students were educated to think that they are not inherently capable of controlling the classroom space, time, power, and resources.

The hidden curriculum implicitly incorporated in classroom assessment strategies, according to the researcher, negatively influenced the lived experience of ethnocultural minority children by strengthening discriminatory and prejudiced views and school practices. Ethnocultural minority students believe that the top ten students from the ethnocultural majority group are the most intelligent and special class students.

In this respect, student 'Z' stated "I believe 'top ten' students who are largely from ethnocultural majority groups are born to education, academic achievement, and leadership so that the scarce resources of schools should be solely utilized by them" (Student Z, April 11/2022, Chacha).

Document analysis of teachers' feedback on test and exam sheets and papers revealed that the hidden curriculum implicitly integrated in the assessment strategies. The researcher noted that ethnocultural minority students were under constant and strict monitoring and oversight by the school community, which was largely made up of ethnocultural majority students. The data also showed that the hidden curriculum embedded in the school discipline and rule system produced students who believed that as long as they could pay money for their wrongdoings and mistakes in the school compound, they would be able to survive the education system with all of its requirements. Ethnocultural minority students appear to believe that as they go up the educational ladder, they will be in conflict with school norms and more difficult to school rules and regulations. As a result, they may be barred from attending school.

In accordance with this, student 'AF' stated, "We will be in conflict with the school's rules and regulations, such that we will be excluded, terminated, and alienated from education as a result of these wrongdoings" (Student AF, April 14/2022, Chacha).

Data on the role of hidden curriculum in shaping the lived experience of ethnocultural minority students revealed that these beliefs and values transmit a message to students that they are passive users and consumers of school services without questioning. According to the findings, these moral norms inhibit critical thinking among Chacha primary school students. For student 'AD' "it is only a benevolent student who knocks on a door when a teacher enters a classroom. A good student stays outside the classroom if a teacher enters a classroom and begins a lesson" (Student AD, April 13/2022, Chacha).

Related to the implicit beliefs embedded in the celebration of marked national days Student 'AA' stated that "I feel that the celebration of these sorts of declared national days typically excludes ethnocultural minority students and society in general" (Student AA, April 12/2022, Chacha).

Similarly, student 'U' stated, "As the name indicates, the festival should be for all nations and nationalities. However as you can see minority culture and experience is neglected" (Student U, April 16/2022, Chacha). The hidden curriculum incorporated in the celebration of designated national days trained ethnocultural minority students to only recognize and revere the marvels of heroes from ethnocultural majority groups.

7.3.3 The function of the hidden curriculum at Chacha primary school.

The history, experience, and background of ethnocultural majority students that was deliberately selected, structured, and taught in the classroom by teachers from ethnocultural majority group in order to maintain the hegemonic domination of their own ethnocultural background and experience. This, in turn, demonstrated that the curricular adaptation mediated by the hidden curriculum embedded in it suited exclusively the ethnocultural majority students' best interests.

Student 'AA' stated that "ethno cultural majority student's benefit from our teachers practices since they are the ones whose experience and cultural capital are imparted in the classroom. In

school, their language is spoken, and their dress code is followed" (Student AA, April 12/2022, Chacha).

The hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in the selection and application of classroom instructional strategies served the interests of ethnocultural majority students in such a way that it provided ample opportunity for them to exclusively utilize classroom time, space, resources, power, and leadership during classroom activities. And the hidden curriculum, which was implicitly integrated in the teacher's selection and implementation of classroom instructional methodologies in the utilization of classroom time, also helped ethnocultural majority students.

Similarly, student 'AC' stated that "ethnic cultural majority students regularly ask and answer questions, present group works, and talk more in the classroom than ethno cultural minority students" (Student AC, April 13/2022, Chacha).

The ethno cultural majority students were also beneficial from the school leadership and power structure. The implicit curriculum entrenched in the electoral system benefited them by solely putting leadership posts and school power in their hands.

Similarly, student 'AC' remarked that "the school conducts multiple election procedures to nominate and pick students for different roles such as class room monitors, students council members and leaders, and we nominate those students from the majority group" (Student AC, April 13/2022, Chacha).

Student AD said that "I believe ethnic cultural majority male students received the opportunity to acquire diverse abilities such as judging school authorities and teachers so that the teaching and learning process may be good" (Student AD, April 13/2022, Chacha).

Student AE replied "I believe teachers dread those class room monitors and teacher evaluation committees because they evaluate and grade them at the end of the semester. They are beneficial to them but detrimental to the rest of us Hahahh" (Student AE, April 14/2022, Chacha). The hidden curriculum therefore aims to develop students from ethnocultural majority groups into engaged citizens capable of contributing to and actively participating in civic engagement.

Additionally student 'Y' said that "as ethical ambassadors, students from the ethnocultural majority group had the sole opportunity to have their voices heard and to be acknowledged with

greater care and concern by school authorities and instructors, as well as the woreda education office" (Student Y, April 11/2022, Chacha). This clearly shows that ethnocultural majority male students then gain cultural and social capital, which empowers them to successfully navigate the education system and schooling with more decision-making power and leadership positions than the ethnocultural majority female students and ethnocultural minority students.

Moreover, student 'AD indicated that "Since the bulk of our pupils are from the ethnocultural majority group, we should learn about and experience their culture. The teachers are likewise from the dominant group and, for example, do not speak my language. They teach us in the dominant group's language, and we work hard to understand and experience their culture" (Student AD, April 13/2022, Chacha).

The researcher observed a teacher criticizing and threatening an ethnocultural minority student for his accent in one of the civic and ethical education classrooms at Chacha primary school. Following the teacher, the majority of the students in the classroom laughed at the student who was challenged to provide a quick response to a question posed by the teacher due to a language and hence communication barrier.

7.3.4 Teachers and students role at Chacha primary school

Through the selection and use of instructional methodologies, the researcher found out that teachers played major roles in enabling the ethnocultural majority students' access to the classroom academic time, space, teaching aids and resources. The researcher noted that teachers play roles that deter equitable education through favoring students from ethnocultural majority groups to have adequate opportunities to utilize scarce resources and leadership positions.

Teachers played a part in developing beliefs that discourage equal quality education by selecting and implementing teaching techniques that benefit pupils from ethnocultural majority groups. In line with this student 'Z' remarked "I believe teachers from ethno cultural majority groups demotivate us by demonstrating low expectations and low drive. I believe they never believe we can do more if we are given the best teaching supports that suit our interests and experiences" (Student Z, April 11/2022, Chacha).

According to student 'AD' "these teachers have high expectations and motivation for students based on their ethnocultural background and identity. They engage and interact well with 'within' group students who share the same ethnocultural experience and background as them" (Student AD, April 13/2022, Chacha). This result indicates that ethnic cultural majority teachers discriminate against students based on their ethnocultural and linguistic affiliations, resulting in beliefs and school practices that discourage equitable quality education by preparing teacher-made tests that capitalize on the ethnocultural and linguistic capital of ethnocultural majority students.

Similarly student 'AA' said that "The differentiated education that is classifying children in this school exclusively based on ethno cultural majority teacher classroom assessment techniques. These teachers' assessment practices are one manner in which teachers and schools in general favor students from ethnocultural majority groups" (Student AA, April 12/2022, Chacha).

The researcher found that the test items for the social studies were prepared, selected, and organized in such a way that they favor the ethnocultural and linguistic background and experience of ethnocultural majority students, thereby influencing equity and equality of quality education for all in Chacha primary school. Because the development of these test items was founded on the assumption that "real and legitimate knowledge" is the personal narration, ethnocultural background, and experience of the ethnocultural majority teachers.

The study also showed that teachers perform discriminating roles in student selection, deselection, inclusion, and exclusion depending on students' cultural background and cultural capital at Chacha primary school. Due to the prejudiced and discriminatory beliefs and practices of teachers embedded in the unfair school election systems, students from ethnocultural minority groups were disadvantaged and excluded from prominent leadership positions and power structures of schooling.

The researcher found out that teachers have a vital influence in establishing ideas and behaviors that hinder equitable education at Chacha primary school through the hidden curriculum that is implicitly integrated in the operation and practice of co-curricular and extra-curricular activities.

In line with this, student 'Z' indicated that "The high achiever male students from the ethnocultural majority group in the school control groups, lead projects, and they generally told

other students need to be mute and watch what a miracle they are doing in finishing the activities. As a result, we do not oppose them. Accept their views and they will show to be accurate" (Student Z, April 11/2022, Chacha).

The researcher also observed various sessions and gatherings of student groups, with club leaders leading and facilitating these activities. The club leader during one of the quarter sessions of the civic and ethical education club said that, "We know some of the club members have linguistic limits to contribute properly in the club discourse. That is all up to you. We just assess and appreciate the contributions of people inside our own group. There will be no time to weigh you until you learn to write great poems, literature"

More over the findings demonstrated that communication and interaction among students, students and teachers, and with school authorities used labeling languages that stereotyped and discriminated ethnocultural minority students so that teachers and students communication hindered equitable education. As part of their resistance to these labeling, minority students reject classroom instruction by failing to answer to teachers' queries and failing to engage in any kind of class discussion or discourse. Sometimes they rebuke teachers they detest by different labeling terms on wall writings, and occasionally they draw ugly pictures of teachers they despise and generally include reprimanding and scolding captions that dishonor and insult these teachers.

According to student ' AF' "we routinely cheat additional answer sheets during test week, draw pictures of school officials and teachers we despise and add comments, and eventually present to examining teachers without names and codes printed on the answer hahahaha. This is how we resist the labeling terminologies against us in the school compound" (Student AF, April 14/2022, Chacha).

CHAPTER EIGHT

CROSS CASE ANALYSIS

8.1 Results of the study

The researcher examined each case context's data against the four research questions of the study from chapters 4 to 7. Each component in the aforementioned chapters indicated the unique themes that emerged as results for each of the case contexts of the research. In these four chapters, the analysis of a case against each basic research question was carried out. This chapter, on the other hand, is a cross case analysis that employed a cross case matrix analysis of the basic research questions against each case context.

The cross-case data analysis of the four schools resulted in the emergence of four key themes that addressed the research questions about the manifestations of the hidden curriculum, the lived experiences of ethnocultural minority students, the functions of the hidden curriculum in serving the interests of specific groups, and the role of primary school teachers and students in the reproduction of beliefs and practices that affect equitable, quality education.

The four themes that emerged from the cross-case analysis are beliefs implicitly embedded in the process and structure of schooling as manifestations of the hidden curriculum, rights violations as lived experiences of ethnocultural minority students, favoritism school practices toward ethnocultural majority students as functions of the hidden curriculum, and teachers as versatile and multi-role players in the reproduction of beliefs that deter equitable quality education provision. These primary themes and their linked sub-themes along with a narrative interpretation of the emerging sub-themes are shown in the table below..

8.1.1 Implicit beliefs as manifestations of the hidden curriculum

Table 5. Cross case matrix on implicit beliefs as Manifestations of the hidden curriculum

Themes	School 1	School 2	School 3	School 4

Hegemony		X	X	
Oppression	X		X	
Low expectation	X	X	X	X
Favoritism	X		X	X
Born	X	X	X	X
Citizenship	X			X
Settlers	X	X	X	X
Exploitation		X	X	
Celebrations	X		X	X
Scandal		X	X	X
Socceethnic	X	X	X	
Discipline and Punish	X	X	X	X
Immature and Incapable	X	X	X	X
Control and Order	X	X	X	X
Ghost sticks	X	X	X	X
Unquestioned	X	X	X	X
Moral values	X	X	X	X
Respect	X	X	X	X
Punctuality	X	X	X	X

The matrix for examining a cross-case analysis of the manifestation of the hidden curriculum revealed that the hidden curriculum manifests in the process and structure of schooling. The sub themes emerged under this major theme are; hegemony, oppression, low expectation, favoritism, born, citizenship, settler, exploitation, celebration, scandal, soccethnic, discipline and punish, resistance, immature and incapable, control and order, ghost stick, unquestioned, moral value, respect, and punctuality.

8.1.1.1 Hegemony

The result indicated that there is hegemony of the cultural capital of the majority ethno cultural majority groups in the selection, organization and delivery of classroom contents through curriculum adaptation at school 2 and 3. However, this was not the case in school 1 and 4 because adaptation of curriculum content and experience as per the teacher's background was not observed in these schools. The result indicated that in school 2 and 3 the hidden curriculum was manifested and implicitly embedded in the teacher's selection, organization, and delivery of classroom contents which predominantly relied on the cultural capital of the ethno-cultural majority groups. These practices communicate a message to ethno-cultural minority students that they have not possessed the right cultural capital and are obliged to learn the cultural capital of the majority.

It placed less emphasis on diverse and integrated learning experiences that meet the needs, interests, and capabilities of a diverse range of learners within nationally accepted parameters, which is in direct conflict with the intentions of the general education curriculum framework developed by the ministry of education as part of the curriculum revision and education road map.

The hidden curriculum, which was implicitly entrenched in the taught curriculum through curriculum modification, was less concerned with encouraging tolerance among students from varied cultural backgrounds and experiences in the region. The implicit assumptions ingrained in the taught curriculum through curriculum adaptation promote and spread the ethnocultural majority groups' illusory superiority in the community. The implicit assumptions contained in the

taught curriculum advocated that students from ethnocultural majority groups should never be open to other cultures and should not be eager to learn from other people's experiences.

It also implied that the dominant ethnocultural groups' way of life, experience, background, culture, and history are the only appropriate content and experiences to be chosen, structured, and provided, and that students should only study this.

The hidden curriculum, which was manifested in the taught curriculum through curriculum modification, highlighted the history and legacy of male heroes from the area's ethnocultural predominant groups. It placed less focus on the history, legacy, and contributions of female heroes from both ethnocultural majority and ethnocultural minority groups. Furthermore, it denied minority students opportunities to explore and examine their history, aspirations, dreams, narration, and experience, as well as what has shaped them; their values, cultures, contexts, and achievements now and in the past; and interrelationships between people, their interactions with one another, and with their environments. In essence, formal and informal knowledge are used as sophisticated filters to process individuals, typically based on ethnicity, language, class, and gender; and, at the same time, various dispositions and values are taught to different school children, often based on ethnicity, language, and culture.

8.1.1.2 Stratification

The results of the cross-case analysis also indicated that most of the instructional time, classroom space and instructional media were exclusively used and utilized by students from ethno-cultural majority groups, especially in schools 1 and 3. However, the case is different in school 2 and 4 since the majority and minority students attend their education in separate classrooms and separate shift systems.

Besides, the implicit belief embedded in the classroom instructional approach communicated a message to minority students that, classroom time, space, and resources need to be solely dominated and utilized by the ethno-cultural majority students since they possess the right cultural capital.

Even though the very purpose of differentiated instruction at the elementary school level is to provide differentiated support for different students as per their learning style, the practice of differentiated instruction observed in school 1, and 3 was in contradiction with this purpose and principles of differentiation but stratification.

8.1.1.3 Low expectation

The hidden curriculum was manifested in the beliefs implicitly embedded in the process and practice of teachers' classroom assessment and feedback practices and techniques at schools 1, 2, 3, and 4. The result indicated that, teachers at all schools (schools 1, 2, 3 and 4) have exhibited lower expectation to ethno cultural minority students.

The hidden curriculum embedded and manifested in the teacher's selection and application of classroom assessment techniques served to marginalize and segregate ethno cultural minority students at schools 1, 2, 3 and 4. All schools are the same in demonstrating lower teacher's expectation on ethno cultural minority students from teacher made and teacher administered classroom assessment techniques.

It appears that the majority of teachers in the examined contexts are from the ethnocultural majority group, and minority students are an outgroup for them, resulting in a cultural and experiential gap between these teachers and the minority students. Most of the time, these teachers had low expectations for the minority students who were out groups for them. They did, however, demonstrate high expectations and support for students from the ethnocultural majority group who are ingroup for them.

8.1.1.4 Favoritism

The cross case analysis on the beliefs implicitly embedded and manifested in the classroom practices of differentiation indicated that values and beliefs related to favoritism demonstrated at all schools. Teachers indicated values of favoritism to those ethno cultural majority students who are benefitted from their cultural capital from class room assessment. Those who demonstrated higher academic performance from classroom assessment favored with better instructional support and other benefit packages during instructional differentiation at schools 1, 2, 3 and 4.

All of the analyzed case scenarios revealed implicit beliefs and behaviors that promote favoring values toward students from ethnocultural majority groups. Teachers from the ethnocultural majority group prioritized male students with excellent academic achievement from the ethnocultural majority group.

Ethnic majority students were given priority access to restricted school resources, as well as opportunities to run co-curricular groups and occupy other school leadership posts.

8.1.1.5 Citizenship

Ethno cultural minority students at schools 1 and 4 learned passive citizenship communicated from implicit beliefs anchored and exhibited in the discipline practices and rule systems of the two schools. However, the case is different for ethno cultural minority students in schools 2 and 3. Ethno cultural minority students showed resistance to the school discipline practices and rule systems.

As part of their resistance to schooling, ethno cultural minority students at schools 2 and 3 exhibited class cutting, jumping over the fences, breaking classroom materials, and destruction of classroom resources and instructional materials, owning dangerous and life-threatening materials such as knife, and abuse and harass girls, exam cheating, disrespecting teachers and authorities, physical confrontations with guards, students, and teachers, drinking alcohol and chewing chat and smoking a cigar, instigating and promoting resistance and violence in the school compound, theft of scholastic materials and money, not taking care of personal protection, hygiene and sanitation, absenteeism, and late coming.

Unlike in schools 2 and 3, the implicit beliefs embedded and manifested in school practices of discipline and rule systems in schools 1 and 4 communicate belief systems to ethno-cultural minority students that school rules are absolute and cannot be changed, reformulated, questioned, or reflected on. As a result, students learned passive citizenship implicitly incorporated in schools 1 and 4 discipline procedures. They implicitly taught that defying school norms and the consequences of disregarding them is not 'good' citizenship.

8.1.1.6 Settlers

The cross-case analysis indicated that the hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in school labeling language and terminologies brought discrimination and prejudice against the ethnocultural minority students across schools 1, 2, 3 and 4. Ethno cultural minority students frequently labeled as ‘dwellers’ that have no rights for permanence residence. These word and phrase codes were frequently used in the oral and sometimes in written communication of the school community and frequently described in the in-depth interview with students, graffiti written and depicted on latrine, IT room, Library chairs, and desks, notice boards, flag ceremony places at schools 1, 2, 3 and 4.

Although categorizing ethnocultural minority students as 'others' is a practical fact, the intensity and degree of stereotypes and segregation at schools 1 and 2 are significant. The researcher saw labeling codes and phrases put on the blackboard during shift exchange at school 2. Students in the morning shift wrote scolding and prejudiced terminologies to be seen by students in the afternoon shift, and students in the afternoon shift also wrote scolding to be seen by students in the morning shift.

8.1.1.7 Celebrations

The hidden curriculum was also expressed and implicitly ingrained in the commemoration of significant national and international days across schools 1, 2, 3, and 4. The hidden curriculum was presented through clothing requirements, art performances, poster designs, visuals, and celebration messages.

In each setting of the research, the celebration of these significant international and national days socialized ethnocultural minority students into the cultural capital of the ethnocultural majority groups.

The triangulation of data demonstrated hegemonic control of ethnocultural majority groups' cultural capital in the practices of commemorating these recognized national days across all ethnoculturally heterogeneous elementary schools studied.

8.1.1.8 Scandal

Teachers and students from ethnocultural majority groups influenced the election of students for school leadership posts and power structures in schools 2, 3, and 4. Students from ethno-cultural minority groups were forced into believing that only students from ethno-cultural majority groups should occupy school leadership posts.

Teachers and students in these schools were involved in an election scandal in which male ethnocultural majority students with the best academic performance were given leadership positions in co-curricular clubs, student parliament, associations of class monitors, associations of the top ten students, parent-teacher associations, and student associations. However, in the instance of School 1, all students from ethnocultural majority and minority groups were granted the same privilege as candidates.

8.1.1.9 Soccethnic

The cross case analysis also revealed that the hidden curriculum manifests in sporting practices of schools 1, 2 and 3. The researcher named this sub theme as soccethnic just to indicate the implicit inter link between soccer and ethnicity in the ethno culturally diverse primary schools of the Amhara region.

These clubs as they are organized being affiliated to some ethnic groups, it seems they are also implicitly considered as signs of their ethnic identity for students and teachers in the studied contexts. The dressing code of ethno cultural majority students reflects the logo and color of football clubs in the Ethiopian premier league organized based on the major cities. The dressing code of these clubs implicitly reflects their ethnic identities and it implicitly communicate messages that no one in the school compound can wear another sport kit that doesn't resemble with the color of their preference.

It seems students have believed that sport is the practice of high performing male students from ethno cultural majority group therefore masculinity is also embedded in sport practices as manifestation of the hidden curriculum.

8. 1.1.10. Discipline and punish

The triangulation of the themes discovered as a consequence of this research across all four ethnoculturally varied primary schools in the study demonstrated that the hidden curriculum was expressed and implicitly incorporated in school regulations, discipline and punishment methods, and reward and punishment systems. The triangulated themes across cases 1, 2, 3, and 4 revealed that the hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in the rule and discipline systems sent a hidden message that students from ethnocultural minority groups labeled as the most benevolent and undisciplined should be punished for their misbehavior.

Students appear to have embraced this implicit message of categorizing and labeling and felt that stringent rules and discipline laws were required for them to operate properly and live in harmony with other students in the school. It appears that the hidden curriculum expressed in the rule systems and disciplinary practices at all four schools continually produces pupils who believe citizens are incapable of self-control and so cannot live in harmony without punishment and consequence for each action and reaction.

Schools, it appears, develop citizens who only abided by and fear external pressure, specifically rules and regulations, rather than self-control and self-discipline for mutual coexistence and peaceful relationships through their hidden curriculum embedded in the practices of discipline and punishment. These schools produce citizens who lost self confidence in regulating and pacifying the world without the existence of restrictive rules, law and regulations. They fear that, if rules and regulations are not harsher and consequences are ruthless, the peace and order of the school, society and country will be at risk.

The results emerged in a document analysis of a 'black list' at all of the research contexts revealed that there are detailed lists of the most disturbing' and 'benevolent' students at schools 1, 2, 3, and 4. The 'black list' also chronicled the sort of disciplinary measures used against them, the advice and warning measures used against them, the signature of their parents, and other relevant instances. The researcher discovered in this document that students from the ethnocultural minority group are exclusively and highly represented and punished for their actions.

The case was very severe at school 2 as the result revealed that students from ethnocultural minority groups were accused of class cutting, jumping over fences, breaking classroom materials and destroying classroom resources and teaching aids???, owning dangerous and life threatening materials such as knives, abusing and harassing girls, exam cheating, disrespecting teachers and authorities, and sanctions imposed against pupils on the blacklist include first and final order warnings with parental signatures, monetary punishments, exclusion and termination from school for one or two years. It appears that the practices of school discipline rules, regulations, and the consequences of breaking these rules were instruments of implicit exclusion strategies that clearly discriminated against ethnocultural minority students, coercing and forcing them to self-exclude themselves from education and drop out.

8.1.1.11 Immature and Incapable

The cross case analysis of the themes emerged at each research context revealed that ethnocultural minority students coerced to believe that they lack the maturity and aptitude to set school regulations. As a result, students made to assume adults know everything and make sound decisions when developing school regulations, which should be taken for given and unquestioned.

The study also discovered that ethnocultural minority students at schools 1, 2, 3, and 4 thought that hearing students' voices was not required to set school policies. They thought that attempting to hear kids' voices in setting school regulations would result in a lengthy debate with no point of accord.

They also argued that giving students the opportunity to be heard in the rule-making process meant giving them the law in their favor, which may help them avoid punishment. It appears that the hidden curriculum, reflected through the implicit beliefs entrenched in school regulations across all research contexts, transmitted messages and meaning structures to students that they were simply expected to obey the rules handed down from the top authorities. Ethnic and cultural minority students at schools 1, 2, 3, and 4 appear to believe that they have norms to obey and be abided by but not to question or reflect on.

8.1.1.12 Social control, order and stability

The cross case analysis of the themes that emerged across all four ethnoculturally diverse primary schools revealed that the hidden curriculum embedded in school rules communicated to students a belief system that rules are necessary to maintain the social order and stability of schools and society as a whole. Children at schools 1, 2, 3, and 4 agreed that rules are essential for maintaining an orderly and stable school environment. They also feel that without the presence of school regulations, which contain consequences and punishments for breaking them, it is difficult to govern their conduct.

Students at all the research contexts believe that without the presence of school regulations, the school will quickly devolve into a hotbed of disruptions, disputes, instability, and misconduct. They are unable to envisage a safe educational atmosphere in the absence of norms that can offer serenity and security to children. Without stricter rules and harsh penalties for breaking them, student-student conflicts, student-teacher conflicts, class cuttings, drug abuse, disturbances, and skirmishes will be the norm, they believe. As a result, the teaching and learning processes will be hampered.

The cross-case research also revealed that students bear full responsibility for all disagreements, mutual distrust, and skirmishes among students from various ethnic and cultural backgrounds. They appear coerced to believe that their generation is prone to disciplinary issues such as inter-ethnic violence, drugs, group disputes, confrontation with school authorities and teachers, and others.

8.1.1.13 Ghost sticks

The cross case analysis of the themes emerged from schools 1, 2, 3 and 4 about the hidden curriculum manifested in school rules indicated that, the implicit belief systems and meaning structures embedded in school rules sent a message to ethno cultural minority students that, having no knowledge of school rules cannot be a guarantee to violate them.

It was found out that lack of awareness of school rules and consequently breaking them at schools 1, 2, 3, and 4 cannot prevent students from getting kicked out of the school. The hidden

curriculum exhibited in the rule systems of ethnoculturally diverse primary schools pushed ethnocultural minority students to believe that hearing school rules once in September was sufficient for them to operate successfully and live in harmony throughout their school lives.

Students at all the research contexts believed that a lack of awareness about school rules and the consequences of breaking them was not the primary cause of their disciplinary issues. Rather, it was the kids' innate personalities and conduct that was at the root of their disciplinary issues.

8.1.1.14 The Unquestioned, unseen and untouched

The cross-case analysis of themes that emerged from each context of the study revealed that the hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in school rules communicate belief systems to ethnocultural minority students that school rules are absolute in nature and cannot be changed, reformulated, questioned, or reflected on.

Ethnocultural minority students at all four ethnoculturally diverse primary schools appear to believe that questioning and reflecting on the contents or consequences of breaking school rules is regarded as the character of a benevolent student or a bad citizen, thereby implicating them as a disturbing student.

According to the results emerged from the cross case analysis, children at all of the ethnoculturally varied primary schools in this study felt they should be conformed and blindly loyal to school norms and the penalties of disobeying them without inquiry. Because they believe that school regulations and the penalties of breaking them are intended to manage students' conduct and build them morally and ethically. As a result, they seem to believe that students must learn compliance to school regulations if they are to be built as good citizens.

The result also indicated that students made to believe that rejecting school regulations and the consequences of disobeying them is not "good" citizenship. The researcher saw a large amount of scholastic materials and back packs in the unit leader's office at all of the research contexts. The researcher explored whose resources these materials were at schools 1, 2, 3, and 4 and discovered that they were taken from misbehaving students until they paid back their debts to be paid as a penalty for their "crimes."

The cross case matrix across the four case contexts revealed that several students never returned to school because they were unable to repay their obligations. Anticipating further punishment from unit leaders and administrators, some students dropped out and never returned to request their properties. The researcher also witnessed a large number of students' clothes seized from them in all of the case contexts of the research and the clothes were taken away from students because they were not permitted to be worn on school compounds.

During daily flag ceremonies, some of the observed ethnoculturally diverse elementary schools burned down these properties in front of students. Despite the prevalence of symbolic resistance to these harsh measures at schools 2 and 3, students remained silent and never actively resisted these violations because the hidden curriculum embedded in these schools' discipline and rule systems taught and socialized them to be passive obedient to school teachers and principals' authority.

8.1.1.15 Moral values

The cross case data analysis across the four case contexts demonstrated that the hidden curriculum transmitted moral principles to pupils that had context-based and situational connotations. The triangulation of the emerging themes across schools 1, 2, 3, and 4 revealed that the hidden curriculum incorporated in these context-based value systems sends positive messages about positive character and moral principles to assist students in performing well in school. According to the cross-case data analysis, the hidden curriculum embedded in the process and structure of schooling at schools 1, 2, 3, and 4 communicated the moral values of obedience, responsibility, respect, punctuality, and honesty, which have specific and context-based meanings embedded in the lived experiences of students at the ethnoculturally diverse primary school.

The cross case study conducted across schools 1, 2, 3, and 4, context-based moral standards with particular meaning structures evolved. The study discovered that the concealed curriculum exhibited through these moral standards had both a positive and negative effect on the lived experiences of ethnocultural minority students in all four scenarios. As a positive effect, the findings suggested that these moral principles transmitted certain message systems connected to

being hardworking and responsible citizens, and they learned some work ethics that they might use in their future lives.

The researcher performed a cross-case analysis of the moral values, detailed meaning structures of these moral values, and school behaviors linked to these values were clearly exhibited. Here below the researcher highlighted the underlying meaning structures and messages imparted and communicated in these moral values as perceived by the study's participants across schools 1, 2, 3, and 4.

8.1.1.15.1 Respect

The cross case analysis of the themes emerging from each research site revealed that participants used the term respect often during their daily routine contact with the process and structure of schooling. The researcher attempted to elicit the respondents' notion of the moral worth of respect this time by asking them to describe what they meant by respect.

This demonstrated that the moral value of respect was used to refer to the following belief assertions, which were implicitly incorporated in all of the schools involved in this study's procedure and structure. They were as follows: Not to knock on the door after the teacher entered the room, not to raise hands to ask questions while the teacher explains something, not to show signs of bad facial expressions or ignorance to the teacher's activities, not to be careless in overseeing and respecting school rules, not to engage in conflict with classmates, not to speak anything while the teacher corrects misbehaviors, not to be silent while the teacher cleans the black board, not to be silent while the teacher corrects misbehaviors

8.1.1.15.2 Punctuality

One of the significant themes emerging from the cross case study of the hidden curriculum implicitly reflected in the rule systems of schools 1, 2, 3, and 4 was the moral significance of punctuality. The results indicated that, the hidden curriculum represented in rule systems mediates the moral worth of punctuality to students in ethnoculturally diverse primary schools. The cross case analysis of themes across schools 1, 2, 3, and 4 revealed that students and

teachers commonly used the term punctuality in their daily interactions through the process and structure of schooling.

The school community used punctuality as a moral virtue to communicate context-specific signals to students. As a result, the contextually relevant meaning structures incorporated in the moral value of Punctuality at schools 1, 2, 3, and 4 comprised the following meaning structures; Time is gold to be sold, time both heals wounds and breaks hearts, time is a blessing and a disguise, time uplifts and degrades, come to school before the bell rang, enter the class room before the home room teacher entered, submit answer sheets before the bell rang during exam, wait the teacher sitting in the class room before he entered, do not come to the class after the teacher entered, and a late comer is hopeless in future life and career engagement.

8.1.2 Rights violation as lived experience of Ethno cultural minority students

Table 6 - Cross case matrix on rights violation as lived experience of Ethno cultural minority students

Themes	School 1	School 2	School 3	School 4
Marginalization	X	X	X	X
Passivity	X	X	X	X
Failure	X	X	X	X
Self-exclusion	X	,X	X	X
Obedience	X			X
Resistance		X	X	
Stereotype	X	X	X	X
Tokenism	X	X	X	X
Discipline	X	X	X	X

The results of the cross case matrix analysis on the ethno-cultural minority student's experience of schooling revealed that the hidden curriculum negatively shaped the lived experience of the ethno cultural minority students. The cross case matrix across themes emerged from schools 1, 2, 3, and 4 revealed that ethno cultural minority students experienced multi-dimensional rights violations including marginalization, coercion, failure, stratification, stereotype, and exclusion. Here below is a detailed illustration of the emerged themes across the four research contexts.

8.1.2.1 Marginalization

The hidden curriculum manifested in the practice of curriculum adaptation across schools 1, 2, 3, and 4 socializes ethno cultural minority students into one hegemonic ethno cultural experience and background that emerged as a majority group. Ethno cultural minority student's history, experience, and aspirations set aside to the corner of the classroom. Therefore, the hidden curriculum implicitly created conflict between the school and home experience of ethno cultural minority students at schools 1, 2, 3, and 4.

These students faced conflict with their family members while they capitalize on their school experience and they also became in conflict with their peers from ethno cultural majority groups at school while they practice their home experience. The hidden curriculum sent a message to them that their cultural capital is not valued in the school and their ethno cultural background and experience have nothing to contribute to their academic endeavor. The hidden curriculum sent a message to them that they never possess the 'right' cultural capital so they don't belong in school.

The study's findings also revealed that the hidden curriculum, which was implicitly entrenched in the taught curriculum via curriculum adaptation, developed and instilled views that promote non-questioning and non-criticality among ethnocultural minority pupils. As a result, ethnocultural minority pupils' personal and social development suffered. Because the hidden curriculum excluded these students' histories and aspirations, it hampered the development of skills, knowledge, attitudes, and values that were supposed to help them make sense of their life experiences, make informed life decisions, develop confidence, and become active and socially

responsible citizens. The replication of non-questioning, non-critical, blindly obedient, and conforming citizens among minority children was aided by concealed curriculum exhibited in taught curriculum.

8.1.2.2 Passivity

The hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in the teacher's selection and application of classroom instructional approaches at schools 1, 2, 3, and 4 negatively shaped the lived experience of ethno cultural minority students to be non-interactive, passive, and non-questioning citizens. The classroom space, time, resources, and power at all the research contexts were solely and exclusively seized and utilized by students from the ethno cultural majority group.

The hidden curriculum embedded in teachers' selection and application of classroom instruction discouraged diversity and multiculturalism, as well as the accommodation of difference and tolerance among students with different backgrounds and experiences in these ethnoculturally diverse primary schools. It repressed the ethnocultural minority student's voice, experience, and cultural background, particularly by tacitly advocating technocratic teaching and learning approaches.

With the unidirectional transfer of hegemonic information from ethnocultural majority teachers and students to ethnocultural minority students, the hidden curriculum was particularly active in the reproduction of docile, conforming, and obedient pupils specifically at schools 1 and 4. This was just because there were some forms of symbolic resistance at schools 2 and 3.

Teachers and students from ethnocultural majority groups became producers of information, while students from ethnocultural minority groups were passive users and consumers of the knowledge, narrative, and experience of ethnocultural majority groups' dominating and hegemonic experience especially at schools 1 and 4.

8.1.2.3 Failure

As the ethno-cultural majority student's cultural capital was predominantly taught and measured in teacher's assessment techniques at schools 1, 2, 3, and 4 they took advantage of the ethno-cultural minority students whose experience and background were set aside and never taught and measured. Therefore, taking these advantages students from ethno cultural majority groups were categorized as 'Top Ten', and labeled as 'Special classes'. And yet, students from ethno-cultural minority groups across schools 1, 2, 3, and 4 remain in the 'low achievers' classroom and grouping and therefore experience exclusion and failure.

The hidden curriculum manifested in the classroom assessment practices at school 1, 2, 3 and 4 sent messages of discriminatory and prejudiced beliefs to ethno-cultural minority students that academic performance determines future life success and failure predicts no hope and opportunity for better living standards.

Even though schools 1, 2, 3, and 4 appear to provide differentiated academic support for students of varying ability levels, the actual practice and implicit beliefs embedded in the practice of differentiated instruction at all the research contexts indicate that ethnocultural minority students were exclusively labeled as "lower achievers" for whom teachers and school authorities should not exert much effort. In contrast, ethnocultural majority children were categorized as "high performers" and should receive the greatest academic assistance system available in these institutions. Curriculum differentiation, on the other hand, is the process of adjusting and altering the curriculum to the various skill levels of the students in the class. Creating suitable curricular differentiations is critical to inclusive education and is likely the most difficult problem for educators.

The findings also demonstrated that teacher-made classroom evaluation approaches sparked rivalry among ethnoculturally varied primary school children from various cultural backgrounds and experiences. Ethnoculturally diverse students were desperate to succeed on the failure of others. These schools that embrace control measures and improper differentiation practices in order to optimize learning at all costs become settings similar to prisons as dominance of a particular group of the students becomes obvious.

For the ethnocultural majority of students, success is defined by their identification of their ethnocultural heritage and experience, rather than by respecting and easily ready to adapt and learn about others' experiences and cultures. And the ethnocultural minority students attribute their failure to the removal of their ethnocultural heritage as well as their participation in classroom assessment practices that 'benefit' the ethnocultural majority students. Blaming one another for oneself failure due to multilevel variables seems evidenced at all the research contexts.

8.1.2.4 Self-exclusion

The cross case analysis of themes emerged from each case indicated that the hidden curriculum embedded in the election system for school leadership positions at school 1, 2, 3 and 4 coerced ethno-cultural minority students to experience self-exclusion and alienation from their participation and engagement in these co-curricular activities and clubs.

The cross case analysis revealed that no one was explicitly prohibiting ethno cultural minority students from being nominated or selected as leaders for these extra-curricular clubs and activities across all schools. However, it was found that ethno cultural minority students across the four cases were implicitly and systematically coerced to self-exclude themselves from the leadership positions and power structures of the school clubs and related activities due to the implicit messages communicated to them through the hidden curriculum embedded in the practices of school leadership.

It seems that ethno cultural minority students socialized to believe that school leadership posts and roles are not for them as they lack the required skills and capability just because they don't have the 'right' cultural capital.

8.1.2.5 Obedience

The hidden curriculum manifested in the school practices of discipline and punishment also negatively shaped the lived experience of the ethno cultural minority students across schools 1, and 4. Ethno-cultural minority students experienced inequality, social injustice, abuse, harassment, and stress, and finally drops out of education due to their negative lived experience

as a result of the hidden curriculum embedded in the practice of discipline and punishment at schools 1, 2, 3, and 4. And yet the level of blind obedience to school rules and discipline practices and even for the moral values entrenched into the hidden curriculum is high at schools 1 and 4. This was just because there were also symbolic resistance to these disciplinary practices and related moral values that communicate oppressive messages to these students at schools 2 and 3.

These moral principles signal to students across all circumstances that they are required to follow and live up to these values in order to perform successfully in school and achieve educational mobility. Students at all of the ethnoculturally diverse primary schools included in the study appear to feel that adopting and developing these values helped them to engage more effectively with their peers, teachers, and school authorities.

Yet, implicit ideas and messaging systems delivered through moral standards trained students to be blindly obedient and acquiesce to school authorities as a negative impact. The values sent the notion that students are passive users and consumers of school services who do not challenge them. Messages rooted in moral norms hinder critical thinking among children at schools 1, 2, 3, and 4. The hidden curriculum entrenched in the formation of the 'good pupil' through school ideals influenced the conduct of ethnocultural minority students to be unquestioning, uncritical, and uncreative.

The moral principles ingrained in the process and structure of schooling enhance students' belief that they must blindly obey school rules, teachers, authorities, and school discipline and punishment systems.

8.1.2.6 Resistance

On one of the researchers' presence at one of the research sites, when primary level students leave the school compound after finishing their day's instruction, he observed them that they hurl stones on the school's fence. Surprisingly, and tragically, all of the primary school students in grades one through six, both male and female, attacked their school with stones and fled to their homes. Observing that occurrence, the researcher was in an extremely disturbed emotional state. The researcher was stunned by the occurrence and was unable to make a sound or voice a word

to ask the pupils about what they were doing to their school. The pupils' enthusiasm and wrath as they threw stones and ran out from the school was frightening. I was terrified of them because I assumed they would hurl stones at me once I was outside the school grounds. They rushed by me and began to hurl their hands at an individual's residence walled with iron sheet on their bypass. The sound of the iron fence being stoned by the students was so loud and upsetting that the community came out of their homes and began scolding and chasing the youngsters to stop throwing stones. This implies that these children despise their education and are far more resistant to what is going on in the school compound.

Despite the fact that the students' opposition to the educational system was extremely evident, the researcher understood the students' response against their school as a highly irritating dislike of education. What is truly going on in our education system and what sort of citizen we are generating via these 'failed' processes and practices of schooling is extremely worrisome. A slew of questions assaulted my head as I ran out of the context to escape the mayhem. I was wondering, "Is this resistance?" Is it agency if there is resistance? Is this liberation, empowerment, or emancipation? Is this a clear evidence of the educational system's overall failure? This requires an immediate answer.

This anecdote was a basis for my understanding of students as active participants in the production and reproduction of beliefs, practices and counter narratives to the process and structure of schooling including the power structures and arbitrarily defined authority.

The cross case analysis also showed that ethno cultural minority students at schools 2 and 3 demonstrated symbolic resistance against the disciplining practice and rule systems of schools. These students showed passive resistance and opposition against schooling. However their resistance was perceived as problem makers who are not willing to be abiding by school rules, lawbreakers, violent, latecomers, disturbing and destructive.

8.1.2.6.1 Symbolic interaction in minority student's resistance

The cross analysis indicated that ethno cultural minority students at schools 2 and 3 specially exhibited these passive but symbolic resistance against any harsh disciplinary measures against them. They also showed there resistance against the labeling languages and terminologies

attached to their identity, against the improper practices of differentiation, and against the exclusion of their experience and background.

The cross case matrix also revealed that at schools 2 and 3, ethnic minority students occasionally show symbolic opposition to the arbitrarily set regulations and disciplinary procedures, as well as the arbitrarily allotted resources and the exclusive use of those resources by ethnic majority students. As a result, they coordinate and support symbolic opposition against these procedures and the educational system. They are frequently identifiable and branded as rioters.

According to the cross-case research, it was discovered that students from ethnic and cultural minorities were acting symbolically against the ideologies that were being inculcated into them via the structure and procedure of education. Nonetheless, they used graffiti, dress regulations, communication rules, class cutting, and sometimes dropping out of school as passive and symbolic forms of resistance.

The students from the ethnocultural minority groups demonstrated their passive resistance by drawing codes and symbols on their uniforms, as well as occasionally the names of heroes from their background whose history and triumph were never told in schools or were narrated in a negative way in the context of the school and society. Also, it was discovered that, as a kind of resistance to the educational system, ethnocultural minority students generally skipped classes, arrived late for school, and were not actively participating in classroom discourse, classroom activity, or group discussions.

Also, it was shown that in schools with a diversity of cultures, ethnic minority students form friendships with "in-group" peers in the hope that they will be able to defend themselves against any insensitive behavior from teachers, or administrators. They typically engaged in resistance to school initiatives felt unfairness and prejudice against them. These intra-group relationships and affiliations can occasionally lead to physical altercations, especially outside of the school grounds.

However, despite the fact that the symbolic resistance seems empowered and emancipated minority students from some forms of oppression and discrimination, it was also found out that the symbolic resistance at school 2 and 3 ended with hurting the minority students themselves.

Because as they cut classes, drop out of school and exhibit bad behaviors they became expelled from schooling and hence their educational mobility and life dreams aborted. Hence, resistance in schooling and then form of its manifestation sometimes disadvantaged the minority students themselves.

Table – 7. Cross case analysis of symbolism as manifestation of minority student’s resistance

Themes	School – 1	School – 2	School - 3	School – 4
Blame shifting	X	X	X	X
Dress code		X	X	
Language code/ labeling	X	X	X	X
Non participation	X	X	X	X
Self-exclusion	X	X	X	X
Collective yelling	X	X	X	X
Dropout	X	X	X	X
Facial expression	X	X	X	X
Side talk	X	X	X	X
Graffiti		X	X	
Active resistance		X	X	
Agency at Crux	X	X	X	X

8.1.2.6.1.1 Blame shifting

Ethnocultural minority students also showed their resistance against the multiethnic school's unwritten law that suggests it is enough for students to function well in schools if the school authority read these regulations at the flag ceremony at the beginning of the academic year. The researchers observed that there were no consecutive awareness-raising sessions for students

about the school rules and regulations. And yet, students were accounted for the rules without proper participation and active deliberation in the making of these rules.

However, these students were engaged in a form of resistance to these unwritten laws of conduct. In this regard, students oppose the argument that reading school regulations once a year is enough to perform well in their school life. Students argue that it is not enough for them to hear school rules once a year to function effectively and harmoniously in schools. They contend that school rules in October of last year can't be considered as a guarantee to remember the rules and the consequences of breaking them throughout the year.

Similarly, they also opposed the discipline practices of the school because they argue that their human right to obtain free access to education is being violated by these rules and regulations. They feel that school regulations, as well as the consequences for breaking them, inhibit the protection of human and democratic rights. As a result, they propagate that these rules should be changed in such a way that they take into account our human and democratic rights.

8.1.2.6.1.2 Graffiti

The students from the ethnocultural minority groups demonstrated their passive resistance by drawing codes and symbols on their uniforms, as well as occasionally the names of heroes from their background whose history and triumph were never told in schools or were narrated in a negative way in the context of the school and society.

Observations across all the four schools revealed that students draw pictorial representations of their resistance against schooling and their opposition to the school authority. The researcher observed wall writings about scolding teachers, principals, students from the majority and minority groups and the education system sometimes. There were also pictures supposed to represent teachers they despise the most. Their symbolic opposition was also represented via the creation of some despicable images of teachers and school officials whom they despise.

8.1.2.6.1.3 Yelling

The research indicated that the hidden curriculum is implicitly embedded in the ethnocultural student's resistance against teachers' and principals' authority. The researchers noticed ethno-

cultural minority students expressing their superficial compliance by yelling in groups and displaying negative facial expressions toward teachers, administrators, and students from ethno-cultural majority groups who despise them.

Although they appear to be submissive to the repercussions of disobeying school regulations and the words of school administration, it appears that the ethno cultural minority students utilize symbolic resistance against the harsh measures implemented against them. Their hypnotic noises and their passive or symbolic resistance were reflected through their clothing choices and sounds. Throughout their interactions within the school, they also have certain nicknames for teachers that they despise the most.

This implies that teachers implicitly play significant roles in the systematic exclusion of the Amhara ethno-cultural minority students from the education system in general and from schooling in particular. However, the researchers observed that minority students showed bad facial expressions and side talk with one another as a form of their passive resistance to the coercion of the teacher against them to self-exclude themselves from schooling.

8.1.2.6.1.4 Non participation

The researcher discovered that students from ethno cultural minority groups did not have access to equitable instructional assistance to learn by doing. They simply remained silent and gazed at others who were learning by doing. Also, it was discovered that, as a kind of resistance to the educational system, ethnocultural minority students generally skipped classes, arrived late for school, and were not actively participating in classroom discourse, classroom activity, or group discussions. Although teachers organized students for classroom tasks and activities at these primary school, the researcher observed students grouping themselves based on their ethno cultural background. Teachers appear to be perplexed as to how students organize themselves to complete assigned classroom activities and home projects.

Observations in the social studies and citizenship education classrooms at Schools revealed that children were grouping themselves according to their ethno cultural affinities thereby classroom instructional approach implicitly instigates conflict. This also implies that, as a manifestation of their resistance to the instructional approaches and methodologies of the classroom teacher,

ethno cultural minority students implicitly group themselves based on their ethnic affiliation and are readily available for fight and conflict with students from ethno cultural majority groups.

The researchers also observed students working in groups for classroom tasks in grade 6 at school 2 and noticed high achiever male student's complete activities by themselves and only communicate findings with the rest of the group members. As part of their resistance to classroom teachers selection and application of classroom instructional approaches, Amhara ethno cultural minority students who are members of the group were inactive and did not contribute to task completion.

8.1.2.6.1.5 Dress code

The cross case analysis on the dress code of all the four schools indicated that as part of their passive resistance, the Amhara ethnocultural minority students were observed drawing green, yellow, and red lines on their uniforms, wearing Fasil Kenema and Bahrdar Kenema sports kits, and wearing T-shirts with images of some Amhara historical Heros and political leaders with political slogans. The study also found out that school authorities compelled these students to return home and change their clothes, as well as remove the colors painted on their uniforms. The Amhara ethnocultural minority students were then witnessed refusing to remove their clothes and returning home, skipping classes, and abandoning their studies.

Data from observations of both classroom and outside classroom situations in the studied schools revealed that students, particularly male ethnocultural majority and minority students, group themselves in terms of their preference for and support for ethno culturally affiliated football clubs in the Ethiopian Premier League.

It was identified that students considered these dress codes as displays of pride and courage to students and teachers who are from the ethnocultural groups for which these football clubs were founded. Students from that ethnocultural group associate themselves with this football club since the names of the football clubs and organizations are entrenched in the names of the cities and towns where they were formed.

Furthermore, the results showed that ethno cultural minority students were communicating messages of resistance as they were subjected to stereotypes, exclusion, discrimination, and

abuse as a result of the messages sent to them through the hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in the support of Ethiopian Premier League football clubs. The data across the case schools especially at school 2 and 3 indicated that there is a football club established in the name of the city so that ethno cultural majority students will support it and ethno cultural minority students hate it. This clearly indicates that minority students exhibited their resistance against the dress codes of the majority and despite the stiff harassment from the majority, they continued their symbolic resistance by persistently wearing the sports kits of their preference.

8.1.2.6.1.6 Friendship

It was also revealed that ethno-cultural minority students make friends with 'in-group' students in the belief that doing so will enable them to defend any offensive action performed by ethno-cultural majority students, instructors, and administrators at ethno-culturally diverse schools. They usually immersed themselves in opposition to school activities and sensed injustice and bias against them because of these in-group relationships and affiliations. These in-group relationships and groups are occasionally used in group physical conflict, especially outside the school enclosure.

The study discovered that at schools where the majority and minority children attend the same shift, the minority students establish groups with pupils of the same ethnocultural background and even play on the playground within these groups. In schools where the majority and minority students attend classes in different shifts, the two groups engaged in verbal abuse and, on occasion, violent confrontations arranged based on their ethnocultural background and connections.

8.1.2.6.1.7 Dropout

The data also shows that the hidden curriculum implicitly integrated in school discipline and rule systems reproduce self-exclusion and school dropout among ethnocultural minority students. These students seem to believe that they will never continue school after grade eight. Before it's too late, they will start producing their own money so as to depend their means of livelihood out of education. It seems they believe it is not necessary to invest their golden years in education since they are not certain when they will be terminated from the system. However, despite the

fact that the symbolic resistance seems empowered and emancipated minority students from some forms of oppression and discrimination, it was also found that the symbolic resistance at schools 2 and 3 ended with hurting the minority students themselves. Because as they cut classes, drop out of school, and exhibit bad behaviors they became expelled from schooling and hence their educational mobility and life dreams were aborted. Hence, resistance in schooling and the form of its manifestation sometimes disadvantaged the minority students themselves.

8.1.2.6.1.8 Labeling

More over the findings demonstrated that communication and interaction among students, students and teachers, and with school authorities used labeling languages that stereotyped and discriminated ethnocultural minority students so that teachers and students communication hindered equitable education. As part of their resistance to these labeling, minority students reject classroom instruction by failing to answer to teachers' queries and failing to engage in any kind of class discussion or discourse. Sometimes they rebuke teachers they detest by different labeling terms on wall writings, and occasionally they draw ugly pictures of teachers they despise and generally include reprimanding and scolding captions that dishonor and insult these teachers.

Minority students at all schools seem resist the arbitrarily defined labeling through coining counter-narratives against the majority. There are some labeling phrases they used to refer to both students from the minority and dominant ethnic cultural groups. It is not a problem for them to use these terminologies outside of the school grounds. Some of them also state that they never use these names against the ethno-cultural majority of kids directly, but they use them when talking about them with our in-group classmates. Outside the school, they utilized these phrases and labeling words to call and chastise ethnocultural majority kids. Outside the school compound, when the ethnocultural majority of children call them with labeling and reprimanding phrases, they used to call them with different labeling terms.

8.1.2.6.1.9 Active resistance

The researchers observed that ethno-cultural minority students were not just passively accepted by the students. In one such situation, male students picked stones at the gate of the school and

ruined the office of the principal and the unit leader by throwing the stones and running away from the school gate. In one of the researchers' presence at one of the research sites for a dissertation, the corresponding author observed that when primary-level students leave the school compound after finishing their day's instruction, they hurl stones at the school's fence. Surprisingly, and tragically, all of the kids in grades one through six, both male and female, attacked their school with stones and fled to their homes.

Observing that occurrence, the corresponding author was in an extremely disturbed emotional state. The researcher was stunned by the occurrence and was unable to make a sound or voice a word to ask the pupils about what they were doing to their school. The pupils' enthusiasm and wrath as they threw stones and ran out of the school was frightening. I was terrified of them because I assumed they would hurl stones at me once I was outside the school grounds. They rushed by me and began to hurl their hands at an individual's residence walled with an iron sheet on their bypass.

The sound of the iron fence being stoned by the pupils was so loud and upsetting that the community came out of their homes and began scolding and chasing the youngsters to stop throwing stones. This implies that these children despise their education and are far more resistant to what is going on in the school compound. Despite the fact that the students' opposition to the educational system was extremely evident, the author understood the students' response against their school as a highly irritating dislike of education. What is truly going on in our education system and what sort of citizen we are generating via these 'failed' processes and practices of schooling is extremely worrisome. A slew of questions assaulted my head as I ran out of context to escape the mayhem.

8.1.2.6.1.10 Exam Cheating

Despite the fact that ethnocultural minority students were not actively resisting the contents and consequences of school rules about exam arrangements and expected disciplinary practice during exam week, the researcher observed that the ethnocultural minority students demonstrated symbolic resistance to these exam week rules and the consequences of breaking these disciplinary practices.

The cross case analysis of the data obtained from all schools indicated that students routinely cheat additional answer sheets during test week, draw pictures of school officials and teachers they despise and add comments, and eventually present to examining teachers without names and codes printed on the answer sheet. This is how they resist the labeling terminologies against them in the school compound.

The cross case analysis also revealed that students attempt to demonstrate that the whole educational endeavor, as well as the procedure and structure of schooling, are cosmetic, so that there is no need to devote energy and resources in studying the courses. Rather, they plan and create cheating procedures, then distribute answers to classmates, ensuring that the majority of pupils achieve the best possible scores. And they know that teachers are not indifferent to this because they implicitly want most of their students to achieve higher academic scores through cheating or whatever means possible in order to avoid being questioned and scrutinized by the principal and woreda education officers for the students' poor academic performance.

Although students were cheating on exams as part of their protest to the education system, they fell into the trap of teachers in order to avoid being held accountable for students' poor academic achievement. This means that teachers tacitly encourage test cheating in order to avoid accountability, and hence appear to be unaware of what their pupils are doing behind the scenes.

8.1.2.6.1.11 Agency at crux

The cross-case matrix on the influence of the hidden curriculum on shaping minority students' agency indicated that their agency is in a state of crux in such a way that minority students have been discouraged and their agency was limited not to be developed and flourished so that minority students opportunity for self-empowerment, emancipation, and freedom was by far limited in the multiethnic primary schools of Ethiopia.

Cultural minority students were perceived as immature and incapable of making school rules and couldn't make sound decisions on the overall issues that matter in their lives. The purpose of decisions related to school rules and regulations was stricter social control and stability than empowerment and emancipation.

On top of that the hidden curriculum also negatively influenced minority students' agency by promoting the belief that school authority decisions are unquestioned and the principles and procedures of making these decisions are ghost sticks that are not visible to minority students. Finally, the hidden curriculum negatively influenced minority students' agency by inculcating passive obedience and respect for school authority without critical thinking and reflection and hence deterred students' agency from making alternative solutions and sound and informed decisions.

8.1.2.7 Stereotype

The study also revealed that ethno cultural minority students at school 1, 2, 3 and 4 experienced prejudice, stereotype, stratification, discrimination, and exclusion by the hidden curriculum manifested and implicitly embedded in the message systems and meaning structures of school labeling languages and terminologies.

Different labeling language and terminologies were used so as to refer the ethno cultural minority students across all the four case contexts. Most of these labeling terminologies were communicated both verbally in the daily interactions and in written form as scripts depicted on the buildings and blackboards of the classroom.

The cross case matrix also indicated that not only the minority students but also some times the majority students were also exposed to these prejudice through labeling languages and terminologies. The research revealed that ethno cultural minority students are also key players in negatively labeling students from ethno cultural majority students across schools 1, 2, 3 and 4.

8.1.2.8 Tokenism

The results of the study also showed that tokenism was one of the major lived experiences of ethno cultural minority students at schools 1, 2, 3 and 4. It was found out that, the practice of multicultural education and hence participation and engagement of minority students in the process and structure of schooling is cosmetic at all the schools investigated in this research.

The cross case analysis across schools 1, 2, 3 and 4 revealed that the mantra of unity with diversity as a grand narration in the discourse of the politicians and education policy makers is not accompanied by the practical consideration and understanding of differences among diverse students in these schools.

The results indicated that the selection, organization, delivery and assessment of classroom content and experience set aside the background of minority students. The celebration of marked national and international days such as the celebration of the day of nations and nationalities is cosmetic and full of tokenism as it systematically exclude the experience of internal minorities at each ethno culturally diverse context across the country.

8.1.2.9 Social injustice

The cross-case analysis of the themes demonstrated that the hidden curriculum reflected in school discipline and punishment procedures negatively influenced the lived experience of ethnocultural minority students across schools 1, 2, 3, and 4. Ethnocultural minority student's social injustice as a result of the hidden curriculum entrenched in the practice of discipline and punishment across the four case contexts. Ethnic and cultural minority students were viewed as problem makers who refused to follow school regulations, lawbreakers, aggressive, late arrivals, disruptive, and destructive. Students from ethnocultural minority groups appear to accept these artificial classifications and behave accordingly.

The cross-case analysis also revealed that the hidden curriculum embedded in the school discipline and rule system across schools 1, 2, 3, and 4 produced students who believe that as long as they can pay money for their wrongdoings and mistakes in the school compound, they will be able to survive the education system with all of its requirements so that social justice served.

Ethnocultural minority students across the four contexts appear to assume that as they go up the educational ladder, they will be in conflict with school norms and more difficult to school rules and regulations. As a result, they may be barred from attending school. With severely discriminating disciplinary policies and laws that pushed them to believe early drop out and self-

exclusion from schooling fearing punishment and harsh penalties for little crimes, ethnocultural minority students were denied access to basic education.

It appears that the hidden curriculum reinforces students' opinions that school rules, regulations, and laws are not democratically formed and that their formulation and execution are not fair and equal. The law does not treat all persons equally, and the law serves the interests of some groups in society. As a result, evading the educational system and dropping out of school will let students avoid punishment and the repercussions of disobeying school regulations.

Nonetheless, despite the fact that ethnocultural minority students are not actively resisting the contents and consequences of school rules, the researcher observed that some students from ethnocultural minority groups demonstrated symbolic resistance to the social injustice maneuvered in schooling.

8.1.3 – Favoritism as the function of the hidden curriculum

Table 8 - Cross case matrix on favoritism as the purpose of hidden curriculum

Themes	School 1	School 2	School 3	School 4
Experience	X	X	X	X
Grade	X	X	X	X
Power	X	X	X	X
Resource (time, space, aid)	X	X	X	X
Status	X	X	X	X
Mobility	X	X	X	X
Criticality	X	X	X	X

8.1.3.1 Practices of favoritism

The cross-case study of the themes across the four distinct case settings indicated that the hidden curricula role is to suit the ethnocultural majority students' interests in the researched contexts for the study. The implicit ideas encoded in the hidden curriculum helped the ethno cultural majority students in multidimensional ways, as seen by the subthemes that emerged under this primary theme. The subthemes that arose as a result of the hidden curriculum of the practice of favoritism in ethnoculturally diverse elementary schools are listed and illustrated below.

8.1.3.1 Experience

At schools 1, 2, 3, and 4, the choice, arrangement, and delivery of classroom contents are done implicitly to serve the interests of students from the majority ethnic group. The findings showed that teachers from the ethnocultural majority groups especially at schools 1 and 3 choose, arrange, and present classroom contents that are an exact reflection of the cultural capital of the dominating majority groups. Therefore, ethno cultural majority students at all the study context benefited and served by the hidden curriculum embedded in the selection of classroom content as their cultural capital was taught and assessed.

The cross case analysis revealed that the hidden curriculum inherent in the selection, structure, and delivery of the adapted curriculum sometimes also hurts ethnic and cultural majority children. Such a mainstream curriculum organized exclusively based on the cultural capital of the ethnocultural majority groups disadvantaged students from ethnocultural majority groups by closing the opportunity to learn from other cultures, aspirations, and experiences.

Students from ethnocultural majority groups were shaped in such a way that they began to believe themselves to be better than any other students who did not belong to their group. Also, it left them less prepared and deprived of the chance to learn from other ethnocultural groups in both the classroom and in society, which hurt their ability to advance.

8.1.3.2 Grade

Because the classroom assessment procedures at schools 1, 2, 3, and 4 focused on the cultural capital of the ethno cultural majority students, they seized the chance and received the highest classroom grade. The failure and poorer academic accomplishment of minority students, especially at schools 1 and 3 however, were caused by the exclusion of their knowledge and cultural capital from both classroom instruction and, consequently, from teacher classroom assessment procedures.

The findings for school 2 showed that when minority students' cultural capital and experiences were taken into account and included in classroom instruction and evaluation, they became more competitive and achieved better results. This was just because students at schools 2 and 4 attend classroom education with their mother tongue.

8.1.3.3 Power

The cross case analysis also showed that minority students are forced to abstain from running for school leadership posts since the election procedures for school leadership posts in schools 1, 2, 3, and 4 are unfair.

Minority students at all the four case contexts were denied the chance to run school organizations and co-curricular power structures because the election campaigns were hegemony controlled by teachers and students from the ethnocultural majority group. Hence, in these ethnoculturally diversified elementary schools, the majority ethnic group children in each instance solely hold the reins of authority.

The cross-case analysis revealed that teachers at schools 1, 2, 3, and 4 instructed students to elect students with the "right" cultural capital, the top ten students with communication skills who are from ethnocultural majority students supported to control the school leadership positions, such as student parliament members and leaders, student police members and leaders, teacher assessment committee members and leaders, parent-teacher and student association members, and ethnic minority students' representatives.

High-achieving male students from ethnocultural majority schools benefited from the hidden curriculum that was implicitly incorporated into the school's election process for leadership positions by cultivating in them the ability to question the equity, equality, and access to quality services provided for them. Several students from ethnocultural majority groups were produced as active citizens who can contribute and actively participate in civic engagement thanks to the hidden curriculum.

As members of this committee, ethnocultural majority male students were kept up to date on new and existing education policies, school discipline rules, school exam rules, and implicit values that aid in relationship, school regulations and laws that affect students' daily interactions and school life.

The hidden curriculum also served their interest through providing them the firsthand knowledge of what was altered and added to these policy texts and processes. They got the opportunity to fine-tune their actions and behaviors in accordance with policy expectations. Students also have a direct say in the decision-making process on disciplinary issues and the penalties of disobeying school rules. As a result, they have a direct say in the actions and punishments meted out to ethnocultural minority students for perceived wrongdoing and misbehavior.

Furthermore, as a result of their daily engagement and debate with school authority and teachers regarding school practices of discipline and rule systems, majority students grew acquainted with skills of 'appropriate' behavior as well as the expectations of their teachers and school authority. They mastered the implicit and covert games that must be performed in order to improve academic achievement and educational mobility. They would use less energy and effort as they became more aware of the hidden and unwritten standards of conduct and forms of behavior, and they would not need to go through ups and downs to be productive in school.

The parent teacher and student associations was formed to encourage three-way exchanges among students, instructors, and parents in order to enhance the school. The association also votes on the fate of students who have been identified as 'lawbreakers' after committing blunders. As active members of this association, ethnocultural majority students were involved in crucial choices that resulted in punishments ranging from first order warning (first level and final),

through fine payment, and even expulsion from school (for one year, for two years and even forever).

The hidden curriculum also helped ethnocultural majority students by assisting them in being voted as school ethics ambassadors. As moral ambassadors, they were frequently lauded by the school community and woreda education officials. As a result, they were able to have their voices heard and their concerns addressed with greater care and concern by school officials and teachers. The ethnocultural majority male students gained cultural and social capital, which empowered and enabled them to successfully traverse the education system and schooling than the ethnocultural minority students.

8.1.3.4 Resource

The cross case matrix also indicated that the ethno cultural majority students were served by the hidden curriculum through obtaining exclusive access to the scarce resources of the studied schools 1, 2, 3, and 4. These students had plenty of access to sports equipment, libraries, IT laboratory equipment's, laboratory equipment's, co-curricular and extracurricular club materials and resources and other limited school facilities.

On top of these, ethno cultural majority students were also situated in a better position to predominantly utilize classroom resources such as time, space and teaching aid. This was just because they have the 'right' cultural capital so that they are an in group for the ethno cultural majority teachers and school authority.

8.1.3.5 Status

In schools 1, 2, 3, and 4, a social hierarchy was constructed via differentiation practices, classroom assessment methods, and leadership positions, with students from ethnically and culturally majority groups holding the highest rank. Therefore, implicit beliefs embedded in these processes of schooling served the interests of students who belong to the ethnocultural majority. These favoritism practices based on student academic achievement, gender, and power consolidation benefited these students to get the higher privilege in these schools.

The cross-case analysis conducted regarding the contribution of teachers to the production of beliefs that affect equitable education showed that, across schools 1, 2, 3, and 4, teachers conveyed discriminatory messages and meaning structures through the hidden curriculum embedded in their choice, application, and management of classroom instructional approaches.

The researcher found out that the implicit attitudes and behaviors that deter equitable education are deepened by the teacher's selection and execution of classroom instructional methodologies that gave a better privilege to students from ethno cultural majority group at all the four research case contexts. The cultural and social capital of the ethnocultural majority groups was encouraged and promoted by the chosen and implemented instructional methodologies shown in these schools.

8.1.3.6 Mobility

While the mobility of the ethnocultural majority students in schools 1, 2, 3, and 4 is commendable given their exclusive access to resources, grade, power, and status, the dreams and aspirations of ethnocultural minority students are dashed, and the likelihood and degree of dropout from school are very likely.

The process and structure of schooling across the four case contexts implicitly served the interest of the 'Top Ten' and yet minority students being casted as "others," "the incompetent," "the immigrants," "the usurpers," "the violent," and "the unsettling," it seems they were dissuaded from aiming for a better educational outcome and mobility. This implicates that they frequently hold the opinion that their history and experiences are not relevant to learning and teaching. Hence, they disregarded their experiences and goals related to their ethnocultural past, but they tended to adopt and adhere to the "highly valued" and dominant culture of the ethnocultural majority groups.

8.1.3.7 Critical thinking

The cross-case analysis also demonstrated that the hidden curriculum implicitly manifested in the school election system for power and leadership positions in the school and classroom served the interests of male students from the ethnocultural majority group. These school leadership posts

and structures at schools 1, 2, 3, and 4 exposed the ‘Top Ten’ ethno cultural majority students get ample opportunity for the development of skills of problem solving, creative thinking and critical thinking.

The hidden curriculum contributes to the development of male students from ethnocultural majorities who reflect and challenge the effectiveness of their teachers and other school authorities. They had the chance to create a counterbalance and a power of check and balance against the school administration.

High-achieving male students had plenty of opportunities to hone their critical thinking, true judgment, critiques, reasoning, and evaluation abilities as members of the teacher assessment committee and leaders.

As members and leaders of the student police in the school, ethnic-cultural majority male students obtained the unique power to make surveillance against other pupils in the ethnoculturally varied primary schools.

8.1.4 Multiskilling and flexibility of teachers

Table 9. Cross-case matrix on Multiskilling and flexibility of teachers

Themes	School 1	School 2	School 3	School 4
Conspirators		X	X	
Judges		X	X	X
Ambassadors	X	X	X	X
Accreditors	X	X	X	X
Manipulators		X	X	X
Donors	X	X	X	X

Lobbyists/Activists	X	X	X	X
Gate keepers	X	X	X	

8.1.4 Multiskilling and flexibility of teachers

In the four selected ethnoculturally diverse primary schools, a cross-case analysis of the role of teachers and students in fostering or combating school practices and beliefs that hinder equitable quality education revealed that teachers through the hidden curriculum played multi tasked roles other than their regular teaching roles. These implicit roles of teachers were found that covertly ingrained and made manifest through the educational process and structures.

The researcher found teachers are versatile role players who act as conspirator, ambassadors, preacher, judge, accreditors, manipulators, donors, activists and gate keepers through their engagement in the process and structure of schooling. Here below are the brief descriptions of each of the roles of teachers as manifested in the hidden curriculum of schooling at the four case contexts.

8.1.4.1 Conspirators

The cross case matrix indicated that teachers at all the four cases contexts of the research are skilled at identifying and interacting with a student whom they perceived as a pleasing one and they approach in a positive way. As a result, students who are successful in pleasing teachers receive better grades, awards, and high expectations, which contributes to the inequality of different students with different backgrounds and it also created a barrier for achieving equitable education at the ethno culturally diverse primary schools.

Even though both ethnocultural minority and majority students are extremely aware of the implicit rules and expectations of teachers, they nonetheless try to placate them with the "correct" standards of behavior. Teachers are skilled at implicitly favoring the students who belong to the ethnocultural majority.

8.1.4.2 Judges

Teachers as an arbitrarily authorized judge at schools 1, 2, 3 and 4 took possession of students' belongings in numerous instances as a form of retribution for their minor transgressions. Teachers have also been seen bullying students who attempted to stand up for their human and educational rights, as well as burning student belongings on the school grounds. Also, it was noted that teachers were omitting students from class for lengthy periods of time, including days, weeks, and sometimes entire years. As a result, in the primary schools, which have a diverse ethnic and cultural population, teachers contribute to the development of discipline practices that undermine equitable education.

Teachers as a non-accountable and non-checked judges at schools 1, 2, 3, and 4 used a variety of sanctions against students from ethnic and cultural minorities, including reprimanding, scolding, taking points off of grades and test scores, corporal punishment, warning letters, calling parents and issuing warnings, and expulsion from school for a year. The research indicated that minority children seem helpless to modify and criticize teachers' arbitrary punishment measures. These school procedures gave students the impression that their only choice is to remain silent and submit to the sanctions imposed on them by the judges.

They never give suspicious students a chance to express their concerns, yet they nonetheless make a decision on their own that is regarded as the final word. Students who are accused of violating school policies, including occasionally unwritten ones, do not have the right to critically examine the claims and the repercussions of any alleged wrongdoing.

8.1.4.3 Ambassadors

Teachers and students from ethnic and cultural majority groups serve as ambassadors in Schools 1 and 3. As representatives of ethics and moral character, these teachers and students have been chosen by the school administration as role models and ambassadors for proper character and ethics.

Other members of the school community including ethnocultural minority students are not given a clear explanation of the selection and nomination procedures or intentions. These teachers and

students can only serve as ambassadors for ethics and good behavior because of the school administration's arbitrary selection and nomination.

8.1.4.4 Accreditors

With the help of the tests and exams they administer in class, teachers in schools 1, 3, and 4 serve as accreditors, classifying students as high and low performers. Different expectations were developed for different students in different ability groups as a result of the students' arbitrary classification into various ability-based, segregated classroom groupings. This implicates that as success and failure is measured based on test scores and exam grades, those accredited as high performers are being accredited for high level and quality living standard in their future live.

And yet those students labeled as low achievers seems accredited for lower level socio economic status in their future lives. Therefore, teachers at these schools through their accreditation implicitly embedded in their class room assessment techniques deter equitable education. The situation in school 2 is unique because majority and minority students from various ethnic and cultural backgrounds attend their education while being seated in various classrooms with various shifting systems.

8.1.4.5 Manipulators

Teachers who are members of ethnic majority groups deselect and select the objectives and content of their instructional sessions to incorporate their narratives, histories, and areas of interest and to omit the cultural capital, background, and experience of "others" across schools 1, 2, 3, and 4. These teachers were observed using their own cultural and social capital exclusively to plan and deliver lessons in the classroom that excluded the experiences, aspirations, dreams, backgrounds, and narratives of students from ethnocultural minority groups, crippling the provision of equitable education.

The selection, arrangement, and delivery of course material are particularly affected by teachers' beliefs, according to a cross-case examination of the researchers' classroom observations. And it was discovered that these belief systems actually manifested themselves in their methods of curriculum adaptation and classroom instruction. Hence, curriculum adaptation and instructional

differentiation were manipulated in the wrong way most of the time deliberately to implicitly inculcate the dominance of the cultural capital of the majority.

8.1.4.6 Donors

The cross-case examination of the four case contexts revealed that teachers donate grade and test scorers, particularly near the conclusion of the academic year. Teachers at these all schools create a charity of scores and grades to students because they are afraid of the measures taken by school authorities and woreda education offices for students with the lowest average score. It was discovered that they frequently add scores ranging from 15 to 25 as a remedial for all students in order to enhance the number of students who scored over average.

Because of the gift, those high achiever children may occasionally score above 100%, and they may occasionally request home room teachers to add the remaining score to other subject areas on which they earned below 100%. This implies that teachers, as donors of test scores and exam outcomes, impede and severely harm equitable education while also contributing to the deterioration of quality education.

Due to this malpractice, a significant number of children used to intuitively believe that as long as there are donor teachers, there is no need to study hard and strive for greater academic achievement in order to advance to the next grade level. They know they will undoubtedly pass the examinations and go to the next grade level for free. Students are aware that these teachers are acting not out of kindness, but rather to avoid any administrative action that may be taken against them as a result of the students' failure. As a result, students never acknowledge, appreciate or thank the donor teachers for their contributions.

8.1.4.7 Lobbyists

Teachers as political lobbyists and activists were found to have implicitly played discriminatory roles in the selection, deselection, inclusion, and exclusion of students based on their cultural background and cultural capital. The election systems for school leadership positions at schools 1, 2, 3, and 4 were unfair and not inclusive for they were implicitly engrained prejudice and

discriminatory beliefs that disadvantaged and excluded students from ethnic and cultural minority groups.

Teachers through the hidden curriculum, which appeared in these school election systems, sent the message that only students who can express themselves clearly and fluently in the language of the majority, who have excellent academic performance, typically ranking 1–3 in the class, have excellent moral character, and who can win the support of the majority of their peers, should represent students at all leadership and power structures.

Teachers as political activists were thus seen to be encouraging students from the majority ethnic group to run co-curricular and extracurricular clubs, leading to an inequitable educational experience for students from various ethnic groups. The ideas that "students from ethno-cultural majority groups are well disciplined, high achievers, and capable of leading co-curricular and extracurricular clubs and activities" were being spread by teachers in a tacit way.

Teachers through their implicit role as activists discriminate against ethnocultural minority students by sabotaging and rigging school leadership and power structures. They typically utilize their majority vote to pick male students from the ethnocultural majority group, resulting in behaviors that discourage equitable education. Due to this advocacy work done by teachers as implicit advocates, students appear to believe that high-achieving male students from ethnic minority groups are the only proprietors of school leadership roles and power structures.

8.1.4.8 Gatekeepers

According to the cross-case study conducted in this regard, teachers at schools 1, 2, 3, and 4 encourage beliefs that deter equitable education by using terminology and labeling against students from various backgrounds as part of a hidden curriculum. Hence, through the hidden signals and meaning structures ingrained in teachers' labeling language and terminologies across the cases, teachers close opportunity doors in the process and structure of schooling for students from ethno cultural minority groups.

Many labeling concepts and words that send prejudiced, stereotyped, and discriminatory messages to students from cultural minorities have been established and utilized by teachers at

schools 1, 2, 3, and 4. Therefore, fearing the labeling terminologies in the school compound, minority students hate their education and schooling so that drop out of school. The opportunity of education as a social equalizer and education as a life itself seems shattered for these students due to the prejudiced and discriminatory terminologies arbitrarily attached to their identity.

CHAPTER NINE

DISCUSSIONS

9.1 Discussions

9.1.1 Manifestations of the hidden curriculum

The findings of the study indicated that the hidden curriculum was implicitly embedded in the process and structure of schooling that includes; curriculum adaptation, instructional strategy, classroom assessment techniques, school practices of discipline, sport, school leadership positions, a celebration of marked national days, and access to school resources so that inculcated inequity and inequality among different students with different ethno cultural background experience. Similarly, according to Merfat (2015), inequality of different students based on their ethno cultural background is a practical reality supported by empirical evidence though the purpose of education and schooling is not the reproduction of social inequality.

These implicit beliefs as manifestations of the hidden curriculum deter equitable quality education and embedded in the processes and structures of schooling mediated by ethno cultural background and experience of minority students. Similar to this result, Rigieta (2017) found that implicit beliefs and values embedded in the hidden curriculum have been manifested in the process and structure of schooling. She added that these implicit beliefs and values are embedded in the reward and punishment, discipline practice, selection and application of classroom instructional approaches, contents and assessment techniques. Therefore, this finding incites the fact that schools latently perpetuate cultural and economic inequities, despite the fact that this is not what most school personnel desire (Apple, 1980, 1981, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010 & 2011).

The process and structure of schooling through implicit beliefs and perceptions teach a hidden curriculum that seems uniquely suited to maintain the ideological hegemony of ethno cultural majority groups in society. Similarly, Kiara (2013) found out that, mainstream education has diverse ways of assembling, employing and communicating knowledge to students, generally based within the structure of a dominant culture. And hence these implicit messages and beliefs

communicated through the hidden curriculum and interwoven in the structure and process of schooling in the ethnoculturally diverse elementary schools damaged ethnocultural minority children' background experiences, ambitions, and hopes.

Moreover, the hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in curriculum adaptation, classroom instructional and assessment techniques brought antagonistic conflict among ethno cultural minority students family cultural capital and learned cultural capital in the school compound. Likewise, Elain (2007) found out that ethno cultural minority students are assimilated so as to function in the education system and hence they abandon their out of school experience and ethno cultural experience. This clearly implies that ethno cultural minority students have to be assimilated to the cultural identity of the ethno cultural majority groups so as to be successful in their academic engagement and future prospects (Kiara, 2013). In line with this, Giroux (1983b, 1997) pointed out that, for ethno cultural minority students the process and structure of schooling that implicitly embeds values and beliefs that create hegemonic domination of the majority culture do not support them to cultivate critical thinking and problem solving skills.

More over, the research showed that the hidden curriculum was implicitly embedded and manifested in the school practices of discipline and rule systems. Reward and punishment of students in ethno culturally diverse primary schools were value-laden and found to be the context for the manifestation of the hidden curriculum. In line with this, Kiara (2013) found out that classroom assessment techniques instigate discipline and conformity to teacher authority. Similarly, Merfat (2015) found out that, success in the process and structure of schooling depends on one's deployment of cultural capital in the school.

The research also revealed that the hidden curriculum was manifested in teachers' practice of curriculum adaptation based on the hegemonic dominance of the mainstream cultures. Similarly, Banks (2010) indicated that a mainstream-centric curriculum that focuses on the experiences of ethnocultural majority groups while largely ignoring the experiences, cultures, and histories of other ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious groups has negative consequences for both ethnocultural majority and ethnocultural minority students.

The results of the study also indicated that the hidden curriculum was implicitly embedded in teachers' practices of selecting, organizing, and delivering class room content which perpetuates

the hegemonic dominance of ethnocultural majority students while setting aside and excluding the ethnocultural background experience of ethnocultural minority students. Kiara (2013) identified in this regard that mainstream education includes various ways of organizing, employing, and communicating information to students, often centered within the framework of a dominant culture. In contrast to these findings, David, Amare, and Setargew (2004) suggested that development should be about assisting people in realizing their own values and aspirations in ways that are consistent with those values and aspirations, rather than replacing both with ambitions and value-laden processes and practices derived from someone else's view of the good.

The results of this study also revealed that ethnocultural minority students believe the quality of education in the studied schools is poor because teachers never consider their real life experience and ethnocultural background when selecting, organizing, and delivering classroom contents. However, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious, and Linguistic Minorities (UN, 1992a) article 4 (numbers 3,4, and 5), depicted that,

States should where appropriate take measures in the field of education in order to encourage knowledge of the history, traditions, language and culture of the minorities existing within their territory. Persons belonging to minorities should have adequate opportunities to gain the knowledge of the society as a whole. States should consider appropriate measures so that persons belonging to minorities may participate fully in the economic progress and development in their country.

The contents, experiences, and narration taught in the classroom through teachers' curriculum adaptation were primarily reflections and mirrors of the sociocultural and ethnic background, experience, and history of the ethnocultural majority group. Similarly, Girma (2008) found out that the social studies curriculum for middle school in the Amhara region is not diversity responsive in terms of dimensions of diversity. The selection and organization of contents and experiences by the teachers through curriculum adaptation clearly showed that there was a one group hegemonic dominance in the selection and organization of contents and narrations delivered in the class room. In contrast to this, however, Gay (2000) suggested that, culturally

responsive pedagogy needs the incorporation of the diverse background and experience of all students and engagement and participation of all the students regardless of their identity in the knowledge construction. However, the hidden curriculum embedded in the teacher's practice of curriculum adaptation in the studied areas didn't educate students to recognize and appreciate others' cultural heritage. It didn't integrate intercultural knowledge, resources, and materials into all courses and skills taught in schools.

It appears that neither minority nor majority students have had insufficient chance to participate to the discussion and deliberation regarding the selection, structure, and delivery of curricular materials through curriculum adaptation. This is also similar to the findings of Kiara(2013) that ethno cultural minority students are coerced to abandon their ethno cultural background and experience and adapt the hegemonic capital so as to be successful in their academic mobility. Moreover, Lareau (2003) found that teacher's classroom practices influences the inclusion or exclusion of students background experience in the classroom instruction.

Teachers' expectations were implicitly implanted and expressed through the classroom instructional style, pedagogy, and curriculum adaption, guiding their entire mode of behavior and interaction.As a result, curricular modification has become a vehicle of cultural hegemony in the studied schools. Teachers from ethno cultural majority groups altered curricula to meet their own ethnocultural background and experience, as well as their expectations for their students and their assessment of students' backgrounds and experiences. In this regard, Kiara (2013) discovered that the hidden curriculum has a significant influence on the degree to which students engage with the process and structure of learning, as well as their academic success. Similarly,Banks and Banks(2010) indicated that with this type of curricular adaptation based on the hegemony of the majority, many teachers are deceived into believing that they are teaching from a multicultural viewpoint. And hence students from dominant groups learn that they are the norm, and as a result, they frequently think that anyone who differs from them is culturally or intellectually inferior. As a result, curriculum modification by ethnocultural majority teachers affected by their prejudices was structured and given in a way that neglected the experiences, hopes, and goals of ethnocultural minority students. However, curriculum in multicultural education context has to be based on the ethno cultural background experience of all students and their ways of learning and knowledge construction(Kiara, 2013). However, the results of the

research indicated that ethnocultural majority teachers simply enter classrooms with their ethnocultural stereotypes and biases, never disassociating themselves from these prejudices against students from ethnocultural minority groups, and their adapted curriculum never appears to accommodate the ethnocultural background and experience of the disadvantaged and minority groups. This, in turn, leads to the instillation of implicit attitudes and values that impede the achievement of equitable quality education.

This study through its findings on the manifestation of the hidden curriculum supports the thesis that schools are not ideologically neutral, and that they do not merely repeat prevailing social connections and interests. The researcher said this just because the hidden curriculum was manifested through the implicit beliefs and values embedded in the positivist, structural functional, and technocratic methods of class room instruction that never engaged active construction of knowledge through collaboration among students from different ethnocultural backgrounds. The researcher identified that the manifestation of the hidden curriculum mold classroom knowledge creation in a unidirectional mode in which information and facts flow straight from the source, ethnocultural majority teachers to ethno cultural minority students who have no any control and engagement on classroom knowledge construction. The teachers practices of the selection, organization and delivery of classroom content, instructional approach and assessment technics are apolitical, in the sense that they carry implicit beliefs and values embedded hegemonic cultural capital (Giroux & David, 1983).

The positivist approach to classroom instruction in the observed ethnoculturally diverse primary schools communicated an implicit message that the ethnocultural majority groups' cultural and social experiences and narrations as absolute truth and objective reality. Hidden curriculum stresses to ethno cultural minority students that the most valuable knowledge as well as suitable habits and activities to learn through school socialization and school organization rules, norms, and features is the dominant cultural capital (Kiara, 2013). Similarly, according to Bank (2010), in such a positivist instructional approach the diverse nature of students experience is not appreciated and the knowledge construction is based on the premise of objectivity and an absolute truth which is the dominant and hegemonic cultural capital. As a result, it appears that ethnocultural minority students have had little opportunity to critically challenge the 'absolute'

and 'objective' truth. In some ways, they were beaten down and demoralized since their cultural capital did not match.

Additionally, the hidden curriculum inherent in the teacher's selection and use of classroom instructional methodologies results in students with varying perspectives on their future lives as information producers and knowledge consumers. The findings clearly demonstrated that the hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in instructional approaches contradicted the principles of the general education curriculum framework, which state that the type of teaching methodology recommended by this curriculum framework is one that engages students and makes learning enjoyable (MOE, 2020). And yet the hidden curriculum embedded in the teachers selection of instructional approaches did not motivate students to examine, experiment, question, and create. Furthermore, it was not founded on the concept that teachers are facilitators of learning rather than fountains of information, and that students are partners in the process that enables them to continue learning to learn.

It was also revealed that the hidden curriculum was manifested through a ruthless competition among students that emphasize competitiveness and individual work over group work and collaboration. Students worked to succeed on the failure of their classmates and this incited conflict and hostility among different students with different ethno cultural background experience. They did this by utilizing class activities and objectives that favored ethnocultural majority students. Students from ethnocultural majority groups organize with students from 'inside' group members, while students from ethnocultural minority groups organize with students from 'within' group. In contrast to this finding, Gay (2000) suggested that culturally responsive education encompasses and inclusive of the diverse background experience of all students and their interests and capabilities towards knowledge construction.

The hidden curriculum involved instilling and nurturing feelings of mistrust, hatred, and fear among majority and minority groups fighting for dominance in school leadership, supremacy, and recognition in the classroom, which appears to be the perfect mirror of ethnic-based skirmishes and conflicts for political power and leadership in the country. Similarly, Bernstein (2013) found out that schools produce and reproduce values and beliefs that implicitly rely on the hegemonic dominance of the majority culture. Yet, the general education curriculum framework notes that instructional approaches that rely on the background of all students and

that can enhance the agency of these students regardless of their identity has to be implemented (MOE, 2020).

The hidden curriculum was also manifested through sending signals of implicit attitudes that humiliate the ethnocultural minority students' language capacity and accent. It ignored the language experiences of ethnocultural minority students, who had accents that differ from those of the ethnocultural and linguistic majority groups. The result showed that teachers and students from ethnocultural and linguistic majority groups discriminate against students from ethnocultural minority groups during classroom teaching because of their language accents. They were excluded from important classroom instructional engagements and classroom activities, responsibilities, and workouts due to their inability to adequately pronounce and speak the language of the ethnocultural majority groups.

Facing humiliation, labeling, laughter, and scolding from ethnocultural and linguistic majority classmates and teachers through the hidden curriculum, ethnocultural and linguistic minority students with a distinctive accent were subjected to varying degrees of trauma and stress. Similarly, Gay (2000) found that if teachers reject and mute ethnocultural minority students' cultural background and experience they would continue to impose social injustice, discrimination and stereotype on these students. Therefore accommodation of the cultural capital and experience of ethno cultural minority students in the instructional process will also change the dynamics. Teachers are responsible for the reconciliation of students in school and out of school experience so that they can flourish with their best interest and capability.

The research also indicated that the hidden curriculum was manifested through the codes and labeling terms that stereotype and prejudice ethnocultural and linguistic minority students were written on the combined chairs and tables, windows and doors, walls and roofs, and latrine houses of the Amhara region's ethnoculturally diverse primary schools. Interactional codes, according to Bernstein (1981, 1995, 2013), also have significant effects on social reproduction. Moreover, teachers from the ethnocultural majority group who have little interest in the firsthand experience and background of ethnocultural minority pupils were assigned to educate these children.

The hidden curriculum was also manifested and implicitly embedded in the habitus of those who govern the construction and imparting of school knowledge. In other words, the cultural capital and background of those teachers who teach minority students affects the control and transmission of knowledge. Similarly, Bernstein (1981, 1995, 2013) found out that the role of teachers in the process of knowledge construction is paramount in the sense that they have the power to control what is to be shared and how it is received. Similarly, Gay (2000) found that those teachers who ignore the diverse nature of their students experience and solely depend on the hegemonic dominance of one cultural capital are themselves culturally impoverished. These teachers from the ethnocultural majority group were seen to show a negative attitude toward pupils from the ethnocultural minority group.

The study also revealed that the hidden curriculum was implicitly manifested in teachers' choice and use of classroom assessment methodologies in Amhara region's ethnoculturally diverse elementary schools. The selection and deployment of classroom assessment procedures appears to be one of the schooling processes in which the hidden curriculum was implicitly represented, negatively affecting the experience of ethnocultural minority students in school. According to Merfat (2015), the hidden curriculum is also clearly manifested in schools where there is a value laden selection, organization and application of classroom assessment techniques. The researcher found discriminatory and prejudiced values and ideas inherent in teacher-created classroom assessment methodologies, feedback mechanisms, and scoring of the works of ethnocultural minority children in ethnoculturally diverse primary schools. According to Kiara (2013), classroom assessment practices instill discipline and compliance to teacher authority. Furthermore, ethnocultural majority teachers who choose solely the experience and cultural capital of ethnocultural majority groups send a message to students that minority cultures are likely less valued by mainstream society. Merfat (2015) found that success in the process and structure of schooling is dependent on the deployment of cultural capital in the school. Similarly, Kiara (2013) found out that what is learned and assessed as a standard knowledge area in multiethnic schools is the cultural capital of the majority. As a result, they were able to obtain and perform better in exam outcomes that were simply dependent on teacher-created classroom test items. Similarly, Merfat (2015) stated that teachers are the key gatekeepers in schools. This power is also manifested in their grading systems and scoring exam sheets. Yet, ethnocultural minority students whose cultural experiences and backgrounds were never recognized in

instructional approaches performed poorly on teacher-made examinations and assessments. However, Kiara (2013) suggested that teachers and principals in multiethnic schooling context should understand that they have raise their expectations of all students and hence better academic outcome and performance for all students.

The hidden curriculum manifested in the classroom assessment techniques of ethnoculturally diverse primary schools created discrimination in terms of access to power, resources, time, and space, as well as in general access to quality education in favor of ethnocultural majority students who were categorized and differentiated as high achievers. According to Apple (2004) “ownership of a society's knowledge preserving and creating sectors is a significant aspect in improving one ethnic majority group's ideological supremacy over a less strong ethnic minority group. In this regard, the school's role in selecting, preserving, and transmitting conceptions of competence, ideological norms, beliefs, attitudes, and values (often limited to specific social groups' experience, history, and knowledge), all of which are embedded in hidden curricula in schools, is critical”

While the purpose of differentiated instruction at the elementary school level was to provide differentiated support for different students based on their learning styles, the practice of differentiated instruction observed in the ethnoculturally diverse primary schools of the Amhara region was in conflict with this purpose and the principles of differentiated instruction as clearly speculated by the MOE in its manual for differentiated instruction. And yet the hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in teachers' classroom assessment procedures did not take into account the heterogeneous character of students with varying sociocultural backgrounds and experiences. The hidden curriculum embedded in classroom assessment techniques ignored ethnocultural minority students' experiences and backgrounds, contributing to academic failure and limited educational mobility for these students.

The manifestation of a hidden curriculum of schooling discovered implicitly entrenched in teachers expectations of pupils from various backgrounds. It was shown that teachers had a positive attitude toward students from certain majority groups and believe they can learn more and quicker than children from other groups. Teachers' expectations play a role in converting variations in student potential into differences in actual success. Teachers felt that disparities in potential among students from different ethnocultural groups may be attributed to varied

socialization patterns provided by families from different ethnocultural groups to their children. That is, distinct ethnic cultural groups' socialization processes may be the mechanism through which ethnicity is associated to abilities, goals, motivation, and values. Teachers' expectations for students were also shaped, at least in part, by their perceptions of students' ethnocultural backgrounds and experiences.

As a result, ethnoculturally diverse elementary schools in the Amhara region classified students based on these criteria depending on the teacher's opinion of the students' ethnocultural background and experience. These processes may result in more disparity between ethnocultural groups in educational mobility and vocational accomplishment later on. Ellen (1996 a & b) suggested that the hidden curriculum of education is reflected in schools through exclusion and inclusion practices. The study's findings also demonstrated that the hidden curriculum was implicitly ingrained and expressed in school discipline and rule structures. Students' reward and punishment in ethnoculturally diverse elementary schools were shown to be value loaded and to constitute the backdrop for the emergence of the hidden curriculum. The hidden curriculum appears to have produced students who believe regular individuals are incapable of self-control and so cannot live in harmony without punishment and consequence for each of their acts and reactions. These ethnoculturally diversified elementary schools appear to have produced citizens who solely follow external pressure and rules and regulations rather than self-control and self-discipline.

The unspoken curriculum of school regulations and discipline teaches various moral ideals to ethnocultural minority primary school students. It was discovered, however, that the definition of moral values in respect to school rules was context-based or particular. Schools do not transmit culture; rather, they play a critical role in the reproduction of the prevailing culture. As a result, many critics have raised serious concerns about schools and their ties to the dominant culture. The hidden curriculum of school rules trained students not to question and not to participate. They have no say, and they believe they must rely on teachers' school regulations to cooperate together and function in school.

The hidden curriculum manifested in the message system that communicate ethnocultural minority students lack the necessary capabilities that ethnicity and maturity offered to adults and certain ethnocultural majority pupils. They feel that setting school regulations necessitates the

types of experiences and talents that ethnocultural minority students lack. It appears that the hidden curriculum displayed through the implicit ideas entrenched in school regulations sends a message that they are only accountable for obeying the rules imposed on them by others. The ethnocultural minority students appear to feel that they have norms to follow and obey, but not to question or reflect on them. It appears that the 'good' pupils just obey and submit to the norms imposed by others with blind obedience and entire commitment.

The results also indicated that the hidden curriculum was manifested in school labeling language and words discriminating towards ethnocultural minority children. Implicit ideas inherent in school labeling language and phrases discriminate; stereotype, bias, and exclude ethnocultural minority pupils in Amhara regions ethnoculturally varied primary schools.

The researcher found that in all of the observed diverse primary schools, members of the school community produce bias and discriminatory word and phrase codes to classify minority students. These word and phrase codes were regularly employed in spoken and occasionally written communication, social engagement, and classroom discussions.

Students both from ethnocultural majority and minority groups appear to have been victims of these labeling, discriminatory, and prejudiced phrases and words. Students from both ethnocultural majority and minority groups contribute to the development of attitudes and values associated with the stereotyping and discriminatory terminology used to refer to various groups of students with diverse ethnocultural backgrounds and experiences. Similarly, Banks and Banks (2010) found that no group monopolizes bias and discrimination; it occurs in all directions and even within groups.

9.1.2 Ethno cultural minority student's experience of schooling

This research revealed that the hidden curriculum implicitly manifested in the process and structure of schooling negatively shaped the lived experience and identity of ethno cultural minority students. Ethno cultural minority students experience discrimination, alienation, prejudice, stereotype, inequity, inequality and failure in their interaction with the process and structure of schooling as mediated by the implicit beliefs and perceptions embedded in the hidden curriculum. Similarly, Apple (1980, 1981, 2004) the current education system and

schooling are not working for equality and democracy as per our expectation. The process and structure of schooling specifically and the education system in general both formal and the informal curriculum are working to the reproduction of class and ethnic inequalities among different students. In line with this, McLaren (1995) identified that the hidden curriculum embedded in the process and structure of schooling is the major instrument that supports ideology to perform its activity inside the school compound. Moreover, Merfat (2015) found out that schools as social institutions favor a specific group of students and discriminate among students towards resource distribution and equity. As a result, ethno-cultural majority students were more active participants in the educational process and had better connections with teachers. Students from subjugated cultures, on the other hand, may accept the message that their cultures and experiences are not valued and feel inferior (Banks & Banks, 2010).

It was also found out that ethno-cultural minority students got less opportunity so as to express their feelings about the worrisome situations in the negligence of their ethno-cultural experience and background. Similarly, Bethany & Sarah (2017) found out that several students who spoke minority languages at home reported difficulty gaining fluency in the language of instruction, which was not their native language. The research indicated these schools link instruction so that schooling but not learning to ethno-cultural minority students. The study indicated that ethno-cultural minority students were coerced to drop their ethno-cultural background experience and hold the hegemonic cultural capital of the majority group. This is neither reasonable nor liberating (Illich, 1970). Similar to this finding, Kiara (2013) found out that, most of the learning rules or guidelines that form part of the hidden curriculum reflect the ethno-cultural majority dominant cultural values, practices, and worldviews.

The hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in the process and structure of schooling in the ethno-culturally diverse primary schools also discouraged the educational motivation and mobility of ethno-cultural minority students thereby deterring equitable quality education. Similarly, Kiara (2013) found out that, the inability and negligence of multiethnic schools in the accommodation and consideration of the background and experience of minority students led to the consistent prevalence of inequitable education. Moreover, Lareau (2003) found that teachers at multiethnic schools play roles in the exclusion of the experience of minority students through

their selection, organization and delivery of classroom content, instructional approaches and assessment techniques.

The research revealed that, ethno cultural minority students being assimilated into a cultural capital which conflicted with their family socio cultural capital and ethno cultural background experiences. Schooling therefore in the studied settings is not only considered assimilatory, but it also potentially threatens the cultural identities of ethno cultural minority learners. And hence, the function of the hidden curriculum in these ethno culturally diverse primary schools is social control and can also be interpreted as the training and socialization of minority students into passivity and non-participation (Apple, 2004; Giroux, 1983a; Giroux, 1983b; McLaren, 1995). Similar to this, Berkowitz (2020) found that ethno culturally minority students are more exposed to exacerbating exclusion, discrimination and prejudice in multiethnic primary schools.

The hidden curriculum communicated beliefs to ethno cultural minority students that, they are not born to lead and leadership positions should be exclusively held by students from ethno cultural majority groups. So they have to self-exclude themselves from such power and leadership structures of the school. Similarly, Ann (2013) the power dynamics and its asymmetrical relationship in multi ethnic primary schools reproduces educational inequality.

According to the findings of this study, the hidden curriculum manifested in the taught curriculum, instructional strategies, school assessment techniques, school power and leadership structures, discipline and punishment systems, teacher expectations, supporting Ethiopian premier league, celebrating marked national and international days, school labeling language and terminology, and school community interactions negatively shaped the lived experience and identity of ethnocultural students. The hidden curriculum implicitly entrenched in the taught curriculum through curriculum adaptation in ethnoculturally diverse primary schools severely influenced ethnocultural minority students' lived experiences. Similarly Kiara (2013) found out that the exclusive hegemonic dominance of the cultural capital of the ethno cultural majority groups in multiethnic schools brought assimilation of the minority students. Ethnocultural minority students were forced to think and understand that in order to be academically successful and have better possibilities in the future, they needed to learn and know the grand narratives of the ethnocultural dominant groups.

By excluding histories, dreams, aspirations, and experiences of ethnocultural minority students, implicit ideas inherent in the curriculum severely influenced their lived experiences. They were coerced to believe that their experience and background have no place in academic endeavors and are undervalued in the educational environment. Similarly, Elain (2007) found that for many ethnic minority students, their school experiences substantially highlight the differences between home cultures. Similarly Giroux (1979, 1981, 1983, 1988, and 1997) indicated that the hidden curriculum as manifested in the implicit beliefs and values embedded in the process and structure of schooling never encourage critical thinking and critical reflections.

The hidden curriculum integrated in curriculum adaptation negatively affected and shaped the lived experiences of ethnocultural minority students because it effectively produced tension between the ethnocultural minority students' school and home experiences. Schools, according to Bernstein (1981, 1975, 1990, 1995, and 2013), are the principal agents of ideological control. Since they capitalized on their school experience at home, many children were embroiled in conflict with their family members at home. Because of their home experience and background, they were also in confrontation with their peers from ethnocultural majority groups at school. Under the guise of equal treatment, ethnocultural minority students were essentially denied the basic privileges that their ethnocultural majority counterparts had (Gillborn, 2006). Because of the differences in their socialization experiences at home and school, they became frequently involved in a continual social, cultural, and linguistic battle. Similarly, Giroux (1983) stated that “part of this work consists of reproducing specific social and cultural forms in which pedagogy occurs, as well as constructing relations of ethnic, class, and gender dependency and generating feelings of self-negation and defeat, all of which are underwritten by school's victim-blaming psychology”. As a result, ethnocultural minority students were forced to abandon their ethnocultural identity and abandon their cultural capital. However, David, Amare and Setargew (2004) critically suggested that

but perhaps, too, those who are engaged in educational change in Ethiopia might at least make an effort to understand where, as it were, the people whose lives and practice they want to transform are coming from, what understanding they are bringing to their educational experience and what part these understandings play in their ability to cope with the world they live in. however, to change the

deep knowledge is to change people and their identities and culture in a very serious way, and it is not obvious who has the right to determine this. (p. ?????)

Students with cultural capital that matched the social environment of the school, as well as students who created hidden curriculum that helped them understand what they were expected at school, appeared to be more comfortable in terms of using the equipment and supplies available in school, as well as the physical spaces available in the compound. They also imagined the school as a place where they may grow in a variety of ways. According Banks (1995, 2010), “this monoculture perspective is assumed to be so widespread as to be invisible without acknowledging that schools have been created to suit a dominant culture that no longer reflects all children or even the majority of children and their families.” (p. ??????)

The result also indicated that these schools are also locations where dominant and minority groups define and restrict one another in continuing conflicts over discursive stances and material conditions. Furthermore, students who possessed cultural capital that was out of sync with the social context of the school and perceived a more restrictive hidden curriculum struggled with the activities linked to those experiences. As a result, providing students with ostensibly equal chances did not have the same results since the students had characteristics that differed based on their cultural capital and perceived hidden curriculum. Gay (2000, 2013), on the other hand, argued that “when curriculum adaptation, classroom instructional approaches, and classroom assessment techniques are situated within the lived experiences of ethnocultural minority students, they are more personally meaningful, have higher interest appeal, and are learned more easily and thoroughly.”(p.???)

In general, the experience of ethnocultural minority students in school was badly impacted and molded by the hidden curriculum implicitly integrated in the mainstream and taught curriculum that overlooked their ambitions, background, and experience, causing them to live others' dreams. Similar to this finding, Kiara (2013) discovered that children who do not have the cultural match-us that schooling demands are frequently left behind in their education. Minority students, like all other students, have the right to feel respected and have a meaningful presence in their school, and that the education they receive meets their cultural, personal, and academic requirements. A mainstream-centric curriculum harms ethnocultural majority students by reinforcing their false sense of superiority, giving them a distorted view of their relationship with

other ethnic groups, and denying them the opportunity to benefit from the knowledge and perspectives gained from studying and experiencing other cultures and groups. Likewise Gillborn (2006) found that “exclusion from mainstream schooling is a clear example of denying students' privileges; a denial of citizenship. The exclusion is less obvious here, and the procedure is more complicated, but the denial of citizenship is no less genuine.” (p. ???) A curriculum centered on the mainstream culture denies ethnocultural majority students the opportunity to see their culture through the eyes of other cultures and groups. A curriculum centered on the mainstream has a detrimental impact on ethnocultural minority students. When the school curriculum represents their cultures, experiences, and viewpoints, students learn better and are more motivated.

The research found ethno cultural minority students lived experience negatively shaped by the selection, organization and management of classroom instructional approaches. The hidden curriculum entrenched in the classroom instructional method and pedagogy set aside ethnocultural minority students' cultural capital. Several ethnocultural minority students were found to be alienated in schools, in part because they experienced cultural conflict and discontinuities as a result of cultural disparities between their school and neighborhood. Yet, children need chances at school to grow in both their primary culture and the dominant culture, as well as to gain skills that will allow them to negotiate between their home culture and the majority culture (Kiara, 2013).

The hidden curriculum implicitly integrated in the instructional techniques and teaching procedures of ethnoculturally diverse primary schools molded ethnocultural minority students' lived experiences as non-interactive, passive, and non-questioning citizens. Similarly to Giroux and Stanley (1986), schools provide little possibilities for personal and social empowerment for many children, particularly those from ethnocultural minority groups and the lowest socioeconomic level of society. Schools, for these ethnocultural minority students, were intended to be a place that supports rather than disproves their experiences, histories, and ambitions. Because the ethnoculturally majority students grab and use the classroom space, time, resources, and power, the ethnocultural minority students think they are not inherently capable of managing and exploiting the classroom space, time, power, and resources. In line with this result, Giroux (1979, 1981, 1983, 1988, & 1997) discovered that the positivist pedagogical approach does

nothing to inspire students to construct their own meanings, capitalize on their cultural capital, or engage in assessing their own classroom experiences.

The study's findings also demonstrated that the hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in the school election system for school leadership posts had a detrimental impact on the lived experience of ethnocultural minority students. As a result, ethnocultural minority students think that they are not born with the ability to manage group leadership, presentation, role play, and active involvement, and that classroom time, space, power, and resources are not available to them. They were coerced to live in silence in the face of systemic and structural disparities and inequalities maintained in educational institutions. Schools engage in the implicit practice that ethno cultural majority students provided with a better status and position in the leadership structure while ethno cultural minority students remain unacknowledged or marginalized through these exclusionary practices (Apple, 1980; Giroux, 1983a; Giroux, 1983b).

Teachers at ethnoculturally diverse schools have low expectations for pupils from ethnocultural minority groups since teachers themselves are from the ethnocultural dominant group. As a result, the educational mobility of ethnocultural minority students became extremely limited, and they frequently dropped out of school. Due to the driving forces, the ethnocultural minority students drop out of school and are subjected to internal migration and travel to other locations in pursuit of a better living situation. As a result, the hidden curriculum produces students who are disinterested in continuing their education, drop out of school, participate in labor employment, and engage in street life, which meets the capitalist world's requirement for cheap labor. The hidden curriculum embedded in the structure and process of schooling, particularly in instructional approaches and teaching strategies that ignored the background experience of children from ethnocultural minority students, became a push factor for internal displacement and risky movement of children from rural to urban areas. Dropping out of school and moving to cities, leaving their education behind, is a sign of ethnic and cultural minority students' rejection and resistance to the structure and process of schooling. Similarly, Katy (2012) discovered that effective school navigation or academic move for ethnocultural minority students whose familybackground experience contradicts with school hegemonic ideology is equivalent to assimilation. Nonetheless, some students decide to acculturate with their families' ethnocultural

experience and background and just discontinue schooling as an escape strategy from this cultural clash.

The research also revealed that the hidden curriculum exhibited through classroom teachers' assessment procedures severely influenced the lived experience and identity of ethnocultural minority students. The hidden curriculum embedded in classroom assessment methodologies, according to the researcher, negatively influenced the lived experience of ethnocultural minority students by sending messages of discrimination among students. Implicit attitudes and values entrenched in the arrangement and administration of teacher-made tests and exams, as well as the subsequent feedback based on test scores, transmit beliefs that discourage ethnocultural minority students. Likewise Berkowitz (2020) discovered that cultural minority students are more vulnerable to encountering prejudice and unfavorable judgment in schools, endangering their academic progress through the hidden curriculum of education.

In addition, ethnic minority and low-income students frequently face marginalization, discrimination, and poor teacher and student evaluations and judgments. It was also discovered that ethnocultural minority students socialized to believe the 'top ten' students from ethnocultural majority groups are the most intellectual and exceptional class students in the studied schools. Similarly, Banks and Banks (2010) found that, “because school structures and practices tend to exemplify the dominant class's cultural capital, students who possess the dominant class's cultural capital have a significant advantage in terms of social success over those whose cultural capital does not match that of the schools.”(p.?????)

This, in turn, provides the majority of students with stronger academic credentials as well as the symbolic currency required to access larger economic prospects once they complete their education. Those ethnocultural minority students who do not possess the ‘required’ cultural capital, on the other hand, face symbolic violence because the process and structure of schooling, such as the selection and application of classroom content, classroom instructional approaches, and classroom assessment techniques, devalue their cultural and social resources. Similarly, Ann (2013) suggested that failing to recognize that an increasing number of ethnocultural minority students must make cultural shifts in order to succeed in school assessment practices devalues these students' experiences and communicates to them that it is their fault if they cannot devise a way to succeed in that system. Similar to this finding (Apple, 2004; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990)

found out that as schools are deliberately organized in such a way that they implicitly propagate the hegemonic dominance of the cultural capital of the majority group, ethno cultural minority students can not be successful in such a biased and discriminatory educational context.

The study also revealed that minority students' lived experiences were negatively shaped because of the numerous labeling terminologies, arbitrarily defined classification categories, and discriminatory phrases attached to them. Similarly, Apple (2004) and Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) discovered that language proficiency may be employed as a way of exclusionary selection. People possessing linguistic capital that matches the school's standards are granted membership, while those without it are labeled as outsiders.

The findings of this study also revealed that the hidden curriculum embedded in the power structures and leadership positions of school co-curricular and extracurricular activities and clubs deepen implicit messages that negatively shape and influence the educational experience of ethnocultural minority students. These experiences forced ethnocultural minority students to feel excluded and alienated as a result of their involvement and engagement in co-curricular activities and clubs. The hidden curriculum transmitted to ethnocultural minority students that they are not born to lead co-curricular activities and organizations, thus they must self-exclude themselves from the school's power and leadership structures. Similarly, Ann (2013) the prevalence of asymmetrical power dynamics and relationship predicts the prevalence of inequality and inequity of educational opportunity among different students with different ethno cultural background experience. The selection and nomination of students for leadership roles never openly and explicitly discriminate against and exclude students from ethnocultural minority groups from being nominated or selected as leaders. Yet, because of the implicit signals sent to them through the hidden curriculum, ethnocultural minority students were implicitly pushed to self-exclude themselves from leadership positions and power structures of school clubs and associated activities.

The implicit curriculum contained in the unequal election method for school leadership roles compelled them to think that they were not born to lead and occupy leadership positions and power structures because they lacked the 'proper' cultural capital. These findings show that minority children are more likely to exhibit indicators of alienation and social disengagement through co-curricular activities in school.

Hidden curriculum tacitly incorporated in school rules and regulations negatively shaped minority students' lived experiences by coercing them to feel under constant and strict monitoring and oversight by the school community, mostly by majority groups. Implicit beliefs and values embedded in the rule systems of multiethnic schools expose male ethno cultural minority students for more punishment and high representation in the blacklist (Sandra, 1982). These implicit messages communicate minority students that as they are the most disturbing groups, school is not for them and hence drop out of the system.

Classrooms for ethnocultural minority students were isolated and separated from classrooms for ethnocultural majority students in some of the schools by iron walls and barriers. Similarly, Taddesse (2020) and Girma (2008) found out that different students with different background were attending their education at different shift systems. Students from ethnocultural minority groups were alienated and separated from students from ethnocultural majority groups through several shifting programs, either in the morning or afternoon shifts, which were cycled every two weeks. The findings also revealed that ethnocultural minority students were accused by ethnocultural majority students and teachers as being lawbreakers, aggressive, late arrivals, disrupting, and destructive, and therefore they feel the school rules are primarily and entirely punitive for them. They were not permitted to pass through the fences to the other complex, and they had never witnessed what occurs on the other side of the school compound.

In addition to the shifting system, separate gates were employed for student departures and entries, preventing students from interacting within the school complex; as a result, there was mutual distrust and intolerance within the school communities (Girma, 2008; Tadesse, 2020). While students from the ethnocultural majority group excelled under this system, students from the ethnocultural minority group suffered as a result of it. As a result, the school system created students with varying attitudes, beliefs, values, dispositions, and accomplishments through its hidden curriculum entrenched in its practices of discipline and rule system.

The hidden curriculum negatively shaped the lived experience of minority students in such a way that their belief on the return rate of education is low. Minority students appear to assume that there is no reason to squander time in school if they would be terminated by the rule system someplace before they can realize their educational dreams and desires. As a result, they thought that schooling and education were not for them, and that social mobility could only be attained

through alternative path other than education. The hidden curriculum incorporated in school rule systems increased dropout and inhibited ethnocultural minority students' educational mobility. It also fostered animosity, fear of "others," conflict, and alienation among children from various ethnocultural origins (Ambisa, 2010).

The hidden curriculum ingrained in school discipline and rule systems has also negatively influenced ethnocultural minority students as passive obedient and non-critical thinkers who are constantly monitored and socially controlled by others in society and the school complex. It appears that hidden curriculums reinforce ideas that school rules, regulations, and laws were not designed democratically and that their execution was not fair and equal. The law does not treat all persons equally, and the law serves the interests of some groups in society. Despite the fact that the disciplinary procedures are intended to encourage academic engagement and amicable interaction, they had the opposite impact on male ethnocultural minority students (Thornburg, 2009).

The hidden curriculum manifested in the value systems of education sent a message that students are passive recipients and consumers of school service without questioning or critical thinking. These implicit messages signal to students that they must abide by and live up to these values in order to perform properly in school and attain educational mobility. The hiddencurriculum reproduce exclusion and discrimination against ethnocultural minority students through perpetuating inequitable education. It instilled fear of punishment and simply instilled mindless obedience for the sake of the rule. The character of both the ethnocultural majority and minority students was however influenced by the covert objective of the hidden curriculum in the development of the good pupil who are characterized by passive obedience and lack of critical thinking.

9.1.3 Functions of the hidden curriculum

The results of the study indicated that the hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in the process and structure of schooling at the ethno culturally diverse schools served exclusively the interest of ethno cultural majority students. However, ethno cultural minority students became disadvantaged by the hidden curriculum of schooling as they experienced exclusion,

discrimination and alienation. This is simply because the taught curriculum met the ethnocultural majority students' interests in such a way that their history, narrative, background experience, and dream were chosen, structured, and taught in the classrooms. Similarly, Merfat (2015) found that students from ethno cultural minority groups were grouped at lower groupings and taught lower level academic contents and objectives and hence coerced to believe that their experience and interests are not valued.

The hidden curriculum benefited ethnocultural majority of students since they are the ones whose experience and cultural capital are picked and structured in the taught curriculum. According to Carol and Jane (2014), despite the fact that student's membership in specific minority groups can't predict their academic achievement, teacher's perceived lower expectation to these ethno cultural minority students brought about lower academic achievement. Students develop the hidden curriculum by their interpretations, perceptions, and behaviors, rather than responding to it. Students do not just respond to a certain topic; they carry with them the sum amount of their learning and assessment experiences (Kay & Liz, 1997). As the continuous assessment focused on the cultural capital of the ethno cultural majority students, they take advantage of scoring the highest academic performance and hence got opportunity for better educational mobility. Similar to this, Kay and Liz (1997) claimed that assessment is problematic because it implies that students actively create their own versions of the hidden curriculum based on their experiences with assessment. It is critical for teachers to analyze these processes collectively rather than individually. Similarly, Banks and Banks (2010) found that with such an approach, students from dominant groups learn that they are the norm, and as a result, they frequently think that anyone who is different from them is culturally or cognitively handicapped. And hence, teacher's choice of classroom instructional approaches, encouraged ethnocultural majority students to strive for better educational mobility and academic progress as knowledge producers. Yet, it shapes minority pupils to aim less, shorten lessons, drop out of school in the early grades, and dream of low-paying and 'disgraced' jobs. According to Merfat (2015), minority students believe that their academic efforts and achievements would result in less job chances than those of ethnocultural majority students.

The hidden curriculum suited the interests of ethnocultural majority students by providing abundant opportunities for them to solely exploit the time, space, resources, authority, and

leadership of the classroom. It allowed ethnocultural majority students to use much of the classroom space in their movement as group work facilitators and presenters, role players, and art performers.

The hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in the leadership and power structure of schools benefited the ethnocultural majority students' interests. The findings revealed that the hidden curriculum suited the interests of ethnocultural majority students by concentrating leadership and school authority in the hands of these students. It gave them exclusive access to make decisions on matters that affect the lives of all students. Therefore, the process and structure of schooling in particular and the education system in general is organized so as to implicitly instigate inequality among different students with different ethno cultural backgrounds (Apple, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010 & 2011; Bernstein, 1975, Bernstein, 1981; Bernstein, 1995; Bourdieu 1977, Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu, 198; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990, Giroux, 1979, Giroux, 1981; Giroux, 1983a, McLaren, 1995).

Taking advantage of the potential to dominate school leadership positions and power structures, ethnocultural majority of male pupils gained the ability to decide on problems affecting the lives of students in the school. The researcher discovered that only high-achieving ethnocultural majority male students were elected as leaders of the student parliament and participated in the school's overall decision-making process. These students were given the chance to hone their social accountability skills and measure the services they received using predefined criteria and checklists designed to correctly assess the performance of school teachers and authorities. Schools socialize students differently depending on their majority or minority status and expected position in the class structure, and they legitimize these inequalities by creating the illusion of equal opportunity (Apple, 2004; Giroux, 1986). The hidden curriculum serves the interests of high-achieving ethnocultural majority male students by creating an enabling environment and opportunity for them to be cultivated as productive and critical-thinking citizens capable of challenging arbitrarily defined school authority (Bourdieu, 1986).

Students from ethnocultural minority groups were deterred from pursuing higher educational outcomes and educational mobility because they were characterized as "others," "incapable," "immigrants," "usurpers," "the aggressive," and "disturbing." In general, the hidden curriculum, which was secretly incorporated in the process and structure of schooling, benefited the best

interests of ethnocultural majority students. The hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in the teachers' selection and application of classroom contents, classroom instructional approaches, and classroom assessment techniques, school leadership positions, and school labeling languages served the best interests of the ethno cultural majority students, and thus schools reproduced the cultural hegemony of the dominant ethnic group (Apple, 2004; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990; Giroux, 1979; Giroux, 1983 a, Giroux, 1983b; Giroux, 1986; Giroux, 1997; Illich, 1970; McLaren, 1995).

9.1.4 Teachers and students role in the reproduction of beliefs that affect equitable quality education

The findings of this study revealed that students, teachers, and school administrators play active roles in deepening the hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in the process and structure of schooling, thereby fostering the deterrence of equitable quality education. Teachers may employ hidden curricula without realizing it through their classroom actions and teaching approaches. Conversely, some teachers purposefully utilize hidden curriculum because they are aware of its effects and outcomes (Merfat, 2015). Teacher's, school authorities, and students were all involved in the socialization process that promoted discriminatory ideas and school practices that hampered equitable education in the studied ethno culturally diverse primary schools. The research showed that ethnocultural majority teachers played roles that affect equitable education through exhibiting low expectations of females and a condescending, if not abusive, attitude toward impoverished students from ethnocultural minority groups. Even when a positive relationship with the children exists, teachers strive for a minimal level of performance from ethnocultural minority children. In contrast to this finding, an inclusive and culturally responsive education demands a learning environment that is open to all students, regardless of poverty, gender, ethnic background, language, disabilities, or impairments. Inclusion stresses that all learners and students have the ability to learn (MOE, 2010).

Teachers from the ethnocultural majority group played active roles in deepening favoritism values in the classroom through the selection, organization, and delivery of the taught curriculum, which clearly discouraged the proper inclusion of students from the ethnocultural minority groups' ethnocultural background experience and aspirations. It was also discovered that

ethnocultural majority teachers choose and select classroom content and objectives in order to include their personal narrations, ambitions, histories, and areas of interest, therefore excluding 'others' cultural capital, ethnocultural background, and experience. Padma (1990) found that liberal functionalist beliefs and conceptions about the importance of formal education as a vehicle of individual accomplishment, equal opportunity, and large-scale social mobility have been broken, which is similar to this results.

The study also indicated that teachers through their interaction with ethno cultural minority students reinforced social injustice through hidden curricula. This implicates that institutional norms, social structures, belief statements, values, and goals in schools must be modified and rebuilt. The school's hidden curriculum, as well as its implicit norms and values, should get special attention (Banks & Banks, 2010). The ethnocultural majority teachers were seen primarily building on their own cultural and social capital while excluding the ethnocultural minority students' experience, background, history, and narration so that crippled equitable education.

This study revealed that teachers' opinions about ethnocultural minority students influence their classroom practice, particularly in the selection, arrangement, and delivery of classroom content. Curriculum enactment and adaptation were seen to be incorrectly conducted by teachers from ethnocultural majority groups, such that classroom teaching relied only on the ethnocultural background experience of teachers and students from ethnocultural majority groups. As a result, by their selection and execution of curriculum materials and objectives, ethnocultural majority teachers created perceptions and school practices that discourage equal quality education.

Teachers by their choice and implementation of instructional methodologies that discriminate against the ethnic and cultural minority pupils, they were actively implicated in reproducing beliefs and school practices that undermine quality education. Students from ethnic and cultural minority groups developed conforming and non-questioning behaviors by accepting the unfair judgments made against them without critically analyzing and questioning their applicability. Teacher's classroom practice that ignore experience of minority students may instigate discrimination and exclusion against ethno cultural minority students (Ozdemir, Sun, Korol, & Statin, 2018). Likewise when the implicit beliefs and values embedded in the classroom practices

are not understood by teachers and students, the classroom will be changed in to an arena of exclusion and discrimination (Giroux, 1979, 1981, 1983, 1984).

Teachers play roles in the communication of the hidden curriculum through their selection and deployment of instructional methods that consequently deepens latent assumptions that impede the fulfillment of equitable quality education. The teaching techniques chosen and implemented in these schools were discovered to be those that promote the cultural and social capital of ethnocultural majority groups. It was discovered that children from ethnic and cultural minority groups were actually disadvantaged by improper practice of differentiated instruction. Curriculum differentiation based on dimensions of diversity such as ethnicity, language, gender and religion triggers quite significant inequality both in academic performance and future life chances among different students (Apple, 2004).

Schools through their instructional strategies and teaching methods, perfectly reflect the society beyond their doors, where there is frightening mistrust and hostility among the members of various ethnic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds. Similar to this finding, it was found out that ethno cultural minority students suffer discrimination, prejudice and exclusion by ethno cultural majority students (Ozdemir, Sun, Korol, & Statin, 2018). Moreover, Ambissa (2010) found out that ethno culturally diverse students in multiethnic schools of Ethiopia exhibited a mistrust and hatred towards other students who are not the member of their ethnic background.

Without inquiry or critical thinking, ethnocultural minority students accepted the consequences of their actions that were arbitrarily categorized as misbehavior and wrongdoing. Similarly, minority students are exposed to arbitrary labeling and over representations as disturbing and benevolent in multiethnic schools (Ozdemir, Sun, Korol & Statin, 2018). Most of the time minority students appear to be penalized in a discriminatory and exclusive manner for actions deemed detrimental to the effective and efficient operation of the education process and structure. Similarly, Solomon and Sintayehu (2020) found that the policy document's aims of achieving fairness and equality of education for everyone in Ethiopia is not realized, and "the nation has failed" practically to execute those policy intents.

These teachers exclude ethnocultural minority students and deny them the right to use class room instructional time, space, power, and resources by selecting and implementing teaching practices

that discriminate against students based on their ethnocultural background. Certain school institutional characteristics consistently deny some student groups equitable educational opportunity (Banks & Banks, 2010). As a result, they were actively involved in disseminating perceptions and school practices that impede equitable education. Likewise Merfat (2015) found out that inequality in the educational contexts such as schools can result from uneven opportunity.

Teachers enjoy positive interactions and relationships with 'within' group students who share their experience and background. These teachers had poor relationships and interactions with pupils from the 'out group,' or ethnocultural minority groups. During instructional time, ethnocultural majority teachers were frequently witnessed shaming, and humiliating ethnocultural minority students, even for small mistakes and flaws. It appears that the country's socioeconomic and political condition, which is defined by ethnic strife and turbulence throughout the country, has an impact on the contact and relationship of teachers from ethnocultural majority groups with students from ethnocultural minority groups.

The researcher found that through the hidden curriculum ingrained in the operation and practice of co-curricular and extracurricular activities, teachers actively but covertly create views that deter equitable quality education. According to Apple (1981), our educational institutions may not be as effective as we would like in promoting equality and democracy. The role of teachers in the production and reproduction of overt and covert information found in schools contributes significantly to the persistence of inequality. With their implicit views and school practices ingrained in school discipline and rule systems, teachers were also covertly contributing to the impediment of equitable quality education.

The study revealed that despite these all inequitable treatment of ethno cultural minority students played by teachers, minority students demonstrated symbolic and passive resistance to schooling and the education system. Similar to this, Bernstein (1981, 2013) ethno cultural minority students in multiethnic schools demonstrate their resistance through various strategies including symbolic resistance; dressing code, labeling, graffiti, wall drawings. There is evidence that students from ethnocultural minority backgrounds have negative schooling experiences that limit their opportunities to improve their background experiences, sociocultural identity, knowledge, and

skills. Their reaction to this form of schooling process and structure was opposition and resistance. A schooling process and structure that disempowers ethnocultural minority students is usually met with stiff resistance and opposition from these students. Students express their symbolic opposition to schooling through various forms of implicit opposition. Students from ethnic and cultural minorities avoid participating in class discussion and debate and often refuse to respond to queries from the teacher. There is overwhelming evidence that students who are dissatisfied and uninterested in the typical educational experience engage in resistance activities, attempt to influence the dominant culture, or refrain from participating in such activities (Anyon, 1980; Giroux, 1983a; Willis, 1977).

The hidden curriculum, which is implicitly embedded in the process and structure of schooling, allows ethnocultural minority students to question some of the beliefs and practices that impede equitable quality education. Some of them try to figure out why the school arbitrarily excludes them based on their ethnocultural background. They also questioned why teachers and students from ethnocultural majority groups arbitrarily label them with discriminatory terminology and language. Minority students were acting in passive defiance of the authorities' rulings on several matters that were important to them. Teachers and school administrators, however, frequently classify these actions as misbehavior and administer punitive measures for these students (Katy, 2012). The researcher noticed minority students muttering when they were disciplined for teacher-perceived offenses and breaking rules like attire and communication regulations. Similar to this result, Giroux (1983a) found that these students may use comicalness to disrupt a class, use group pressure to distract teachers from class lessons, or purposefully disobey the teacher's instructions while attempting to create shared spaces that will allow them to escape the individualism that permeates school life. These students never experience the sense of freedom or control over their destinies that other resistant change agents in society may enjoy. Mark (1995) found that inequity and inequality of students based on their ethnocultural background at ethnoculturally diverse primary schools is not fundamentally based on ethnocultural background and does not demonstrate a total refusal of the useful and practical value of education. However, it appears that the forms of their symbolic resistance played them to serve the interests of the liberal economy, which is based mostly on cheap human labor.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATION

10.1 Conclusions

Based on the results of the study and the subsequent discussion of these results through the lenses of the theories of critical pedagogy, cultural reproduction, symbolic resistance, multiculturalism, and culturally responsive education, the researcher concluded that the hidden curriculum was implicitly embedded and manifested in the process and structure of schooling and negatively shaped the lived experience of ethnocultural minority students.

The hidden curriculum implicitly embedded in the process and structures of schooling in the ethno culturally diverse primary schools served two major purposes. The first purpose is the reproduction of inequity and inequality provisions of quality education among different students with different ethno cultural backgrounds, experiences, and cultural capital. The second purpose of the hidden curriculum covertly manifested in the process and structure of schooling is the production of symbolic resistance and opposition to schooling by students from ethno cultural minority students. Schooling is, therefore, a means of oppression and at the same time agency of liberation and emancipation.

The researcher concluded that the hidden curriculum manifested through the taught curriculum, instructional approaches, strategies, assessment techniques related to teacher-made test results, school discipline and rule system, school power and leadership structure, and co-curricular activities hampered and significantly crippled the achievement of equity and equality of education. The hidden curriculum incorporated in the process and structure of schooling ignored diversity and inclusive education principles and displayed the ethnocultural background and cultural capital of ethnocultural majority groups.

The prevalence of less emphasis on the manifestation, function, and role of hidden curriculum in policy documents and teacher education training, as well as a subsequent lack of knowledge and conception of the hidden curriculum among primary school teachers, allow hidden curriculum to exacerbate negative impacts on ethnoculturally minority students' lived experiences. Ethno cultural minority student's lived experience contradicts the basic principles of human and

educational rights as clearly depicted in the various UN declarations. The practice also contradicts the major principles of the general education curriculum framework regarding respecting diversity in all its forms, promoting an inclusive environment, and the right to learn, grow and experience.

Despite the fact that ethno culturally diverse schools investing on the practice of multicultural education that strives for equal access for quality education, the practice has a deficiencies of culturally responsive pedagogy and assessment practices. Despite their aspiration to see culturally relevant and responsive curriculum and instruction, unfortunately there is not a genuine move towards this aspiration and there is an evidenced dwelling on the cultural hegemony of the majority ethno cultural groups by school authority and teachers. The general education system has to be deliberately directed by the principles of culturally responsive education and pedagogical approaches and towards those asymmetric power relations.

Teachers' lack of understanding and expertise in identifying and addressing the hidden curriculum allowed them to be deceived by it, thus influencing the lived experiences of ethnocultural minority students. Ethnic cultural minority students were negatively forced towards assimilation into the background and identity of ethnocultural majority groups. They had no chance to grow and establish their own ethnocultural experience and identity. Teachers, school officials, and students from both ethnocultural majority and minority groups actively and inadvertently contributed to the discouragement of equitable education. Most of the detrimental effects of the hidden curriculum as exhibited implicitly in the taught curriculum; classroom instructional methodologies, classroom evaluation procedures, school discipline and punishment appear unconscious and unintended however.

Though there were a few evidences about some teachers consciously and intentionally use the hidden curriculum to oppress and discriminate against minority students, the researcher does not get enough data to conclude that the process and structure of education are purposefully structured and managed to discriminate, bias, and exclude ethnocultural minority students through the hidden curriculum. Yet, unexpected and unplanned belief systems implicitly embedded in the process and structure of schooling continues to disadvantage ethnocultural minority students, resulting in unfairness and inequality in these institutions among students with different ethnocultural backgrounds and experiences.

Instead of training students to join society with abilities that will allow them to critically reflect on and intervene in the world to change it, ethnoculturally diverse primary schools operate as conservative forces that educate them to conform to the status quo through their hidden curriculum. These subliminal beliefs and school practices lead some groups of students to conclude that schooling and hence education was not for them, and thus they failed to achieve their life goals and desires. These biased beliefs and perceptions caused students from ethnocultural minority groups to feel alienated and despairing about pursuing a brighter future via education. As a result, they frequently drop out of school and seek employment in other fields. This will have an impact on some segments of society's perception of the return value of education as a means of livelihood and a better future, which may have a clear impact on equitable education at the national level.

As long as some students, and thus a segment of society, are denied their basic human and educational right to learn their own cultural capital, they will remain alienated from the grand narrative, developing and producing symbolic resistance and opposition to such exclusive and monoculture schooling. The mainstream curriculum failed both students from ethnocultural majority groups and students from ethnocultural minority groups. It instilled in ethnocultural majority students the mistaken belief that they are superior in all respects to ethnocultural minority students. It also failed ethnocultural minority students by ignoring their ethnocultural background. On top of that the inclusion and exclusion of cultural backgrounds and experiences in the education process and structures, animosity, distrust, skirmishing, and fighting arose among students and teachers with diverse ethnocultural background experiences. As a result, the hidden curriculum manifested in the process and structure of schooling indirectly reproduces conflict, and it has become the ideal mirror of the situation among the nation's many ethnic groups.

Developing and publishing a multicultural textbook that is both worldwide and domestically acclaimed can never guarantee the practical implementation of culturally sensitive and multicultural education. A purportedly multicultural education system and a seemingly culturally sensitive system may only lead to the instillation of hatred, stress, and distrust among students with different ethnocultural backgrounds and experiences. This implicated that multicultural education must be realistically and practically applied in the ethnoculturally heterogeneous

elementary schools in the Amhara area. The technique should be fine-tuned using fundamental multicultural education and cultural responsive education ideas. Policymakers, educators, and authorities should engage their skin in the development, management, and assessment of multicultural education so that they can feel the hidden and unintended consequences that we have harvested as a result of the cosmetic practices of multicultural and inclusive education. Because of the practice of stratification and labeling of these students, our schools generate diverse students with various talents, abilities, and future goals.

Our elementary schools educate students to be "good citizens" and continuously label and categorize others as "bad citizens." They also create some students who aspire to a brighter future and a higher standard of life, while others drop out of school and lead a lower standard of living by engaging in disgracing, disgusting, and discouraging (3D) ways of livelihood. The researcher feels that this is not the goal of education that our institutions have been pursuing. This was never represented in any of our national or regional education programs, curricular frameworks and guidelines, standards of processes, student textbooks, instructor manuals, or other supporting publications. Yet, the hidden curriculum, which is implicitly incorporated in the process and structure of schooling, transforms the goal of education and the function of our schools into these chaotic and troubling dynamics.

Despite the fact that Ethiopia's curriculum framework for general education clearly stipulates the need to consider, appreciate, and applaud the ethnocultural background and experience of ethnocultural minority students, the ethnocultural background, history, aspirations, and dreams of ethnocultural minority students in the ethnoculturally diverse primary schools of the Amhara region were ignored and relegated to the school's corners. The major educational goal in Ethiopia's curriculum framework for general education is violated, and it appears that students have been stratified based on their ethnocultural background, and thus their access to the school leadership and power structure is heavily influenced and segregated based on their cultural background. The ethnocultural background and identity of ethnocultural minority students has become a barrier to their educational mobility, and as a result, the majorities of ethnocultural minority students are excluded from schooling and believe that education in general, and schooling in particular, is not for them.

Teachers' and school administrators' habitus have a considerable influence on the incorporation of the hidden curriculum into the structure and process of schooling. Teachers' habitus include their ethnocultural background experience, cultural capital, credentials, expectations toward different students from different ethnocultural backgrounds, knowledge and skills in the selection, organization, and application of classroom instructional approaches and classroom assessment and feedback mechanisms, their behavior and location of residence, and even salary income. Teachers' training in multiculturalism and cultural responsive education, as well as subsequent awareness of these ideas and teachers' classroom practice, all have a role in molding the lived experiences of students from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds.

The majority of teachers were from the ethnocultural majority group, their habitus influenced their classroom practice there, resulting in negative outcomes for ethnocultural minority students. This is not to say that students from ethnocultural minority groups would always have a terrible educational experience because they were taught by teachers from ethnocultural majority groups. However, teachers from ethnocultural majority groups in the schools observed by the researcher lacked the competency to speak the language of ethnocultural minority students, lacked the capacity to accommodate and include these students' background experience and cultural capital, and had negative interactions and relationships with them. It appears that they were educating ethnocultural minority children because they were ordered to do so by the regional, zonal, and woreda education offices, and it appears that they despise teaching ethnocultural groups that do not share their ethnocultural experience.

As a result, teachers seem lacking understanding and practical skills on multicultural education, culture responsive education, critical pedagogy, the inclusive classroom, and the manifestation, function, and role of the hidden curriculum. Teachers at ethnoculturally diverse primary schools, in particular, seem not prepared with awareness of these principles as well as the abilities necessary to detect and handle challenges in a multicultural educational context.

The practice of schooling for ethnocultural minority students also contradicts the basic principles of the general education curriculum framework, which emphasizes the principle that all children can learn, grow, and experience success by: respecting diversity in all its forms, promoting an inclusive environment, sanctioning policies and practices that address the individual and specific needs of the learner. The function and purpose of the hidden curriculum of schooling appears to

violate the general education curriculum framework's core organizing principles of working towards strengthening national unity while appreciating diversity. Students were classified and accredited based on their ethnocultural capitals, histories, and experiences. Individuals that accumulated the ethnocultural capital of the majority group were rewarded and successful in their educational mobility. Those who have not acquired the ethnocultural capital of the ethnocultural majority groups, on the other hand, appear to be barred from schools through various exclusionary and discriminatory measures so that experienced failure. Schooling appears to be reduced, in part, to the promotion of the interests and culture of those who hold positions of social, cultural, and economic power

The researcher also concluded that the hidden curriculum, which is implicitly embedded in the process and structure of schooling and is mediated by an intersection of diversity dimensions such as ethnicity, gender, class, and area of origin or location, allows for various forms of resistance in the ethnoculturally diverse primary schools. There is evidence that students from ethnocultural minority backgrounds have unfavorable school experiences that limit their opportunities to improve their background experience, sociocultural identity, knowledge, and abilities. The reaction of minority students to this style of schooling was opposition and resistance.

An education procedure and structure that disempowers ethnocultural minority students is frequently met with vigorous resistance and rejection from these students. Students express their symbolic opposition to education through many types of implicit opposition. A number of students reduce their involvement in daily school practices while simultaneously displaying superficial conformity to the school's ideology, opting for styles of resistance that are silently revolutionary in the most immediate sense but have the potential to be politically progressive in the long run. Minority students never directly reject and oppose the mainstream culture of the ethnocultural majority group; instead, they mainly fought against teachers and school officials through symbolic resistance and school opposition.

They expressed their disagreement to the structure and process of schooling through symbolic oppositions and resistance implicitly ingrained in their cultural capital, such as clothes, walking style, linguistic accent, and terminology use. This criticism of teachers and school officials stemmed from ethnocultural minority students' conviction that school segregation,

differentiation, and unequal treatment of students based on ethnocultural background were founded on teachers' prejudiced judgments and unfavorable expectations of them.

Minority students who oppose schooling are rarely seen as having a good influence on society. These children may feel alienated from school and may doubt the purpose of education, and they may express their frustrations via acts of resistance. Critical questioning of the implicit beliefs and practices embedded in the structure and process of schooling that deter equitable quality education signals the critical thinking and emancipation of ethnocultural minority students. It also implies that these students will be able to acquire resistance abilities against all types of tyranny and fight for their independence and liberty in their future lives as adolescents and adults. According to research documents and books on resistance, schools are relatively autonomous bodies that not only provide spaces for oppositional action but also driven by the interests of the dominant society; they are not just economic institutions, but also political, cultural, and ideological spaces that exist outside of the capitalist market economy to some extent.

The researcher concluded that teachers played versatile roles in deterring equitable quality education through reproduction of beliefs and perceptions that discriminate and prejudice on minority students. It appears that school teachers and authority figures, intentionally or unintentionally reinforce unfairness and inequality through the hidden curriculum, which is implicitly integrated and manifested in the structure and process of education. Inequity and inequality are reproduced covertly and implicitly by teachers and school authority in taught curriculum, classroom instructional approaches, assessment techniques, leadership and power structures, discipline and punish practices, school labeling language and terminologies, celebration of marked national days, and school community interaction, codes of conduct, and relationships.

A monoculture perspective underpins and drives ethnoculturally diverse primary schools approaches to pedagogy, curriculum adaptation, classroom organization, school policy, home school relationships, and even models of discipline in schools. The hidden curriculum therefore worked to establish the hegemonic domination of the cultural capital of ethnocultural majority groups. The hidden curriculum also benefited one gender group, which was the ethnocultural majority of male pupils. Through the manifestation of the hidden curriculum, the ethnocultural

majority students were observed taking advantage of the benefits bestowed upon them in the process and structure of schooling. Cultural capital of cultural majority students is present throughout the school structure and process, and all children in culturally diverse primary schools were forced to adapt to the hegemonic culture.

In general, education's role as "the great equalizer" is seen as being overshadowed and falsified by ethnoculturally and economically framed inequalities and ideological differences that are implicitly embedded in the structure and process of schooling. The practice of ethnocultural minority education opposed basic human rights and educational rights of minority groups, as well as ideals clearly represented in UN declarations of human rights and other complementary declarations. The practice of minority education, as well as the actual reality of ethnocultural minority students, contrasts with the rights of ethnocultural minority groups, which are plainly outlined in the FDRE constitution.

Although there are indicators of diversity accommodation in ethnoculturally diverse primary schools, there remains a significant gap in achieving equity and equality of quality education. The results and subsequent discussion of them demonstrated that in these educational settings, the assumption and notion about the role of formal education as an instrument of individual achievement, equal opportunity, and large-scale social mobility have been broken. The educational system is set up in a way that favors students from the majority ethnocultural group while ignoring the needs of minority students. Teachers play a key role in the creation and perpetuation of inequality among various students with different ethnocultural backgrounds and experiences due to the way education is organized and carried out in these schools, which subtly convey messages that favor the cultural capital of the majority groups.

10.2 Implications

The sort of multicultural education to be implemented should encompass all students' different viewpoints and experiences, regardless of their ethnocultural origin and identity, and it should encourage equitable educational opportunities for all students. . Multicultural education that encompasses and inclusively considers the interest, voice, dreams and aspirations of all students

regardless of their difference based on dimensions of diversity has to be practically actualized in our primary schools. We are also expected to critically scrutinize the existing practice in this regards in other parts of the country and we have to expose the cosmetic practices just standing on the side of truth and knowledge.

Practical and actual implementation of a multicultural education demands a reform in changing the implicit beliefs and values embedded in the process and structure of schooling and that discriminate, prejudice and exclude some students just because of their personal history and family background. Teacher's selection, organization and delivery of classroom content, instructional approaches and assessment techniques should consider the voice, experience, aspiration and dreams of all students regardless of their socio cultural and ethnic background. Elections for school leadership so that school power relations and leadership positions should be inclusive of all students in the school, and education system and they should not be means of systematic exclusion and discrimination of minority students. Practical implementation of multicultural education also demands eradicating the arbitrarily defined labeling terminologies and languages against any children in the education system. However, these all could be realized when there are ethno culturally diverse teachers in ethno culturally diverse primary schools. This is just because in schools where there are almost all teachers from the ethno cultural majority group it may be impossible to these teachers to be fair in doing these tasks. It is natural that people show ethnocentric views, of course, the degree may vary. In that case those teachers from the majority group may not elect students of the outgroup for different leadership positions.

This intercultural education can benefit students from both ethnocultural majority and ethnocultural minority groups in ethnoculturally diverse elementary schools. Students from ethnocultural majority groups will have the chance to learn from the experiences of others, acquire high level learning outcomes such as critical thinking, and become more open to other people's views and beliefs. Multicultural education also benefits ethnocultural minority students by allowing them to develop critical thinking, creative thinking, and problem solving skills by critically reflecting on others' cultures and questioning a group's hegemony. To realize these benefits of intercultural pedagogy and multicultural education, content selection, organization and delivery has to consider the real life experience of students from both the majority and minority ethno cultural background. The selection and organization of learning experience,

instructional approach and assessment techniques has to consider the background experience of different students with different ethno cultural background.

The role of teachers in the reform of school practice towards multicultural education is paramount and they are expected to be mindful of their student's background and experience. They are accountable for shaping people's views and practices toward diversity from a young age. Teachers in multicultural classrooms must display innovation and management abilities in order to establish a varied learning environment. Teachers at ethnoculturally diverse primary schools can intentionally employ these tactics to facilitate learning in multilingual classrooms. Teachers have an important role in building students' multicultural and intercultural competencies. Multicultural education seeks to eradicate cultural biases, integrate course content, and foster harmonious interpersonal interactions. To do this, teachers should revise course material, reform instructional techniques, and alter the system of performance evaluation. Overall, teachers are responsible for creating an inclusive and culturally sensitive learning environment that encourages intercultural education.

As part of the reform critical pedagogy that engages all students with different ethno cultural backgrounds has to be promoted and practically implemented. The voices of ethno cultural minority students should get proper recognition and attention in the discourse. A critical educational discourse is required for our educational institutions to produce tolerant and open-minded citizens, as well as to repair the harm that has already been done. Theoretically, critical pedagogy in classroom discourse embodies the practice of involving students in the social creation of knowledge, which is founded on power dynamics. When using critical pedagogy in the classroom, teachers should evaluate their own actions in the knowledge-construction process, as well as why the prevailing culture legitimizes the major knowledge. Furthermore, emancipatory knowledge allows educators to connect practical and technical knowledge, establishing a place for comprehending the power and privilege linkages that influence and distort social interactions. Finally, participants in critical pedagogy classrooms are urged to take collective action based on the values of social justice, equality, and empowerment. Glorifying our nation's diversity without thoroughly recognizing our differences is merely another step backward.

Culturally sensitive and appropriate pedagogy has to be practically implemented in ethnoculturally diverse primary schools. Intercultural curriculum that values the inclusion of all children' background experiences and aspirations from both ethnocultural majority and ethnocultural minority groups should be carefully prepared and executed. In the case of intercultural responsive education, the ethnocultural majority and ethnocultural minority students will be considered in the selection and structuring of instructional content and classroom pedagogical activities. We should practically implement culturally responsive education that encourages students to critically interrogate the curriculum by having them confront inconsistencies, omissions, and distortions in the material, as well as widening it to incorporate diverse views. First and foremost, the teacher and student should love each other. When there is love, there is commitment. The teacher should have a positive attitude and demonstrate it to the pupils; this will signal that the teacher want to engage the kids in learning. Second, teachers should not see themselves as superior to their students. Both the teacher and the student should see themselves as equal partners in the discourse. Finally, the teacher should have trust in the pupils, believing that they are not empty vessels but rather possess some knowledge. Using this information, the student may engage in discourse and learn more.

Critical pedagogy that depends and focuses on the development of critical thinking, creative thinking, critical reflection, and questioning should be prioritized in order to emancipate and empower ethnocultural minority students in the Amhara region's ethnoculturally varied primary schools. Dialogical approaches that Freire suggested is the most effective method in teaching for enhancing student's critical thinking capability. It creates a two-way communication where the student and teacher take an active part. Teachers and students should have an equal dialogue instead of teachers holding absolute authority. When there is love, humanity, and faith among the interlocutors, good cooperation is formed, which enables the interlocutors to engage in critical analysis. Freire's dialogical approach is not a new technique in teaching. In ancient Athens, Socrates used to teach people through dialogue. Critical pedagogy assists teachers and schools in broadening their perspectives on students' knowledge and intellectual talents. Critical pedagogy assists students in becoming agents of their own learning, allowing them to apply what they learn in constructive and critical ways.

Teaching techniques and methodologies should be devised and applied in multi-cultural education contexts such as ethnoculturally diverse primary schools to enhance decision making, critical thinking, critical questioning, and reflection abilities. The critical awareness improvement of the students depends on the teacher. The teacher can design lessons based on student capacity. The classroom teacher knows students well and can set up classroom strategy which can enhance students' critical awareness. A free and fair classroom environment and communication are essential for learning, creating a space where the students are not afraid to ask any question. This kind of environment helps the student to be an active learner while the banking concept of education makes the student a passive learner.

Instructional practices should be developed to empower and emancipate both teachers and children. A critical pedagogy that encourages students and teachers to assess what they learn critically by reading both the word and the world has to be practically realized. Our schools have to be emancipated from the polar opposite of a critical or empowering approach that is 'banking education,' in which students learn to repeat and accept facts passively.

The researcher finally suggested that, ethno culturally diverse primary schools should give a due concern for the basic educational and human rights of ethno cultural minority students and enhance their expectation towards them. Be accessible, and it is critical that teachers do not sweep such problems under the rug, but rather listen with empathy when minority children are struggling, whether academically, socially, or emotionally. In order to offer the finest and most inclusive learning environment for minority children, it is critical to include their families as much as possible. Teachers want children to feel appreciated and heard in their classrooms, and they want the same for their families. Furthermore, pupils whose families are interested in their education routinely outperform those who are not. It is critical to be mindful of the harm that microaggressions can cause minority kids throughout the day. While someone who is not a member of a minority group may never fully comprehend, it is critical to educate oneself and open their eyes to the challenges that these children may face. Microaggressions are indirect manifestations of discrimination. These are subtle words or deeds that are less obvious than certain apparent instances of racism. However, even subtle deeds might be equally destructive. Above all, come to know their pupils for the wonderful persons they are. Spending time every day listening to the student's ideas and feelings helps them get a better knowledge of what their

lives are like. This is vital for all kids in their class, not just the minority ones. If they build relationships with their pupils and show them that they genuinely care, they will be more driven to achieve well. And by being a good listener, you can give the necessary assistance to all of their students, even those from minority groups. It is critical to deliver content from a variety of perspectives while teaching a minority population in the classroom. Perhaps instructors can invite guest speakers from the minority group that they want to represent. They may bring them in to discuss their culture, experiences, and even social justice. They should do everything they can to make their classrooms friendly and inclusive.

They should recognize and create opportunities for ethno cultural diverse students to share, learn and grow based on their background experience. The study should also be extended to explore and understand the mediation role of other dimensions of diversity including religion, class and gender in shaping the lived experience of ethno cultural minority students.

Inclusive education, and therefore inclusiveness as one of the organizing principles of the general education curriculum framework, should be given proper focus in the education system. The experience, aspirations, history, and background of distinct student groups must be realized in the ethnoculturally varied primary schools of the Amhara area. Schools should be on the lookout for the implicit structures and practices of schooling that aim to create educational disparities and inequity, as well as inhibit students' general socialization and learning results. Students from various ethnocultural backgrounds should be provided with alternative and multiple learning experiences and opportunities, as well as equitable instructional approaches and classroom assessment techniques that focus on all students' best interests, background experience, history, aspirations, and world views. Teachers equipped with skills of critical pedagogy and culturally responsive pedagogy can implement this activities and actualize these aspirations.

As one of the researchers' primary concern, equal allocation, and usage of scarce educational resources should be handled with detailed procedures and standards. Each school-level fair resource allocation and use should be continuously monitored, and concerns of inequitable and unequal access to the scarce material and human resources of ethnoculturally diverse primary schools must be addressed. Timely thoughts and feedback, as well as prompt actions to improve fair usage and access to school resources, should be maintained. Efforts in actualizing standardized resource allocation and management should be closely monitored by the regional

education bureau and zonal education offices. Continuous monitoring and feedback sessions has to be organized by the regional and Zonal education experts in normalizing equal and equitable distribution of resources. School authority and teacher practices of resource distributions have to be closely monitored and reflected by these higher level educational authorities.

We can no longer rely solely on formal curriculum in the socialization and molding of ethnoculturally diverse students' identities and lived experiences in multicultural situations at the general education level. If we want to see the development of effectively socialized, problem solver, and diverse critical thinker citizens from our general education system, as clearly indicated in the education road map and the general education curriculum framework, educators, policymakers, and decision makers should pay equal attention to the hidden curriculum embedded in the process and structure of our education system at all levels. Moreover, the opinions, experiences, and insights of ethnocultural minority students must be gathered and reflected upon in order to build a better, more equitable learning environment that may support school achievement for all children with diverse ethnocultural backgrounds.

The hidden curriculum is an essential curriculum in schools because it has a powerful and effective influence on students in a variety of ways. The hidden curriculum is evolving as an emergent and current educational issue and component of schooling that immensely influences students' lived experiences, identities, and learning; teacher educators should design and incorporate numerous courses on the nature, manifestation, purpose, function, and role of hidden curriculum in shaping students' lived experiences. The course should be designed and organized to teach the role of teachers, school authorities, and students in raising awareness of the hidden curriculum, as well as strategies for identifying the hidden curriculum, minimizing negative outcomes, and utilizing the positive effects of the hidden curriculum to positively influence socialization, learning, enhance inclusion, and promote diversity with unity. Policy makers should give a due emphasis on the nature, manifestation, function and role of the hidden curriculum in student's socialization and identity formation and further research has to be conducted so as to make it more conscious and visible so that school authority and teachers can address the diverse needs and interest of diverse students.

Teachers in multicultural situations, particularly in ethnoculturally diverse primary schools, should have been equipped with the knowledge and skills of the interaction and intersection of

many social statuses such as ethnicity, class, gender, and location on their students' overall behavior and identity. Teachers in these multi-cultural settings should have a grasp of their ethnoculturally diverse students. These teachers should understand that every one of their students is a member of these dimensions of multiculturalism, and that their students' perceptions of their schooling and living experiences are impacted by their multidimensional dimensions of multiculturalism. As a result, teacher education for multicultural contexts should be aware of these concerns and include them as a main theme of teacher education.

Teachers in multi-cultural contexts should also receive tailored on-the-job training in inclusive education and multicultural education, as well as understanding and developing positive classroom interaction and relationships with diverse students, to aid in the development of an inclusive classroom and a positive classroom environment. Teachers should also receive extensive training and practice in various types of curriculum adaptation and modification. Rather than instilling hegemonic ethnocultural grand narratives and cultural capital, teachers should be well trained in order to practically implement content adaptation, classroom instructional approach adaptation, and classroom assessment techniques adaptation in order to include diverse learners' lived experience and cultural capital and address their best interests and individual needs.

The policymakers and educators should pay close attention to the role of implicit beliefs and values entrenched in the process and structure of education in shaping the lived experience and identity of ethnocultural minority students. A multi-cultural education system that is realistically culturally responsive to all of the diverse ethnocultural groups of students should be developed and efficiently implemented. A high priority area to be considered and included in the education system is multi-cultural education, which is by far a manifestation of culturally responsive curriculum, a diverse and accommodating curriculum with the inclusion of contents and experiences from all ethnocultural groups in the region.

The objective of education includes social transformation and social justice. To attain this goal, national and regional analyses of the hidden curriculum and its immediate and long-term detrimental implications on social transformation and social justice must be conducted. The social inequality that has persisted for so long as a result of the veiled curriculum's unconsciousness should be clear. As a result, teachers, school authorities, and students can

understand the hidden curriculum while also being aware of its counter-action to social justice and social transformation. When students are aware of these realities, they will band together to fight against school beliefs and practices that discourage equitable quality education at all levels, from the individual school to the national education system.

Researchers and scholars in the field of education should investigate how ethnoculturally diverse schools and their school communities, including authorities, teachers, and students, develop, distribute, and replicate the dominant and hegemonic cultural capitals. Whose reality stalks the corridors and classrooms of ethnoculturally diverse schools across Ethiopia? It is especially vital, therefore, to pay close attention, both theoretically and practically, to how the educational system operates and serves as an agent of cultural and social reproduction.

But, in order to create a society that is more equal, just, and functional, we should consider the reasons why certain students who are less fortunate than their more fortunate counterparts obtain education that is of a significantly lesser caliber. We should understand why the aspirations and dreams of students with little economic and social status continue to go unmet in terms of their educational demands.

More research has to be conducted on the role of intersection of dimensions of diversity such as gender, religion and class on the lived experience of ethno cultural minority students. As this study was only focused on only one dimension of diversity that is ethnicity, the researcher calls for more research on intersection of these dimensions on the identity and lived experience of minority students in the region. The researcher also implicates that as this research was only focused on Amhara region, more researches on the topic can also be made in other regions of the country.

10.2 A Search for indigenous knowledge: Tizita, Qalkidan and Eriq as organizing frameworks for multicultural and culturally responsive education

Tizita, nostalgia, as a shared tradition among all of Ethiopia's diverse ethno cultural groups, has been proposed by Ethiopian educational academics as an effective organizing element in the framework and implementation of multicultural and culturally responsive education in multi ethnic countries such as Ethiopia. They suggest that because Tizita is about reenacting previous

good days of happiness, joy, and peaceful coexistence, it might be helpful in the design and practice of multi-cultural and culturally responsive education, and hence schooling for multiethnic societies. They suggest that because nostalgia is a shared culture across all of Ethiopia's ethnoculturally varied peoples, an education system infused with good nostalgia may assist students from diverse ethnocultural backgrounds avoid conflict, hostility, and distrust.

On my journey through this study as a researcher, I also reflected on my attachment to Tizita. I can personally attest to the fact that listening to slow Tizita music makes me feel lot better. I'm filled with nostalgia for the good old days. And yet, I later on came to understand that due to nostalgia when I used to travel forward, I could look backwards. I detect a melancholy in Tizita, as well as a yearning to live in such a romanticized but implicitly and extremely deep aching sensation. Tizita's underlying goal, I believe, was to live in harmony with the past while opposing the present and the future. Tizita tacitly instilled hostility to the present and the future. It implies a separation from the present and the future. That, I believe, is why most ethnocultural group narratives in Ethiopia remain locked in the past, blaming their past failure on only one or two ethnic groups.

That, I believe, is why some of them have stayed committed to resistance politics while having absolute control over the hegemonic power in the country. Since they were still fixated on Tizita, they were mired in resistance politics rather than governance politics. I believe that a Tizita song by Tesfaye and Tamene can clearly demonstrate my argument here that Tizita is an illusion, as a negative human experience, as a sad and regretting lived experience that we should avoid in the selection, organization, and delivery of contents, instructional approaches, assessment techniques, school election for leadership positions, and overall lived experience of ethnoculturally diverse students. Tesfaye and Tamrat's classic Tizita song says:

መንፈቅና አመቱን እንዴት ልጩርሰው

ትዝታ አካላቴን በልቶ እየጩረሰው

ያለፈውን ብቻ እያጠነጠንኩኝ

ወደፊት እየሄድኩ ወደኋላ ዘርኩኝ (ተስፋዩ ካሳ እና ታመነ መኮንን)

Some other scholars in the fields of education and law supported this argument as well, believing that nostalgia causes some ethnocultural groups, and thus some students from both ethnocultural minority and ethnocultural majority groups, to recall negative experiences and, in some cases, 'oppression' among their community members. These students and society blamed one or two ethnocultural groups at the national level, and they generally related their past failures and unpleasant lived experiences back to those ethnocultural groups labeled as "oppressors" in the country. Because of the extreme nostalgia of this awful event, they train them for retribution and brainwash them with these bad experiences. They learn to exclude, and discriminate against students from the ethnocultural groups they believe oppressed their predecessors in the nation's ancient and medieval past. And hence, I believe Tizita should not be a fundamental organizational framework for multicultural and culturally responsive education and schooling in multiethnic regional states and at the national level.

They contend, however, that Qalkidan (promise) is far better than Tizita and should be at the heart of the organizing principles of multiethnic societies like Ethiopia's education system. They claim that Qalkidan (promise) allows individuals to forget their failures and unpleasant experiences, and that it is about entering a new age with a fresh goal, perspective, initiative, and partnership. Yet, the researcher scrutinizes and questions the ideal that Qalkidan can be an organizing concept and principle for a national and regional multicultural education strategy for ethnoculturally heterogeneous contexts. This is due to the researcher's belief that Qalkidan without pragmatically inclusion of the experience of minority students is an illusion that cannot be taken for granted for the realization of equitable quality education. Multicultural educational initiatives with just words of promise on actualizing unity with diversity can result in hegemony of the dominant ethnocultural capital, just as a marriage of two persons might end in divorce after a ring of promise. The researcher believe a song by Abebe Teka, one of the Ethiopian prominent singer may clearly indicate this argument against Qalkidan. Here below is the song;

ቢመስሉ እንቁጣጣሽ በሚኬ አጀብ ደምቀው

ሲመሽ ዶሮ ማታ የማን ቤት ሊያምቀው

ምንድነው ቀለበት ምንድነው ቃልኪዳን

ሲታመሙ ታመው ሲሸሩ አብረው ሸረው ካለተገኘ መዳን

ማተብን ቢያጠብቁ ያንጃት ፍቅርሸረው

በቁርባን ቢጋቡ ቃልኪዳን ሸረሸረው

ለአፍ አመል ካልሆነ ማለው ከምን ሊያስቀር

በቀለበት ታስሮስ ፍቅር ምን ሊቀጥል

አበበ ተካ (1989 ዓ/ም)

Therefore, taking the good premises and sides from Tizita and Qalkidan; the researcher formulated a new line of hope and roadmap for the inclusion of the experience and background of ethnocultural minority groups and thus the organization and meaningful implementation of multi-cultural education and culturally responsive schooling. The researcher thought that only via Eriq (reconciliation) could multi-cultural and inclusive education be accomplished. Genuine, honest, and true Eriq can bring mutual trust and collaboration among students with different background. Eriq (reconciliation) comprises both Tizita and Qalkidan.

Eriq (reconciliation) is the wax and gold that synchronizes and retains the past, present, and future. "Eriq" reconciliation should govern the organizational principles of multicultural and inclusive education in multiethnic regions like the Amhara region, and therefore a country like Ethiopia. Throughout Ethiopia's multiethnic and cultural groupings, Eriq is known by several names. It also has distinct modes and processes for accomplishing so throughout the country's diverse multi-ethnic and cultural groupings. Nonetheless, the objective of Eriq (reconciliation) is the same across Ethiopia's many ethnocultural groupings.

As a significant Ethiopian indigenous knowledge, Eriq aims for mutual cohabitation, accountability for previous sins, wrongdoings, and failures. It consequently enhance love, mutual respect, inclusion, and tolerance among Ethiopians of all ethnocultural backgrounds and experiences. Eriq (reconciliation) is a cultural activity that has been practiced for a long time throughout Ethiopia's ancient, medieval, and modern histories. Many empirical studies have been undertaken in Ethiopia on traditional Eriq (reconciliation) procedures and approaches among

multi-ethnic contexts and community members. They all found that the practice has been a trend of the Ethiopian community for a long time.

Ethiopian community demonstrated its dedication to peaceful coexistence in the face of multi-thematic and multi-dimensional challenges, conflict and skirmishes among people and organizations divided by political ideology, class, ethnicity, and geographical location. Despite these disastrous multi-dimensional wars, Ethiopian civilization has used Eriq (reconciliation) to endure all of its challenges and problems for over 3000 years. This is an ancient technique through which the Ethiopian people demonstrated their knowledge of self-control and dedication to mutual existence. It is thus the basic knowledge and organizing principle that the researcher advocates as the main organizing framework for our multiethnic nation's education system. It also includes hope and desire for a brighter future. Reconciliation is the past, present, and future all rolled into one.

The fundamental elements of conducting a real and honest Eriq are the inclusion and listening of many perspectives from various ethnocultural groups with varying backgrounds and experiences. It fosters the presentation, analysis, and execution of a win-win method and strategy for all individuals involved in its discussion and discourse in accordance with its premise of considering various viewpoints. It also spreads and implements a progressive and summative assessment of the changes brought about by mutually agreed upon, respected, and implemented interventions. Unlike implicit ideas and school practices that are incorporated in the process and structure of schooling as a hidden curriculum, reconciliation maintains an open door for the inclusion and consideration of diverse viewpoints, multiple voices, and multiple backgrounds experience. Unlike the hidden curriculum, which has a negative impact on the lived experience of ethnocultural minority groups, reconciliation is built on the experience, aspirations, and desires of all interested and involved members.

Reconciliation entails critical contemplation and questioning of the past, present, and future, as well as finding common ground that may make all participants from various ethnocultural backgrounds feels included and joyful. It incorporates critical pedagogy, which allows learners to reflect on the experiences of others and learn from those demonstrations as a basis for mutual coexistence. There is practical accommodation of multiculturalism and inclusion and consideration of all issues of concern, points of alignment and departure from all individuals and

groups from multi ethno cultural backgrounds for mutual respect, critical dialogue, and reconciliation in a genuine, honest, and true reconciliation.

It empowers both the majority and minority groups to identify and collaboratively address false views and historical narratives that stymie diversity and unity. The primary goal of reconciliation is therefore to achieve diversity while being together, as brilliantly portrayed in the general education curriculum structure. If we want to attain diversity and unity among our students, and therefore among Ethiopians, we should execute a true and honest Eriq among the country's many ethnocultural groupings. We should discover the detrimental attitudes and practices ingrained in the method and structure of our education and transform them into a beneficial educational experience with an authentic and honest reconciliation. The achievement of social justice in our educational system is another goal to be realized through a genuine and honest reconciliation.

Let us construct an inclusive and truly multi-cultural education system in which all students from all ethnic and cultural backgrounds may be practically, not just theoretically, included and contribute to their development and growth through the meaningful inclusion of their practical experiences and background. Several of our eminent thinkers have consistently stated that there would be no national development until all community members, both from the ethnocultural majority and ethnocultural minority groups, are meaningfully included and participated in issues that matters for them. A schooling system in which the ethnocultural majority groups transcribe contents and experiences to be learnt for the ethnocultural minority groups would not result in meaningful growth, development and inclusion.

Finally we shouldn't forget that history is with all of us and could not say that it has little use. People need to take a reasonable balance of the value of history, the present and the future. To make this a reality, those in deliberation shall be equipped with good character and tradition!

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX – A- Indepth interview protocol

Addis Ababa University

College of Education and Behavioral Studies

Department of Curriculum and Instruction

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

S.N	Interview questions
1	Manifestations of the hidden curriculum
1.1	Do you believe your ethno cultural experiences included in teachers selection, organization and delivery of class room contents? How?
1.2	Do you believe your ethno cultural experiences considered in teacher’s selection and application of classroom instructional approach and pedagogy? How?
1.3	Do you believe the practice of curriculum differentiation accommodates the interest and ability level of students in the school? How?
1.4	Do you believe your ethno cultural experience considered in teacher’s selection and application of classroom assessment techniques? How?
1.5	Do you believe you do have the right to support any of the clubs and express your interest freely? How?
1.6	Do you believe there is a fair and inclusive election for school leadership positions? How?

1.7	Do you believe your voices have been considered in the school leadership structures? How?
1.8	Do you believe your ethno cultural experience included in the school extra and co-curricular clubs? How?
1.9	Do you believe you are fairly treated in school practices of discipline and punish? How? 1.10. Do you believe you have actively participated in the making of school rules? How?
1.10	Do you believe the school community can function well without school rules? How?
1.11	Do you believe you can question and critically reflect on the practice of discipline and punish? How?
1.12	Do you believe there are values learned from the school practice of discipline and punish? What are they?
1.13	Do you believe there are labeling language and terms used by students and teachers in the school? What are they?
1.14	Do you believe the school community used proper language in their communication towards ethno cultural minority students?
1.15	Do you believe the celebration of marked national and international days considered your ethno cultural experience? How?
2	Effects of hidden curriculum on lived experience
2.1	What does it look like to be an ethno cultural minority student in a classroom where teachers-practice of curriculum adaptation for inclusion and exclusion of contents?
2.2	What does it look like to be ethno cultural minority student in a classroom where there is teacher dominated selection and application of instructional approaches
2.3	What does it look like to be an ethno cultural minority student in a classroom where there is a

	teacher led assessment techniques?
2.4	What does it look like to be an ethno cultural minority student in a school where there is election for school leadership positions?
2.5	What does it look like to be an ethno cultural minority student in a school where there is a practice of discipline and punishment?
2.6	What does it look like to be an ethno cultural minority student in a school where there are unwritten moral values that guide overall interaction?
2.7	What does it look like to be a student in a school where there are different labeling language and terminologies?
2.8	What does it look like to be an ethno cultural minority student in a school during celebration of marked national and international days?
2.9	What does it look like to be an ethno cultural minority student in a school where there are fans of different football clubs?
2.10	What does it look like to be an ethno cultural minority student in a school where there are diverse students with different ethno cultural background
2.11	What does it look like to be an ethno cultural minority student in a school where the majority of teachers and students are from the majority ethno cultural majority group
2.12	What does it look like to be an ethno cultural minority student in a school where
3	Functions of the hidden curriculum
3.1	Do you believe the selection and organization of contents in the taught curriculum served all students in the school? How? Why? Who are they?
3.2	Do you believe teachers' selection and application of classroom instructional approaches served the interest of all students? How? Why? Who are they?

3.3	Do you believe teachers' selection and application of classroom assessment techniques served the interest of all students? How? Why? Who are they?
3.4	Do you believe school practices of election system for school leadership positions served the interest of all students in the school? How? Why? Who are they?
3.5	Do you believe school labeling language and terminologies served the interest of all students in the school? How? Why? Who are they?
3.6	Do you believe the schools practice of celebration of marked national and international days served the interest of all students in the school? How? Why? Who are they?
3.7	Do you believe the schools practice of discipline and punish served the interest of all students in the school? How? Why? Who are they?
3.8	Do you believe the schools distribution and allocation of resources served the interest of all students? How
3.9	Do you believe the schools authority and management support staff served the interest of all students in the school? How?
3.10	Do you believe the schools co-curricular and extra-curricular clubs and practices served the interest of all students in the school? How?
4	Effects of hidden curriculum on equitable education
4.1	Do you believe the selection and organization of contents in the taught curriculum served all students in the school? How? Why? Who are they?
4.2	Do you believe teachers' selection and application of classroom instructional approaches served the interest of all students? How? Why? Who are they?
4.3	Do you believe teachers' practice of curriculum adaptation foster equitable quality education? How? Why?

4.4	Do you believe teachers practice of instructional approaches foster equitable quality education? How? Why?
4.5	Do you believe teachers practice of classroom assessment techniques foster equitable quality education? How? Why?
4.6	Do you believe the schools practice of election for school leadership positions foster equitable quality education? How? Why?
4.7	Do you believe the practice of school labeling language and terminologies? How? Why?
4.8	Do you believe the schools practice of school discipline and punish foster equitable quality education? How? Why?
4.9	Do you believe the practice of resistance to schooling fosters equitable quality education? How? Why?
4.10	Do you believe the schools practice of celebration of marked national and international day's foster equitable education? How? Why?
4.11	Do you believe the schools distribution and allocation of resources foster equitable quality education? How
4.12	Do you believe the schools authority and management support staff foster equitable quality education in the school? How?
4.13	Do you believe the schools co-curricular and extra-curricular clubs and practices foster equitable quality education in the school? How?

APPENDIX – B- Observation checklist

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OBSERVATION CHECKLIST

S.N	Observation indicators	Yes	No	Descriptions
1	Teacher selection, organization, and delivery of class room contents considered the experiences of ethnocultural minority students.			
2	Teacher selection, organization and delivery of contents served the interest of all students.			
3	Teacher selection and application of classroom contents fostered equitable quality education.			
4	Teacher selection and organization of lesson content considered both the contemporary and past histories.			
5	Teacher selection and organization of lesson content is inclusive and multiple perspectives included.			
6	Teacher selection and organization of classroom pedagogy considered ethno cultural minority students experiences.			
7	Teacher selection and application of classroom instructional approaches served the interest of all students.			
8	Teacher selection and application of instructional approaches fostered equitable quality education.			
9	Teacher selection and organization of instructional approach enhanced critical thinking, creativity and problem solving.			

10	Teacher selection, organization and application of instructional approach provided equitable utilization of resources such as time and space for all students.			
11	Teacher practice of differentiated instruction considered ethno cultural minority students experiences.			
12	Teacher application of differentiated instruction served the interest of all students.			
13	Teacher selection and organization of classroom assessment techniques is based on constructive support and level of achievement.			
14	Teacher selection and organization of classroom assessment techniques promoted critical thinking, creativity and problem solving			
15	Teacher selection, organization and application of classroom assessment techniques served the interest of all students			
16	Teacher selection, organization and application of classroom assessment techniques fostered equitable quality education			
17	Teacher assignment and election of students for classroom leadership positions considered the experience of ethno cultural minority students.			
18	The practice of school election outside the classroom for school leadership positions served the interest of all students.			
19	The practice of election for school leadership positions fostered equitable quality education.			
20	Teacher practice of co-curricular and extracurricular activities considered the experiences of ethno cultural minority students.			
21	Teacher practice of discipline and rule systems is fair and inclusive.			
22	The practice of school discipline and rule system served the interest of all students.			

23	Teacher Provided ample critical reflection and questioning opportunities to students about school discipline rules and the consequences of breaching them.			
24	Teacher classroom discipline practice communicated positive values for students.			
25	Classroom interaction is free from any form of stereotyping and labeling language and terminology.			
26	School celebration of marked national and international days is inclusive.			
27	School celebration of marked national and international days served the interest of all students.			
28	School sport games and computations promoted fair game and fair play.			

APPENDIX – C- Leadership positions in school clubs by ethnicity and gender

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Leadership positions in school clubs by ethnicity and gender

Extra-curricular clubs and associations	Ethno cultural minority students (Number and Percentage)						Ethno cultural majority students (Number and Percentage)					
	# of Female students	% of Female Students	# of Male Student s	% of Male student s	Total # of Minority students	Total % of Minority students	# of Female student s	% of Female student s	# of Male student s	% of Female Student s	Total # of Majority y	Total % of Majority y
Anti HIV club												
Girls Club												
Sport Club												
Mini Media Club												
Environmental protection club												
Charity club												
Civics and ethical education club												
ICT club												

APPENDIX – D- Leadership positions in student associations by gender and ethnicity

Addis Ababa University

College of Education and Behavioral Studies

Department of Curriculum and Instruction

Leadership positions in student associations by gender and ethnicity

Student leadership and extracurricular positions	Ethno cultural minority students (Number and Percentage)						Ethno cultural majority students (Number and Percentage)					
	# of Female students	% of Female Students	# of Male Students	% of Male students	Total # of Minority students	Total % of Minority students	# of Female students	% of Female students	# of Male students	% of Female Students	Total # of Majority	Total % of Majority
Class monitors												
Student police												
Student Council												
Flag ceremony leaders												
PTSA members												
High achiever students Association												
Class Monitors Association												
Ethics ambassadors												

Teacher assessment committee												
Discipline committee												

APPENDIX – E- Access to school resources by year and ethnicity

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Access to school resources by year and ethnicity

Students Service outlets and School resources	Ethno cultural minority students (Number and Percentage)					Ethno cultural majority students (Number and Percentage)				
	2012	2013	2014	Total 3 years	% 3 years	2012	2013	2014	Total 3 years	% 3 years
ICT room										
Library										
Resource and pedagogic center										
Laboratory										
Mini Media										
Sport wears and equipment's										
Girls safe space (Water, menstrual pad, pant, soap, soft										

APPENDIX – F- Participant consent form and information sheet

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College of Education and Behavioral Studies

Department of Curriculum and Instruction

Participant consent form and information sheet

Title of the research: Ethno cultural minority students experience of schooling: The manifestation, function and role of multiethnic primary schools of the Amhara region, Ethiopia

Researchers name and address: Tesfaye Ebabuye Andargie,
tesfaye.ebabuye@yahoo.com+251943428645

Name of the participant of the research -----

I consent and agreed to participate in this research voluntarily. I obtained the necessary information about my role in the research, the confidentiality of the data and the nature and objective of the research through reading the information sheet and the detailed orientation provided by the researcher. I also understand that I can withdraw from the research at any time based on my own interest and convenience. I also got the copy of the signed participant consent and information sheet. I agreed and gave permission to the researcher and the university to use and publish the data.

Name of the research participant ----- signature ----- Date -----

Name of witness ----- Signature ----- Date -----