

**A Critical Analysis of Ethno-linguistic Diversity
Discourses in Ethiopian Government
Universities**

Kibrework Lemma Kibret

**A PhD Dissertation in Applied Linguistics and
Development**

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Graduate School of Addis Ababa University**

**By; Kibrework Lemma Kibret
Supervisor: Gideon P.E.Cohen (PhD)**

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ACCEPTANCE

This dissertation, entitled A Critical Analysis of Ethno-linguistic Diversity Discourses in Ethiopian Government Universities by Kibework Lemma Kibret was accepted by the committee members in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics and Development at the Graduate School of Addis Ababa University.

Committee Chair: _____ External Examiner: _____

Signature: _____ Signature: _____

Date: _____ Date: _____

Internal Examiner: _____ Advisor: _____

Signature: _____ Signature: _____

Date: _____ Date: _____

Abstract

This dissertation is concerned with the way ethnic and linguistic categories are sustained in the daily talk of university students. Language contact and its social consequences in the universities are discussed in an attempt to shed light on ethno linguistic diversity discourses.

I argue against the notion of ethno-linguistic categories as immanent cognitive structures whose existence can be taken for granted. The categories are constructed recurrently in students discourses. One of the greatest challenges of Ethiopian government universities is ethnic and linguistic diversity because the notion of diversity falls prey to atomized competitions, hostility or conflicts. The representations of ethnic categories are studied by analyzing recorded discussions on ethnically sensitive issues. To this end, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) design was employed, taking universities as a case. The research was interested in how ethno-linguistic diversity constructed among the students, while the experiences of diversity are very closely inter-related with students' day-to-day life.

Examples from five universities on the construction of ethno-linguistic diversity discourses are used to illustrate the major challenges. In the research framing key findings about ethnic and language differences have done. As a result, the study came up with the findings of ethnic epithets, ideological differences, the differences of 'us' and 'them', prejudice, ethnocentrism are the major discourses. They were found to be causes for the on-campus inter-ethnic conflicts that occurred recurrently. The disagreements also manifested in forming in-group and out-group demarcations based on ethno-linguistic diversity. In such a case, sensitivity to ethnic diversity was also the other factor, which led students to conflict.

The ways in which categorical constructions are represented vary in the identified discourses. Student used different criteria for constructing 'us - them' distinctions. For one thing, they develop strategies for reconstructing the predominant distinction between 'us' and 'them'. Attention is also focused on exploring the use of language in legitimizing the representations. In some cases, notions of ethno-linguistic freedom, equality and tolerance used in wrong ways and construct ethnic diversity conflicts.

In general, ethnic and linguistic diversity tolerance, mutual respect, inter-group harmony and the celebration of differences were lacking in the studied universities. There was a progressive erosion of ethno linguistic tolerance in spite of the recurrently ethnical based discourses. There seem to be simmering ethnic and linguistic diversity conflicts. The research recommended, multicultural education of ethno-linguistic diversity tolerance might be provided as a significant move to reduce the problem.

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work, and that it contains no material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis also contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

Kibrework Lemma Kibret

Signature: _____

Date: _____

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Dedication

This Dissertation is Dedicated

to Dr. Michael Daniel Ambatchew

*his advocacy, bravery and independence has been a source of immense
personal and scholarly inspiration.*

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Abbreviations

<i>AAU-</i>	Addis Ababa University
<i>ASTU-</i>	Adama Science and Technology University
<i>CDA-</i>	Critical Discourse Analysis
<i>CSA-</i>	Central Statistics Authority
<i>EPRDF-</i>	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front.
<i>FGD-</i>	Focused Group Discussion
<i>HSIU-</i>	Haile Silassie I University
<i>HU-</i>	Hawassa University
<i>MOE-</i>	Ministry of Education
<i>MU-</i>	Mekelle University
<i>NRE</i>	National Radio of Ethiopia
<i>SNNPR-</i>	Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region
<i>TPLF</i>	Tigray People's Liberation Front
<i>UCAA-</i>	University College of Addis Ababa
<i>VOA-</i>	Voice of America
<i>WU-</i>	Wollega University

Definitions of Key Terms

<i>Afro-Asiatic-</i>	The Afroasiatic languages spoken throughout North Africa, the Horn of Africa, and Southwest Asia, as well as parts of the Sahel, and East Africa.
<i>Assimilation-</i>	Taking in and understanding information/absorbing into a larger group
<i>Communal Silence-</i>	a condition known to exist
<i>Cushitic-</i>	the Afroasiatic language family spoken in the Horn of Africa
<i>Dejazmach-</i>	commander of the gate; a title of nobility equivalent to count.
<i>Derg-</i>	exclusively associated with the regime that governed Ethiopia from 1974 to 1991.
<i>Discourse-</i>	written or spoken communication or debate regulated ways of speaking, knowing, thinking, and acting which constitute, position, make productive, regulate, moralize, and govern the citizen.
<i>Ethnic-</i>	group of people sharing a common origin, culture, or language
<i>Ethnicity-</i>	group of people whose members identify with each other, through a common heritage, often consisting of a common language, a common culture
<i>Ethnocentrism-</i>	One's view of the world from one's own perspective and belief that their way is certainly the best way
<i>Geez-</i>	Ethiopian Script
<i>Graffiti-</i>	images or lettering scratched, scrawled, painted or marked in any manner on property
<i>Habasha-</i>	Common usage for "Ethiopian."
<i>Hegemony-</i>	the political, economic, ideological, cultural or coercive power exerted by a dominant group over other groups
<i>Hostile-</i>	angry internal rejection or denial in psychology
<i>Kebrā Negast-</i>	Glory of Kings
<i>Minorization-</i>	"not important"
<i>Negus-</i>	King; title of a few provincial lords of high birth or special merit granted by the negus negast, king of kings or emperor.

<i>Nilo-Saharan-</i>	African languages spoken by some 50 million people living in the Nile and Sahara regions in Africa
<i>Nilotic-</i>	sub-group of the Nilo-Saharan languages.
<i>Omotic-</i>	the Omotic languages, a branch of the Afroasiatic family spoken in southwestern Ethiopia.
<i>Otherness-</i>	being different
<i>Polarize-</i>	Divide into two groups with completely opposite views
<i>Power-</i>	control, rule and domination
<i>Prejudice-</i>	prejudgment, an assumption made about someone or something before having adequate knowledge to be able to do so with guaranteed accuracy.
<i>Semitic-</i>	language family of largely Middle Eastern origin, now called the Semitic languages.
<i>Stereotype-</i>	a set or typically model taken for granted by people
<i>Tolerance-</i>	permissive attitude toward those whose opinions, practices, race, religion, nationality, etc., differ from one's own;
<i>Unity-</i>	state of being undivided or unbroken completeness or totality with nothing wanting

Chapter One: Background of the Research

1.1 Why Ethno-linguistic Diversity?

In the Proceedings of the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies of 2009 Seidel and Mortiz avowed their concern of the existing multiethnic and multilingual situation as a challenge to the education system of Ethiopia.¹ The discourses that underlie in the Constitution entitled ethnolinguistic diversity as the key to achieving the mobilization of ethnic groups by recognizing diverse nationalities and the harnessing of their language are among its prime priorities. This is because, the social practices of discourses on linguistic and ethnic pluralism by empowering all languages as equal to all others have been given high emphasis. However, the social underpinnings of this discourse are less obvious than its existence. Therefore, in this study, the researcher have challenged to consider the discursive practices of ethno linguistic diversity discourses.

The day for the inception of the existing Ethiopian Constitution was May 28th 1991. After this day, EPRDF force took control of the capital, Addis Ababa, inculcation of discourses of ethnic grouping, ethnic and linguistic identity was transferred. Language and ethnic lines were formed and the ethno-linguistic diversity discourses were inculcated thoroughly. Today, mention of ethnic identity and ethnolinguistic diversity became everyday discourses. Thus the time was for asking about "Who am I?" questions of one's ethnic and language identity. The considerable importance of ethnicity and the accommodation of language diversity were to be increasingly noted. As a result, the focus on ethnic definition and linguistic identity became the normal discourse of the time. Thus all processes of inculcating the ethnic and linguistic diversity discursive practices became more familiar among the youth in particular. As might be expected the youth would more receptive to new changes and turn to be important and ready actors. As a result, a historic event that had happened twenty-two years ago in Ethiopia brought a

¹ Seidel and Mortiz, 2009

huge change for the youth. As Assefa Fisseha pointed out, the socio-political system change was intended to address the nationalities questions raised for long but were unanswered.² New regional structure changes had also been introduced throughout the country. In support of the changes, Assefa Fisseha wrote that, "one of the major important changes that unfolded later though series of policy measures is the special privilege bestowed on nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia."³

1.2 Researcher's Insight

At the dawn of Monday May 28th, 1991 my family like the rest of the residents of Addis Ababa city were awakened by the first heavy shots of the artillery. Bullets were flying all over the place, accompanied by deafening heavy blasts. As it was extremely scary, I was advised to sleep on the ground to avoid being hit by a stray bullet. That day of May 28 hundreds of deserters were seen roaming with, just walking in threes, fours and fives along the city's broad avenues. The soldiers' presence and their disarray were unusual to the ordinary city life. A remarkable number of convoy of tanks and armed vehicles, escorted by the troops, swarmed into the centre of Addis Ababa from all directions. Thus, their final appearance was greeted with mixed public reactions. I still remember how people's fear was instantly followed by anticipation, as the fighters walked in with an overwhelming sense of achievement.

I vividly recall the day while the message transmitted on Ethiopian national radio. Of particular note was a message of inculcating a multilinguistic and multiethnic discourses of Ethiopian. Perhaps, the most memorable was the announcement done by the radio station. The breaking news heralded describing the official arrival of the fighters from the station with the Amharic words used by *Launcher* announcing the discourse reads like this: "Yə hzibI biso'tI yəwəladəwI yə ihadigI sə'ra'witi.... də'rigI sitə'kə'mibə'ti

²Fisseha 2006 p 131. in Turton Ethnic Federalism: The Ethiopian experience in Comparative Perspective.

³ Ibid

*yə'nə'bə'rə'wmɪ yə'aa'ddɪsɪ aa'bə'ba' rædi'o ta'bi'a'ni..... ləhɪzɪbi tɪkm tək'o'ta'tro'ta'l. gmb'o't ha'ya'.... shɪh zə'təŋ mo't'osəma'ny'a's so'stɪ..... aa'mətə mɪhɪrətɪ. For the benefit of the people. the heroic army of EPRDF has controlled the Addis Ababa Radio Station ... formerly used by Derg ..." and stated the day for the transmission of the message, May 28 1991....." In fact, the terms *Yə hɪzɪbi bɪso'tɪ yəwələdəwɪ* meaning "born of the pain of the people" followed by *ləhɪzɪbi tɪkm* meaning "for the benefit of the people" recognize the role played in overthrowing the military regime and the bright future the peoples would enjoy.*

The news aired by the national radio was packed with a number of words such as ethnic and linguistic freedom which were proclaimed as features of life in Ethiopia. Besides, the right of peoples to maintain, use and promote their languages were issues considered as the inculcated discourses of the day.

It is to be noted that various research works done and the existing media accounts have treated the issue of nationality from various angles. Researchers from various disciplines, such as history, sociolinguistics and language studies, have developed an interest in the issue. But their insights were not explicitly linked to the existing realities of ethnicity and linguistic diversity discourses. Ethno-linguistic diversity related problems and topics manifesting greatly in university compounds as a microcosm of the Ethiopian society, would form an important focus area of this research. The researcher believed that this research focused on more recent ethno-linguistic diversity conflictual discourses situations prevailing in Ethiopian universities.

All in all, the images that I sketched in my mind when I was young inspired me to choose the topic of my present research paper. After all those years, the images of the great and historic event have remained fixed as more documents has been subsequently produced emphasizing the major outcomes of the event.

Chapter Two: The Research Problem

This chapter provides the major incidents of ethnic conflict that has happened globally, along with the experiences of Ethiopia. It also states the problem including its general and specific objectives.

2.1 Incidents of Ethno Linguistic Conflict

2.1.1 Global Cases

Ethno-linguistic conflicts are a global phenomenon and as such are not limited only to the African continent.⁴ In fact, the potential factor for disagreements and conflicts is even critical where the parties are from different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. When communities lose their stakes in peace, conflict breaks out. Tensions may centre on ethno-linguistic differences and other identities. Hence, a fundamental challenge faced by many countries is the accommodation of ethnic and linguistic diversities.

Ethnic conflict is no longer an exceptional circumstance. Practical experiences indicated that there are various tendencies of ethnic conflicts in different regions of the world.⁵ Thus, the near future is, as Wolff speculated, "unlikely to see an end to ethnic conflicts."⁶ For instance, as Soeters indicated, "in the former Yugoslavia, in the 1990s, about 200,000 people died as a consequence of internal strife."⁷ The ethnic conflicts in the Balkan and Sri Lanka, in which many lives have been lost, the deep-rooted rivalry in Northern Ireland are but few of the costs that states sustained as they pursue their practice of unity and fail to adopt a truly inclusive constitutional approach that recognizes ethnic and linguistic pluralism.

⁴ Gudina, 2002

⁵ Young,, 1999

⁶ Wolff , 2006, p.206

⁷ Soeters, 2005, p.4

2.1.2 Cases in Ethiopia

Disagreements are inevitable and a major part of human relationships. Countries follow their own management mechanisms to resolve those disagreements. In this regard, Ethiopia is not an exception as it is part of the world. The country is exhibiting a major transformation in its contemporary history. A transformation that was started by paving the way for the establishment of a democratic government puts promoting the interests of citizens at the heart of its concern. It was trying to respond to the critical questions that have persisted for more than a century. Although disagreements and conflicts are the major characteristics of human relationships. The case in Ethiopia has changed the discourse radically since the coming to power of EPRDF. Though, what Levine acknowledged, "the interethnic hostilities that flared up in Ethiopia following the demise of the *Derg regime* are seen not as a sudden manifestation of ethnic tensions, rather as a process of internal divisiveness going back for decades."⁸

According to some writers, ethnic conflicts have proliferated in Ethiopia since 1991. For instance, Abbink asserts that several thousand people have been killed as a result of ethnic based violence.⁹ As Wolff pointed out, "it was in the last few years, a number of conflicts have escalated into open violence in addition to the already significant number of cases of ethnic strife on the continent." Recently the Voice of America (VOA) has reported the Borena in the Oromia region and the Geri ethnic groups in Somali entering into bloody ethnic skirmishes. As the media stated, "the conflict emerged after twenty years practices of federalism." Following these skirmishes, according to the same news, "institutions were robbed and about twenty human lifes was lost and more than twenty people wounded."¹⁰

⁸ Levine, 2000, p. xiv

⁹ Abbink, 2006, p. 408.

¹⁰ VOA(Voice of America) Friday July 27, 2012

Wolff stated that "in the south-western state of Gambella in Ethiopia, tensions between ethnic Nuer and Anuak have existed for decades, with members of the two groups staking rival claims to scarce land and water resources."¹¹ He further elaborated, "this by itself generated violent conflicts among different regions and society at large."¹² In this case, the claim of ethnic identity intensifies ethnic loyalty and, on the other hand, ethnic hatred among ethno-linguistic groups. In relation to the conflicts that occurred in the region among the most important "division affecting the Somali region and its relations with the political centre was the division that emerged between the *Ogaden* and the non-*Ogaden* ethnic groups."¹³ In addition, ethnic conflict in South Omo and Nuer still remains endemic and more violent than ever.¹⁴

According to Asnake, the identity and autonomy question of the Bantu minorities and the *Sheikash-Ogaden* conflict over administrative structure demonstrated how federal restructuring affected inter-ethnic relations. On the other hand, the ethnicity created fertile ground for the organization of ethnic based unit in the region. As a result, "the ethnic relation led to one of the localized conflicts in the region between the *Ogaden* and the *Sheikash*... this conflict led to the death of hundreds of people and the displacement of thousands."¹⁵

Conflicts and clashes also used to occur between the *Gumuz* and the *Amhara*. And, between the *Gumuz* and the *Oromo* in the south part of *Benishangul-Gumuz* region. The conflicts that occurred in *Benishangul-Gumuz* region had simmered for a long-time in the Southern border of *Benishangul-Gumuz* with Oromia's Eastern *Wollega* zone.¹⁶ "In mid-May 2008, a large well-armed force of the *Gumuz* crossed the border into Eastern

¹¹ Wolff, 2006. P.194.

¹² Ibid

¹³ Asnake, 2006, p.246

¹⁴ Markakis, 2001, p.340

¹⁵ Asnake, 2006, p.246

¹⁶ Markakis, 2011, p.352

Wollega to attack Oromo villages. The raid lasted two days and left scores of Oromo peasants dead with, many villages burned and thousands displaced."¹⁷ The Eyewitness in the hospital of *Nekempte* later attested to the severity of that conflict. According to the witnesses, the *Gumuz* shot and killed most of the Oromo ethno-linguistic group members with arrows. These are a recent phenomenon in relation to ongoing ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia, despite the wholesome effort of redressing age long ethnic issues.

Ethiopia's ethnic and linguistic diversity has affected social relations. Most lowlanders are geographically isolated from the highland population. Even though, rural people constitute the highest per cent of the total population, experiences indicate that, they live their lives without coming into contact with urban people. As a result, their exposure to other ethno-linguistic groups usually occurs through limited contact in market areas, schools, universities and religious places. On the other hand, towns in Ethiopia are mosaic places of ethno-linguistic diversity. For instance, one can raise the case of Addis Ababa. In Addis Ababa, it is common for families and groups from disparate social, ethnic and linguistic groups to live side by side. According to the 2007 census report of CSA the first seven major ethnic background of the city residents number of population is reported 1, 288, 306 (19.5 per cent) of Amhara, 447, 524 (16.4 per cent) of Gurage, 6,838 (0.3 per cent) of Hadiya, 534, 255 (9.5 per cent) of Oromo, 80, 709 (3.0 per cent) of Silte, 169,152 (1.5 per cent) of Tigrayan and 18,815(0.7 per cent) of Wolaytta and other ethnic groups are living side by side in Addis Ababa. As a result, intermarriage of different ethnic groups, mixed identity, and de-ethnicization are the manifestations of the urban population in Addis Ababa where ethnic distinction is not clear.

Moreover, the experiences of other urban centres have tended to be heterogeneous in ethno-linguistic diversity. With increasing urbanization, towns are naturally expected to

¹⁷ Ibid

be scenes of increased interaction among different ethnic and linguistic groups. As a result, the possibilities of clashes and conflicts in towns decreased with the passing of time and increased diversity, where as in rural areas in the far periphery conflicts tend to increase as a result of increased localization and ethnicization.

2.2 Statement of the Problem

The fact that Ethiopia is a multi ethnic and linguistic country wherein more than 85 ethnic groups with their distinctive languages and other identities live together. Their harmonious co-existence has passed through many centuries with the long history of ethnic contact.

In the past decade, the number of students in higher education institutions in Ethiopia has shown dramatic increase. Since 2006-2012 there are also 23 newly established and nine previous government universities. All in all, the total number of the government universities is 32. The total number of student's enrolled in these universities increased in many folds, which implies a definite increase in ethno-linguistically diversified students. Today, government universities, found in the different regions of the country, are good examples of accommodation of diversified multi ethnic-linguistic practices. They can be called the microcosm of the larger Ethiopian society in that the diversity is found in these universities as well. Especially in recent times, the number of residential universities has dramatically been increasing. Hence, the government policy allows students to be assigned in different federal universities found in different regions. The greater the number of students, it seems the greater their diverse ethno-linguistic composition are than ever before. The immediate reason for undertaking the research was the overall phenomenon itself within the context of ethno-linguistic diversity discourse changes taking place in the Ethiopian government universities.

These higher education institutions are the major area of contact of the multilingual society of Ethiopia and where interaction of these multi-ethnic groups, incorporating different ethnic and language groups, take place. As it is well known, universities are the real environment for different ethno-linguistic groups to get together and provide a unique place for ethno-linguistic diversity interaction.

To recap what has been mentioned earlier, in universities students gather from different regions and various ethno-linguistic groups found in the entire country. They are also quite different in their language and ethnicity. For instance, as their social structures are very different in their respective regions, they follow their own cultural ways of hair and dressing style, creating their own kinship relationship based on their own ethnicity and language. These may have negative and biased or unbiased attitude towards each others ethnic and language during their stay/life in the universities as well.

Most of the time, universities are the primary sources for skilled manpower and the elites of countries. In universities, the ethnic tension makes worse the students' lives by entertaining diverse feelings of being Ethiopian, reflected mainly in the northern, the southern, and the *Somali, Afar, Gumuz, Gambella, Nuer, etc* differently. The reason behind this is that different ethno-linguistic groups perceive the ethnic difference and define themselves differently in the context of Ethiopia.

The researcher's personal experience in university conflicts and reports from various universities confirm that fresh man students are the forerunners of the conflicting incidences and easily mobilized on mass in such situations. In the Ethiopian student history also, regardless of the movement, leadership freshman students were said to be more revolutionary, stereotyped and radical than seniors.¹⁸

¹⁸ Balsivik, 2005. p.24

Moreover, from my own experience, it can be stated that when ethno-linguistic diversity discourse exists and an unfavourable ethnic environment occurs at one of the Universities, there is a trend that would easily be transmitted to other universities. As a result, group understanding and affiliation among students become highly ethnicized. It was also common to see students who belong to the same ethnic group favour each other rather than 'other' ethnic groups during the time of conflicts.

It was a tremendous learning experience, during my stay at Addis Ababa University as a postgraduate student (2005-2007), as there were ethno-linguistic disagreements and ethnocentric attitudes among students which led to violence and conflict. Then, it was very common to be asked, "Where are you from?" However, the short answer to the question needs further explanation in relation to the "fundamental" question: ethno-linguistic group the individual student belongs to. I was exposed to student ideas and challenges, I would never otherwise have encountered then. In such situations, the positive aspect of ethno-linguistic diversity is derailed for the more destructive ethno-linguistic diversity conflicts and a more timely solution would prevent future incidents.

My immediate question here is, "Where are we going?" In such a case, I believe it is a significant time to consider ethnic and linguistic differences in the universities because they are perhaps the reflections of the whole Ethiopian society and its ethnicity tensions.

This study sets out to investigate the ethno linguistic discourses of these students in universities in Ethiopia based on the belief that the majority would be in the identity search stage during which confusion, conflicts and contradictions can occur. An added reason is that no environment better than a multiethnic university milieu provides the ideal context for understand interethnic discourse and how it helps shape identity for students of diverse backgrounds.

This study is also motivated as a response to the gap in the literature on the lived experience of students and their reflection on living in an ethnically and linguistically diversified community. This great idea triggered this researcher to conduct the study and understand the existing relationship of students and their discourses from ethno-linguistic perspectives.

From an applied linguistic perspective, the way these issues/tensions affect the numerous and complex areas of the university society reveals that language plays a great role. To solve such crucial problems of ethno-linguistic diversity related to universities students, the need to study the discourse and the language in use becomes imperative. Such studies, as this researcher believes, will shed light on the interrelationship within the diversified student ethnicity discourses and their impact on the practices of diversity. It can positively contribute some ideas that are essential for the development of the university communities, as well as the community at large and moreover for the overall development of the country.

Since ethno-linguistic diversity is variously defined in different societies at different times, it should be asked: What is and what has been the meaning of ethnic and linguistic diversity discourses in Ethiopian Government Universities?

2.3 Objectives of the Study

This study has both general and specific objectives. Accordingly, both the general and specific objectives are mentioned as follows;

2.3.1 General Objective

The overall aim of this research is to gain a deeper understanding by investigating the emerging ethno-linguistic diversity harmonizing and conflicting discourses used by students in the Ethiopian Government universities. In particular, it focuses on the following five dimensions of the specific objectives and five other research questions.

2.3.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of this study are to:

- ❖unpack the nature of the existing knowledge about ethno-linguistic diversity discourses;
- ❖uncover the attitude, practices of ethno-linguistic diversity discourses used by students among each other;
- ❖identify the situations of conflict and harmony in terms of ethno-linguistic diversity power relation discourses;
- ❖single out the kind of ethnic discourses which can hinder or contribute to the existing intra- and inter ethnic communication practices of university students;
- ❖ contribute to the understanding of ethno-linguistic diversity discourses and how the discourses impact on the way the student adjusts or not to their life in the universities stay.

2.3.3 Research Questions

As stated in the preceding section, problems related to ethno-linguistic diversity generates a number of questions, such as:

- ❖What are the existing knowledge of ethno-linguistic diversity discourses in Ethiopian universities?
- ❖What are the discursive practices of students to determine the nature of relationships towards in and out-group ethno-linguistic members?
- ❖In what kind of ethnic discourses do the student's interethnic relations lead to either conflicting or harmonious interaction?
- ❖How does the discourse of ethno-linguistic diversity exists in inter- and intra-ethnic relationships towards creating harmony and conflicting situations?
- ❖What alternatives are there for better inculcation and enactment of discourse in the ethno-linguistic diversity?

2.3.4 Scope of the Study

In the context of diversified situations of government universities, indepth research is needed to understand the significance of ethno-linguistic diversity discourses. As a result, the main intent of this study is delimited in understanding major factors such as the causes, aggravating discourses, consequences and in suggesting resolution of inter-ethno linguistic disagreements and conflicts between university students. The scope of the research is limited to undergraduate students who are believed to be experiencing identity transition. Moreover, the issue is limited to the students' ethno- linguistic identity and their interethnic relations.

So far, in connection with universities, as this researcher witnessed, however, studies in the field are too little in quantity. That is to say, research documents in the area are not adequately available, only very few studies that dealt with ethno-linguistic diversity are found. In spite of the fact, clashes occur repeatedly in different university campuses due to this diversity. These clashes and inter-group attitudes form the scope of the study from the vantage point mainly of linguistics diversity.

2.3.5 Significance of the Study

The study of ethno-linguistic diversity discourses enables understanding of the interplay between ethnicity and language difference. Ethno-linguistic diversity is serving people to use language wisely and understand diversity of ethnic origin as identity marker. The significance of the study is thus, to show how students' inter-ethnic competency and ability to learn how relationships in diverse groups can be enhanced through diversified ethno-linguistic relationships.

The study also tries to investigate and indicate barriers of interrelationships among different ethnic and language groups. The results of the study may be useful to the universities and the Ministry of Education to better understand interethnic student

relations and conflicts and come up with possible preventative strategies. In this time of utter quest for peace, national healing, ethnic and interethnic tolerance, and cultural and intercultural understanding, this study, in addition to the above mentioned benefits, is even deemed more important to universities.

In addition, it is believed that this study if conducted in other institutions and regions across the nation can inspire further diversity research studies in the area. The researcher believes that the result from this study help different agents in the process of achieving the development of ethno-linguistic harmonization.

2.3.6 Limitations of the Study

The focus of this study was primarily on the ethno-linguistic diversity problems arising afrom ethnic and linguistic diversity. The sensitivity of the topic was understandable from the reactions of officials in the study universities, which were not very positive. In Wollega University I was apprehended and debriefed by the campus police and spent time explaining why I was conducting a research on such issues and interviewing diversified ethnic students. Moreover, students were also informed that they would be paid by the researcher. They were also expecting that money would be paid after the interview. As a result, things forced me to interview those students who were on good terms with teachers as well as department heads and were therefore not demanding incentives.

2.3.7 Organization of the Study

The thesis is divided into ten different sections. Accordingly, chapter one introduces the study; and chapter two statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions, and the like are incorporated. And, chapter three, encompasses the context of the study.

The context of the whole study is treated in chapter three. This chapter focused on the overall historical developments of ethno-linguistic diversity.

In chapter four, the researcher attempts to review related literature including major concepts in the area. This part attempts to assess pertinent conceptual issues and theories that are relevant to the major themes of the study. In particular, it reviews the literature on ethnic and linguistic diversity. It discusses ethnicity and CDA as it relates to ethnolinguistic diversity discourses. Discourse as a form of social practice, ethnicity theories and how the study of the textual features of ethnic discourses is also reviewed in this chapter.

The fifth chapter briefly explains the research methodology, research design used together with the data collection and analysis. It provides an overview of research methodology in general. It explains the procedures of CDA, qualitative design with a wide range of participants. The processes of conducting and recording of interviews, and FGD, the researcher's personal observation and field experiences are the focus for this chapter.

The sixth chapters deal with the analysis of data obtained from documents of the five universities. The consecutive three sections of chapter seven are a continuation of the analysis chapter with the analysis of the data for interviews and FGD with major themes. Chapter eighth sums up the findings and recommendations of the analysis and outlines the reflections on the implications of the overall conclusion that the researcher has made in the previous chapters. Finally, the chapter highlights some important points that emerged during the data analysis which might have great impact on the functioning of the ethno-linguistic diversity discourses of the Ethiopian government universities in the study. It also identifies the main contributions and implications of the research and potential areas for further exploration.

Chapter Three: Context of the Study

3.1 Who and Where Is Ethiopia?

3.1.1 Invention of Ethiopia

To address my point, let me begin my exploration of Ethiopia with major stories and illustrate how the country came into being. My first story is based on the renowned Ethiopian historian Prof. Bahru Zewde's definition of the original term "Ethiopia". He defines the word Ethiopia as having a Greek origin, which in earlier times, was used as a generic and rather diffuse designation for the African land mass.¹⁹ On the other hand, the Greek writer, Homer in his *Odyssey* characterized Ethiopians as *eschatoi andron*, the most remote of men.

The *Odyssey* begins with the journey to the heart of the Horn of Africa, a place where Ethiopia is situated; confirming, typically, that Ethiopia has been looked upon as a terribly remote land; a home of pristine piety, a magnificent kingdom; an outpost of savagery; or a bastion of African independence.²⁰ It is considered that the original Ethiopians were originally Semitic by ethnicity. In relation to this, the history of today's Ethiopia begun with Aksum, the then powerful ancient kingdom of East Africa. The foundations of the modern Ethiopian state are attributed to the early Aksumite civilization that flourished from about 100 B.C. to 1000 A.D. in the present highlands of Tigray. According to Levine, it was in the fourth century that Ethiopia began to be associated with the region now called Ethiopia, whose chief political centre was then at Aksum."²¹ The Aksumite civilization began to gradually decline in the seventh century A.D. because of the emergence and expansion of Islam, the invasion of the Port of Adulis and trade

¹⁹ Zewde, 2005

²⁰ Levine, 2000, p.1

²¹ Ibid, p. 2

routes in the red sea area by the Arabian peoples from the north, and the loss of its vast territories in the Arabian peninsula till it came to its end around 1000 A.D.²²

Next, it was during the sixteenth century that great territorial expansions in Ethiopian history were made. The nomadic pastoralists and warrior horsemen of the Oromos began a great migration northwards from what is now Kenya in the mid 16th century. The expansion incorporated a variety of peoples to be assimilated with strong social organizations and contribute more in the making of modern Ethiopian society in the history of today's Ethiopia. The expansion of the Oromo in the history of Ethiopia as Levin stated, "was a novel element in the politics and a remarkable force."²³ According to Bahru Zewde, a good example in this line is the Yejju dynasty. The historian mentions the important feature of Oromos, who have strong membership experience of the Yejju dynasty. This helped the Oromos' to join the power circles of the ruling class and influence the royal politics. The Oromo nobles who were the real rulers of the Abyssinian Kingdom reached their peak between the periods of 1803-1825.²⁴

For the most part, according to Bahru Zewde, the Ethiopian state with differing formative stages historically evolved over millennia as a non-colonized empire state that involved whole groups which we now call Ethiopian people. Many historians also described Ethiopia as a multi-ethnic and linguistic museum with much of its history marked by state power control of competing ethno-linguistic groups.

3.1.2 Languages of Ethiopia

According to Lassieuru, with an area of more than 1.1 million square kilometres, Ethiopia is, in terms of linguistic and ethnic composition, characterized by a considerable

²² Berhe, 2004, P. 243

²³ Levine, 2000. P. 78

²⁴ Ibid, 2005

diversity.²⁵ All in all, in the country, the heterogeneity varies from having just one or two different ethnic or linguistic groups to an accommodation of a large number of ethno-linguistic groups. Based on the data from the Report of Population and Housing Census of Government of Ethiopia in 2007, the country, the second most populous country in sub-Saharan Africa, contains about 85 million peoples and approximately about 85 ethnic and linguistic groups.²⁶

In view of language differences, the highlanders speak Semitic, Cushitic and Omotic languages. Most of the speakers of East Cushitic languages are mainly found in the central highlands and lowlands, and the south. Despite this, the other Cushitic speakers live in the centre and north while the Omotic speakers live in the south. The Cushitic speaking constitutes the largest population of the Oromo. Nilo-Saharan speakers are found in the southwest and west along the border with Sudan.

The historical steps show that no written language policy had been in place. It is only recently that a written language policy has been introduced. From the Reign of Emperor Tewodros II up to the Derg regime, the Ethiopian people followed a policy that encouraged the development and use of various languages in the country. However, the policy implementation was not significant through the time of modernity up to the end of the Derg regime. The implementation of the language policies of Tewodros II, Minilek II, Haile Sellasie I and the Derg regime had slight difference since they practiced a one language use policy.

²⁵ Lassieuru 2004, p.6.

²⁶ Housing Census of Ethiopia, 2007 See the 2007 Census reports of Ethiopia, published by the Central Statistical Authority, Addis Ababa. p. 60

3.2 Ethiopia Under Menelik's Expansion

Menelik is a controversial figure in the history of Ethiopia and more particular in today's Ethiopia. According to history, Emperor Menelik II was the one who embarked on an aggressive subjugation and incorporation of the various ethno-linguistic groups after succeeding Emperor Tewodros and Emperor Yohannes. It should be noted that all of the ethnic and linguistic groups that constitute the present Federal state came to live together under the subjugative measure taken by Menelik II in his efforts of the expansion of territories.

Menelik II was born as Sahle Mariam and is often considered the founder of modern Ethiopia, having united what were previously different and often antagonistic regions and peoples. Lassieru stated that, "his effort of aggressive expansion was to culminate in the creation of modern Ethiopia. This was indeed true that he was following a tradition of territorial expansion that had marked the Shoan Kingdom since its inception."²⁷ Despite this vastly increased and broad-ranging interest of expansion by Emperor Menelik, the expansion itself remains considered by some as an attempt for modernization and territorial expansion.

Given the centrality of the concept, especially in the symbolic significance of the battle of Adwa, it helped preserve the independence of Ethiopia. Pursuing this further, it would be useful to have an idea of the view of the core and periphery that existed in reference to the conquest of other ethno-linguistic groups of the then Ethiopia. According to Cohen, this perhaps may not be so surprising. He states that peoples outside the northern highlands were portrayed as being peripheral to the state, and inferior to the Christian

²⁷ Lassieuru, 2004

peoples of the northern highlands, who spoke Semitic languages and formed the core of Ethiopian society.²⁸

In Ethiopia, during the Menelik era where the integration of most ethno-linguistic groups was practiced through either peaceful submission or using armed forces. Under such circumstances, the history of Ethiopia during the Menelik era was indeed full of conflict and rivalry between the Emperor and local governors. Tension especially prevailed for the most part and Emperor Menelik did well to stop Gojjame expansion and to exclusively reserve the South for Shoan domination. For example, as Donham and James explained, "Menelik sent an army against Gojjam and in June 1882 defeated king Teklehayamanot at Embabo in the Oromo lands."²⁹ Historically, the northern highlands constituted the core of the old Christian kingdom, and the southern highlands, most of which, were brought under imperial rule through conquest. Explaining how the conquests were carried out and by whom, Levine wrote that they were made by Menelik for the most part, but not wholly, rather partly by the Amhara, Tigreans, Oromos, and others taking part at times, and the hegemony in question should more properly be styled as Shoan than the way for the unification of the country.³⁰ More precisely, then, Shoa became the centre of the state amidst an ethnically diverse situation that existed.

Another key and very important point to be made here is about the inclusion of the Oromo states. For instance, according to Cohen, Oromos had paid tribute to Menelik and were even conscripted into the army by accepting Christianity.³¹ Observing this historic fact, Bahru Zewde addressed the issues of the largest ethno-linguistic group, Oromo, in

²⁸ Cohen, 2000, p.7

²⁹ Donham and James, 1986, p.23

³⁰ Levine, 2000., P. xix.

³¹ Ibid,1991, p.60

Ethiopia by stating the years 1875-1876 as the period of the first campaigns of Menelik that incorporated the Oromo groups and Gurages surrounding the Shoan state.³²

Levine, commenting on the significant feature of the Oromo in Ethiopian history says that "the Oromos did not impose their language, culture or religion on the people they conquered."³³ Rather, all in all, throughout the history of Ethiopia, the Oromo ethno-linguistic groups mostly have been assimilated to the people they conquered by adopting the language of the people among whom they settled. They were able to communicate in the language of the people they conquered. As a result, the Oromo ethno-linguistic group has remained within the Ethiopian history as an important element of ruling class. With this in mind, it needs to be remembered that during the era of Menelik, the leading Oromo General of the Army and architect of the expansion to the South was in fact, Ras Gobana, often cited as a very good example of the Oromo historical contribution to Ethiopian state building.

A discussion of the importance of the Oromo ethno-linguistic groups in the context of Ethiopian history, in light of the two scholars' thoughts is important. According to Fukui and Markakis, the Oromo were successful both in academia and the economic sector.³⁴ Like most prominent scholars, Markakis also presented rightly that among the Cushitic languages, the most widely spoken is the Oromo language. He goes on to say that, when we talk about Oromo, the largest ethno-linguistic group in the Cushitic family, we seem fairly certain of how the Oromo ethno-linguistic groups, found in the highland periphery and at the centre of the state, are fairly well integrated into the national economy and

³² Zewde, 2005

³³ Levine, 2000

³⁴ Fukui, and Markakis, 1994, p.169.

dominant culture.³⁵ In view of these ideas, it is good to note how Gudina's argument on the settlement of Oromo's supports the ideas of Markakis and Fukui.

How the Oromo came to constitute the largest ethnic group in the country and extended their expansion across the heart of Ethiopia from east to west and north to south is indeed worthy of note.³⁶ Thus one can note that the involvement of Oromo ethnic group in the history of Ethiopian governments, from earlier than the Menelik period to present, is wide and great. Some authors like, Donald N. Levine and Bahru Zewde, argue that in other instances, the Oromo's expansion from their homeland helped them to currently live in many fertile regions of the country. Hence, the Oromo areas, especially in the west of Ethiopia, are among the richest and greenest parts of the country. In the lands they conquered the Oromos according to Levine introduced "their own structure of self-government known as the Gadda system which is egalitarian, but it has since been weakened by the highland core as a result of assimilation over the years."³⁷

An aspect of the expansion of Menelik went relatively in a peaceful manner, as he started the expansion of Ethiopia by incorporating the Oromo ethnic group. Other ethno-linguistic groups also joined the conquest and expansion of Ethiopia during the Menelik reign and participated in the bloodiest campaigns.

According to Bahru Zewde, one of the bloodiest campaigns was one that followed the refusal of Kawo Tona in the South to surrender.³⁸ Bahru Zewde says that, in 1894, the powerful Southern kingdom of Walayta was incorporated after one of the bloodiest campaigns in the expansion. Yet the reason for mass execution was followed by Tona's refusal and the Walayta, Kullo and the Konta peoples' resistance. Bahru Zewde quoted

³⁵ Markakis, 2011, p.6.

³⁶ Gudina, 2006, p.125.

³⁷ Levine, 2006

³⁸ Zewde, 1991, p.64

eyewitness accounts that "the feelings of hunting where human beings rather than animals served as game following Tona's refusal to give up."³⁹

Three years later after the subjugation of Walayta, Kaffa was the newest to be incorporated into Menelik's empire. For the most part, in 1897, Ras Mekonnen, accompanied by Dajjach Jote and Dajach Gabra-Egiziabher, extended the frontiers of the Ethiopian Empire into Wollaga region through the incorporation of the Shekhdoms of Bela Shangul (Beni Shangul), Aqlodi (Assosa) and Khomosha.⁴⁰ It is remarkable then to observe that, Menelik began his advent of expansion earlier in the beginning of the 19th century. As a result, so many of today's ethnic and linguistic diverse groups did live together and make the country a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic and multi-religious state that should accommodate its diversity to make peace with itself, according to Assefa Fisseha.⁴¹ As Levine says, "were these true of all surviving groups, Ethiopia today would indeed be no more than a museum of peoples and engaging in many kinds of interaction."⁴²

A monolingual language policy with the promotion of Amharic continued during the Menelik reign when Amharic reached its peak. Local elites and administrative offices implemented a one language policy where the languages had never been spoken before. Amharic provided a lingua franca that enabled Ethiopians from diverse backgrounds to communicate with one another. According to Levine,⁴³ people found Amharic the dominant language to use for all purposes of communication. In general, Semitic superiority and Ethiopianization with the language Amharic and more ethnic diversity following the expansion strongly established by Menelik.

³⁹ _____, 1991, p. 65

⁴⁰ Zewde, 1991, p. 66

⁴¹ Fisseha, 2005. P.14

⁴² Levine, 2006

⁴³ Ibid

As a result, the current Ethiopia is mainly the result of Emperor Menelik's expansion into the South, East and West. His expansion and incorporation ushered-in multi-ethnic groups into the Ethiopian Empire and created the present Ethiopia, a country housing about 85 different ethnic and linguistic groups.

3.3 Ethiopia: Haile Selassie Era

Tafari Mekonnen became King of Shewa in 1928. Following the death of Empress Zewditu in 1930, he was confirmed as Emperor and ascended to the throne as Haile Selassie I. Tafari Mekonnen was born on 23 July 1892 in the village of Ejersa Goro, in the Harar province. In turn therefore, according to Balsivik, Haile Selassie I, whose royal line originated from the Amhara, Gurage and Oromo roots⁴⁴, came to power. He was a pioneer of change and played a crucial role in the creation of strong international contacts and solidified the nation building of the 20th century of the Ethiopian state. Balsivik wrote that the emperor "had also a keen support of intellectuals during his reign that lasted from 1930-1974."⁴⁵

Donald Levine, in the preface to the second edition of *Greater Ethiopia* stated that, "throughout Ethiopian history there have been tensions between the national centre and diverse regional and ethnic groups. Yet, according to Levine, "the bureaucratic centralization of the post-war years during Haile Selassie was bound to exacerbate tension."⁴⁶ Apart from a brief interlude during the Ethio-Italy war (1935-1941), Emperor Haile Selassie continued the historic mission of centralizing the state which he had started in the first half of the decade following his ascension to the throne. In this line,

⁴⁴ Balsivik, 2007

⁴⁵ Ibid, 2007. P.13.

⁴⁶ Levine, 2000, p. XIV

Bahru Zewde noted that, "the period after 1941 witnessed the highest point of absolutism"⁴⁷ with the motto of one Ethiopia, one nation and one language.

The imperial period and the formation of the modern state are interpreted in different terms by different scholars. The imperial period was, according to Levine, "the source of considerable pride for Ethiopian nationalists, particularly for Christian highlanders."⁴⁸ This was considered as the expansion of "Ethiopianization", mainly viewed as internal colonialism. Though, Donham noted, Ethiopia is a country of multi-ethnic and linguistic groups that emerged from centuries of interaction between ethnically and linguistically diversified groups Haile Selassie imposed one language over all others.⁴⁹ In relation to this, the developing tension between the definitions of national and ethnic identities in the most determined source of conflict was created in Ethiopia.

While Haile Selassie introduced Ethiopia's first written constitution in July 1931, to use the words of Bahru Zewde, the first measure the Emperor took along the process for centralization was the grant of the Constitution which contains 55 articles.⁵⁰ This constitution, however, does not mention anything about any of the other Ethiopian languages. However, the constitution was written in Amharic. As Cohen states it, there was a comprehensive language policy which was incorporated in the bigger policy of what is called 'Ethiopianization', with one nation and one language policy motto.⁵¹ As a result, during Haile Selassie's government, Amharic became developed throughout the country. The general language of instruction in Ethiopia being Amharic, according to

⁴⁷ Zewde, 2005

⁴⁸ Levine, 2000

⁴⁹ Ibid, 2000

⁵⁰ Ibid, p.23

⁵¹ Cohen, 2000

the term 'Ethiopianization' instead of the term 'Amharization' which is used by most writers because I feel that the rulers were always referring to themselves as rulers of Ethiopia and their deeds justified in unifying the country with an Ethiopian nation.

Cooper missionaries were expected to learn Amharic and teach via the same.⁵² The implementation of one language policy was for many purposes such as administration, judiciary and education. Later, as McNabb pointed out, Amharic became the official language of the country stated in the revised Constitution of 1955 and the language policy started to come out clearer.⁵³ During Haile Selassie's government, the concern for the development of other Ethiopian languages was insignificant. The assumption was, as pointed out by Cohen, the use of one nation and one language policy was helpful in bringing about national unification, which he sought very badly.⁵⁴

According to Edmond Keller, "one of the primary reasons for the fall of Haile Selassie was that he attempted to create the myth of a multi ethnic but unified nation state whose citizens viewed their 'Ethiopian' national identity as the most important socio-political category."⁵⁵ Accordingly, both Emperor Menelik and Haile Selassie's government were considered later as oppressors of other nations and nationalities with "Ethiopianness" as a cover. Following a general civil servant strike in vital sectors, mass demonstrations led by students appeared. According to Demoz, they were dissatisfied with the slow pace of reform that took place concurrently with military pressure and hastened regime change.⁵⁶ As a result, the Derg came to power in 1974.

3.4 Ethiopia: Derg Regime

In the mid-1960s, students' protest brings about the gradual fall of the imperial regime. The student movement, related to the diffused poverty, feudal land practices and the exclusion of the public at large, was to greatly alter the situation. According to Abraham

⁵² Cooper, 1976a in Bender 1976a

⁵³ McNabb, 1988

⁵⁴ Cohen, 2000

⁵⁵ Keller in Jalata ed., 1998

⁵⁶ Demoz, 1983

Demoz, it fastened demands for political reform and the right of nationalities in Marxist-Leninist and anti-imperialist terms.⁵⁷

In relation to this, Peter Koehn presented a paper in Washington on how the Derg and its supporters, widely publicized charges against Emperor Haile Selassie. He pointed out that, at every other moment, the Derg, just prior to Haile Selassie's arrest, aggressively propagated that the Emperor had illegally enriched himself at the expense of the public and was insensitive to the suffering of the peasant from famine.⁵⁸ However, even after the downfall of the Emperor the demands for ethnic equality became significantly more intense with no sign of abating.

After the collapse of the Emperor's regime in 1974, to address the question of nations and nationalities the military regime sought a socialist way to be free from control of the monarchic system. However, the Derg regime took some measures in the quest to address the question of nations and nationalities. These included the measures taken by the regime in broadcasting radio programs using different languages. To find considerable evidence of the languages in addition to Amharic, the then ruling regime broadcast languages were only four. These were Afar, Somalia, Oromiffa and Tigrigna languages. Although the regime drew a new internal boundary based on ethno-territorial bases, it did not make any attempt to link ethnic rights with governance issues. Rather it imposed its greatest centralization system controlled by the military, regardless of their ethnic composition. Over the course of the 21st century the Derg regime became stronger and Ethiopian experiences changed; with the regime getting more and more authoritarian, leaving no room for any kind of decentralization of power.

⁵⁷ Balsvik, 1985

⁵⁸ Koehn, 1983

According to Ofcansky and Berry, the Derg undertook a major national literacy campaign.⁵⁹ In the effort to fight against illiteracy through the national literacy campaign, McNab as quoted by Cohen indicated that, "the Derg asserted the rights of all Ethiopia's peoples to be taught in their own languages and those languages were used instrumentally for the literacy campaign. These languages were namely Amharic, Tigrinaya, Tigre, Oromo, Afar, Saho, Somali, Sidama, Gedeo, Hadiya, Kembatta, Kaffa Mocha, Silti Gurage, Wolaita and Kunama."⁶⁰

In the mean time, as Markakis commented, the issue of ethnic identity reached a new level of climax during the Derg regime.⁶¹ The reign of the Derg coincided with winding around a centre by controlling ethnic consciousness of the people and demand by taking place the political play. The Derg's policy of national literacy ended up only resulting in the ethnic consciousness of the various peoples, nations and nationalities. One of the shortcomings of the national literacy campaign was that the languages were to be transcribed in the Ethiopic (Geez) script. Moreover, teachers were Amharic speakers, who did not speak the local languages spoken in the area they went to teach. McNabb said that "the literacy campaign although through the media of nationality languages adults were into contact with speakers of the official language, Amharic."⁶² At the end, it resulted in the Amharic language being well developed and it spread throughout Ethiopia.

In relation to the Derg regime's proclaimed socialist ideology, with his observation of the political situation in Ethiopia Siegfried Pausewang wrote the following: "Mengistu's regime increasingly reverted to the Pan-Ethiopian ideology of national development,

⁵⁹ Ofcansky and Berry, 2008 illustrates this by making reference to women's literacy

⁶⁰ Cohen, 2000, p. 89 McNab, 1989, p.85

⁶¹ Markakis 2003, p.20

⁶² McNabb, 1989

abandoning the initial liberatory promise of the revolution to allow all ethnic groups their freedom of cultural development and ethnic self-determination."⁶³

In relation to this, according to McNab, the Derg asserted the rights of self-determination for Ethiopia's nations and nationalities, and these rights included the right to freedom from the forms of ethnical, linguistic domination which the "Ethiopianization" policies of the Haile Selassie era had encouraged.⁶⁴ The Derg accused the language policy of Haile Selassie as a deliberate strategy to increase the political hegemony of the ethnic dominant group. However, the regime also continued the same Ethiopianization process with the literacy campaign claiming language domination.

The Derg regime was initially focused on the concepts of making Ethiopia first with the conception of national unity. Eventually, the Derg collapsed into a keen system of belief which brooked no ethnic diversity among Ethiopian people. To use Alemayehu Fentaw words, "Mengistu's linguistic oppression, actually ended up"⁶⁵ completely rejecting the Socialist ideal and in the 1990's socialism collapsed internationally; ethnicity and language became more accepted for federalism practices in Ethiopia.

3.5 Ethiopia: Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE)

TPLF engaged in the seventeen years of bloody civil war in the northern part of Ethiopia. Finally, the present government, EPRDF, came to power by overthrowing the military regime in May 1991. The existing government officials, who had started their movement to structure the country through ethnicity has advocated ethnic-federalism, stressing that it could empower and assert the equality of the diverse ethnic and linguistic communities and eventually reduce conflict among them.

⁶³ Pausewang, 2002

⁶⁴ For further detail see McNab, 1989

⁶⁵ Fentaw, 2009, p.8

The ethno-nationalist movements that took the centre stage of opposition after the 1974 revolution voiced their right to exercise democracy and nations, nationalities and ethnic equality. To use the words of Bahru Zewde, the influential leaders of the oppressed nationalities strongly pushed the ethnic agenda as an effective way of mobilization. And they considered it as a sure guarantee of reasonable share of power. As a result, the overall centralized structure of the previous regime has been replaced by federal state.⁶⁶ In this manner, Levine further added that, "disparate ethnic identities seemed the only available principle for organizing a political future."⁶⁷

In sum, Assefa Fisseha pointed out that the Constitution attempts to balance the preservation of national unity with recognition of the linguistic distinctiveness of ethno-linguistic groups.⁶⁸ It is stated in the Constitution that the Amharic language is the working language of the federal government. Therefore, in Ethiopia ethnicity constitutes one of the major articles of the Constitution. In this connection, Ethiopian Federalism is often referred to as Ethnic Federalism.

The road to bring about today's Ethiopia was rocky. This process guided by the emperors, the undemocratic Derg regime, and the nationalist movement came in the history of the current Ethiopia. Thus, a comprehensive job was carried out throughout this period. In other words, in order to make the modern Ethiopian state, total transformation of ethnic and linguistic equality was demanded for the most part.

With all those rocky roads, Merara Gudina identified three perspectives on the nature of the making of the modern Ethiopian state. For him, the first perspective is represented by the 'nation-building' thesis. In which he believes that the imposition of linguistic values

⁶⁶ Zewde, 2002, p.274

⁶⁷ Levine, 2000, p.xii

⁶⁸ Fisseha, 2006, p.135

of a dominant group was a historically necessary means to the creation of the Ethiopian nation. Next, he raised the issue of the "national oppression' thesis, accordingly to which "Some ethnic group domination was responsible for creating an Ethiopian state." This appears in Ethiopia as a 'prison house of oppressed nationalities and classes.' He points this thesis was propagated by the majority of students⁶⁹ who were influenced by Marxist-Leninist thought. The third illustration of this is the perspective of a 'colonial thesis'. He goes on to say "it was supported by the students who saw secession and separation as option advanced principally by Somali and Oromo nationalists."

Today's Ethiopia, as a land of diversified people with various ethno-linguistic groups, the diversity is manifested in various ways. Ethiopia is a multinational federation with more than 85 different ethnic and linguistic maps. Such ethno-linguistic diversities have several significant influences on the country's social systems. A great variety of languages are spoken in the country. Concerning the linguistic diversity, as indicated by Ofcansky and Berry "at present at least seventy languages are spoken as mother tongue, a few by many millions, others by only a few hundred persons."⁷⁰ However, on another side, the official report of Population and Housing Census of the Government of Ethiopia⁷¹ indicates that there are about eighty five different ethnic groups with approximately eighty languages, with some 200 dialects living in different regions of the country.

Accordingly, the 1995 Constitution of the FDRE, Article 49, has ratified and created a federal government with nine different ethnic- based regional states and two federally administered city-states: Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa. The regional states were delimited on the basis of language, settlement pattern and identity. These include Tigray, Afar,

⁶⁹ Balsivik , 2005

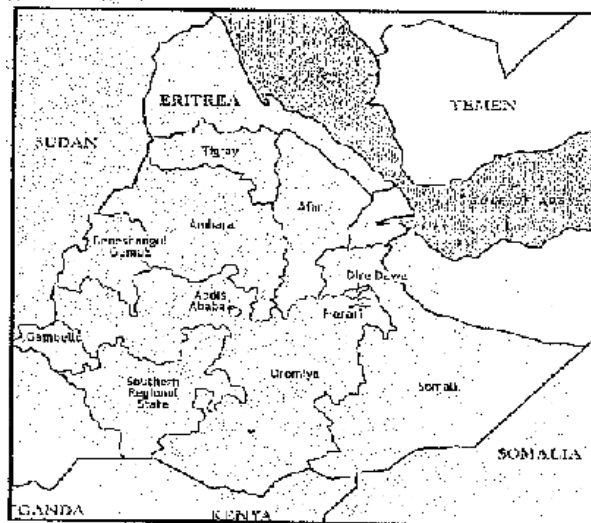
⁷⁰ Ofcansky and Berry, 2004, p.107

⁷¹ Population and Housing Census of Government of Ethiopia, 2007

Amhara, Oromia, Somali, Benishangul-Gumuz, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples (SNNPR), Gambella and Harari.⁷²

As a result, regional boundaries between these newly formed regional states were drawn based on language based ethnicity. Next, the regional divisions of the map displayed from Ethiopian mapping authority.

Map.1.Ethiopian regional divisions



Source: Ethiopian Mapping Authority

The statistical information of the ethnic composition in Ethiopia listed out more than 85 ethnic groups in the 2007 census. There are 69 nations, nationalities and peoples which have a seat in the House of Federation. These nations, nationalities and peoples belong to four different linguistic families without prejudice to their ethnic origin. According to Secretariat of FDRE and Bahru Zewde "these four language families are the Nilo-Saharan, the Omotic, the Cushitic and Semitic."⁷³

⁷² Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE), 1995 Article 49 (Ethiopian Constitution)

⁷³ Zewde, 2007, pp. 5-7.

According to the text of FDRE Secretariat, the Nilo-Saharan language speaking people are situated particularly in the Benishangul- Gumuz, Gambella, Tigray and SNNP Regional State. These ethno-linguistic groups are Anyuak, Bertha, Bodi, Gyangatom, Gumuz, Kunama, Komo, Me'init, Mejenger, Mursi, Nuer, Opo, Surma and Zilmamo. As stated, they are fourteen in number.

The Omotic speaking peoples are situated in Benishangul-Gumuz and SNNP Regional States and have twenty five ethno-linguistic groups. These include the Ari, Basketo, Bena, Bench, Chara, Dawro, Dezi, Dimie, Gamo, Gofa, Hamer, Kafficho, Kore, Konta, Male, Mao, Na'o, Oyda, Shakicho, Shecko, Shinasha, Tsemaye, Walayta, Yem, and Zayse.

The Cushitic speaking peoples are found in Afar, Amhara, Oromia, SNNP, Somali and Tigray regions. This family includes Afar, Agew, Xalntagna, Alaba, Arbore, Burji, Darashe, Dasench, Dobase, Donga, Gedeo, Gidicho, Hadiya, Irob, Kambata, Kebena, Konso, Kusme, Mashole, Mosye, Oromo, Sidama, Somali, and Tambaro. This group is comprised of twenty four ethno-linguistic groups.

The Semitic speaking peoples are found in Amhara, Harari, SNNP and Tigray Regional States. This family includes the Amhara, Argoba, Gurage, Harari, Silte and Tigray. Out of these, ten major ethnic groups have a population of one million and above. As shown below in the table, the following ten ethnic groups had population of one million and above.

Percentage Distribution of 10 Major Ethnic Groups: 2007

Ethnic Group	2007		Language Families
	Population		
	Number	%	
Oromo	25,488,344	34.5	Cushitic
Amhara	19,867,817	26.9	Semitic
Somali	4,581,793	6.2	Cushitic
Tigrayan	4,483,776	6.1	Semitic
Sidama	2,966,377	4.0	Cushitic
Guragie	1,867,350	2.5	Semitic
Welaita	1,707,074	2.3	Omotic
Hadiya	1,284,366	1.7	Cushitic
Afar	1,276,372	1.7	Cushitic
Gamo	1,107,163	1.5	Omotic

Table 1 Source: Ethiopian Central Statistics Authority, 2007

From the statistics given above by the Ethiopian Central Statistics Authority, language families of Cushitic and Semitic languages are dominant statistically. By way of recap, it has been made clear that the differences of languages and ethnic groups of the country resulted in an increasingly diverse society, composed of a multitude of linguistic and ethnic different groups. The concept of diversity in Ethiopia is not only limited to multilingualism, multi-ethnicity and multi-nationality, it is also subject to the prevalence of multi-religious societies.

The end of the Derg socialist system and the change of government in Ethiopia in 1991 have created constitutional ethno-linguistic equality. Ethiopian Federalism was claimed to be born of an effort to re-dress the century old question of different ethno-linguistic groups for equal recognition. The government in its very early rule launched fundamental reforms in this regard. And as a result, the 1995 Constitution provided the decentralization of the nation's ethnic and linguistic power based on ethnic federalism.

Mapping the history of this helps to identify what Andreas calls the "unfavourable conditions"⁷⁴ that prompted the emergence of federalism in Ethiopia. As a result, there was not any mechanism of accommodating these ethnic and linguistic diversities before the introduction of the 1995 Constitution. It was just after this period that such diversities were accommodated constitutionally and federalism for the first time was introduced in Ethiopia. The federal system of government which was introduced in Ethiopia following the fall of the Derg regime in 1991 was intended, according to Assefa Fisseha, "to decentralize power and resolve the 'nationalities question' by accommodating the country's various ethno-linguistic groups."⁷⁵ As indicated in Article, 46(2) of the Constitution, "the regionalization of the country is based on ethnic and linguistic basis."⁷⁶ The consequent regionalization, which introduced the federal system of administration, changed the history of the language policy of Ethiopia.

In the Constitution, Article 5 reads,

- All Ethiopian languages shall enjoy equal state of recognition.
- Amharic shall be the working language of the Federal Government.
- Members of the Federation may determine their respective languages.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Eshete, 2003, P.9

⁷⁵ Fisseha, 2006, p.131

⁷⁶ The Constitution of The Federal Democratic Republic Of Ethiopia (1995)

⁷⁷ Ibid

Chapter Four: Review of Related Literature

4.0 Introduction

This study is on the incidence of ethno-linguistic diversity discourse based conflicts that surfaced in certain universities found in different regions of Ethiopia. All these universities under analysis and discussion are under the supervision of the Ministry of Education. For the effectiveness of this research project, the following review of literature is of critical importance. As mentioned in chapter three, the substantive basis of this paper is to understand the harmonizing and conflicting discourses on ethno-linguistic diversity of students in selected Ethiopian Government universities. In order to understand and analyze the central theme it is imperative to highlight some major concepts such as ethnicity and other technical terms.

As indicated in the introductory chapter, ethno-linguistic diversity is the distinguishing feature of Ethiopia as reflected in the geopolitical divisions of the country. This chapter mainly focuses on the concepts of legitimate peripheral participation, fundamental ethnicity theories of ethnic diversity through reviewing various literatures in the area. Besides, the research sharply focuses on the concepts such as core and periphery, ethnic identity, ethno-linguistic diversity, ethnicity and ethnic conflict. These are the major factors this chapter deals with, the aforementioned issues in organizing the overall theme of the paper within the Ethiopian context.

Ethnic and linguistic pluralism is the acceptance of diversity within a society that celebrates the beauty of diversity. Hence, this chapter primarily aims at explaining the concepts and theories of ethnicity. It helps in setting up a framework of the actual diversities of language and ethnicity in Ethiopia. It could also help to clarify by reviewing the issues that trigger ethno-linguistic diversity based tensions. It also helps to reflect the practices of harmonization of conflicting discourses of ethno-linguistic

diversity and practices of an ethnic diversity based system. The literature reviews history, language studies, sociology, demography and anthropology. The study shows further interdisciplinary engagement to clearly understand the ethno-linguistic diversity discourses triggering ethnolinguistic diversity discourses based tension.

4.1 Core and Periphery

Edward Shils, in his introduction of core and periphery, indicates that the centre constitutes part of society in which authority is possessed, while the periphery is part of authority is exercised.⁷⁸ In the words of Lijphart, another rationale applies to distinguish centre and periphery, as the author writes "for plural societies to co-exist there must be political domination by the centre."⁷⁹

The ethnolinguistic diversity of Ethiopia is generally analyzed through the evolution of the centre and periphery. The centre-periphery, manifesting itself in various forms, has affected the overall situations of Ethiopia. According to Levin, what is interesting in Ethiopian history is the features of Ethiopia revolving around the core and periphery history. It is the longstanding consideration of these people as the "true Ethiopians", "Abyssinians proper," and the core elements of Ethiopia.

The centre-periphery idea has particularly affected the formation of the ethnic structure of Ethiopia since Emperor Menelik II. To further this, mapping the history of this centre-periphery idea helps to clearly identify the major factors that prompted the emergence of ethnic federalism in the multi-ethnic country, Ethiopia. In the light of this, it is worth noting the idea of Donald Levine, on Ethiopian history. In the preface to the second edition of "Greater Ethiopia", he pointed out the tension that existed between the centre and periphery. As Levine writes, throughout Ethiopian history there have been tensions

⁷⁸ Shils, 1961, p.117-30

⁷⁹ Several factors explained by Lijphart, 1989 in the domination of centre on periphery

between the national centre and diverse regional and ethnic groups and yet the centralization was bound to exacerbate tensions.⁸⁰ In the case of Ethiopian history, as the core was already under the political command of the dominant Amharic speaking Semitic people, it played an instrumental role in expanding the interests and privileges of the dominant ethnic group.

According to Cohen, the main purpose was to form the core of Ethiopian society who spoke Semitic languages by presenting 'others' as inferior to the people of the northern highlands.⁸¹ Abyssinians lived in a certain territory of the country and were seen as the core. But, during the twentieth century, Abyssinian and Shoan power in particular was not limited to that sphere. Rather, it goes out from the centre. Critics like Donham have raised these observations, of the people who happened to reside in the far peripheries who could not be considered as Abyssinians. He suggested that these people were against the Abyssinian domination.⁸² As Christopher Clapham emphasized, the nature of the Ethiopian state provided almost no means for demands at the periphery to be translated into action at the centre. Instead, the centre relied principally upon a limited set of forced options.⁸³ This indicates that people were presented as being peripheral to the central state, and were not in a position of power and authority in the state.

Since, the earlier period, it is true to say that Ethiopia's history is characterized by persistent ethnic conflicts. In Ethiopian history, ethnic groups have been classified into two major lines as core and periphery. It is not difficult to consider then, the Shoan was positioned as a core. Furthermore, beginning from the reign of Emperor Menelik, the centre-periphery power play can be conceptualized with its manifestations of various forms in the history of Ethiopia. During the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie, to use the

⁸⁰ Levine, 2000, P. xiv

⁸¹ Cohen, 2000, P.7

⁸² Donham, 1986, p.42

⁸³ Donham, 1986, p.35

phrase of Donham, another story remains untold, "hence, there were many 'others' who helped a lot in the process of making twentieth century Ethiopia. These "other" Ethiopians lived their lives in the periphery rather than near to the political centre."⁸⁴ But the idea of core and periphery goes beyond this and its association with the imposition of the modern state was great in the historical agenda of Ethiopia.

4.2 Legitimate Peripheral Participation

The idea of legitimate peripheral participation becomes an important framework from which to look the learning and maturation and identity development of students from different ethnic groups once they join a university. According to Lave and Wenger⁸⁵, Legitimate Peripheral Participation refers to how newcomers (in our case freshman students and possibly some sophomores) become integrated into a community of practice. First year students may be considered to have peripheral participation but as they continually learn from their seniors they become central themselves and serve as instructionally supportive to the next batch of incoming students. But perhaps the idea of a community of practice requires some explication. According to Wenger⁸⁶ a community of practice is

"..... is a group of people who share a concern, a set of problems, a passion about a topic, and who deepen their knowledge and expertise in this area by interacting on an ongoing basis."

The community of practice has three features: domain, community and practice. Accordingly, domain provides an identity definition for the group as may be exemplified by students of one ethnic group who claim a particular identity. Domain also relates to the shared interest of such a group as well as its claimed place a broader community as in a multicultural environment. Membership suggests a commitment to that community.

⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 148

⁸⁵ Wenger 1998, p 23

⁸⁶ Shils, 1975

Community itself relates to members who hold meetings, discussions, and engage in activities together as in ethnic associations or forums or self-help groups. They provide assistance to members, share information, develop bonds and eventually attain a sense of community and belonging. The third feature practice denotes the repertoire of a community in terms of knowledge and skills, common language, ideology, stories, symbols and concepts and shared meanings that the group develops and has at its disposal as community resources.

The community of practice socializes novices all the way until they become old-timers in turn helping as apprentices to new students. The socialization culminates in identity development or achievement.

The student identity development literature embraces the idea of legitimate peripheral participation as instrumental in the evolution of self identity of students in relation to other students from different ethnic groups. It considers the context, place and social interactions and how in complex ways they contribute to identity development.

4.3 Ethnic Identity

A more scholarly reason is that university students especially in the first year undergo the phenomenon of what has come to be known as ethnic identity development. Phinney⁸⁷ says that Ethnic identity development is self-categorization in, and psychological attachment toward, an ethnic group(s). It is a process which may heighten in the late school years due to the cross-cultural and interethnic experiences of the individual as in university environments which are multicultural. Phinney's model of ethnic identity development states that identity development passes through three stages namely

⁸⁷ Phinney, 1989

- Unexamined Ethnic Identity during which usually children are unaware and untroubled about their ethnic identity.
- Ethnic Identity Search occurs during the onset of early adolescence involves exploration of ones identity using comparative lenses, reflection on experiences such as discrimination and exclusion and more questioning and reading as may happen in interethnic university environments
- Ethnic Identity Achievement represents the highest level of ethnic identity awareness, knowledge of ethnic self, a realistic assessment of ethnic self-image as well as ones group. This level may be achieved by some graduating students.

According to Fearon⁸⁸ ethnic group as implying identity has six different features. They focused on membership is reckoned primarily by descent, members are conscious of group membership, share distinguishing cultural features, cultural features are valued by a majority of members, remembers a homeland and a shared history as a group that is not wholly manufactured but has some basis in fact.

4.4 The Relationship of Language and Ethnicity

The relationship between language and ethnicity has drawn considerable interest from the sociolinguistic community as well as the broader social science including political science and sociology. To assist expound the conceptual link between the two important constructs; a brief discussion of the loaded concept of ethnicity is important as it is entwined with language issues. Chandra⁸⁹ quotes a number of scholars defined in relation to ethnicity in numerous intriguing ways implicitly suggesting language as ethnic component. For Hutchinson and Smith⁹⁰ ethnic groups themselves are "...those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities

⁸⁸ Fearon 2003, p 7

⁸⁹ Chandra, 2012

⁹⁰ Hutchinson and Smith , 1996, p 35

of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization or migration. This belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists."

Albeit important the relevance of language in the definition has not come out vividly except in the sense of culture which may be intertwined with language as an element of identity. However according to Spolsky⁹¹ language is an important symbol of ethnic identity and may be considered central in the chemistry of identity.

As Gibson⁹² observes "language-both code and content-is a complicated dance between internal and external interpretations of our identity". As Spolsky suggests language is not only instrumentally employed to help project our idea of who we are, but it is also a communication of what we expect others to take us. But this notion is fluid and may change dynamically following sociopolitical developments. The intensity of language and ethnicity issues in Ethiopia after the 1991 power takeover by the EPRDF was extremely high as the new government prominently espoused multilingualism as the norm and way of life for the multilingual and multiethnic nation.

Anzaldúa's⁹³ statement of the language-identity blend: "Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity-I am my language" is perhaps no where truer than it is in Ethiopia as emotions run high on issues of language and ethnicity. The link between language and identity becomes tense especially where there is a monoglot ideology of the kind that seemed to prevail in Ethiopia. Tension and confusion may arise in political environment that is unitary and believes a single language must be selected as more important than all

⁹¹ Spolsky 1999, p 181

⁹² Gibson 1997,p 1

⁹³ Anzaldúa 1987, p 59

others. In the words of Lippi-Green⁹⁴ "a standard language ideology, which proposes that an idealized nation-state has one perfect, homogenous language, becomes the means by which discourse is seized, and provides rationalization for limiting access to discourse". Ethnic identity may be symbolically eliminated and ethnic speakers gagged when a single language is chosen as sacred to the exclusion of all others.

Lippi-Green⁹⁵ states that "a standard language ideology, which proposes that an idealized nation-state has one perfect, homogenous language, becomes the means by which discourse is seized, and provides rationalization for limiting access to discourse". A monoglot ideology, warns Blommaert⁹⁶, will not only deny that linguistic diversity exists within its borders, but will put in place practices that prohibit such diversity. Speakers of languages other than the "official" language effectively become "the other" and "the abnormal" driving a potential intergeneration and interethnic wedge between the privileged group and the underdog.

In a manner which was later to have consequences, the link between language and identity meant that a good Ethiopian was one who spoke Amharic, repudiated his ethnic identity and situated his uncomfortable native tongue in his private backyard. Amharic, together with the broader Christian and Habesha culture, was the pillar of Ethiopian identity. The link between language and ethnic identity as much of the present literature would show has this backdrop where other languages were to face virtual erasure from the Ethiopian landscape as a reflection of the unitary ideology, which perhaps cumulatively gave birth to the language and identity based university skirmishes of the 1990s and more recent years, which made capital of the new, fundamentally different ideological context of relative free expression.

⁹⁴ Lippi-Green 1997, pp. 64-65

⁹⁵ Lippi-Green 1997, pp. 64-65

⁹⁶ Blommaert, 2004

Any attempt to suppress languages can have a colossal damage on how people want to identify themselves as language plays a key role in the process of ethnic identity formation in any society besides often being the most visible or observable characteristic feature of ethnic identity. On the nature of the relationship of language and ethnicity, van Dijk agrees that it is through language that we practice ethnocentrism.⁹⁷ This means language and ethnicity are inseparable. This results in the use of language to perform acts of identity both individually and collectively. Most agree language is the identification of oneself, as a person and as part of a group.

Language and ethnicity are interrelated and both serve as markers of identity. As a result, we may take language and how it is used by a particular group to identify people as different among others. Here we can say that based on the current practices in Ethiopia, language is ethnicity and ethnicity helps people to acknowledge their identity.

Ethnic discourse based on the discriminatory ways in which group members verbally interact through language with members of other ethno-linguistic groups. Hence every language may do so blatantly by using derogatory slurs, insults, impolite forms of address. And other forms, in the use of language based produced discourses, explicitly express and enact superiority and lack of respect for others. The fundamental difference is that other ethno-linguistic group members are confronted with such ethnicist language, and not because of what they do or say, but only because of what they are perceived in different language and ethnic basis.

As the above discussion implies, there are strong links between ethnicity and language. However, the relationship is not constant. It varies from case to case. It is based on a wider interest which allows members of a society to participate in and benefit from any

⁹⁷ van Dijk, 1997

activity. As a result, knowledge of the dominant languages has been associated with more advantage and viewed as an asset.

The relationship between ethnicity and language is expected to be strong where ethnic groups feel their identity is compromised. Ethnic identity threats result in fear of assimilation or negative associations of ethnicity. Such fears by any community can be associated to ethnic conflict. So, language appears to be a crucial ethnicity component and something born with. This fact is further explained by van Dijk who says that, "they [language and identity] are thus subjected to an aggravating form of ethnicism using language as harassment that is a direct threat to their well-being and quality of life."⁹⁸ From the realities, ethnicity is based on language and we can easily understand the strong relationship existing between the two. Though, ethnicity is a relative concept, ideas about ethnicity develop in relation to the perception of the other.

4.5 The Nature of Ethnicity

What is Ethnicity? Ethnicity is a nebulous concept and a debated topic. It has become one of the most often used words of our time and a word almost never defined well. For Baumann, ethnicity is invoked in discussions of everything and relates the term "ethnic" under the dichotomy of "Us" and "Them."⁹⁹ Ethnicity is practiced differently across groups. According to Spoonley, it is something that, "changes in response to internal and external circumstances and which means different members of the respective communities."¹⁰⁰ However, it is quite misleading to assume that any group is unified around its ethnicity.

⁹⁸ van Dijk, 1997

⁹⁹ Baumann, 2004

¹⁰⁰ Spoonley, 1993, p.57

More often, the meaning of the concept of ethnicity depends on the perspective of the individual. Thus, the etymology of the word, and even its meaning, are widely argued. According to Wolff, "because of its increased politicization and the varied meaning given to it has made ethnicity one of the most disputed concepts among academics, as well as politicians."¹⁰¹ The origin of the term 'ethnicity' goes back to the Greek word for nation 'ethnos'. Generally, in Ancient Greek, the term was used to describe a community of common descent. In other words, 'ethnos' is used to describe a kinship group linked by ties of blood. Further, Jones has this to say for ethnicity. He defined ethnicity as, "all those social and psychological phenomena associated with a culturally constructed group identity."¹⁰² Most scholars argued that ethnicity itself is a relatively recent term and its territory is not clearly known yet. Banks for instance defined the term as such, "ethnicity is a social identity characterized by fictive kinship and the term refers to strife between ...ethnic groups in the course of which people stress their identity and exclusiveness."¹⁰³ Therefore, ethnicity is defined as the means to maintain boundaries between social groups, through markers of ethnic or language identity such as religion, lifestyle, kinship, homeland, visible characteristics and relations.

4.6 What is Ethnicity in Ethiopia?

In the case of Ethiopia, ethnicity constitutes one of the major features of the Constitution. The Constitution ratified by the elected representatives of the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia established a federal and democratic state structures. Nine regional self governments delimited, by and large, on the basis of settlement patterns, language, identity and consent to the people concerned to build up the Ethiopian federation. All sovereign people, according to the Constitution, reside in the "Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia". All Nations, Nationalities and Peoples for the purpose of this

¹⁰¹ Wolff, 2006, p. 33

¹⁰² Jones, 1997, p. xiii

¹⁰³ Banks, 1996, p. 5

constitution, is a group of people who have or share large measure of a common culture or similar customs, mutual intelligibility of language, belief in a common or related identities, a common psychological makeup, and who inhabit in an identifiable predominantly contiguous territory.¹⁰⁴ That is why the Ethiopian federalism is often referred to as ethnic federalism. In view of the diversity of language and ethnicity, Aaron Tesfaye noted that, "the level of the state of knowledge, among Ethiopian political scientists of different regional and ethnic groups of the country has intensified ethnic politicization."¹⁰⁵ Therefore, he justified that the major point of difference of the political systems lies in the significance it attaches to ethnicity.

Currently, in Ethiopia, we might pin ethnicity as a recognized feature of our identity and as an inevitable part of life. In relation to this, ethnicity and language diversity are as inevitable, as Blommaert and Verschoeen indicated, "not to be deplored, nor to be exalted. It is simply there, to be used as a resource."¹⁰⁶ As a result, ethnicity in the Ethiopian context, serves as identification with and feeling a part of an ethnic group. This helps to be identified with which ethnicity is a case which belongs to exclusion from other ethnic group. Today in Ethiopia, ethnicity can be said to exist when people claim a certain ethnic identity for themselves and are defined by others as having that identity. Now-a-days, in Ethiopia, ethnicity means identification with and feeling part of an ethno-linguistic group and exclusion from other ethno-linguistic groups.

Many scholars on their part underlined and agreed on the intensified manifestation of ethnicity in Ethiopian history. More particularly, politicians argue that ethnicization of Ethiopian politics was inaugurated in the nineteenth century. It was Bahru Zewde that pointed out the power competition between the nobility of Amhara and Tigray, whilst the

¹⁰⁴ Constitution of Ethiopia, 1995 ; p. 20

¹⁰⁵ Tesfaye , 2002, p. 8.

¹⁰⁶ Blommaert & Verschoeen, 1998

difference between the two ethnic groups revolved around their language difference. Later, others agreed that this tension, as a political reaction, was to culminate in the Ethiopian University student movements.¹⁰⁷ The spur for conflict in relation to ethnic identities has been the expansion of ethnicity, then introduced in the Ethiopian politics and the empire, both of which were classic examples of what Mazrui called an "Ethnocentric state."¹⁰⁸

We know the actual ethno-linguistic diversity experiences of Ethiopia's people are practiced on the basis of language, as well as ethnic differences and are treated as an attractive way of classification or segmenting. Here, it is fitting to consider what Merara Gudina argues in relation to the use of ethnicity for political end, in the context of Ethiopia.¹⁰⁹ In this sense, according to Merara, "the most serious blow to multi-ethnic politics in Ethiopia has been the ethnicization of the country's politics after 1991 which is mainly in language differences."¹¹⁰

As we mentioned in this chapter, Ethiopia, as a multi-ethnic state, is mainly characterized by the histories of ethno-linguistic disputes. Currently, ethnic identity becomes a common mobilizing force and ethno-linguistic diversity is a general discourse among nations, especially of the media. Moreover, ethno linguistic identity for individuals greatly helps to identify themselves to which ethnic group they belong. Through defining their ethno-linguistic identity people would understand their history, symbols and the commonly shared values with other ethnic groups. This leads the country to create a highly diversified ethno-linguistic situation. Ethnic identity can be defined as an innate sense, such as feelings of ethnic belonging, pride, and positive attitudes toward the group through which people identify themselves as a member of the ethnic group. With this,

¹⁰⁷ Tarke 1991, p. 208; Zewde 2005; Taddia, 1991; p. 265

¹⁰⁸ Mazrui, 1975

¹⁰⁹ Gudina, 2006, p. 122

¹¹⁰ Ibid

language is considered one of the most important components of ethnic identity¹¹¹ because it facilitates social interactions and represents the people who communicate with the language. Since identity is "constructed through language negotiations"¹¹² language and ethnicity are mutually influential, as they are used in such terms as ethno-linguistic identity or ethno-linguistic vitality.¹¹³

4.7 Ethnic Conflict in Ethiopia

As literatures on ethnic conflicts have grown at impressive speed over the past three decades, there are many theories about the causes and influences of such conflicts. But, what are ethnic conflicts? As asserted by Wolff, "ethnic conflict explains both elite and mass behaviour and various theories provide an explanation for the passionate, symbolic and apprehensive aspects of ethnic conflict."¹¹⁴ Since difference, among different ethnic groups, in view point is inevitable; many scholars define the term ethnic conflict in various ways. According to Simon and Fisher ethnic conflicts can be understood as disputes occurring in all type of ethnic groups grounded in divergences of interests among different ethnic groups. Besides, the two scholars added that ethnic conflict is triggered by feelings of threatened identity, often rooted in unresolved past, lost and suffering.¹¹⁵

The meaning and cause of ethnic conflict in the world has been touched upon in academic literature over the years. For those who have an interest to review ethnic conflict ideas presented by Blommaert & Verschoeen are the most fascinating. The authors list the critical points of ethnic conflicts in the present globalized world. They point out that, "culture, ethnicity, race, cultural pluralism, tolerance, xenophobia,

¹¹¹ Noels, Pon, & Clement, 1996

¹¹² Noels & Clément, 1998, p. 114

¹¹³ Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977

¹¹⁴ Wolff, .2006, p. 66

¹¹⁵ Simon and Fisher, 2000

discrimination, exclusion, repression, equal opportunities, affirmative action, preferential treatment, political correctness"¹¹⁶ are just some of the beacons guiding a debate on diversity, which is sweeping through public life in various countries, such as the African countries and of which echoes can be heard in relation to conflict more loudly in our country too.

Ethnic conflict is among the most dangerous aspects of ethnic group interaction that can affect ethnic group relationships. The upshot of all this is that there is a set of variables in conflicts that need to be addressed and Horowitz states, amongst , "a relationship between two people or parties who have or think they have incompatible goals."¹¹⁷ The key idea, according to Horowitz, that, "ethnic conflict is a worldwide and a recurrent phenomenon."¹¹⁸ Our conception of ethnic conflict determines our approach to it and the extent to which we will be successful in properly handling and managing it. Developing our ability of understanding ethnic conflict in a deeper and modern way enhances our ability, in conformity with our basic values about building peace and handling it more effectively. Hence, in order to simplify the task of handling and resolving ethnic conflicts, we need to make our thinking deeper.

In recent decades, ethnic studies on practices of federalism and ethnic conflict are subjects of great interest. The major ideas of this research on practices of federalism incorporated understanding the major causes for ethnic conflict focusing on the accommodation of ethno-linguistic divisions and avoid ethno-linguistic conflicts.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Blommaert & Verschoven, 1998, p.1

¹¹⁷ Lane and Moorehead, 1994, p.14

¹¹⁸ Horowitz, 1985, p.3-4

¹¹⁹ Ark and Anderson P.1

Gudina and Abbink, concluded that Ethiopia's federalism "has increased ethnic conflicts"¹²⁰ and painted federalism as a critical challenge. Other advocates of federalism indicate that the federal system is a viable solution to ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia. The system serves members of the federation by rectifying the historically unjust relationship and promoting further shared interests. In their analyses of ethnic conflict Gudina and Abbink, however, underscored that federalism is unlikely to satisfy ethnic groups. On the other hand Prof. Andreas has always been a strong proponent of Federalism. He says that democratic federalism is instrumental in addressing ethnic conflicts.

As a result of social changes of recent decades, federalism is now generally accepted as a democratic unifying system of Ethiopian society. But, in contrast, questions such as: What are the views of Ethiopians about ethnic conflict and federalism? How do they understand and experience it? And what exactly does this discourse and meanings of these concepts suggest about the broader challenges of ethnic and linguistic diversity, harmonization and social conditions in Ethiopia? Historians, linguists, critics, and analysts have generated a great deal of observations on these critical and timely questions while, at the same time, defining ethnic diversity and conflicts in multiple ways as Asseffa Fiseha stated. According to Assefa Fisseha, one mark of ethnicity is visible in terms of the reality of the large number of ethno-linguistic groups and the territorial parting.¹²¹

4.8 Federalism: Conceptual Definition

Like many other major concepts federalism has become one of the most often used political terminologies which has not been well defined in Ethiopia, as well as in the global context. As a result, federalism means different things to different scholars,

¹²⁰ Gudina, 2000.

¹²¹ Fiseha, 2006, p.170

depending on its historical context. To begin with, the inception of the term "*Federalism*" it is derived from the Latin term "*Foedus*", that is "covenant".¹²² Such a covenant is usually the starting point for the merger of two or more political entities. It should be borne in mind that it has not always been used as a device to manage ethnic diversity. Neither is its present use usually confined to serve as a response to problems triggered by ethnic diversity.

In the light of the literature reviewed, the term federalism has been subject to different meanings, and various scholars define the concept differently. Federalism, in this case, refers to many different situational contexts and clarifies its major manifestations. Especially, Ricker considered federalism as political organization in which the activities of government are divided between regional governments and central government, in such a way that each kind of government has some activities on which it makes the final decision.¹²³ This was later taken up by, for instance, Elazar, who suggested federalism is a form of non-centralized mode of organizing a polity.¹²⁴ Further the discussion, by Kincaid, elaborated federalism to a "union of separate states in which power is divided and shared between a strong union government and strong state governments."¹²⁵

In fact, it is important to realize federalism principles from the African context. In Africa federalism considers two different political forms. It may be seen as a gradual way of building a larger political entity, or it may be intended as a form of de-centralization in trying to bring power to the people through devolution of authority from the national to a more local level."¹²⁶ Mainly, in the context of Africa and African nations, federalism is associated with the colonial experience of divide and rule. By contrast, federalism can

¹²² Oxford English Dictionary, 2002. p 229.

¹²³ Ricker, 1975, p.101

¹²⁴ Elazar, 1985

¹²⁵ Kincaid, 1995. p.1

¹²⁶ Boller,2010, p.1

serve social diversity. A number of writers, such as Boller, advocate that nations facing social diversity will do well to explore federalism, as an institutional device to assure fundamental rights of political unity in a multicultural society.¹²⁷ These social diversities are manifested in a number of ways. This concern has become increasingly pronounced in the aftermath of religion, ideology, culture and interest groups that may or may not gain the rights of their political expression leading to eventual ethnic conflict. Like in the past, others disagree about the concept of unity in diversity and argue that federalism cannot come about in "which the diversities are so great that there can be no basis for integration"¹²⁸

To that end, the idea of federalism stated by Elazar is important. He says federalism is concerned about the need of the people and politics to unite for common purposes yet remain separate to preserve their integrity. It is also concerned simultaneously with the diffusion of political power in the name of liberty and its concentration on behalf of unity."¹²⁹ The basic principles must be guaranteed and embedded in a constitution binding all ethnic groups to a federal covenant of federalism.

4.9 Federalism in Ethiopia

There are multiple layers of identities and interests, including class, gender and ethnicity which largely shape the nature of state formation and affect the agenda of state policies. The formation of states also differs depending on the concrete social and historical conditions. The diversity of Ethiopians mainly reflected in terms of the belongingness of a large number of ethno-linguistic groups, despite the historical separation of the highland and lowland. According to current estimates, Ethiopia is one of the most

¹²⁷ Tesfaye quoted Gordon, 1921, pp. 215-239

¹²⁸ Tesfaye, W.S. Livingston, "A Note on Federalism," Political Science Quarterly, No. 67 pp. 81-95

¹²⁹ Elazar, 1987, p. 33

populous countries in Africa. In Ethiopia, diversity is reflected as the result of ethnicity or linguistic backgrounds.

The main argument for pursuing federalism in Ethiopia is that Ethiopia is home to various nations, nationalities and peoples. Therefore, it is important to note Ethiopia's Federalism experiences. Burgess indicated that, "the idea of federalism and federal state initially involved the Ethiopia-Eritrea federation (1952-1962)."¹³⁰ However, it was after 1991 that the country started addressing and considering the basic questions of peoples. That was the point where Ethiopia made a shift from a unitary state to a federal system. According to Befekadu and Dirribsa, the primary objective of restructuring such new form of government system in Ethiopia is to radically resolve the age-long ethno-linguistic diversity skirmishes. As they said, the tensions among nations addressed through federalism, although it was not designed to regulate diversity tensions in its original form.¹³¹

The two scholars asserted that, federalism is conceived as an effective response to ethno-linguistic diversity. Indeed, federalism is a practical response to the deep rooted ethno-linguistic diversity and off-shoot conflicts in the country. The practices of federalism were further strengthened in adopting the power sharing methodology. In a way of reflecting diverse identity, it is characterized by hierarchal decision through bolstering control by the centre. Advocators of ethnic federalism point out that this has enabled and maintained the unity of the Ethiopian nations and nationalities, and the territorial integrity of the central state, while providing full recognition to the principle of ethnic equity and equality. For instance, Fisseha pointed out the contribution of the new federal arrangement. He stated that, "Federalism in Ethiopia is used as a means of devolution of power in response to the high concentration of power at the center, as well as to empower

¹³⁰ Burgessm, 2012, p. 8

¹³¹ Befekadu and Diribissa, 2002, p. 32

ethno-linguistic groups."¹³² Moreover, he indicated the notion that federalism can be a means of accommodating ethnic diversity is not uniformly accepted. Indeed in this respect, there is an opposite view that argues ethnic federalism will inevitably reinforce rather than minimize conflict between ethno-linguistic groups.

Supporters of Ethiopian Federalism indicated that the motivation of adopting federalism emerged from the ethnic problems, leading to a viable state structure. Proponents of Ethiopian federalism believe that it could be used as an effective mechanism to equally manage the complexity of ethnic and linguistic diversity of Ethiopia and reduce conflicts among them. As Abbink claims, federalism increases rather than minimizing ethno-linguistic diversity conflicts. Consequently therefore, the ethnic conflicts still remain critical challenges in the country. In fact, Abbink argues that the concept of federalism, as a system to address ethnic conflict, is still debatable. He stated that "on the one hand, it leads to the recognition of the rights of different ethnic groups. On the other, it appears to have transformed and generated localized ethnic conflicts."¹³³ Many of the conflicts that emerged at local and regional level were related to the federal restructuring of the country, as Abbink elaborated. However, other scholars envisage federalism as a promising system that binds a group of states into a larger non centralized state.

In fact the Ethiopian federal system is still an issue of debate among scholars and its proponents make quite remarkable claims. For instance, as Prof. Andreas Eshete illustrates, "the system is instrumental in bringing a favourable response to the basic question of nations and nationalities and bringing equality among them."¹³⁴ According to Prof. Andreas, a good deal that led to the formation of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia was offered through dismantling the unitary state. He strongly advocates that, "Ethiopia's Federalism as favourable system, as it binds the country's multi-ethnic groups while

¹³² Fisseha, 2006, p.132

¹³³ Abbink, 2006, p.390

¹³⁴ Eshete, 2003, p.161

maintaining their own identities. Those ethnic groups who freely decided to reconstruct their shared political community on a new basis will have their own political power both at central and regional levels."¹³⁵ In contrast to the experience in the rest of the world, Assefa Fisshea and Keller argue on their modes of 'holding together' federation. The latter argue that, the formation of federalism in Ethiopia follows the model of holding together federation.¹³⁶ Keller, for his part, notes that Ethiopia's ethnic based federalism receded since 1992, as the country appeared to be 'putting together' state type.¹³⁷

Bearing these contradictory ideas in mind, ethnic-based federalism in Ethiopia created two extremely polarized attitudes, and it is becoming the most controversial issue of this day. As celebrated by some as the solution for holding multi-ethno linguistic Ethiopia together, federalism is decried by others as a dangerous system that will eventually dismember the country. The emphasis given by the two different bodies continued and provides emphasis on the concept of federalism of Ethiopia. One of them argues that federalism exacerbates the problems while the other indicates its controversy. They argued that it helps to contest definitions of citizenship in Ethiopia and its base is ethnic federalism. For nationalists, the system is a deliberate strategy employed by EPRDF to undermine the national identity, pride and self-esteem flowing from the exceptional history and continuity of the Abyssinian empire and Ethiopian state.

Other scholars in the field agreed that the discourse on Federalism in Ethiopia has been highly polarized. Scholars, like Prof. Andreas, consider the federal system as the best solution to the problem of ethnic conflicts, while others argue that instead of reducing conflict, this kind of state formation would rather exacerbate ethnic conflicts. For instance, Merara Gudina from Addis Ababa University is one of the critics of the

¹³⁵ Ibid

¹³⁶ Fisshea, 2006, p.132

¹³⁷ Keller, 2002, p. 24

Ethiopian federal system. He says, "the EPRDF paper policy of decentralization and practice of centralization has thus created more problems than solutions to the inter-and intra-ethnic contradictions."¹³⁸ He further argues that the discourse of ethno-linguistic diversity has become strongly politicized, more so than ever before. Instead, he criticizes federalism practices of Ethiopia and concludes that the existing federalism created the current realities which did not previously exist among the public at large. Nonetheless, according to Merara, "Ethiopian federalism has triggered other inter and intra-ethnic conflicts which have not been thought previously as conflicting."¹³⁹ At the very beginning, according to scholars, those who oppose the federalism practices, the effort was responding to the old time conflicts but gradually transformed into managing new conflicts and challenges which appeared with the intensified ethnic and linguistic diversity. There is also another challenge for ethno-linguistic diversity and the resultant conflicts Merara Gudina notes. He agrees with the ethnic and linguistic diversity and the need for a theoretical framework that situates diversity within the context of contemporary society's "Amhara thesis, Oromo antithesis and Ethiopian synthesis."¹⁴⁰ He also insisted though, that differences of ethnicity served as the most powerful means of political mobilization ¹⁴¹ that could lead to fragmentation.

Nonetheless, the government has created nine ethnic-based regional states and two federally administered city-states. According to the Ethiopian Constitution the Ethiopian ethnic federal system is significant in that it provides the right for secession of any ethnic unit.¹⁴² Even though that worked for the last 21 years in keeping the country together, sceptics of ethnic federalism were fearful. However, the scholar named Ottaway states

¹³⁸ Gudina, 2011, p. 91

¹³⁹ Ibid

¹⁴⁰ Gudina, 2002

¹⁴¹ Ibid

¹⁴² Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE), 1995

that, "it has facilitated the fertile land for ethno-linguistic diversity based ethnic conflicts and state disintegration."¹⁴³

To sum up, the existing common feature of segmenting the population of Ethiopia is done, basically, on the basis of their language and ethnic lines. Likewise, as Levine states, "the number of distinct ethnic groups exceeds the number of languages because separate communities sometimes speak the same language."¹⁴⁴ Hence, the reconstitution of Ethiopia into an ethnic and language based federalist state creates opportunities but poses challenges as well.

4.10 Ethnocentrism Practices

Green and Seher stated, "early at the beginning of this century, ethnocentrism became a central concept in the study of ethno-linguistic diversity relations and interactions."¹⁴⁵ According to Sumner, "ethnocentrism is the technical name for this viewing of things in which one's own group is the centre of everything, and all others are scaled with reference to it. Each group nourishes its own pride and boasts itself as superior, looking with contempt to outsiders"¹⁴⁶ One of the main issues of legitimizing is a belief that its ancestors are superior to all others. What these categories represent is dislike or hatred of any material, behavioural, or physical characteristics different than your own.

Further, Ogetir pointed out that unwillingness to engage in social interactions with other ethnic groups, to the same extent as with own ethnic group, is manifestations of ethnocentrism.¹⁴⁷ In addition, people are aware of the existence of other realities which results in ethnocentrism. Producing ethnic discourses with the tendency of people to

¹⁴³ Ottaway, 1995

¹⁴⁴ Levine, 2000

¹⁴⁵ Sumner, 1906, p.13

¹⁴⁶ Ogetir, 2008

¹⁴⁷ Quibernau and Rex, 1997

judge others from their own ethnic's perspective is highly practiced. Moreover, believing that theirs to be the only right way of perceiving the world affects the relation among various ethno linguistic groups is also produced.

Repeated exercises of ethnocentrism focus on histories that many ethnic groups have of themselves and others, according to Quibernau and Rex.¹⁴⁸ The historical verbal interchange of ideas can be transmitted from generation to generation, simply by word of mouth. A further point is that the above authors clearly stated such distorted and exaggerated versions of exchange of ethnocentric thoughts, with time, present one's own group as superlative while other groups are demonized.¹⁴⁹ It is not surprising, therefore, that these social interactions about different ethnic groups mirror some ethnocentric attitudes towards each other.

It is further pointed out by Fishman that ethnocentrism is the tendency to look at the world primarily from the perspective of one's own ethnic group and language.¹⁵⁰ Ethnocentrism often carries the belief that one's own language and ethnic group is the most important, or all aspects of its ethnic group are superior to those of other groups. Within this ideology, individuals or groups will judge other groups in relation to their own particular ethno-linguistic group, especially with regard to language, behaviour and customs.

In this sense, Paulo Frierie in his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* revealed that violence is initiated by those who are oppressed, exploited and unrecognized. And, more often than not, lack of participation in different aspects of the society led to the feelings of ethnocentrism.¹⁵¹ Pursuing this further, Frierie pointed out, one of the major causes of

¹⁴⁸ Op Cit, 1997

¹⁴⁹ Ibid

¹⁵⁰ Frierie, 1975

¹⁵¹ Cushner, et al, 2000

disagreement on campus is the feelings of ethnocentrism. While its degree varies from student to student, however, it eventually leads to conflict. Freire believes that "in the first place, ethnocentrism is a kind of belief that results from the experience of socialization in people trying to, view the world from their own perspective and from their belief that their way is certainly the best way."¹⁵² Demoz in his research reasoned out that one of the chief reasons of ethnic conflict in universities is ethnocentrism. He witnessed that "ethnocentrism is the major reason affecting peer relations among nations in Ethiopian cities."¹⁵³ Other studies in different Universities, Dilla, Bahir Dar, and Addis Ababa also further proved the fact that those students who once cherished the existence of harmonious relationships, have now fallen into ethnic worship and are showing ethnocentric attitude towards one another. On the negative side, such behaviour can be manifested in the day to day conversational activities in universities. In many cases, ethnocentrism is defined as a belief that the in-group is the centre of the social world and superior to the out-groups.¹⁵⁴ As people who belong to the same group may have positive attributions of themselves as members of the in group and less favourable attributions of the out group. In fact, practices of ethnocentrism may lead to prejudice where the members of the in-group hold a less favourable judgment about the other group.

4.11 Building the Culture of Tolerance

The universities have to make efforts to build the culture of tolerance among different ethnic or linguistic grouping in the university campuses.

Student groupings based on linguistic and ethnic background could lead them into a bumpy ride. And such images mainly characterized by complete idealization of one's own ethnic group and history are unproductive. These have been expressed by demonization

¹⁵² Demoz, 1997

¹⁵³ Taylor, Peplau, and Sears, 2006

¹⁵⁴ Goldberg and Solomos, 2002, p. 23

of other ethnic groups, uncovering of various historical injustices, and revision of history and reuse of symbols that had very bad connotations in other ethnic groups. The culture of mutual respect and understanding among students with ethnic and linguistic differences is vital here in our universities.

Despite the unhealthy incidents of inter-ethnic and linguistic conflicts in universities, optimists underscore that if situations are handled carefully they would not lead into thorny problems. In fact, the social norms and the culture of mutual respect and understanding among the various nations and nationalities are considered an asset to the country.

Otherwise, university students usually go through a turbulent and emotional phase of life¹⁵⁵ with their un-settled and obvious behaviour in nature. That is why students are usually at the front of much of university violence.¹⁵⁶ Most of the time it would appear that in different Ethiopian universities, conflicts and disagreements arise from zero tolerance, simple and easy disagreements between different ethno-linguistic group students.

As has been noted, ethno-linguistic differences should not lead students into ethnic skirmishes. University students have to celebrate the beauty of diversity. However, in the last few years, incidents of ethno-linguistic conflict appeared in certain universities. It has become imperative to address the problem from the roots. In this case, the Ethiopian government needs to exert efforts to tackle the universal trend in the universities brought up for the building the culture of tolerance. Some fear the risk of ethnic and linguistic group violence in Ethiopian government universities. By the same token, it also becomes important culture of tolerance in the university communities would be developed. In fact,

¹⁵⁵ Bejuel, 2007

¹⁵⁶ Lave and Wenger, 1991

these issues must be considered on a broader canvas. It is clear that, whether or not ethnic conflict occurred earlier in universities with the consequences for the outsiders' practices, advocating ethnic and linguistic conflict tolerance is becoming a key factor.

4.12 The Notions of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Ethnicism

In the present section, the researcher attempt to provide an overview of some important points of relationship of ethnicity and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Firstly, the researcher focus on relationship and concepts of ethnicity as well as CDA. According to Khand and Hare¹⁵⁷, CDA is an outcome of applied linguistics rooted in the tradition of critical social scientific theory. This approach analyses discourses from the real world and studies, social problems such as dominance, inequality, ethnicism, and powerlessness. Several studies on critical discourse analysis have been conducted by Fairclough, Van Dijk and Wodak and they present social dominance, inequality, ethnocentrism, and powerlessness as the manifestation.¹⁵⁸

A basic component of CDA, discourse has been profusely defined as referring to policy issues, strategies, accounts, text and language. There have been a lot of differences in what discourse stands for. The idea of 'critical' has also been misunderstood to mean negative but scholars caution that this is a misunderstanding of what it stands for. Critical means producing new understanding, knowledge, reflection and liberation which clearly is a positive undertaking. Critical implies dissatisfaction with the superficial and dedication to unraveling what is deep and latent and suggests discovery and novelty. According to Van Leeuwen¹⁵⁹

"naming oneself 'critical' only implies superior ethical standards: an intention to make their position, research interests and values explicit and

¹⁵⁷ Fairclough, Van Dijk and Wodak, 1997

¹⁵⁸ Van Leeuwen 2006, p 293

¹⁵⁹ Fairclough and Wodak 1997, p 258

their criteria as transparent as possible, without feeling the need to apologize for the critical stance of their work."

Critical discourse analysis bases itself on text of the kind described and aims at demystification of power and politics through systematic investigation of semiotic datasets that include oral and written forms. According to Fairclough and Wodak¹⁶⁰, who have been widely quoted, Critical Discourse Analysis

....sees discourse - language use in speech and writing - as a form of 'social practice'. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which frame it:

The discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned - it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. Discursive practices may have major ideological effects - that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people.

CDA unravels deep structural anomalies in communal / social relationships of imposition, discrimination, and power relations as expressed in textual and discoursal

¹⁶⁰ Habermas 1967, p 259

data. It also delves into inequality at the social level as it is expressed through the agency of language. In other words, CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, constituted, legitimized. According to Habermas¹⁶¹ it views language as an ideological tool and a mirror of structural problems and unfair relationships.

Fairclough and Wodak¹⁶² summarize the main tenets of CDA as follows:

1. CDA addresses social problems
2. Power relations are discursive
3. Discourse Constitutes Society and Culture
4. Discourse does ideological work
5. Discourse is historical
6. The link between text and society is mediated
7. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory
8. Discourse is a form of social action.

While discourse dimensions may be numerous one perspective is to look at text from micro and macro perspectives. Thus according to van Dijk¹⁶³, while micro level cross ethnic interpersonal text may be critically analyzed, a more fruitful enterprise may be to look at macro level issues involving members and groups of society, as well as social cognitions denoting to knowledge of the 'other', group memories, knowledge and opinions as impacting interethnic communication relations and perceptions.

Detailed CDA can provide a wider context for challenging ethnic power and pinpoint every day manifestations of social problems in ethnicity. CDA targets the criticism of ethnicity that enacts, legitimates, reproduces, or ignores social inequality and unfairness. The notion that ethnocentrism is reproduced by social practices and especially by

¹⁶¹ Fairclough & Wodak, 1997

¹⁶² van Dijk, 1998

¹⁶³ Essed, 1991; Van Dijk, 1991, 1993a

recurrently done discourses is to be noted. More obvious association of ethnicity with ethnic domination and inequality plays a vital role in the reproduction of ethnic discourses. This is especially true of ethnic discourses which largely articulate large social problems such as inequality, ethnicism and dominance.

Most recently, scholars have clearly pointed out that ethnicism needs to be defined in terms of various types of social practice, such as discriminatory discourses and other acts of interaction since it requires analysis at group relations of power abuse.¹⁶⁴ Van Dijk believes that ethnicism is a complex system of social inequality in which at least the following components are combined.¹⁶⁵ Firstly, they are indicated by ideologically based social representations of groups; group member's mental models of concrete ethnic events; everyday discriminatory discourse and other social practices and power relations between dominant ethnic and ethnic minority groups. Together with other nonverbal discriminatory practices, ethnic discourse contributes to the reproduction of ethnicism as a form of ethnic domination.¹⁶⁶ In a diversified environment, such factors as prejudice, stereotypes, ethnocentrism, selfish interests, ethnic epithets, polarization of us and them, discrimination and ethnic graffiti can cause conflicts as some of these factors are discussed below.

4.13 Theorizing Ethnicity

Much of the literatures on the theories of ethnicity are often divided into two broad categories of Primordialists and Instrumentalists. These approaches are discussed below.

4.13.1 The Primordial Theory

The primordial theory is expressed with everyday life characteristics of relationships focusing on blood group. People stressed their belongingness to the same ethnic group

¹⁶⁴ Ideologies, Racism, Discourse: Debates on Immigration and Ethnic Issues Van Dijk(2005)11

¹⁶⁵ Van Dijk,1997

¹⁶⁶ Green and Seher, 2003

and they address one another as brother and sister. Here, in the primordial theory, the closeness of basic attitudes and thinking of individuals is often seen as an expression of people belonging to same blood group. Edward Shils who coined the term 'primordial' argued that family attachments are embedded in a primordial relational quality that attaches ineffable importance to blood.¹⁶⁷ In summing up, Primordialists consider ethnicity as a fundamental aspect of human existence and essentializes cultural ties, blood relationship and sense of solidarity as very important ingredients of ethnicism.

4.13.2 The Instrumental Theory

Instrumentalists highly differ from the Primordialist's conception of ethnicity, as a result, the characteristics of ethnicity they posit are found in the opposite pole of the above recapped theory. These are individuals who grasp ethnicity as 'a social construct that emphasizes the sharing of linguistic characteristic for the purpose of group mobilization'¹⁶⁸ based on rational awareness but in it there is a need for protection of common ethnic interests. In sharp contrast to the primordial, the instrumental approach portrays ethnic identification and ethnic conflict as the result of making the benefit of the existing situation. Hence, according to this view, ethnicity is something that can be changed, constructed or even manipulated to fulfil specific needs. Individuals may choose to be regarded as members of an ethnic group if they find it advantageous.

¹⁶⁷ Messay, 2001, p. 268

¹⁶⁸ Habtu, 2010, p. 241

Chapter Five: Methodology and Research Design

5.0 Introduction

Methodologically, this research is based on a CDA and other qualitative methods of data collection. Multiple methods are used in order to understand ethno-linguistic diversity discourses in Ethiopian government universities. The study considers how students' discourses affect each other and how ethnic discourses in higher education provide students with an enriched multi-ethno-linguistic environment for living together. The data was collected from Ethiopian Government university students' taking the cases of ethno-linguistic diversity discourses.

5.1 The Universities

Home to over 30 state universities, Ethiopia covers more than 435,000 square miles (1.1 million square kilometres). According to Alem Habtu, "the total population is 77,127,000, with great ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity."¹⁶⁹ With more than 85 ethnic groups Ethiopia is a unique multiethnic country.¹⁷⁰ The opening of new universities in different ethnolinguistic milieus is believed to have taken into stock regional and ethnic sentiments.

Among the universities selected for this study, Tigray National Regional State is represented by MU, Southern Nations, Nationalities and People Regional State by HU, Addis Ababa City Administration represented by AAU. In Oromia Regional State two universities, ASTU and WU are primarily selected as the chief source of data for this research. In each case, the Faculties of Social Science and Humanities and Law and Governance were the focused areas to select students for interviewing and FGD. The reason behind selecting AAU is that it is the first-ever university in Ethiopia. HU on the

¹⁶⁹ Ethiopia Census Report, 2007

¹⁷⁰ Denzin and Lincoln, 2003. p. 4

other hand is uniquely positioned as it is found in the SNNPR which is inhabited by more than 45 ethno-linguistic groups, like no other region. Wollega University(WU), Mekelle Univeristy (MU) and Adama Science and Techonlogy University (ASTU) are also importantly heard by students. And, reports came out from those three universities indicated that there are ethnic favouritism and ethno linguistic diversity conflicts happened repeatedly. So, Many publications confirmed in those universities, moreover, they seen as a major hub of various ethnic and linguistic groups speaking different languages. Below the selected universities are described individually and in greater detail. The order is alphabetic.

5.1.1 Adama Science and Technology University (ASTU)

ASTU formerly known as Nazareth Technical College is a university found in Oromia National Regional State. ASTU was established with funding from the World Bank and started its operation in 1993/94 with the primary mission of advancing the quality of human life through a strategically selected program of instruction, research and publication services, especially in technical fields. Since 1994/1995, 1,934 students in diploma program and 691 students in the degree program have graduated from both the regular and extension programs. According to figures from the university, the student enrolment has increased from 250 in 1993/1994 to 4000 in 2004/2005 operation. Currently, the enrolment of ASTU students is 22,000.

5.1.2 Addis Ababa University (AAU)

Then Haile Selassie I University, AAU was established by the proclamation of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1959. There were several separate colleges which existed prior to being incorporated into the university, with the earliest having been founded around 1950. The university was officially inaugurated in December 1961 following the donation of the Emperor's personal residence, the Guenete Leul Palace, to be the main

campus of the university. Therefore, the university is the oldest university in the country. It is indicated in a bulletin prepared by the University in 1996 that the total number of students enrolled in 1961 for day and evening classes was 4,000 to 5,000. Currently, according to the AAU Registrar's report of 2012, the student population in the University, just in the year indicated, is about 45,000.

5.1.3 Hawassa University (HU)

HU was established in April 2000 at Hawassa town, the political seat of the SNNPR state. Since 1976 the different colleges of HU had been operational, starting with the college of Agriculture. The University has been formed by merging three colleges in Southern Ethiopia: Awassa College of Agriculture (ACA), Wondogenet College of Forestry and Dilla College of Teacher Education and Health Sciences. Currently, the enrolment of HU students is 17,000.

5.1.4 Mekelle University (MU)

MU is located in the Northern part of Ethiopia in the Tigray National Regional State at a distance of 783 kilometres from Addis Ababa. Mekelle University College was incepted in 1993 as the Arid Zone Agricultural College which had been re-situated in Mekelle after a series of relocations. During the former regime, the College was originally intended to be located near Selekleka, in north-western Tigray. In 1991, after some years, the Arid Zone Agricultural Faculty moved temporarily to Alemaya University. In 1993, the Arid Zone Agricultural College was again relocated, this time to Mekelle.

With all the challenges it faced, the Arid Zone Agricultural College started with three degree programs in 1993 with 42 students. At present MU hosts over 23,000 students in the regular, continuing education and summer, evening, distance education and in-service programs in both undergraduate and graduate programs.

5.1.5 Wollega University (WU)

WU is one of the public higher educational institutions established at Nekemte in Oromia National Regional State in 2007. It is located 331 kilometres west of Addis Ababa. The university is located at the heart of the town Nekemte considered as a strategic link for the zones of Western Shoa, Illubabor, Southern Benishangul Regional State, Gambella Regional State and South Western Gojam parts of Amhara Regional State. At present, the University runs 47 undergraduate, and five graduate programs on three different campuses at, Nekemte, Gimbi and Shambu towns. Currently, the enrolment of WU students is over 8,000.

5.2 Participants

Participants were students from different ethnolinguistic groups representing both sexes and freshman to senior levels.

5.2.1 Sampling Procedure

The study used both purposive and random sampling procedures to select students and their instructors belonging to different ethno-linguistic groups. The purposive sampling was conducted on the basis of considerations of ethno-linguistic groups from different universities found in the country: ASTU, AAU, HU, MU and WU. Social Science and Humanity and Law and Governance faculties were the focal points for the interview and the FGD. Priority was given to Law and Governance, History, Civics and Language departments. The reason behind selecting these was that they would have the intellectual ideas of ethnic and linguistic diversity and would therefore better inform the researcher in relation with the existing international and national laws, ethnic practices of existing diversity and historical aspects of the country.

The sites of the interview covered at different government Universities are also valid. Respondents were not large in number due to time constraints and because of financial

limitations on the scope of the thesis. Primarily, the researcher sought respondents who are presently attending their education in the Government Universities to respond to questions about ethno-linguistic diversity issues. Ten key informant interviews were conducted with instructors and various numbers of in depth interviews. The interview protocol and schedule is presented in Appendixes.

5.3 Methods

In order to gather the relevant information for the study, data were collected using a variety of methods and sources; archival records and materials, official documents, in-depth-interviews, and key informant interviews (tape and/or video recorded), FGD and field notes from observation. Qualitative methods help to deepen understanding about the issue, and allows going beyond the numbers and the statistics of the other ways of data collection designed in this research. Qualitative research in general is made up of a set of the situated activities that locates the observer in the real world. It consists of a variety of interpretive practices that makes the world visible.¹⁷¹ The methods of using qualitative research are specified for the use of multiple forms of data drawn from instruments like in-depth-interviews, key-informant interview and FGD, which are individually presented hereinafter.

5.3.1 In-depth Interview

Face-to-face interviews were conducted with students to gather appropriate information on issues of ethnic and linguistic diversity. For the purpose of the interview, an interview check-list was prepared. Separate interviews were held with students of different universities. Considering the sensitivity of the issue during the time the interview was conducted and to avoid the possible feeling of insecurity among the informants, informants were typically asked to record their voice only by excluding their names.

¹⁷¹ Payne and Payne, 2004, p. 243

The interviews included personal communication with students in the above mentioned government universities, with each interview lasting on average about twenty minutes, producing varying levels of data quality and usefulness.

5.3.2 Key Informant Interview

The researcher conducted semi-structured key informant interviews and informal discussions with academicians who were major actors in the universities. Key informant interviewees were selected for their specific knowledge of the information needed for the study. The interviewees provided valuable information pertaining to the practices, prospects and challenges of ethno-linguistic diversity in Ethiopian government universities.

There were situations where the interview material would talk for itself and would be cited directly and in whole. The researcher relied on the use of a video and tape recorder that would reliably capture data. Due to anonymity guarantees, all names are kept confidential due to the sensitivity of the matters discussed.

5.3.3 Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

In order to obtain, detailed information from the participants in the study about the overall past and present practice of ethno-linguistic diversity in the universities, FGD was held with the bodies concerned, using a commonly shared language, Amharic. The FGD was carried out on semi-structured items. The reason for this was to probe the participants' conception and knowledge about the ethno-linguistic diversity and the idea on the exploitation of ethno-linguistic diversity. Twelve individuals participated in two FGDs that were convened in the different universities. Conveniently selected, AU and AAU were the places where the different FGDs took place.

5.3.4 Observation

The researcher adopted participant observation as another method of data collection. It was used to understand through observation what was going on, and to ask some spontaneous questions of students. The method provided a mental picture of what was happening on the ground. The observation involved visiting campuses around the university, watching what people actually did, and gather first-hand information.

Where respondents are sceptical and not forthcoming, the use of observation is highly encouraged.¹⁷² The settings for the task of observation include cafeterias, student lounges, dormitories and classes in the campus compound. The information gathered served as a guide for the task of interpreting and analyzing the data. The task of observation was performed using a set of checklists drawn from the theoretical explanation of ethno-linguistic identity and interethnic relations.

5.3.5 Documentary and Archival Sources

Documentary sources were another basis for the research. Sources of data included government documents and reports including archival materials found at the selected universities as well as mission statements, strategies, the Constitution, educational policy of the country and Central Statistical Office (CSO) reports. The review of documents is an unobtrusive method that reveals some historical and contextual realities of the setting. The researcher believes that a review of documents helps in portraying the values, beliefs, and reflections of participants in the area under consideration.

Furthermore, it was possible to review historical backdrop to the situation of ethnicity in Ethiopian higher education today. A significant and a leading historian in Ethiopia, Bahru Zewde, provides a general background. The Bahru Zewde's book "A History of

¹⁷² van Dijk, 1993, p.252

Modern Ethiopia: 1855-1991, 2nd ed" 2002 and Donald Levine's book: "The Greater Ethiopia" show the political and social developments by giving historical insights. As a result, it is required to refer to them throughout the entire research.

5.4 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

The data secured from different sources were transcribed, translated, analyzed, described and interpreted using qualitative and textual research analysis based on the rules of CDA, which is also used as a theory in this study.

Key informant interviews, in-depth interviews and different written documents were also recorded on audio and/or video tapes which were transcribed *verbatim*. The transcripts were divided into general thematic categories which became the basis for analytic memos. Giving priority to the factors such as the components of ethnic identity items and the importance of maintaining ethno-linguistic identities and the practices of the importance of maintaining a separate ethno-linguistic identity were analyzed using CDA. As van Dijk suggests, "CDA is primarily interested and motivated in pressing social issues, which understood better through critical discourse analysis."¹⁷³ What is more, stereotypical topics of differences, deviations and threats, story structures, conversational features semantic moves such as disclaimers are discussed studied by CDA. Through CDA, it was possible to show how discourse expresses and reproduces underlying social representations of "others" in different social contexts.¹⁷⁴ The task is to understand students' construction of ideologies that constitute diversity.

The researcher employed CDA approach because the concern is about finding connections between existing, emerging and nodal discourses and social, historical, cultural and political contexts and examining existing power relations. CDA is especially

¹⁷³ van Dijk, 1993

¹⁷⁴ Wodak, 1999

useful to the present study as it offers a program for research of socially relevant phenomena.¹⁷⁵ Furthermore, this study's aim is to analyze the discursive resources students use while talking and using their language. So, for CDA what is common is an interest in studying discourse, but what differentiates it is the variety of methods to use; as Van Dijk concludes in the study of social aspects of language use and interaction.¹⁷⁶

The strength of CDA is in analyzing text and context together. It is important to note that once a feature of historical, ethnical, linguistical and social context is observed, CDA delivers tools to examine texts produced in this context. As result, a relation between such a feature and the structures of text and talk can be identified.¹⁷⁷

A discourse might create the national unity or disunity among the various ethnic groups, depending on how individual members understand and perceive the message. It is from this background that the researcher designed the discourse analytic approach to critically examine the existing, emerging and imagined ethno-linguistic diversity discourses and their manifestations, particularly their positive and/or negative role within government universities. CDA is selected because of the understanding that ethnic and linguistic diversity discourses would lead to negative outcomes.

5.4.1 The Process of Analysis

Based on the following stages of analysis proposed by Willott and Griffin, the process of the data analysis took place. That is to say, to achieve the process of the CDA, the following six instructions were followed;¹⁷⁸

- break the transcribed interviews and FGD data into separate major themes;

¹⁷⁵ van Dijk, 2009

¹⁷⁶ van Dijk, 1999

¹⁷⁷ Willott and Griffin, 1997

¹⁷⁸ Schiffrin, 2001

- code the data using one or more sub themes;
- select the excerpts under a single theme;
- identify the different discourses in which this theme is talked about;
- use the excerpts by referring to the existing literature, the researcher's understanding and develop recurrent discourses; and
- analyze the discourse.

The interview for the CDA was conducted on different days. It enabled the researcher to look at the ways in which university students engage in ethno-linguistic relations during their every day conversation. This was based on Schiffrin's idea that, "critical discourse analysis is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social practices of the day to day interaction."¹⁷⁹ Every utterance tells us something about the social practices in which it is being produced. Following this, the researcher presents the analysis of the interview text in line with the FGD together.

To make the analysis of the data simple and clear, the researcher preferred to analyze both of the qualitative data (the interview and the FGD) together.

5.5 The Pilot Study

Prior to the main study, the researcher carried out a pilot study. The main purpose of the pilot study was to verify the validity and appropriateness of the tools of data collection along with certain aspects of the theoretical framework (i.e., CDA). For the pilot study, a limited sample was considered, only two departments of Addis Ababa University students. In the course of the pilot study, some unforeseen problems in terms of tools of data collection and other aspects were identified. As a result of the lessons learnt from

¹⁷⁹ AAU, 2013

the pilot study, the instruments and theoretical insights were modified and improved. However, the pilot study helped the researcher to be aware of the greater size and complexity of the ethno-linguistic diversity problems manifesting on the University campuses.

In general, the pilot study helped the researcher to consider the methodology and to observe some pilot respondents' reactions to the questions. During the main research, solutions were found to the problems cited above, through the provision of ample time and creating favourable situations.

5.6 Problems Encountered During Main Research

Teachers were the respondents selected as the major sources of data for the qualitative data section including the interview and the FGD. However, they were not available during the FGD data gathering due to their teaching commitments. As a result, this proved an inconvenience, as it was not possible to gather FGD data from them. Thus I was forced to give them extensive time to incorporate their responses as key-informants only. For this reason, the study covered only the participation of limited samples of teachers.

The researcher also faced other problems. Among the major problems faced during the research was the lack of full comfort in students to express their true feelings during the interview which is common in "sensitive research" such as this. These inhibitions may have impacted the outcome of the research endeavour to a degree.

Chapter Six: Document Analysis

6.1. Introduction

The review of documents is an unobtrusive method that reveals some historical and contextual realities of the setting. A review of documents helps in portraying the values, beliefs, and reflections of participants in the university under consideration. In this connection, the Ethiopian Constitution, university legislations, educational policies, sample strategies, visions and missions were taken into consideration. The documents pertaining to the universities were also part of the documents considered.

6.2 Constitutional Recognition

The Federal Constitution of Ethiopia laid the legal framework for federalism. The preamble clearly stipulates that the nation building strategy has made its focus on two major elements. These are the Protection of the rights of ethnic groups to ensure a unified Ethiopian state within a diverse ethno-political family. The preamble of the Ethiopian Constitution states the two major elements, as such, *"We the Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia strongly committed, in full and free exercise of our right to self-determination, to building a political community founded on the rule of law and capable of ensuring a lasting peace, guaranteeing a democratic order, and advancing our economic and social development. It is the nations, nationalities and peoples that have adopted the constitution."*

In relation to constitution and its essentiality in asserting democracy, Murphy clearly identified the complementarities of the two stated that, "to talk about democracy that is stable in the modern context, is to talk about constitution." Article 5 of the Constitution of Ethiopia indicates that; "All Ethiopian languages shall enjoy equal state recognition." The Constitution promotes social unity and solidarity and enhances the value of Ethiopian

citizenship. Also the Ethiopian Constitution duly recognizes linguistic, cultural and ethnic diversity in Article 5.

The Ethiopian Constitution which explicitly declares its role as being, of making sure that the rights and needs of the whole populations is dully recognized. In this sense, the Constitution seems to go in line with pluralist and ethno-linguistic discourses. This becomes even more evidently clear looking at its reference to particular key points in the Ethiopian context that necessitate the establishment of an ethno-linguistically diverse society.

6.3 Educational Policy

For the past two decades, the Ethiopian government has put unprecedented focus on its educational policy and assurance of equal opportunities for all citizens. Such initiatives often, it is believed, narrow the gap and enhance tolerance among diverse entities. In this section, the paper examines the messages stated in the policy which help to analyze whether or not the discourse possibly created the desired national unity or whether, on the contrary, intensified disintegration among the various ethnic groups based on competitive individual and institutional perception.

The educational policy of the Ethiopian Ministry of Education identifies diversity and tolerance as the two important elements in the education sector in general. What has been clearly stated in the objectives is the importance of a peaceful resolution of differences whatever they may be. Below are the two significant objectives quoted from the educational policy of the country.

To provide education that promotes democratic culture, tolerance and peaceful resolutions of differences and that raise the sense of discharging societal responsibility.

To recognize the rights of nations/nationalities to learn in their language, while at the same time providing one language for national and another

one for international communication.(Education and Training Policy:1994)

The educational policy strongly argues that students should learn in their own mother tongue. The reason is that the major basis for identity is language. It is also believed that it is more advantageous pedagogically to conduct the education without any obstacles. According to the above educational policy in developing positive self-esteem and developing psychological satisfaction, the contribution is significant.

However, the linguistic analysis of the above objectives, in terms of words, presents the selected and indicative texts which point to the ways in which the cycles of promoting *culture, tolerance, resolution, difference* and *responsibility* of the society in the universities. The role of the message is to shape the beliefs of the university on how to conduct their education through the promotion of democratic culture which would in turn influence and bring tolerance among university communities and adoption of peaceful resolutions of differences.

It is hypothesized that the above two objectives of the educational policy are designed to enable critical thinking in citizens. That in return supposedly helps the community discharge its overall societal responsibility. This has been extended to the higher education institutions in an effort to promote diversity and tolerance among students drawn from different language and ethnic groups. The construction of diversity realities through such messages influences student attitudes and practices differently in relation to their respective ethno-linguistic group and other ethnic groups. As a result, the policy encourages and helps the university society to recognize the respective rights of entities and survive in a spirit of equality during their stay in the campus and pursue their education and fulfil their aspiration to become responsible citizens.

The quotes drawn from the Education and Training Policy above at the sentence level indicate how the education policy practically considers and recognizes the rights of nations and nationalities identities. This implies that policies are organized sets of fundamental and often normative ideas and attitudes about some aspect of social reality shared by members of a group. Such policies are used to frame, legitimate, or validate practical actions in the domain to which they are applicable.

6.4 Universities Strategies, Missions and Visions

Discourses and the combination of modes of language in use in universities strategies, missions and visions form powerful messages that underlie their undertakings. Investigating the utilization of the messages is important to understand how universities represent themselves in their institutional strategies, missions and values. Here under this section, written documents of the declaration, foundation, and current strategies which have been followed by universities have been considered. Their websites messages represent more than meets the eye. Accordingly, the official websites of the five different government universities provide the necessary background material. They are AAU, HU, MU, ASTU and WU. First I mention Addis Ababa University.

The following extract on the foundation of the University College of Addis Ababa gives the historical background to the oldest Ethiopian university. It is indicated in the website¹⁸⁰ that:

On March 20, 1950, Emperor Haile Selassie I declared the foundation of the University College of Addis Ababa, which includes the faculties of Arts and Science. It was renamed Haile Selassie I University in 1962 and then Addis Ababa University in 1975. At the time there were only 33 students enrolled compared to the current number of about 45,000 students. Starting from only one diploma and certificate granting department, namely Biology, the University today comprises more than 25 faculties.

¹⁸⁰ AAU, 2013

It is through a blend of discourse that universities seek to promote their institutions and create a distinct identity. Messages in this form often carry content that highlights periphery elements, such as in this case the enrolment of 33 students at the time of the establishment of the university college. As a result, the historical contexts shaped the nature of the language.

The above historical document of AAU indicates how the university was established during the reign of the Emperor Haile Selassie. The document also shows that it was with a limited number of faculties that the institution started out. During that time, the diversity of students was not as significant as compared to the highly diversified number of students at the present time. This diversity stemmed out of the large enrolment rate at present, with about 45,000 currently enrolled in various campuses and faculties of the university.

For instance, intra-sentential grammar cohesion, like the University College of Addis Ababa (which is found in line number two), inter-sentential, it (which is found in line number three) grammar cohesion and, then conjunction, adverbial (which is found in line number three,) lexical cohesion - repetition, for instance the University College of Addis Ababa, Haile Selassie I University, Students, Department, Biology and Faculties are among the cohesion text of the foundation of the University. The coherence indicates the time phrases and years. Historically, the presupposition was that Ethiopia was ruled by a king or emperor at the time of the foundation of the institution. This discourse as discursive practice illustrates the style of historical documentation. That is, it belongs to the genre of documentation of historical and factual information.

The vision of AAU¹⁸¹ incorporates the idea of cultivating and celebrating diversity. It also encourages the community of the university to celebrate and harmonize diversity. The following document reflected this point: *"Addis Ababa University aspires to be a pre-eminent African research university dedicated to excellence in teaching, critical inquiry, creativity and public action in an academic community that cultivates and celebrates diversity."*

A common feature of the representation of the vision of the university encourages students, as well as the overall community, to be dedicated to the cultivation and celebration of ethnic and linguistic diversity, as well as the overall diverse attitudes and practices adhered to in the University. What we note here is the importance of language in the construction of celebrating diversity.

The word choices *inquiry*, *creativity*, *community*, *diversity* are combined with the present tense *aspires*, *cultivates*, *celebrates* and with adverbs illuminating an image of a prominent university among other universities.

Here, the conclusion thus becomes obvious, that is there is nothing more than a dedication to excellence in training students in an environment where in the accommodation of diversity is ensured. Moreover, the strategic plan of the University also touches upon aspects of diversity that reign in the community while indicating the following aims:

The University is striving towards excellence in teaching and learning, research and contributions to the wider community where it would take democratic principles, multiculturalism, gender mainstreaming and affirmative procedures in perspective. (ibid)

The strategic plan indicates the importance of diversity in pursuit of multiculturalism among the campus community. There is also a growing interest in the promotion of

¹⁸¹ HU,2013

diversity. However, there is also an adverse interest, i.e. an implicit rejection of the marginalizing consequences of the mono-cultural dominance.

This discourse as a social practice explains how the successive governments of Ethiopia, right from the monarchy to the present federal democratic one, have given priority to the development of higher education in Ethiopia, with special reference to AAU by expanding the scope of higher education from a single department (i.e. Biology) to the present 25 faculties and also from an initial intake of 33 students to the current enrolment number of 45,000 students.

HU has also conveys similar messages in its mission outlay, in its bid to inject democratic attitudes of accepting diversity, in its respective university campuses. In order to project its message, it utilized words that would help inculcate the intended attitude and contribute to the overall development of the nation. These are, *advance*, *enhance*, *promote*, *inoculate* and *contribute*. Here, as follows, reads the mission of HU¹⁸²:

The mission of the university is to advance knowledge, enhance technology creation & transfer; promote skill development and effective entrepreneurship, & inoculate a responsible & democratic attitude thereby contributing towards the development of the country at regional and national levels.

In unpacking the text, the mission of the university depicts what is said to advance knowledge, enhancing technology, skill promotion. By ways of performing, coordination and getting coordinated, ways of acting, interacting, and associated with distribution of democratic attitude have been the underpinning meanings that the underlined words represented.

¹⁸² MU,2013

The mission is designed to enable the university and sharpen its focus on the particular issues and make up the text. The specific linguistic selections, positioning and sequencing of the text is also important in this regard. It also requires recognition that the determinations of these word selections and to understand the choices are tied to the conditions of possibility of producing focused discourses. This is another way of saying that texts are instantiations of socially regulated discourses and that the processes of production and reception are socially constrained.

The other four universities namely Mekele University, Adama University of Science and Technology and Wollega University seem to be less emphatic about issues of diversity, tolerance, and other multicultural issues. Mekele University's vision¹⁸³ reads:

Mekelle University will be acknowledged as an outstanding university of academic excellence with community of scholars and centers for learning where individuals can develop their intellectual capability throughout their lives in an environment that promotes academic achievements and research excellence.

As indicated discourses relevant to issues of ethnicity or nations and nationality languages are skipped over and it is clear that the focus appears to be on an implicit multicultural university environment. Mention is made about just "an environment that promotes academic achievements and research excellence" and the traditional promise of a university to fostering a multicultural context is not noticeable.

The reticence to the issue of multicultural university environment is also evident in the vision statement of Adama University of Science and Technology which briefly and relevantly neutrally states "ASTU¹⁸⁴ envisions becoming a first choice in Ethiopia and one of the globally distinguished Universities dedicated to excellence in applied sciences and technology." Neither does the mission statement of ASTU which is more detailed

¹⁸³ ASTU, 2013

¹⁸⁴ WU,2013

make any reference to ethnicity, languages, cultures, etc which are central in this research.

A little more with regard to issues of a multicultural university community is indicated in the vision and mission statements of Wollega University¹⁸⁵.

Wollega University aspires to be a center of excellence in producing competent citizens and high-level professionals and researchers that could play a critical leadership role, generate new knowledge and adapt relevant knowledge to national development.

While a reference to competent citizen is made it nonetheless does not mention whether this also refers to multicultural competence as an important quality of its graduates. However the mention of national development perhaps shows an interest in and an appreciation of in a unified Ethiopia with ethno-linguistic groups duly recognized. Wollega University highlights the issue of democratic culture implicitly respecting differences as an ingredient of federal democracy. The university's mission further states that "Our rich and diverse academic community offers a surely unique educational experience; one that is enhanced by a wide range of cultures, experiences, talents, and skills", further indicating commitment to multicultural issues more than the universities of Mekele and Adama.

¹⁸⁵ Pedersen, 1999

Chapter Seven: Section One

This chapter put down the impact that ethnicity has on individual ethnic group and other ethnolinguistic group and the effects of this impact when different ethnic groups are combined based on the data collected throughout the research time.

7.1 Presentation and Interpretation of the Data

This chapter, setting up binaries, focuses on data analysis for making reasonable decisions for clearer understanding what the data provides students' ethnic discourses in the challenging conflicts they face in their campus life. The researcher offers presentation, interpretation, analysis and discussion, to examine several binary oppositions and/or distinctions us/them, sameness/otherness, positive/negative, enemy/friend. As the title of this chapter suggests, the researcher presents, interprets and discusses the data around the different unifying theme. The theme around ethno-linguistic differences are based on the data gathered in interview and FGD.

7.1.1 Data Analysis

When analyzing and interpreting the data gathered in an interview and FGD technique, the researcher tried to understand how students use language to represent their ethno-linguistic identity and maintain a distinctive identity. As a result, discourses voiced to fix individual social groups in terms of belonging within particular ethnic practices were found. Thus, by uncovering the ethnicity discourses under each theme, the researcher tried to identify the following. The key messages, phrases, words, sentences and paragraphs used to produce their particular ethno linguistic accounts and the subject positions they assigned themselves.

How did ethnic conflict entered students? It entered because of ethnicity is wiles. "other" is the fallen identity who is last out by "other" is the fallen identity who is cast out by

“other” ethnic group for standing against his/her than the “other.” Students weak ethnic outlook is inevitably shaken by the “self” ethnic skeptical questions and to crumble. Naked “negative.” That is to say, there is of course no multiculturalism, pluralism, interethnic communication, mutual understanding, but extracted conflicts, violences, dissociations, angers, no “sameness” to their campus ethnic verse but vastly incompatible identity of ethnicity, polarized opposition: I/You, “us/them”, “negative/positive”, enemy/friend”. “Other” then deceived “other” with an even more students used different type of ethnic discourses as the strategies of distancing to magnify ethno linguistic differences. They are polarizing the differences of ‘us’ and ‘them’, constructing ‘the other’ and ‘otherness’, presenting negative other and positive self, derogating the others, constructing the others as enemies, hesitations and repairing in mentioning the others, attributing selfish interests by glorifying self, expressing the negative prejudices and stereotypes. Students in the university construct their ethno-linguistic diversity and ethnic identity perception.

The ethnic relationship mentioned above, reveals how students’ social structure is occupied and interwoven, with the societal ethnic practices of individuals’ and how the practices are strongly rooted by utilization of ill defined ethnicity discourses. The theme identified are students’ polarized construction of ethnicity by defining their position as "Other" and "Self", ‘us’ and distancing others as “them” are among others.

7.1.2 ‘Us’ vs ‘Them’ Ethnic Discourse

7.1.2.1 Polarization of ‘Us’ and ‘Them’

To begin with, the attitude of "Us” and “Them” has been considered as the foundation of the over all ethnic perception that surfaces the corresponding ethnic discourses. It, therefore, is the primary-theme of analysis in this sub-section. The themes are analyzed with due focus on dominant ethnic discourses obtained from both the interview and FGD

data. This sub theme is analyzed from the point of view of distinct discourses of 'us' from 'them' trailing in a particular direction and the indicators have been contextualized with the in-group as a whole. And, individual members of the in-group 'we' are seen as having particularly positive characteristics whereas the members of the out-groups 'they' are seen to have more negative characteristics.

During the interview, students explained that they often argue in line with the 'us' and 'them' dichotomy, in a spirit of belongingness to a specified sort called "*I ethnic group*" evidences. Where there are socially constructed ethnic categories, students identify themselves to one, others to another and are described by others as such. Such esteem plays a key role in achieving personal pride and creates an image of positive 'we' and a negative of 'they'.

The following excerpt taken from Hawassa Univeristy (HU) the interview indicates how the social and ethnic differences of 'us' and 'them' discourses are articulated among students, and how students from different ethno-linguistic group members are criticizing each others.

Inásu indálelaáá náw yámiyáyush; ythæ káŋa' zenídí nəw; le'lo'chu kəŋa' zənídí a'yídəlu'm bəma'lət;
They see you as distinctive when saying "this person is not one of us"; but "others belong to us." (HU Int.No.002)

As in the previous story, this texts revolves around the unresolved conflict between students. There is feature of acknowledging self ethnolinguistic identity. In the textual descriptions, the student's fear in acknowledging own ethno-linguistic group happened to be inculcated recurrently. And there is no indication of acknowledging the others as well. Such Foucault's "power, truth and representation of discourses are seen to be produced and reproduced with the sentence like "*Inásu indálelaáá náw yámiyáyush;*" meaning "they see you as distinctive." Other expressions such as "*le'lo'chu kəŋa' zənídí a'yídəlu'm*" are

seen to depict the deep-rooted self ethnic group identity. The explicit meaning of “this person is not belong to us” discourse using a persuasive language that he/she thinks asserts the associated side effects; grouping oneself against the other. The student persuasively presents the social practice and explains the presupposed generalization in pursuant of a polarized ethnic individualist behaviour hence being in line with the strategies of alienation. This indicate that the structure of the ethnicist discourse is linked with the once ethnicist ideology.

On the everyday practices of ethnicity based alienation strategies the discourse expressed, students’ use using the following exclusive phrase. The same university discourse comes as followed.

məsu bəta’m yidəga’gəfa’lu’
They support each other. (HU Int.No.003)

The sentence described reaveals the societal discursive ethnic identity practices involved in formulating the student’s “*Yidəga’gəfa’lu’*” as a priority condition of the identified ethnic groupings. As an important role in constructing ideologies of helping the success of the practiced attitude of “only us but not others” is the way of shaping the everyday discourse. In the excerpt, the discourse employed is particularly important, because it primarily deals with the ‘us’ and ‘them’ bipolar ideology that surfaced among similar ethnic group members. And, the information exchange that bases on the diversity discourses is mainly with reference to how students describe their ethno-linguistic differences. With this us/them ideology and intra ethnic communication, language different realities we all live and interacts. that serve to help as understand what we as humban beings have in common assist us in understanding the diversity which under lies our language, our ways of constructing and organizing knowledge, and the many plays a central role in the construction of ethnic strategies that leads to ethnic discrimination. Here, the lexical selection helps us to assume the mental representations of students, in

terms of underlying ideological features, is influenced by their every day ethnicist practices.

The discursive construction starts with social practices proceeds to generalization and resulted with ethnic negative attribution actions of other students who came together of different ethno-linguistic groups. A student from Wollega University discourse touches how students are scared when they joined the university.

*ərr'ə ifəra'ləhə! məjəməriya' la'yɪ si'gəba' bəta'mɪ bəka' lɪmələsimɪ nəbəri; məsə
iya'sichənəkuy nəbəri;
I have fears. In the beginning, I thought about returning home; they made me
very worried. (WU Int No.003)*

In suggesting fearful discourses there are indices such as “ərr'ə ifəra'ləhə!” psychology especially “I fear” are utilized through which students “cry” of fear is manifested resulting student’s ethnic anxiety and insecurity when they first join universities. Then later, they shift to use language that is seen to normalize the ethnic relationships. As a result, the discourse changes into; “*Məjəməriya' la'yɪ si'gəba' bəta'mɪ bəka' lɪmələsimɪ nəbəri'*” (*I was initially fearful*), voicing the message that it is difficult to find oneself in an ethnically diversified environment and harmonious relationship. The discursial analytic point, here, is that decisions are produced not based on the primary knowledge but emergent properties of the interaction that takes place among ethnically diversified groups. Therefore, the voices of students presuppose how marginalization, exclusion and domination discourse is taking place recurrently. Such voices are reminders of the broader context and foster the in-group unity, us, by magnifying the out-group disunity, them.

The following excerpts tends to emphasize out-groups as scary.

*“le'la'wɪ dəri yigə'd'a' mji yənəsə dəri in'digə'da' a'iyfəlgomɪ”
I think the intension is to make their own ethnic group safe and put others in
harm’s way. (HU Int.No.004)*

məsʊ bəta'mæ nəbər yəmi'ya'sfəru't;
They were very frightening. (HU Int.No.004)

Here, in particular, the voice “*yəmi'ya'sfəru't*” implies that a number of ethnic group members form their own identities to a great extent in the processes of influencing “other’s” identification strategies. In the first, the “I” (i.e., Ego) may show us the link between the two voices associated with reason and common sense, plus logical thought, in Freudian theory of psychoanalysis. In the two excerpts, the discourse indicates how much students are supportive of the ‘us’ or of each other's ethnic group and how the ‘them’ is considered as scary ethno-linguistic groups. Supporting the ‘us’ by excluding the ‘them’ is the reproduced discourse that runs throughout both texts. As a result, such discourses like “*məsʊ bəta'mæ nəbər yəmi'ya'sfəru't;*” (*they were very frightening*) and “*məsʊ' iya'sichənəku'ɪ*” meaning (*they made me so worried*) are used as an instrument to legitimize dominant power relationships of ‘they’ on ‘we’, as well as to magnify ethnic differences by emphasizing out-group strategic action. In the discourse, the student is seen to use the ethnic otherness “they” significantly; for example, “*yənəsʊ ðərr or məsʊ*” ‘they or their ethnic group’, “*bəta'm nəbər yəmi'ya'sfəru't*” has a meaning ‘*they were very frightening*’. Using ‘they’ in this discursal way signifies frustration. Here ‘we’ can be seen as favoured and is therefore positioned as different and peaceful when compared with them. Again, as stated in such discourse, identification of ethnic group served to glorify “us” through humiliation of “them,” produced by attribution of negative actions emphasized for out-groups. The most common problem students experience with a lot of modern ethnicity, from 1991 onwards, is its difficulty. It can appear baffling. Consider the following discourse from MU:

iməsʊ ya'nɪɪ a'ka'ba'bi ljo'ch na'chəw; indəwim a'ka'ba'bi bcha sa'yihon
yii'he' go'tt yəminləw aa'yi'nət a'llo;
They are from the same area; moreover there is a narrower local ethnic
grouping based on parish membership, which we call “gott”. (MU Int.No. 002)

The highly ethnically charged mentality, as voiced above is constructed in a way to make a process of grouping even lower down to a smaller ethnic geographic location. Considering them as “*iməʋo ya'nɪdɪ a'ka'ba'bi ljo'ch na'chəw*” which means “*they came from same area*” by relating to the specific geographical situations and cleared the whole message at the end with the word “*go'tt*”. The powerful and ethnically changed word ‘*go'tt*’ implies then how the division of ethnicity goes up and up even to the extent of challenging the life of living together in higher institution. And, in addition to the narrow mindedness of students, it signifies the way it is constructed, produced and reproduced as having causal effects on practices of ethnic identity. These multiplicities of discourses are the leading discourse of ethnicity concerned with the unequal ethnic power relationships that exist in the the so called academic centers. As a result, the societal discursive practices indicate there is limited place for neutrality rather than openly agreeing with one and disagreeing with others. So, the texts that presented “us” positively in such contexts presented ‘*others*’ or ‘*they*’ as scary. The claim is that university students commonly share quality of disclosing openly the existing social and ethnic practices of supporting the ‘*we*’ group strategy. Or “*only we*” in-group strategy by identifying and narrowing themselves as sameness with the association of their birthplace.

What is more in the above texts there are several hierarchies that privileged one over other dominate the other, marginalizing from benefiting from the existing practices of ethno-linguistic diversity. From this, it is possible to deduce that relationships within and among university students are mainly based on the overall societal discursive practices as a result of linguistic and ethnic differences. It is likely that as a result of this, external influence ‘*they*’ are the ones who would be beneficiaries instead of ‘*us*’ and these have become the dominant discourses outcomes presently exists in our universities. As the above interfaced discourses signifies, ethnic and linguistic similarity in universities that is shared by same ethnic members are beneficiaries over other some groups, in contrast disfranchising others. Members who do not share similar traits as the in-group are

labelled as out-group, treated unequally as if they are different. The treatment with regard to their ethnic and linguistic differences, belonged to frequently addressed in-group as 'we', while out-group members are referred to as 'them'. For 'others', it refers to societal practices in which ethnic and linguistic group differences are consciously valued and celebrated.

The indicators, such as "us" and "them" of the dominant discourse are signs of the ethnic differences that currently exist among students in various universities. According to the existing practices of universities, these highly polarized ethnic differences with the discursive practices there are manifestations of the feelings of students in trying to stick or worship single ethnic identity. As stated in the texts, as well as in various literatures, as ways of maintaining the social practices, by including the in-group ethnic members 'us' and excluding 'them', there is an attempt to legitimize power. Discourse of 'Us and Them', that resulted from discourse of individualism and in-group, is deeply rooted and hierarchically institutionalized on the basis of birth place within the existing ethnic practices.

The societal discursive realizations can be, more or less, intensified and become explicit due to the increasing levels of in-tolerance existing between diversified ethno-linguistic students. The discourses magnified with the immediate action of individuals committed how the mind control influenced others mind. This is done by indirectly controlling their actions and there by leading them to emerging ethnolinguistic clashes. As a result, the very notion of persuading by manipulating the dominant discourse with the social consequences done to control the minds of in-group 'us'.

Some of these ethnic differences and referential strategies enacted were as follows.

*bəta'm yigəriməɟal inəʊ i'nifo'rmæʃin yidəɾisa'chəwa'l; ləra'sa'chəw bihær
dəɟmo' ya'dəɾisa'lu; nəɟəri giini kəra'sa'chəw wɪchi lələla' ssəwi a'ya'dəɾisəm
bəzih məha'll' yəmi'fətər nəɟər a'llə;*

Of course, I just wonder how they get the information; They share it with their own ethnic group only. They do not provide it to others. As this exclusion takes place problems are likely to occur. (MU Int. No.002)

The discourse, "Of course, I just wonder...." works to make the forthcoming proposition, a proposition 'they'. The meaning made by the student depend upon hearing, rather than involved. The second features relates to 'they' get information'. These two activities can be seen through the dominant discourse for the transfer and control of information by exclusion of others. However, from a discursive perspective, the second feature can be seen as discursive strategies that build a strong relationship to "we only". The 'we' self ethnic discourse works as a strategy to have the speaker to claim by placing in the discursive position of the more difficult once of the disseminated information in universities. As a result, the discursive ethnic societal practices are highly networked and filled with differences of "us" and "them" dichotomy. Excerpt:

inəsʊ' bəbiherɪɛsh liya'gəlu'sh ina' litigə'lə'yi ti'chi'ya'ləsh; sitigəɪyi' dəgmo' cha'na' wɪsti' ti'gəbi'ya'ləsh;
Others may discriminate against you based on your ethnic background. This brought on you a stress. (HU Int.No. 003)

Formerly, the students lived in campuses, universities. They were lived together harmoniously where different ethnic group members lived in close proximity to their mates, While of present "they: sam themselves as a distinctic ethnic group, identifying and discriminating others. often negative discourses. As the respondent's discourse indicates, it was based on a contextual situation of the university students. First he says that the difference between 'us' and 'them' inculcated in the minds of university students have already been established as a negative relationship long before; the multifaceted societal practices of cliques are based only on the common ethnic background and language only with such a persistent basis how relationships among students are now practiced throughout our universities. The following excerpt confirms the above idea.

Yədəbu'bu' yədəbu'b ku'wa'nku'wa' yəsəmænu' yəsəmæn ku'wa'nkua' ina'm yəmisra'ku' yəmisra'k ku'wa'nku'wa' yitəkəma'l witətu'mɪ təma'riwo'ch univərsiti kəmægiba'ta'ch'wɪ bəfit yələla giniɲunət ymo'ra'chəwəl.

The Southerner use the Southern languages, the Northerners use the Northern languages, and the Easterners use the Eastern languages. As a result, they all embark upon a loose relationship when they join the universities. (HU: Int.No. 001)

Here, student's ethnic and linguistic background is considered as dominant issue for the school and ethnic discourse, and obstacle for cross-culturalist that do not create effective ethnic communication. Everyone from East, West, South and North believes that his/her practices do lead to the only proper way of addressing ethnic and linguistic issues, and incorporate other groups. However, this would adversely affect them as a result of a loose relationship that they would encounter when they join universities with diverse ethnic composition. The description of places are of a particular significance in analyzing the 'us' and 'them' integral to the ethnic difference square. This exclusiveness leads to certain communication barriers.

*æxtɪɾɪm dərəʒə' yədərəsʊ a'llʊ; ləmɪsə'le kərə'sa'chəw bɪhærr wɪtʃɪ a'brəwɪ
yəma'yho'nʊ;
There are those who are extreme in their friend selection who would never
befriend a student from outside their group. (HU Int.No.005)*

Similar to the above text, what is absent in this text is cross-culturalism. Relationships among students, are established for the most part, based on sameness of ethnicity and/or language. The discourse highlighted some relationship based on extreme commonality of ethnicity and language, and discourses in the text such as " *kərə'sa'chəw bɪhærr wɪtʃɪ a'brəwɪ yəma'yho'nʊ* " meaning "they do not like to be with others" are dominantly represented ethnic discourse implying the existence of discriminatory conflicts instead of consensus.

The most recurring theme of the discourses are highly polarized by contented terms like 'us' and 'them' and this ethnocentrism indicate the need serious improvements for the existing relationship among students. And more importantly, the need for students to

learn and be well informed about cross culturalism, to respect other people of various ethnic backgrounds prior to the teaching/learning begin.

To conclude, the respondents voices reveals several layers of loss. Students enter to their respective universities, without enough understand of “self” and “other”. It is presented as inevitable dominantly inculcated discourses magnifying as a natural order. In most of the interview discussions there are also incidents where ethnicity based on language difference is presented as an obvious and more or less a way of categorizing that is to say, they are not well aware of about concepts such as ethnocentrism, crossculturalism, multiculturalism and expects promot their dominant ethnic edeolgy over others; confuses their local notion of local withtheir cultural, ehtnic image of region; uses”us” vs “them” faillling to recognize the distinction of the terms in bringing extracted conflict among studnts in the campus, etc. These are the kernel of the true anecdote. Misunderstanding both lexical and semantic deriving from ethnolinguistic dissimilarities between Ethiopian languages divided by geographic locations, South, North, East and West are a source of many humerous anecdotes told within Ehtiopian ethnic community. Language, ethnicity and space intermingled as a contributing factors of creating ethnic tension among university students. In fact, many who are against ethnicity are claiming the attitude that propagates alienation as ‘us’ and ‘them’ should be abolished.

7.1.2.2 Labelling ‘Us’ & ‘Them’ Discourses

In a very brief and telegraphic way, by asserting the negative opinion like *məsʊ hɔlgizæ chɪggɪr fətɑ’riwɔ’ch nɑ’chəw* which has a meaning of “*They are always trouble makers*” the student from Addis Ababa University labelled “them” how students be a cause to create conflicting texts in using their extremist discourses. The next excerpt also magnifies the above negative labelling of ‘us’ and ‘them’: *mæ məsʊn a’llwədə’chəw m;*

ləmn hu'lgizæ bəsəda'm məha'l chigro'chm yfətra'luna' 'I do not like them because they always create conflicts in the middle of the peace.' (AAU. FGD: Subj. D).

Here, based on the binary opposition between 'us' and 'them,' the attitude of labeling other individuals' as "negative", focusing on the description of their ill deeds, to be negative. The use of the words "I" and "they" reveals the intent of separation of other ethnic group as a strategy of characterizing, especially within the representation of others who always behaving wrongly, as the text reads.

When such differences between 'us' and 'them' are highlighted, that is, in a few words, the speaker is drawing a clear stereotypical ethno-linguistic boundary in which the in-group member discourse remains tolerant and understanding. Obviously, such a description will generally magnify the discourse for the out-group member, not only breaking the rules but also producing other unusual behaviour and characteristics. This will typically be the case for 'them' who felt threatened, insecure or marginalized. As the following excerpt indicates favouring of "us" by exemplifying a cynical and self trusting discourse;

jəst yəra'sish səw go'dto' a'yigo'da'shm;
Your own man are not harmful to you. (HU. Int.No. 004)

With this discourse others have been attributed with wrong behaviour that would harm others outsiders of ethnic group. By implication, it would just produce the message it is only the people from your own ethnic in-group who may not be harmful while others are harmful to you. The text, "your own man" and "not harm" put in such a way seems to appear convincing. The voice also highlights the student's positive self discursal attention while labelling others as harmful. The total effect of the above text in inculcating and sustaining ethnic differences is very obvious and they are mainly produced with the aim of exclusion rather than inclusion. In short, as the in-group students tend to acknowledge the negativity of the others, they start to feel very much

motivated to accrue greater loyalty and only to their ethnic group discourses are produced.

*kəa'mina' kəka'cha'mna' jəmiro' kənisu' yəmbəzət mezh na'chəw;
inəsʊ' ra'sʊ rɪs bəris yɪta'la'lu' bəta'm nəw yəniɡərmiʃ a'sichəga'ri
nəw ʊniʋərsɪti wɪsɪti;*

Since the last years, they are the most dominant. And, they also fight amongst themselves. Life in the university is really difficult. (HU; Int No.005)

*məzih inəsʊ mətiəw a'llə a'yidəl zərəɲnət wəɡənɪtəɲnət ya'sa'ya'lu'
Here, they came, they engage in ethnic favouritism and tribalism. (HU Int.
No.006)*

The above simple extracts constructed with the phrases " *kəa'mina' kəka'cha'mna' jəmiro' kənisu' yəmbəzət mezh na'chəw* ", their numbers were far exceeding that of the other ethnic groups, since the past year and the year before that, implies the cynical relationships that exist between dominancy based on number of population of ethnic group found with in the university campus. The discourse continued saying, " *a'sichəga'ri nəw ʊniʋərsɪti wɪsɪti* " meaning "it is very difficult in university" and " *zərəɲnət wəɡənɪtəɲnət* " "ethnic favouritism and tribalism" reflecting ethnic favouritism that justify the exclusion of "them" through labelling self as not to be ethnocentric. In this labeling discourse, 'them' is therefore constructed as ethnicist and consequently blamed of ethnic favouritism as a threat or "they" as more generally perceived producing a threat for "us". To understand, the hidden discourse of the phrases implicitly implies a dominant ideological position that 'we' are not powerful as 'they.' The basic reason they believed is that it is ethnic based power that legitimizes ethnic differences between 'us' and 'them'.

As inferred, the existing and constructed polarized ethnic difference is implied as producing dominant, fearful and scary discourses. As a result, this implies the serious challenge of fostering a healthy relationship among various ethnicities in university campuses. One of the most striking ideological structures manifested in negative attributions and expression of the "other" by blaming the "other" are the quite commonly

inculcated discourses. This shows that there is a contradiction between the potential impact and promise of ethno-linguistic diversity. The witness for this conflicting practices is taking place, linking a positive self-presentation which was the once acceptable to society. But then, again, signalling in-tolerance with rampant negative attitudes towards others is the everyday practice of deep rooted ethnocentrism. This, in return, resulting problems of ethnic inequality that exists in the various Ethiopian universities. It prompts the need to enhance an unbiased ethnic consciousness among students, it enables them to participate in the process of construction of the inculcated discourses of ethnic inequality. Even if such practices of amalgamation of ethno-linguistic diversity in university campuses is believed to offer students the capability to personal development and prepare them for active and meaningful citizenship in an increasingly diversified society: however, the practice so far in Ethiopian universities, in an attempt to exploit the fruits of diversity, has become unfruitful.

7.1.2.3 Negative Ethnicity Discourses

There are possibilities for negative feelings of ethno-linguistic “otherness” to mushroom where certain characteristics of ideologies are associated with some ethno-linguistic groups. The next excerpt is evident of a student trying to disseminate his/her internal ideology at last producing negativity. The explanation reads out that;

ləbħəma' ləku'wa'nku'wa' lyu'nətu' fliŋm a'linəbe'rəŋim; bəta'm nəga'tv smæt a'lləŋ; mɪkɪya'tu'm bɪzu' gɪzæ fil yəma'dəriɡibət nəgər siləhonətto' yəħædəw mətfo' nəgər nəw wɪstæ təfətro'a'l;
I have no good feeling for ethnic and language diversity. I have very negative feeling; the reason is, most of the time, I feel bad since it has saddened me." (MU Int.No.010)

Set in a university campus equipped with various ethnic member students, the text contains several allusions; ethnicity language to campus life in university. The above discourse is constructed in such a way that it explains the negative individual's cynicism practices towards other ethno-linguistic groups. This has also been identified in the

discourses and in everyday practical talk of university students. Here, the listing is used to backup the initial claim that there was such a bad experience with regard to it and later it tries to provide evidence in assertion of the claim. With the phrase "tito' yəhædəw mətifo' nəgər nəw" meaning, "it saddened me" and "bəta'm nəgə'tiv smæt a'lləŋ" meaning, "I have a very negative feeling", the student discourse indicates how the feeling is constructed negatively. Consequently, it contributed to the students ethnic enactments and inculcations to sustain the demands of only 'us'. This is done with membership categorization and practices of ethnic depersonalization.

*Ba'bzə'ŋa'w ləkə'nikowa'na' ləbɪhær lyonət mətifo' a'mələka'kət məno'r yəgiləsəbən ya'sitəda'dəg hənətə'n məsərət ya'dərəgənəw;
Most of the time, language and ethnic chauvinism are mainly reflections of individual upbringing. (AAU. FGD: Subj. D)"*

Most importantly for the present purposes, the FGD dwelled on how often, during the previous year, that students have personally experienced or directly observed insensitive behaviour like polarizations of negative ethnicity, especially inline with the 'us' and 'them' discourse. The move for giving examples out of the textual discourse of the FGD was made due to the suggestion that implies ethnicity to be a lifelong experience and difficult as such to simply change; and that negatively practiced ethnic discourses control and shape students mind sets. The texts also reveals that while the personal experiences with regard to ethnic diversity are negative, there will be a tendency to use ethnically negative words such as "ləbɪhær lyonət mətifo' a'mələka'kət" meaning, "wrong attitude towards ethnic differences" which help to describe the ideologies of the background of 'others'. After a particular statement, the research respondent tries to dominantly inculcate to the group of students by creating ethnocentric feelings of 'us' by magnifying the negative ethnicity discourses.

The existences of such discourses of ethnicity and linguistic differences among the students have been seen as the point of diversity in universities. Or else the claim use,

from observation reports available, there are indications that some students prefer to communicate with their own vernacular only. That resulted them to be sensitive to their ethnicity are recurrently inculcated in negative contexts.

They used their ethnicity as an expression of ethnic identity, such as "I am, I am" identity discourses. Thus, the dominant discourse inculcation goes out on negative ethnicity activities with negative goals. The following statement made by a student who is in contact with out-group ethno-linguistic members is an evidence He explained that *"a'nɪda'nɪɪ ɡɪzæ səwɔ'ch yəra'sa'chəwɪ ku'wa'nɪku'wa' bɪcha' yəbɛla'yɪ in'diho'nma' indi'nəgəri yɪfɛlɛga'lu' ma'm yɪhæ wəddə ɡɪχɪt' ya'məra'l"*; "In some instances people like their own languages to be dominant and want to be spoken. That then leads to ethnic conflict." (AAU. FGD Subj. B) Basically, in the above discourse the enactment of social power entails ethnic group social control over 'others'. This mind and social control applies to the range of possible practices of dominant actions of other ethnic groups. Here the inculcating ethnic discursive power consists of directly relating ideas of language dominance or supremacy, as prominent categories of the 'us' and 'them' ideological schema.

The generality of discourses used by the respondents in the above text may also be interpreted as a form of a particular way of acting negatively. Students are causally shaped by the existing practices of negative attitudes towards others. Such discourse are seen in producing and reproducing the societal day-to-day practices of constituting particular ways of being dominant in language use, as a resource for ethnic conflicts.

Extracts:

Ba'bɪza'ɪawɪ yəra'sa'chɪn mətʃo' a'mələka'kət' mənɔ'r' nəw wədə χɪ'ɡɪrɪna' a'ləməsma'ma't ɪɟa'nɪ yəmɪwəsɪdɛnɪ;

Mostly, it is our own negative attitude that lead us to disagreement amongst ourselves. (AAU. FGD: Subj.C)

This discourse is constructed to provide justification. They increase the ethnic tension account warranting the negative attitude of one's ethnic background in the universities. The negative mental representation inculcated recurrently would result in ethnic-related conflicts among students. This implies, therefore, how important it is to teach conciliatory and informative ways of living in an accommodative and peaceful diverse ethno-linguistic environment to bring about healthy ethnic social relationships.

Interviewees also noted that there were ethnic and linguistic diversity-based conflicts produced discourses among students. In some instances students consider the situation that could occur as a result of inculcating ethno-linguistic diversity discourses, as one research participant stated:

*Iḡa' fræshma'n tæma'rwo'ch ŷa'læn wɪrɪetɪ næbəri; bətəɹy inəŋih kələda' kɪlɪ
yæmmətu ljo'ch bətə'm ya'sfəru'na'll.*

When we were freshmen, we used to feel such an acute tension. We were particularly afraid of students who came from other regions.(HU Int No.005)

What the narrative inform us is that the student is very much aware of the eminent ethnic differences that they may be confronted with. From the start, the student understands that there is potential for conflicts and a number of other discourses also account for potentially existing ethnic-based conflicts, as the production of the student discourses is indicated in " *Iḡa' fræshma'n tæma'rwo'ch ŷa'læn wɪrɪetɪ næbəri* " meaning, "while we were first year students the tension was so great." This clearly shows us that situations are usually tense when students join universities for the first time, while the discourse " *inəŋih kələda' kɪlɪ yæmmətu ljo'ch bətə'm ya'sfəru'na'll* ", ("we are afraid of those from the other regions) could be noted as a typical example of the existing ethnic frustration or tension that surfaced in the university.

yɹæku'a'ko'ra'lu'

They insult one another. (HU. Int. No.002)

*Iḡa' bəra'sa'chm a'nɪta'la'm; məŋa' gm sɪta'llu' mma' mm a'nɪda'
a'nɪdæ ɪsəma'ləhu';*

*We don't fight amongst ourselves; but I hear that sometimes they fight.
(HU. Int.No.004)*

Most importantly, the discourse like "*yṃəku'a'ko'ra'lu'* ", "*they are insulting one another*" is recurrently done and "*Iḷa' bəra'sa'chm a'nṫa'la'm*" meaning, "*but we don't fight amongst ourselves*" implies and reminds us that there is another third party who creates disagreements amongst students of different ethnic groups, when there is no possibility for disagreement among the in-group. This indicates that there is this kind of tendency that bring students to utilizing insulting and abusive use of language in negative lexicalization, in reference to ethnic differences among university students. Most of such associations are highly deep-rooted in university students' mentality and seems very difficult to switch off completely. With regard to ethnic and linguistic difference, the above discourses focus on a central idea that invites ethnic disagreement. As a result, due to ethno-linguistic difference of students, the mental representations govern the shared mental representations of the knowledge and attitudes of ethnic groups with the shared dimension produced. The in-group members are actually involved in the formation, confirmation, reproduction, or changes inculcating of 'us' and 'them' discourses. As this is the case for the reproduction of ethnicism, specific ethnic groups and their institutions are greatly involved in this polarization of 'us' and 'them' discourse by reproducing negativity, especially in Ethiopian government universities. These societal discourse formations are enacted by ethnic group members through inculcated ethnicity societal practices, especially in many forms of university student's everyday discourses.

Besides discourses of 'us' and 'them', the in-group-out-group polarization typically brought the role for in-group members as positive and the out-group ethnic members described their members as victims in strong and exaggerated ideologised terms. These discursive evidences suggest that 'us' and 'them' ideologies tend to be highly polarized. The next sub-section is about the different discourses on how 'them' and 'us' presents

themselves as negative and positive, respectively; and how, the inculcated discourse that existed between 'us' and 'them' very widely produces and develops the negative other presentation while positive self presentation is also produced.

7.1.3 Negative "Other" and Positive "Self" Presentation

Under this topic, the researcher explored the existence of the negative presentation of the "other" and of the positive representation of the "self" among university students caused by reproduction of discourses. Students' discourse indicated that they are highly exposed to the image of negative-other and positive self presentation discourses as they are socially constructed. True, students are more aware of such discourses and find them to be real, as they pass through the challenges posed by multi-linguistic and multi-ethnic contexts. Hence they pose their ideas and reflect on the existing and unfolding social phenomenon in reference to both the pursued negative-others and positive-self presentation. Therefore, in such a case respondents ideologically influenced and contextually controlled structures of discourse are going to be produced of the self and other.

7.1.3.1 Negative Information about 'Them' Discourses

The analysis presented here focuses on the overall negative others-presentation, as it is produced recurrently throughout the data; in examining the existing social pressures follow in text is a key to depict this.

Hu'lgzə chgr fəta'rwo'ch na'ch'əwɪ;
They always tend to be trouble makers (AAU Int.No.004)

As indicated above, by explaining the way how one behaves or acts negative otherness is produced and reproduced among students and shared through their everyday discourses. Students sketched in the ethnicist practices that their every day casual dialogue serves as an arena of production and reproduction of discourses of negative others and positive

self presentation. Earlier, it was noted how students could be able to produce and reproduce negatively polarized ethnic discourses even before coming into contact with other ethnic groups. That is because from the very start they harbour the belief that their ethnic and language distinctiveness would bring them obstacles. And that makes the cultivation of smooth communication among students almost impossible. Moreover, students' hidden agenda was that a positive attitude towards others represents a bias in accepting others, while a negative attitude towards others represents a basis for rejection of others. The next discourse implies how such a relationship is manifested,

*inən bəbɪhæræ bəmətɪlɑ't' sɑ'yɪhɔ'ni inm mɑ'nɑ'gər sɪləkəbədə'chəwɪ
mənɪ məshəʃɪ nəw yəmimærɪt't si'lɛzɪh inəsʊ'gɑ'mɪ iŋɑ'gɑ'm kɔ'mfɔ'rɪt
ɑ'yi'fətɪ'rɪm.*

They are not comfortable talking to me; they want to avoid me. Therefore the situation is not healthy for communication. (MU. Int.No. 012)

The first thing what student lack is cross-cultural or intercultural communication. They are largely self-contained because of they are polarized into two separate and conflicting powers: the “us” and “them”. Ethnocentrism and self centredness, ethnic ideologies, brokedown their interpersonal communication. Cross culturalism or intergroup communication transformed from interpersonal ethnic identity to intrapersonal communication as it is clear from the above text that narrate the existing uncertainty of inter-ethnic relationships. It activates talking negatively of differentiation. The statement "It is not that they hate me; it is just that they find it very difficult to converse with me" indicates how social practices does not give students space to communicate with a shared language. Such a claim is used by students in their every-day discourse in an effort to project an image of unease due to differences of languages, as the text "*inəsʊ'gɑ'mɪ iŋɑ'gɑ'm kɔ'mfɔ'rɪt ɑ'yi'fətɪ'rɪm*" meaning, "it does not feel comfortable either for us or them" depicts. One of the students even argued that it is doubtful as to the existence of sincere attachment among students of different ethnic backgrounds, if there is any at all.

As suggested, the participants felt that the solutions in trying to mitigate the problems are beyond their capability. However, this needs to be immediately and, of course, sustainably addressed in order to find solutions, create good ethnic relationship and to fight off the rampant negativity adhered towards ideologically controlled ethnic expressions.

*A'nichi' wədə məsu' bɪhəri ljo'ch bɪəhəjmi məsu' wədə a'nichi a'yɪməu'm;
nəgər gm iŋa' yhənm po'sətivily nəw yəmmwəsɪdəw;
Even when you want to get close to them, they don't want to get close to you.
Even when you try and get close to them the relationship may be some what
loose. Nonetheless we take that positively.(HU. Int No 001)*

It is clear then that text with ideologically motivated messages would then adversely affect the mentalities of other ethnic groups. The phrases and sentences above are injected with hidden messages of presenting “other” as negative. Similarly to a large extent such mind controlling discourses and strategies practiced are employed as positive self-presentation and negative others-presentation. It was phrases such as “; nəgər gm iŋa' yhənm po'sətivily nəw yəmmwəsɪdəw ” meaning, “Nonetheless we take that positively” that enacted as persuasive discourse aiming to strengthen a claim for self-positivity and others-negativity. Further discourse with such descriptions could also be considered as results of self ethnicist practices. In other ways, such discourses produce negative opinions about other ethnic groups based on interactional strategies that emphasize positive information about “self” and negative information about “them”. In the light of the above discourses, would the opposite also be true? The views underpinned in the discourse could be taken as an expression of individuals with ethnocentric attitude in trying to adopt strategies of mind control in line with positive self presentation and negative projection of others. Therefore, the speaker here, then, assures of providing stories in justifying the positive values of self and negativity of others. In this case, the ultimate intention of the discourse would be to serve as a powerful tool in pursuing a polarized ethnic agenda. Especially, avoiding negative information about “us” and dieminating positive information about “them”.

The following messages will clarify that how language and ethnic differences are based on the negative attitude and perceptions of students. Conversely, these discourse structures reflected in their biased mental model of either explicit or implicit depiction of negative attitudes towards members of others ethnic groups. Though such attitudes may not lead to violence immediately, yet their potential in fostering future conflicts is unquestionable. Different levels of the text that followed from above presented the positive representation of the in-group and the negative presentation of the out-group and was produced and reproduced with the kind of societal discursive structures. In the light of the discourses deployed to confirm very negative and horrific image representations of the other, the illustrated words, phrases and sentences down below emphasize absolutely negative ideological encapsulation discourses of the self positive and the negative other;

yənəsu' bihær ljo'ch' lələlo'ch' mətfo' a'mələka'kət a'la'ch'əw ɛ
The student from their ethnic group have this negative attitude towards others. (HU. Int. No.001)

The student here describes the 'they' voiced as a powerful tactic for presenting a negative claim of the others at the very beginning. Next, such discourses emphasize the primacy of self beliefs as in the sentence "*yənəsu' bihær ljo'ch' lələlo'ch' mətfo' a'mələka'kət a'la'ch'əw*" meaning, "*They have this negative attitude towards others*" provides extra strength to a negative projection of other ethnic groups while ascribing positive attributes to the self. As a result, students described the stressful discourse as aggravating and enhancing the existing social pressures of the negative others presentation on their textual discourse. A student from the Hawassa University indicated the following everyday discourse.

bəyəkənu sɪlə məsu' bihær yəmɪtɪsəmɪw wərræ bəqa' məssu' kəlji ɪskə
a'wa'ki mətfo mɪdəho'nu' nəw;
The everyday discourse that you hear leads you to believe that whether a kid or a grown up, they all are bad. (HU. Int.No.002)

As identified, students are pre-informed that the other ethnic group as the enemy, per se. To the extent, it has been formulated that while growing up students are exposed to antagonistic discourses. Others have been characterized and viewed as the enemy as a result of a persistent manipulation of negative and deep rooted societal practices and discourses, such as " *kəljɪ ɪskə a'wa'kɪ mətʃo mɪdəho'nu' nəw* " meant to say " *whether a kid or a grown up they all are bad* ". It is therefore, the ideological messages that are hidden behind the words and the negatively loaded deep rooted societal practices that foster negative attitude towards other ethnic groups and language speakers. Apart from that, such expressions topicalize and intensify doubts, and questions while serving as strategies of negative comparison by emphasizing the bad qualities of the "other".

On top of that, such topics usually make their basis on long history of conflict that prevailed in the past among different ethnic groups. The nostalgia and the desire to cling to those past memories ensuing further the "they" and "we" discourses.

Another factor in which the discourse implied very explicitly is the intensification of ethnic based conflicts in university campuses caused by society-wide interethnic prejudices

Excerpt;

Inə ɹɪh u'nɪvɪɪsɪtɪ smətə' bətə'mɪ təməkɪrəʃh nəw yəmətə'hu't; məsu' yɪʃæwɪduə'çɪuə'l; mɪdɪh ya'dəɪɪɡuə'çɪuə'l; mma'mm təbɪləʃh təməkɪrəʃh nəw yəmɪtməçɪw; mɪdɑ'tɪtɑ'lələ; mɪdɑ'tɪʃhəwədu; mə'm kəɪnəsʊ bɪhər lɪjə'çh' gɑ'r mɪdɑ'tɪɡətɪmɔ mɪbɑ'la'lən.

Before I came here I had been cautioned by my family about interethnic relations. I was told that I would be conned by people of other groups. So you come here with a bag of attitudes and prejudices and you exercise precaution. You would be advised to be cautious not to be conned or manipulated and even you would be advised not to get close to students of other ethnic groups. (HU. Int. No.004)

If we carefully consider the practical uses of the above discourse, we can notice how implicated messages are decoded through adopting strategies of manipulating the

surfacing ethnic situation of universities. In the discourse, there are arguments that describes range of strategies of excessively exaggerating as as it reads " *təməkɪrəʃ nəw yəmɪtməχw* " ("you came here preinformed") and *məsʊ' yɪʃhəwɪdua'χua'l, mɪdɪh ya'dəɪɟua'χua'l* " meaning "they would con and manipulate you." The advice and forewarning, in this case, uses many hidden but implicated meanings that help catalyze the ongoing discursive interaction and as a direct trigger for ethnic violence agendas. Such words, phrases and sentences cast their shadows upon the existing ethno-linguistic diversity related tension that reigns in universities. The practical advices such as "*yɪʃhəwɪdua'χua'l* " meaning 'they con you' and " *mɪdɪh ya'dəɪɟua'χua'l* " meaning 'they would harm you' are also another phrases that espouses the cynical attitude of the external society.

mɪkmɪya'tu'm lənə a'mɪha'ra', o'ro'mo', gu'ra'gæ, tɪɟɪræ ma'llətɪ lənə mn a'yɪmət a'mələka'kətɪ mɪda'ləwɪ a'la'wɪkɪm ya'nɪm səw lfəra'w ɪχɪla'ləhu' pɪla's dəɟmo' æxtərma'l præsðəru'mɪ a'llə... Inɪdɛzɪh a'yɪmət səwo'χ'm a'tɪkɪrəbu'wa'χəw yəmɪl.

That is because I do not have the idea what attitudes the Amhara, the Oromo, the Gurage have towards me. So I would be afraid of that person. In addition there are external pressures that you endure and that cautions you not to get close to these people.(ASTU, Int.No.008)

As the case in point, it is possible to infer or deduce that the out-group members are depicted in negative terms and in-group members as positive. The common assumption, even after the perceived and acceptable acts of the out-group member are the usual moves of the main strategies in discourse of “negative other” and “positive self” presentation which constitutes a challenging problem. For instance, the phrase, '*məsʊ' yɪʃhəwɪdua'χua'l*,' meaning 'they con you' indicates that ethnicity and language based differences are depicted as the primary intercultural discourse of emphasis of “negative others” and “positive self” presentation.

According to the following remark by a student, it is possible to be able to distinguish one's ethnicity and language noticing the relevant practices of the individuals.

*Iwmætun læmæna'gæri yæku'wa'niku'wa'na' yæbɪhæɾ lyu'næt bæ'bɪza'ɪa'w
 gɪlæsəbu'ni mæsəɾət si'ya'dæɾig ma'm læmætfo'ma' lætru' a'mələka'kət.
 To tell you the truth the outlook towards ethnic and language differences is
 mainly based on the individual and that tends to have good or bad attitude.
 (AAU. FGD: Subj. D)*

To this end, individuals' ethnicist discourses are increasingly shaped through their notions towards ethnic and language differences in relation to the various social backgrounds they are drawn from, as well as their accumulated parental and societal knowledge or perceptual frame and experience. In such instances, therefore, the speaker would be driven to speak with apparent candour beginning the discourse with " *Iwmætun læmæna'gæri*" meaning "to tell you the truth". Negative ethno-linguistic discourses reflect reproduction of ethnicism mainly based on the practices of ethnicity which combine positive self with negative other.

The argument has been developed; however, that practical contextual discourse contributes to students increased scepticism and cynicism of one another. Of particular importance in such discourses is the significance of externalities that is the external societal unconstructive ethnic differences and the resulting negative lexicalization discourses and practices. Therefore, it is very obvious here to see that guided by associating deviation and threat, university students often fall victim of accumulating negative messages that lead to acute ethnicity and its consequent conflicts.

7.1.3.2 III Defined Discourses

The following discourse, in essence, expresses undesired to others behaviour, presented on the ground of the speakers own ethnicity. Such expression even more magnify the very act of negative othering practices and contributes to the ethno-linguistic diversity and the resulting fearful situations that surfaced in the universities.

*Do'rm wɪstɪ o'ro'mɪɪ tənə'ga'ri lijm a'læch mæ kəɪsu'wa' ga'r nəw bɪzɪ' gɪzæ
 ko'mu'nɪcæt yəma'dæɾigəw gi'n ku'wa'niku'wa' sɪləma'tɪsəmɪ məsɔ' yɪtəchu'sha'l*

ma'lət ko'mplæin ya'dəɾɪga'lu'; mæ yidəbrɪɟa'lɪ mæ bəra'sæ ɪsəma'ləhu' gi'n məlɪs məmələs a'lfəlɪgm;

In my dormitory there is this girl who speaks Oromigna. I mostly communicate with her. But the others would at times criticize you and complain that you don't know their language and understand their ingroup communication making them uncomfortable. For that reason I get bored of them. I listen to and understand what they are saying but I don't usually respond to that. (MU. Int. No 010)

The focused phrases like " *məsʊ' yɪtəxu'sha'l* " meaning 'they criticize you' help to understand how students are so influenced by practices associated with their upbringing. The terms are strongly exaggerated to accelerate the gap in the relationship among students in ethnically and linguistically diversified university campuses. Such discourses may serve as ideological constructs to mobilize one ethnic group in carrying out adverse actions against other ethnic groups. That is because students have been pre-informed and manipulated with discourses of their parents before they join the universities.

The student in the above discourse selects negative words to describe the action of others. In fact, the strategies for ethnicist discourse that are adopted in universities are touched upon with such phrases, " *ku'wa'nku'wa' sɪləma'tɪsəmɪ məsʊ' yɪtəxu'sha'l* " meaning "But the others would at times criticize you and complain that you don't understand them"; " *ko'mplæin ya'dəɾɪga'lu'* " meaning "they complain", " *mæ yidəbrɪɟa'lɪ* " and "I got bored of them" and these pre-created images of negativity are seen to be catalysts of ill-defined hateful ethnic discourses. Given this complex discursive texts, students put their minds to expressing their feelings. This indicates that the issue of ethno-linguistic difference presently is critical and related to the whole societal contextual practices of the university and as reflections of some of the whole societal practices. Such social practices and the reproduction of texts show contributions to the social formations of positive self and negative others. That also holds true for the reproductions of ethnicist practices within the ensued dominant positive self and negative others discourses. In such discourses, the self

groups do systematically de-emphasize and defocus the other groups and shape attitudes with others passive constructions.

Following is an attempt to delve into how university students see themselves as having been constituted by their pre-conceived societal practices. These embodied discourses of social practices continue to wrongly shape their self-understanding of ethno-linguistic diversity, constructed as positive and others as negative.

Let us look at the following responses:

*məsu sɪbo'dnu' ti'ru' məho'nu'n lələlo'ch' gm mətfo' məho'nu'n nəw
yəmɪsəma'chə'w; yətələyə a'sɪtəssa'səbɪ a'la'chəwɪ; kəfɪtəŋaw pəɪsənɪɪ
ba'təka'la'yɪmətfo' smæet lələla'w a'lləwɪ;
They feel good about their group formation and feel bad when others form their
own identity groups. They have this peculiar attitude. The majority of them
project negative attitude toward others (AAU. Int.No. 204)*

The above discourse position is clearly the negative opinion adhered to in accentuating ethnicity while excluding the self from ethnocentric practices. In this particular case, the problems caused by 'others' is expressed with the phrase " *məsu sɪbo'dnu' ti'ru' məho'nu'n* " meaning "*They feel good about their own group*", " *lələlo'ch' gm mətfo' məho'nu'n* " meaning "*while feeling bad when others form their own group.*" These particular discourses outlined constitute a number of elements that seem to underline ethnicist remarks and are therefore used to mark typical attitudes of being remarkably anti-others. In summing up, the others are depicted in negative terms and the self is portrayed as reacting positively. Such an expression and use of language shows the negative attitudes adopted by "they" towards others ethno-linguistic group member, greatly pronouncing the positive self practices as designed to achieve the plausibility and perpetuation of certain discourses that is because students do not speak these stories as an individual remark or expression but as a recital of long standing societal discursive practices.

In such situations, therefore others are obliged to be recipients of knowledge created through social interaction. The socially constructed discourses are then interpreted as intended to the needs of others and any effort by students to challenge the discourses to which they are exposed to may bring social consequences. A student from HU asserts this assumption in response to the peculiarity of problems related with ethnicity.

Ya'chɪ miku'wa'nɪ yənəgərku'sh ɪəkəkəkə'chɪhua'ləhu' yəmɪlɛw ləɪsu'wa' o'ro'mo' ma'llət bəkə' yə X o'ro'mo' a'ti'wədɪm; kə Y yəmətə' bɪcha' nəw ləɪsu'wa' o'ro'mo' ma'lət;
The student whom I told you about who threatened us with the knife. For her Oromos are not those from X Oromos but only those from Y. (HU. Int No. 005)

As the above excerpt indicates there are those who dangerously define themselves, referring themselves as 'real' ethnics; considering themselves as full-blooded, as different as to other half-breeds of their own ethnic groups and language users. The discourse then demystify the divisions among students of the same ethnic background in "*ləɪsu'wa' o'ro'mo' ma'llət bəkə' yə X o'ro'mo' a'ti'wədɪm*" meaning "*For her Oromos are not the X Oromo but only those from Y*". In this sense, the discourse creates boundaries that foreground what we think of as our identity. Furthermore, the discourse used by the student also implied the idea of mono ethnicism in trying to present it as a precious inheritance. And that need to be transmitted, undiluted and uncompromised in line with strongly underpinned competing, fearful and disgusting ethnicity discourses.

Most of the discourses inculcated then about ethnicity are ideologically crafted. The discourses provide a justifiable account of social boundaries through creating and reproducing unequal power relations within similar ethnic and language groups. The above excerpt's hidden meaning that such an association represents a very distinct kind of ethnic identity discourse found in different contexts. It uncovered the ideological consequences of the constructed claim of a certain group holding a special position as unique and distinct from another group within the same ethnic group. In the discourse, some were presented as a separate group with unique claims. On the other hand, this

claim serves to maintain both challenge and resistance to the similar ethno-linguistic group's identity constructions.

Some respondents often framed and produced their discourse in terms of addressing ethnic challenges that they confronted moving through various phases. They also tended to change their use of terms both positive and negative at times. This attitude serves to perpetuate the existing poor relationship among university students as a result of ethnic and language differences. The discourse, therefore, amplifies the way of thinking, talking, and the way of life of different ethno-linguistic members within the framework of existing social discursive practices. In this sense, ethnicity can be thought as a powerful element for perpetuating existing power relationships as a result of competing discourses that ensued among university students. The following discourse from Hawassa University makes clear that the outsiders have a role in inculcating the societal practices.

*dæyɪɪ yəmɪta'sa'dɪgiwɪm lɪj sɪllə bɪhæriʃ tɪru' sɪlələlə'w mətfo; sɪmɑ'gəri'
mɪɪdməw yəmɪkərietsəw lɪju';
What do you think your kid will learn when you always talk good of your
ethnicity and bad of the other? (HU. Int. No 002)*

Then, the contribution of the discourse above is clear attests the social practices' involvement in the enactment and reproduction of ethnicism through language lines. Here, the social dimension is locally defined in terms of everyday ethnic practices and expressed in the everyday relationship of university students who enter into diverse ethno-linguistic practices. However, with their continual and modified discourse students are specifically contributing to the reproduction of ethnically motivated attitudes that are clearly manifested through the discourses formulated. Many daily interactional ethnic inequities encountered and reproduced as a reflection of the overall campus environment of ethnic inequality and forms of discriminatory attitudes via intensification of negative others. Similarly, at the level of ethnicism, for instance through portrayals of negative others, and positive self, and biased discursive texts like " *sɪllə bɪhæriʃ tɪru' sɪlələlə'w*

mætfo; sɪma'gəri' " which means "You speak good of your ethnic group while bad of others," stereotypes are perpetuated.

This is to imply that cultivating the benefits of ethno-linguistic diversity mainly depends on actual experiences of producing new discourses based on real and can did integration of students from different backgrounds. While considering expressions from AAU which highly be inculcated the discourse of individuals do not need the negativity for others, like

*mæ ləməsʊ' bɪhæɪ lɪjo'ch mætfo' nɛgəri yələŋɪm nɛgər ɡm lælo'ch lmo'ra'chəw
yɪchɪla'l*
"I have nothing negative of them, but other students would have." (AAU FGD:
Subj. E)

Next, an ethnic sentiment that seeks to evacuate notions of language inequality as emphasized with the phrase "*lælo'chu' yəɪnæn ku'wa'nku'wa' sɪsəmu' dəsɪtəŋo'ch a'yho'nu'm.*" meaning "the other may not be happy of hearing my language" especially by demystifying the reproduction of ethnic prejudices. Excerpts:

*Bæ'bɪzɑ'ŋa'w lælo'chu' yəɪnæn ku'wa'nku'wa' sɪsəmu' dəsɪtəŋo'ch
a'yho'nu'm.*
Most of the times, others may not be happy to hear my language. (AAU, FGD:
Subj. D)

Attitudes of positive self presentations are expressed in phrases constructed in a personal manner and better representation. Negative other descriptions represent ideologically controlled expressions of the discourse, setting out in response. This discourse discusses the continuing challenge that is associated with the idea of the others adapted, as implied by ethnic differentiation existing against the diversified university students' backgrounds. This implies the firm systemic institutionalization of ethnicity within the university campuses. Such generalization as *inæ lɪnəsʊ' ya'ləŋ a'mələka'kət bətɑ'm bətɑ'm yəwərədənəbər kɛzɑ' yətənəsɑ' bəkɑ' ləɪnəsʊ' ya'ləŋ a'mələka'kət*; "My attitude towards them was negative. As a result, ofcourse it was bad attitude that I had towards them. (HU Int. No 007)", for instance, shapes the students participation in the social situations as

constituted by generalizing negative inculcation. Such boundaries more generally attributed to emphasized discourses of their negative acts.

At the level of interaction in a diversified student's community the belief of students about themselves is, therefore, largely derived from generalized texts they produce and reproduce about others. With negative topics of others and practicing it, enacting and inculcating it as appearing in the following derogative discourse and then internalized as everyday discourses as part of core societal practices. Excerpt:

Tu' b o'nəst mæ məsu' bɪhæro'ch' dəss a'yi'ləŋm;
To be honest I don't like those ethnics. (MU Int. No. 009)

Throughout the textual discourse offered with the repetition of ideas and statements which solidified their knowledge of the positive self presentation is reflected. It is also shaped and enabled the mind control within the existing social reality. The majority of these can be defined by the activities engaged in the power enacted and reproduced in self privileging and negative other presentations. Such representations continued to be reproduced throughout the data and the dominant images of one ethnic group is glorified in the discourse as better and others as worst. These induce conflicts as part of wider ethnicity based conflicts in universities.

The discourse goes on with further generalization where excerpts like "*mæ məsu' bɪhæro'ch' dəss a'yi'ləŋm* " meaning "*I don't like those ethnics*", reflecting hegemonically coloured discourses. Then, the speaker was projecting self positively and negatively of others in a bid to serve the interests of particular social contexts through mere representation of social practices in the textual discourses. The following extract from the interview points out how much the perpetuated social practices of portraying negative images of others produced the persistence of dominant patterns of representation in discourse of the students. Excerpt:

*bəu'nɪvɜrsɪtɪ wɪsɪtɪ mɪdənəbərɪku' yənəsɪ'nɪ ku'wɑ'nɪku'wɑ' sɪsəmə' dəsɪtəŋɑ'
a'yɪdələhu'm; lələ'wɪn dəs a'ya'səŋɪm.*

*While I was in the university I never was happy to listen to them speak in their
language. It is not pleasant to others (AAU Int. no. 003)*

The discourse here intended to articulate " *yənəsɪ'nɪ ku'wɑ'nɪku'wɑ' sɪsəmə' dəsɪtəŋɑ'
a'yɪdələhu'm; lələ'wɪn dəs a'ya'səŋɪm* " meaning "I never was happy to listen to them speak
in their language." In this case, we notice that ethnic differences are mainly based on
linguistic difference. It magnifies the production of negativity of others discourses
among university students. The manifestation of these notions in the discourse is mostly
related to long standing claims and perpetuate discriminatory aims of other ethno-
linguistic groups. One of the discourses quoted above framed as 'selfishness' on how they
feel wrongly done by when s/he heard others language and conversations. S/He felt
unhappy while s/he hears others language, by emphasizing the dominant discourses of
how that really makes someone unpleasant. However, such a discourse also denies the
principal vehicles of ethnic identification, i.e. language. According to the above texts,
specific ethno-linguistic group members regularly engaged in their every day
conversations to express their ethnic identity, solely utilizing their language. That would
then result in students committing undesired social wrong doings such as prejudices and
unequal access which prevails in hegemonic social practices. Thus, they are likely to
produce their ethnic attitudes on other ethnic groups.

However, the next extract amplified the reason for language equality appears in
suggesting the mediated discourses like "*maningawim kuwankuwa*" meaning in a sense
"*every language*" is equality discourse, denying a superior construction of us and an
inferiorization of others or "they". Excerpt:

*yəku'wɑ'nɪku'wɑ' kɪdəmɪ təkətəl yələwɪm; bəzɪh zurɪɑ' mɑ'llət chɑ'llænjɔch
ɑ'llu; mɑ'ni'ŋɑ'wɪm ku'wɑ'nɪku'wɑ' yəməŋɪbɑ'bɪyɑ' məsɑ'riɑ' nəw; kələlo'ch
bɪhæɪrɔ'ch gɑ'r yɑ'lləməŋɪbɑ'ba't nəgər ɑ'llə.*

No language comes before or after another language, it is only a tool for communication. However there are challenges in this regard. There are some misunderstandings with other ethnic groups (MU. Int. No. 003)

Here, the major focus is on actual use of language and its service for communication purposes. The use of self language is very crucial here in forwarding discriminatory attitudes. In this way, such ethnic discourses lead to misinformed communication and magnify the ideologies of positive self presentation and negative others presentation. It is produced, reproduced, become shared, enacted, inculcated and may form the negative basis of others ethnic or linguistic practices.

For instance, a student from MU was able to see enthusiastic about the language dominancy. Excerpt:

A'nda'ndæ ku'wa'nku'wa' la'yI wa'nnI pɪrvæulɪs zə a'zəɪ yəmilɪ pɪrɪsɪplɪ yənikətəlu səwo'ch a'llu'.

Sometimes in discourses with regard to languages there are people who adhere to the principles of one prevails over the other. (MU. Int. No.003)

The above textual discourse echoes the idea of " *A'nda'ndæ ku'wa'nku'wa' la'yI wa'nnI pɪrvæulɪs zə a'zəɪ*" meaning "sometimes in language discourses one prevails the other" assumed beliefs by some students engaged in reproducing and representing negative discourses as a sign of strong practices in language inequality. Some students seemingly attempt to find ways to create an environment to mitigate feelings of positive self-presentation and negative others-presentation through their every day ethnically oriented discourses. This attempt help to intensify understanding between various ethnic groups and narrow the possibility of negative interaction amongst various groups in university campuses as a result of their ethno-linguistic differences. Such social practice in the campuses not only helps collaborative spirit to reign among university students of various ethnic backgrounds, but it helps assert tolerance within the diverse ethno-linguistic environment. This is clearly stipulated with such discourses constructed to outlay defining ethnic groups as negative and is a danger to unity in diversity.

Respondents in their speech emphasized that they prefer communicating and prioritizing their only language among other languages. For instance, participants engaged in their own discourses feel that they are valuing their language cognizant of their ethnicity which they also consider as superior to others. There are even students who are engaged in practicing and reproducing power relationships through discursive strategies in reflection of negative attitude towards other languages. Even though learning others' language may help smoothen interaction among students of differing languages and make communication easy, students are seen to by-pass that option. And, still students try not to topicalize ethnicity as initiations of good practices. Instead they engaged in producing and reproducing the bad ethnic practices. Had that not been the case, and if students were able to topicalize positive ethnicity, that would have created a better situation of fostering positive-others-presentation instead of negative-other-presentation.

Arguments are produced through the representations of various ideological effects according to the excerpts illustrated. Others were portrayed as ethnic ignorant. The discourse also emerged with the reason as to how students feel comfortable when they hear their language being spoken by a member of other ethnic groups. The participants from AAU have pointed out on the emergence of such ideologies and the creation of new discourses in the universities, like *ko'nɸilɪkt mɪdɑ'yɸətər a'gərʊnɪ məwɪdəd a'lləbət ma'nɪɲɑ'wɪm səw kəma'nɪɲɑwɪm səw ɪku'l məho'nu'n ma'nɪɲɑ'wɪm ku'wa'nɪku'wa' kəma'nɪɲɑ'wɪm ku'wa'nɪku'wa' mɪdəma'yɪbəlɪt*; "In order to shun conflict first one should love the nation and believe in equality of people and languages." (HU Int. No 003) The discourses represent stories like "*ma'nɪɲɑ'wɪm ku'wa'nɪku'wa' kəma'nɪɲɑ'wɪm ku'wa'nɪku'wa' mɪdəma'yɪbəlɪt*" meaning "equality of languages" constructed by students as the most important topics of ethnic differences. A more in depth deconstruction of the tolerance as indicated and others are considered to violate these norms and values by the following excerpts:

*bəbɜu məkku bəməha'la'ch'in məcha'cha'l yələm; mɪm məcha'cha'l yə'lə'm;
yəra'sa'chəw ku'wa'niku'wa' bɪcha' ti'kɪkɪl mɪdəho'nə nəw yəmiya'minu't;
ləlo'ch gɪn bəka' indətəsasa't'u nəw yəmiko'trut'ɪ*

There is no tolerance amongst us all. In all aspects there is no such thing called tolerance. Particularly they don't know anything about tolerance and respect for others. They believe that their language is the only right language and consider others as wrong. (AAU. Int. No. 004)

*nəgəro'ch' kələ'l a'yidəlu'mi' yu'nivərsitis wɪsɪtɪ, təma'rɪwo'chi tənə'da'jo'ch
nə'ch'əwɪ.*

things are not easy in universities, students are aggressive.(AAU, Int.No.002,Ins)

In essence, according to a student from AAU there is only the "talking" about tolerance among the diverse ethno-linguistic community in universities but failing to walk in that direction. It is estimated that ethnicist discourse dominates every day discourses amongst university students and are exercised as a socially ratified way of activities. As the student above confirmed the ever strengthened ethno-linguistic discourses contribute to the continued constructs of intolerance among the diverse university students. This is also supported with the discourses provided by instructors that students are aggressive in their stay in universities.

On the other hand, as argued earlier by a student from HU that there are multiple advantages that could be utilized from the diverse ethnic and language composition by highlighting peoples similarities more and in extrapolating their shared humanity. Whereas, in another participant's reaction to this idea, it is indicated that still ethnic group differences exist with no room these days for tolerance in university campuses and that consequently is leading them to disagreements. Here, the sentence "*ləlo'ch gɪn bəka' indətəsasa't'u nəw yəmiko'trut'*" meaning "*others as wrong*" indicates how students are manipulated through mind control, without formulating explicitly why it is considered wrong. The student reproduces the construct of lack of tolerance while intensifying the differences in thought. Value and communication amongst various ethnic groups may all

be part of persuasive portrayal of inclusion of self and exclusion of others as the next sub-theme deals with.

7.1.3.3 Ethnic Inclusion and Exclusion Discourse

məsu' ga'r yəmmɪgɪba'ba' məsu' yəŋanɪ ku'wa'nɪku'wa' yəgɪɪyɪchɪla'lu';
They must speak our language to agree with them. (HU Int.No 003)

The discourse above is about the production of discursives of exclusion of language of the others exclusion with the interest of inclusion of some. Similarly, instead of expressing the negative opinion like *ba'bɪzaŋa'awɪ məsu'chɪggɪr fəta'rɪwo'chɪ na'chəw* "They always are trouble makers." (AAU; FGD: Subject D) the speaker also says *mə bəɪəla'm məka'kəl məsu' chi'ggɪr' cɪfətɪru' a'lwədɪm* meaning "I don't want to see them making trouble and disturbing peace." Discourses which imply the negative others presentation to positive self presentation is the aspect of traits and features attributed to "them" and "us". In this way, the negative statement may be toned up as the moves up in presenting negative opinions that sound very negative of others " *chɪggɪr fəta'rɪwo'chɪ* " meaning "They are trouble makers." Such discourses have the role of the reproduction of ethnicist discourses in line with the differences of ethnicity and languages, as well as attitudes of individuals' basis to label someone as negative or positive.

Thus, the discourse articulated duplicate as self to remain tolerant and others considered as not only breaking the rules but also committing wrong deeds with negative lexicalization.

ɪθnɪk la'yɪ mədənæ kəho'nə tɪnɪʃ yəŋa'n kɪbrə wərəd a'drɪgən yənəsɪ'n kɪbr
dəgmo' yənəsɪ'n kəf kəf ɪya'dərəgɪn ka'liho'nə chɪggɪr nəw;
As far as I am concerned with regard to issues of ethnicity it would be
problematic if we don't think of them as superior and us as inferior (WU. Int.
No.001)

təma'rɪwo'ch yəbəla'yɪmətɪm bəkɪfɪl wɪstɪ ma'nɪtsəba'rərəkɪ ywədə'lu'

Students like to reflect their superiority in their classroom. I have seen such practices.(AAU, Int No. 004,Ins)

Such cynical practices are reconstructed with the produced discourses like " *tmish yajja'n kibirə wərad a'dirigən yənasu'n kibir dəgmo' yənasu'n kəf kəf nya'dəragm* " meaning "We have to think of them as superior" and try to display humility. Newly emerging discourses are significant to support the existing effort underway to moderate ethnic attitudes and create peace amongst the diverse ethnic and linguistic groups. From the text, it is possible to consider the meanings of ethnicism as consisting of every day dominant social practices of university students. Since, an emerging discourse on the nature of student ethnic relations developed in the campus climate and reproduced some negative discourses of ethnic groups gradually became dominated as instructors tries to show with the discourse " *təma'rwo'ch yəbəla'yimətm bəkfil wisit ma'nitsəba'rərəkI yiwada'lu* ". This confirmed that such ideologies inculcated throughout their stay in the university with the information that equality leads to peace and in equality leads to negative attitudes. Therefore, be permanently stamped in the minds of students. It is usually possible to say that students could exclude their internal feelings and live peacefully in a sense of accommodation and understanding with in an existing situation.

Excerpt:

Ra'sm zik a'dirigə yəmna'gəru'tmm ho'nə ya'ləwm nəba'ra'wi hu'nəta' zmm biyə kəf kəf nya'dərəku' bəka' nyəməsa'səlku' mənə'r nəw nji yəmfələgəw a'hu'nmm bih'o'n me'ne'te'n mttm ləma'dirəg kəho'nə a'sichəga'ri nəw təməsa'siyə ləmənə'rma' tmihritu'n ləməchərəs;
I try to be humble extremely respecting the dominant discourses and adjusting to the existing situation. As much as possible I try to adapt and finish my studies.
(WU: Int. No 003)

At the same time, the above texts support the existing previous one with the sentence such as " *ya'ləwm nəba'ra'wi hu'nəta' zmm biyə kəf kəf nya'dərəku'* " meaning "I try to go on extremely respecting the existing dominant discourses" shows the continued reproduction

of the ideologies of tolerance. Here, the reverse is true to include others by excluding self internal feelings.

Most importantly, it shows the experiences learnt or directly observed from the result of insensitive behaviour like discriminations of 'self' and 'other' leading to ethno-linguistic violence. The instantiating example also indicates the unfavourability of situations for one to express constructed identity. The understanding of the trouble that could be caused as a result of exposing ones ethnic identity, students tend to hide their peculiarities when they faced diversity.

In a particular statement down below students present a group of other students as ethnocentric. Note this discursive utterance:

yihæ chiggir tmish yəlyu'nət nəgər ya'llə yməsləŋa'l;
This problem I think there is little about differences causing problems. (MU. Int. No.001)

There have been mental representational excluding others and including self practices of ethno-linguistic diversity in universities. Then, problems are real, as explained with the sentences " *tmish yəlyu'nət nəgər ya'llə yməsləŋa'l* " meaning "differences exist" and implies the underpinnings of negative representations of others. This further elucidates the observation that ethnic and linguistic exclusion of others and inclusion of self lead to disagreements that occur recurrently as the following discourse implies;

yəbihærina ku'wa'niku'wna lyu'nət bæzi ya'dəragə chiggir bətədəga'ga'mi ykəsəta'l
Problems based on ethnic and linguistic differences occur repeatedly."
(AAU.FGD: Subj. D)

Indeed this directly implies the potential for conflicts as a result of ethnic and linguistic differences. Thus, the following statement by a student to the out-group ethno-linguistic members: *kələla' kilil yəmmətu' təma'rwo'ch gu'da'yu' kəla'l biho'nəm wədə gixit yməru'ta'l;* *Students who came from the other regions make the simplest of issues very*

conflictual."(AAU. FGD Subj. B) The discursive practices used by the students in the above example may also be interpreted as simple disagreements transferring into an overall ethnic based violence in university campuses. The discourse also expresses the negative sentiments of others as empirical evidence of the production and reproduction of social inequality. This implies others are included for presupposed their bad ones by emphasizing more on the exclusion of our bad properties. The next textual discourse glorifies this " *gu'da'yu' kəla'l biho'nɪm wədə gɪχɪt yməru'ta'l* " meaning "They make the simplest of issues very conflictual." This exposes the student's attempt at making language and ethnic differences as a cause and utilizes the predications strategy and reproduces the notion of negative attitude towards others. The topical discourses, often restricted to the negativity attitude towards each other, lead to disagreements. The discursive strategies in this exchange tend to have a negative dimension by topicalizing others as a threat and representing ethnic relations as problematic.

Students belonging to similar ethno-linguistic background as the following student indicated enjoy a fraternal friendship. The friendship that is established on the notion of sameness, however, at times it may become difficult because of many types of cliques created in relation to the way the similar language being spoken among the members of the same ethnic group. Excerpt:

bəa'hu'nu' wəkɪɪ gua'dəɪnət yəmɪməsərətəw yaa'w yəa'nɪd bihæɪ təwəla'j ina' ku'wa'nku'wa' yəmtɪna'gəri ka'nɪd' a'ka'ba'bi' yəmətə'sh kəho'nə nəw.
Nowadays, Friendship cliques are established based on sameness of ethnicity, language and same area of origin. (AAU. FGD: Subj. D)

The above discourse continued to highlight the ways to perceive oneself, and the notion of being perceived by others, as significantly different from other groups. As textual discourses constructed with a sentence " *gua'dəɪnət yəmɪməsərətəw yaa'w yəa'nɪd bihæɪ təwəla'j ina' ku'wa'nku'wa' yəmtɪna'gəri ka'nɪd' a'ka'ba'bi' yəmətə'sh kəho'nə nəw* "

meaning "Friendship cliques are established these days based on sameness of ethnicity language and same area of origin". This respondent strongly believed and produced the argumentative discourse that says friendships established among university students are based on an outright concealment of variations particularly with regard to ethnicity and language.

The potential impact of ethnic and linguistic diversity social practices taking place, link a positive self-presentation. It is acceptable to society, signalling tolerance with an existing negative attitude towards others. Positive benefits accruing from diversity mainly depend on actual practices and on real integration of students drawn from different backgrounds. That is using positive self presentation and negative expression towards others as it is produced in phrases of a personal form such as, *mələməsə' mətfo' a'yidələhu'm lælo'ch gm mətfo lya'sibu' yichila'lu'* translated as "I am not bad to them but they think bad." (AAU FGD: Subj. E) is the case and act accordingly positive self and negative others accusation.

In general, what we find from the above text is the preference for those discourses that emphasize the bad actions of others without any hint of good attributions. These general strategies of positive self-presentation and negative others presentation is established in most emerging dominant discourses. Students indicate that it is societal discursive practices on ethno-linguistic diversities and the consequent challenges that prompt students to live distinctly separated with their own ethno-linguistic member cliques. The entrenched societal practices of bad attitude, towards others during their stay in campuses, emerge as the newly everyday interactive practices. The advantage of diversity is not employed by the students in trying to create better ethnic relationships. Instead the very few discursive practices are exploited to foster enmity. There are also cases students

face to ethnic and linguistic diversity produced and reproduced to formulate ethnic persuasion-reception dimension of communication.

Discourses which reduces the negative others presentation to mild positive other presentation is the significant aspect in trying to bring ethno-linguistic diversity tolerance and the emerging discursive change of social practices. Although there are causes of conflicts and disagreements resulting from negativity for others and positive attributes for self discourses. The issues have been touched upon recurrently while considering the situation of pejorative portrayals of ethnic others diversity discourses. The existing discourse structures have the strategic function of enacting as a means of persuasion.

Ethno-linguistic inequality in the social contexts is multiplicity expressed, described and regulated among the students' discourse. The texts are at the heart of the university students' every-day interactions and are produced and reproduced as a result of negativity mental models. The negative-others and positive-self presentation discourses indicated are more importantly driven by the ideology of emphasizing their bad things and by de-emphasizing our bad things. Then, by emphasizing our good things and by de-emphasizing others good things and applying different all levels of discourses in words, sentences, lexical selection, that one's ethnic meanings are socially practiced. And it describes most forms of strategic means to influence ethno-linguistic differences and their societal discursive practices. These strategies are designed to read more about their negative attitude, deviance, rather than about ours. And so little about our negative deeds are the functions for students discourse. With that in mind we go on to explore discourse practices of ethnocentric discourses as the next sub theme of the chapter dealt with.

7.1.4 Practices of Ethnocentrism

7.1.4.1 Ethnocentrism Based Ethnicity Discourses

As the respondents indicate, the construction of discourse on societal practices of ethnocentrism emerged recurrently in the data as the most dominantly produced. Most of the respondents have expressed their hatred of other ethnicities being constituted with a deep rooted ethnocentric feeling. This happened especially when they were first year students in the university. This indicates strong hate towards other ethnicities mainly in adherence to ethnocentrism ideological structured. The following excerpts strengthen this argument;

*Inidəa' a'ymət a'ka'hæd a'llə; yəbihærɪtəɲnət a'mələka'kət nəgəri a'llə;
There is this tendency of being ethincist. (AAU. Int. No. 204)*

*ɪdɛntɪɪ ma'llət m m ma'llət mɪdəho'nə læm mænɪt yətəba'lə nəgər inidəho'nə
a'lləma'wək yməsɪləɲa'l ɪdɛntɪɪ ma'llət' məga'cha' ma'llət a'yɪdələm æthno'
lɪŋuɪstɪk dffɪrənɪsɪ ma'llət a'nɪchi'na' ɪkələ yəmɪttə'lu'bət ma'llət a'yɪdələm.
That is because of the lack of understanding what identity means, what it stands
for. Identity is not a thing for confrontation. Ethnolinguistic differences does not
mean you and othes to be in conflict.(HU Int. No. 006)*

Social representations are shared by ethnic societal practices and attitudes. This influences the specific knowledge of individual language users. Like in the phrase " *ɪdɛntɪɪ ma'llət' məga'cha' ma'llət a'yɪdələm*" meaning "identity is not a thing for confrontation."

*Ta'wɪkɪya'ləsh' yɪhæ ləlo'chm ygo'da'l; nəgəri gm mæ a'wɪka'ləhu' sɪlələlo'ch
sɪ'sɪfu'; ka'l bəka'l ma'llət a'lfələɪgm; bətə'm a'sɪkəya'mɪ nəgər nəw;
You know what; this hurts the feelings of others. I know that when they write
things, I don't want to say word by word! It is disgusting." (AAU Int.No.201)*

In turn, it controls the reproduced discourse for instance; as we read out in the next textual discourse such as " *ka'l bəka'l ma'llət a'lfələɪgm* " meaning "I don't want to say it word by word". The hidden and covered discursive practices under the text imply that

their insults projected on ones ethnicity is practiced as it is implied by the deep rooted tendencies of ethnicist practices in everyday discourses.

Moreover, the phrase "*a'sikəya'mɪ nəgər nəw*" meaning "it is disgusting" shows that there are societal ethnic polarizing structures of practicing ethnocentrism that is so down graded. According to the above textual discourse the use of derogatory words in producing ethnic discourse are well practiced. And the very reason why the student refrained from saying word by word the practices that are said supplement that. Besides, the discourse indicates the usual social practices utilizing negative words to describe the tacit ethnicity based practices. And what needs no further argument of student attitudes in this regard is the case for the continued practices of ethnocentrism as a central characteristic of ideologies. One element of discourse marked in the extensive uses of additional persuasive phrases such as "*you know*". There are also indicators of negativity in phrases and words like "*bəta'm a'sikəya'mɪ nəgər*" meaning "*very disgusting*" as a typical of ethnicity polarization. They convey a sense of emerging social practices of ethnocentrism discourses that are associated with positive values and positive activities of the ideological schema. This impact presupposes the inter-ethnic group relations among each other faced obstacle for experience sharing and knowledge transfer. And most importantly, acquiring positive attitude towards one another as well as sharing of practices among the ethno-linguistic group related to ones ethnic and linguistic identity as the discourse implies.

In the social practices of ethnocentrism, inter-group attitudes and behaviour have generally been found to increase ethnicism. And this appearing to be related with increasing levels of ethnocentrism and decreasing level of ethno-linguistic tolerance. On this basis, the following respondents have sounded a claim that ethnocentrism exists in campus slightly as a result of voiced of ethnic graffiti. The following textual discourses illustrate this point:

Aa'wo'! Ləmɪsa'læ bɪhæritəŋenət a'llə. Ba'bɛa'ŋa'w bəŋa' yu'nɪvərɪtɪ bəmɪgəŋu' bo'ta'wo'ch' yətəsa'fu'tm ɡɪra'ffi'ti'wo'ch bɪtmələkəchi bəɡɪw wɪst yəbɪhæritəŋinət sɪmæt ba'təka'la'y ba'ləw yəu'nɪvərɪsɪtɪ ma'hɪbərəsəb wɪstt' a'llə;

"Yes there is an acute ethnocentrism if you look at the graffiti in most places on the campus, you will notice the existence of that sentiment of ethnocentrism within the entire university community. (AAU. Int. No 004)

The speech also constitute sayings indicates about how ethnicity functions and is provided in the phrases and sentences like " *bɪhæritəŋenət a'llə* " meaning "There is ethnocentrism" and " *yəbɪhæritəŋinət sɪmæt ba'təka'la'y ba'ləw yəu'nɪvərɪsɪtɪ ma'hɪbərəsəb wɪstt' a'llə* " meaning "there is a feeling of ethnicity in the university" and of course the challenge has been noticed with the existence of the ethnocentrism feelings. The exchange of derogatory words using ethnic graffiti among the dominant ethnic groups is very common, according to the above text drawn from the interview. As excessively mentioned in the student's graffiti and their every day talks, one ethnic group tries to use annoying discourses, by picking up issues in reference to past historical ethnic discourses. So, the relationships have sounded the impression of ethnocentrism practices in the day today discourses of students is ethno-linguistic diversity. One can described it then depending on the reflection of the ideological position for the external societal ethnic relationship practiced in the whole nation.

Ta'wikiya'ləsh a'nɪdu' yələla'wɪn məbɪt sɪ'sɪ ma'llət nəw. Yihæ dəɡɪmo' yəwɪst sɪmæt nəw; kəyəətɪm a'yi'mətə'm. Sɪlɛzi'h yəbɪhæɾ chɪɡrɔ'ch a'llu.

You know this happens because one violates the rights of the other and that is a reflection of one's inner feelings; it doesn't come from the blue. Therefore, there is of course a problem of ethnocentrism." (AAU Int No. 001)

Ethnocentrism discourse is usually addressed with phrases such as "*yebihær chigeroch allu*" meaning "*There are ethnocentric problems*" as it prominently implies and topicalises the practices of ethnocentrism as part of student's every day conversation in the universities.

Bətəma'ri'wo'ch məka'kəl yəbɪhæritəŋinət sɪmæt a'llə

There are ethnocentric feelings among the students. (AAU. Int. No.001)

Many students are concerned that it is true that ethnocentrism feelings exist among students and the underlying discourses and their implications proved discouraging. The use of the negative words and phrases to describe the actions of others like: "*yəbɪhærtəjɪnət smæt a'llə*" "*There are ethnocentrism feelings*" and "*By violating the rights of others*" indicate how the end result of ethnocentrism has increased alienation of one ethnic group from the other. And misunderstandings amongst the ethno linguistically diversified university students are being characterized with inflaming hatred.

In a nut shell, ethnocentrism is based on deep rooted feelings that put one's own group as a centre of interest and attention while making life miserable for other ethnic and linguistic groups. Further, the term implies that others are judged according to one, central set of standards. An implication of these discursal judgments is that one ethnic group is produced showing more sympathy than the other and its members think of themselves as behaving properly and with decent knowledge, while others are portrayed as wrong doers and driven with ethnocist feelings.

Yəbɪhærtəjɪnət smæt a'llə; gɪləsəb kəgɪləsəb ga'r ina'm ya'dɪgma' yəbɪhærtəjɪnət smæt a'llə; gɪləsəb kəgɪləsəb ga'r ina'm ya'dɪgma' yəbɪhærtəjɪnət smæt a'llə;
Ethnic conflicts are always there. They may be observed between individuals and goes on to become a cause for ethnic conflicts as it gradually hurts ethnic feelings and leads to bigger ethnic conflicts. (MU. Int. No.002)

The above idea has been reproduced in the following excerpts

Ya'w bətəjɪnət smæt a'llə; gɪləsəb kəgɪləsəb ga'r ina'm ya'dɪgma' yəbɪhærtəjɪnət smæt a'llə;
ku'wa'nku'wa' yənə nəw yəmɪl; gɪləsəb kəgɪləsəb ga'r ina'm ya'dɪgma' yəbɪhærtəjɪnət smæt a'llə;
There is a sort of ethnic rivalry with competing claims of linguistic superiority. Some individuals tend to overvalue their ethnic identity and denigrate others, which can eventually lead to open tribalism and parochialism. (AAU Int. No. 002)

This accusation espouses an act which is the indirect imposition of ideology based discourse of ethnicity over other ethnic groups. This immediately prompts the reaction of other major ethnic groups which led to conflictual discourses. According to the above

text, students are not seen to be comfortable towards others because they think there are ethnic competitions based on constructed and reconstructed social practices of the ethnocentrism discourses. Some consider that their region is endowed with resources they proudly describe as their sophisticated linguistic techniques. Some also developed a sense of attachment to the government in power as a result of their ethnic background and felt a sense of superiority nostalgically recalling the past historical dominance of their ethnic group over the rest of the other ethnic groups. As a result, the discourses in the above text revealed the exercise of power in the phrase " *gɪlɛʒəbo'ch ra'sa'chəwɪn lɪyɪ' a'dəɪgæw yəmiko'tɪru' a'llu*" meaning "There are individuals who consider themselves as unique" clearly exposing the scepticism. As a result, the tacit, hidden or implied meanings are reflections of increased scepticism and cynicism when it comes to ethnic and linguistic diversity practices.

yəbɪhæɪtəɪnət smæt bəɪa gɪzæ.

There is this feeling of ethnocentrism in our time! (AAU Int. No.002)

In these circumstances, threatening ethnocentric discourses are seemingly adopted by students as a continuation of historical and transcendent ethnocentric practices. Besides that the symptom of the ethnic conflicts voiced with the phrase " *Yəbɪhæɪr gɪχɪto'ch a'llu*" means "There are ethnic problems" and are students' strategies of persuasion engaged with discourses of ethnicity and conflict texts and contribute to the production and reproduction of ethnocentrism.

Yɪkəfa'fəla'lu'ɪ̄ inɪda'yəhu't kəho'nə bɪhæɪtəɪnətɪm... ɪzə' sɪɪgəbɪ nəw məkəfa'fəlm ya'yəhu't.

They are separated among themselves-----I witnessed ethnocism----and divisiveness when I joined here. (HU Int. No. 007)

Overall, bias of ethnocentrism ideology interpreted as often the result of in-group bias followed out-group hatred. These productions of discourses produce negative effect and persuade individuals to hate others with deep felt ethnocentric feelings. And thereby create a hostile situation. Such negativity brings discomfort, uneasiness, disgust, and

sometimes fear, which tend to motivate exclusions of other ethnic members through intentionally producing destructive ethnocentric discourses. In the excerpts from the speech of the Hawassa student we see the word 'Ykəfa'fəla'lu' meaning "They are separated" and traced out that ethno-linguistic diversity heavily influencing division among students. Moreover, the increased tempo of divisions according to the texts indicates the existence of hostility and ethnocentric feelings in universities. Indicators of competition are seen in texts showing the existence of polarized and often negative competitive spirit among the different ethnic groups. They are so stimulated these spirits that they led to produce phrases such as my language is uniquely better than all! Individuals considering themselves as unique with aggravated ethnocentric feelings are the recurrent discourse practiced throughout the specific egotistical competitions among the ethnic groups as highlighted the ideological mental models and therefore control the structure of the discourse.

As indicated in most of the texts drawn from the interviews of students, alternatively may possibly to infer the good intentions of ethnocentrism and harness these intentions. By way of creating new and positive ideas and avoiding wrong attitudes among students in such ethnic diverse situations. In fact, with such recurrent practices of fostering negative impression of ethnocentric attitudes and their consequent practices, students would possibly be able to dismount negative ethnic mentalities overtime.

7.1.4.2 Bigoted Ethnocentric Discourses

Whether good or bad the situations may be with regard to ethnic interaction in inter ethno-linguistic conflict instances would brought narrow minded based ethnocentrism discourses. These showed that there are isolated incidents of ethnicity based conflicts in the universities. The indicators are more of a general problem of ethno-linguistic diversity in the society at large which the universities are constituent of. The idea raised

by Assefa Fisseha is relevant here in which he deduced that universities are no isolated entities underlining the influence exerted on them by the external social practices. Throughout the data discourses of narrow minded based ethnicity is produced recurrently and are incident of the conflicts. With narrow minded ethnocentrism practices as voiced by the students as the following interviewee texts illustrated the discourses. It illustrates the ethnicity discourses focusing on narrow minded thinking. Excerpt:

A'nidu'na' wa'nəŋa'w gu'da'yI chi'ggɪr bətəma'ri'wo'ch məkəkəl tt'iru' yəho'n gmu'ŋnət la'ləmɛftər yihe' təbətətəŋinət nəw; bəkə' a'iimi'ro'hin təbətə a'drigo' indiya'sib ma'di'rəgma' yəbħæri'təŋinət simæt siho'n ya'w ləra'sisħ bħæрма' ku'wa'niku'wa' tənə'ga'ri bħcha' ma'dla't nəw.

One of the prominent obstacles that hinder the possibility of good ethnic relationships among students is parochialism. That is a narrow minded ethnic attitude. (AAU. Int. No. 003)

Ba'bza'ŋa'w ya'w yəbħertəŋnət a'mələkəkət a'llə a'nid bħærlələ'la'ŋa'w bəziħ għi wist. Bħærtəŋnət mənə'ru'n səm.chəə'ləhu'.

There are parochical attitudes towards each other on this campus. Of course I also heard about it. (AAU. Int. No. 004)

Thus, in this system of ethnic interaction, students usually engage in production and reproduction as well as dissemination of ethnic ideologies in pursuit of discriminatory practices. Because, they consider others as narrow minded, as a result of developing feelings of inferiority and being less intelligent as compared with the dominant ethnicity. The change that is observed in social practices is then helpful in order to bring close equality of groups in a situation of ethno-linguistic diversity by deconstructing the dominant discourse of ethno-linguistic inequality and rectifying the consequent practices. But this is not possible to happen without due control of the spread of narrow minded ethnic groups ideologies and their negative ethnocentric attitudes. There is also the need to enhance ethnic consciousness among students to help them participate in the process of deconstructing dominant ethnocist discourses that emerge in the universities.

Ya'w təma'rwo'ch təba'bi a'stəsa'səbo'ch inida'ləba'chəw ina'm yi'hə ya'w yəbħærtəŋinet simæt nəw; kənəsu bħærlə wichi la'lu't a'llə inidəzi'h a'ymət

yəbɪhæɪtəɪnɪət a'ka'hædo'chma' a'mələka'kəto'ch a'llu' bətəma'rwo'ch məka'kəl.

the existence of narrow mindedness among students; that is of being ethnocist towards other ethnic groups. Such ways and attitudes of ethnocentrism are there among students (AAU. Int. No. 004)

The construction of negative attitudes appears as we have seen in the above discourse as a strategy of apparent concession which indicates the negative part of the sentence is spelled out throughout the discourse. In the discourse about ethnocentrism, the students included statements suggesting narrow mindedness of other ethnic groups with the phrase " *təba'brɪ a'stəsa'səbo'ch inɪda'ləba'chəw* " meaning "Narrow minded thinking." Such remarks were especially supported with " *yəbɪhæɪtəɪnɪət sɪmæt nəw* " meaning "It is an ethnocist feeling". These statements are a depiction of some aspects of ethnocist feelings. Within the first two texts, the interviewees talk about the narrow mindedness and ethnocist feelings thereof and confirmed its age long adherence as part of social practices. Next, with the sentence " *yəbɪhæɪtəɪnɪət a'ka'hædo'chma' a'mələka'kəto'ch a'llu'* " meaning "Such ways and attitudes of ethnocentrism are there." This implies that social practices within the universities identified happen in conformity with ethnic ways and attitudes.

Throughout the interview texts, some forms of ethnocentrism are obviously identifiable and while the other forms are more difficult to notice and some others are too visible and tend to avoid dangerous discourse production, reproduction and impression. Most of such patterns of discourse emphasize or de-emphasize the existing practices within a situation of ethnic and linguistic diversity and sometimes negative actions of conflicts and disagreements. There were also differences in societal practices witnessed through ethnic and linguistic analysis of behavioural patterns. Such discourses explained as textual discourses and social practices of the student with the words and phrases like, "make your mind to think very narrow", "ethnocentrism attitudes" and "highly narrow mindedness, and do not share better experience". In general, students are more likely inclined to mention the differences that exist within ethno-linguistic diversity as something that they

can fathom. However, some other students were seen as less likely in trying to identify specific aspects of ethno-linguistic diversity. These patterns were especially true when we see students produce and reproduce discourses that reflect their ethnic attitudes.

Ka'sitəda'dəga'chəwi'm yiməsiləŋa'l....ya'sa'dəgəw bətəsəb lələla'w bihær tiru a'mələka'kət kələləw təma'ri'wim ti'ru' a'mələka'kət a'yino'rəwim
I think it is the upbringing-----the family that the person grew up in is used to disdaining other ethnic groups (HU Int. No 007)

It is in the consequences of their ethnic identification that the discourses turn out to be discriminating. Such identification discourses are the prominent ones and it is thus important to consider who is trying to attain power through discourses associate with the implications of this power struggle for the reproduction of ethnic inequality and negative attitude, as stated with the sentence of the above textual discourse " *ya'sa'dəgəw bətəsəb lələla'w bihær tiru a'mələka'kət kələləw* " meaning "the family that the person grew up in is used disdaining" For instance, students discuss how ethnocentric discourses are reflected through emphasizing rejection of diversity instead of recognizing its existence among students in the university. It is highly concerned with the ethnocentrist attitudinal discourses of students' ethnic and linguistic diversity. From further discussion with students, it was noted that there are manipulations of identities in attempt to discriminate others through such societal practices, stigmatization of the vulnerable, exclusion of the marginal, naturalize the privileged and subverting resistance. Consider the following response.

lələochm mɪdə mnm inɪdəma'yisəma'chəw; yəga'ra' yəmlu't ba'hi'l in'dələla'chəw; məti'fo' ba'hi'ri'y in'da'la'chəwi'na' in'da'li'sələtenu' a'di'rigo' yəma'yət nəgər a'lle;
There is a tendency of looking at the others as having no such common culture, as having no good conduct and as uncivilized. (AAU. Int. No.003)

Addressing issues of ethnocentrism with the text like " *məti'fo' ba'hi'ri'y in'da'la'chəwi'na'* " meaning "Having no good conduct", *in'da'li'sələtenu' a'di'rigo' yəma'yət nəgər a'lle* " which is the most important part of the statement meaning "Looking at them as

uncivilized. With discourses of such negation in considering the other as "*backward*" and as uncivilized influences students while disturbing their inner feelings. There are relatively consistent situations of some ethno-linguistic groups being so ethnocist depending on the aggressiveness of individuals in the group in this regard. Such discourses are therefore, a means of distinguishing the unique particularities of dominant personalities in a given ethnic group enacting their hidden agendas of power. It is through the effects of such discourses that power is consolidated and critical ideas are persuaded as well imposed on others.

*bəhu'lət yətəyə'yə' bihæro'ch məka'kəl wi'di'di'r nəgər a'llə;
 bəku'wa'nku'wa' li'ho'n yi'chila'l; yənəkə'wa'nku'wa' yətəsha'lə nəw yemalet
 nəgər məsəətə' ba'yi'tə'wəki'm; yətəyə'yə məsəət bi'no'rəwim giləsəbo'ch
 yi'no'ra'l yəra'sa'chəwin inidə li'yū' yəmi'qo'tru' inidəzih a'yi'nət nəgəro'ch
 yəbihærtəjnət simət indi'no'r ya'dəriga'l;
 There is competition between two different ethnic groups. It may be based on
 language or ethnic evaluation of each other. Such things foster the sentiment of
 ethnocentrism. (AAU. FGD: Subj A)*

These students argued ethno-linguistic differences and their consequent discourses and their prudent action is mainly the significance of ethnic competition. So, students who were already familiar with the understanding of ethnocentrism as a reflection of individual experience and those who take ethnocentrism as a reflection of ethnic group's action are basically the expression of the student's understanding of ethnocentrism not being mutually exclusive. However many argued that each shaped and reinforces the other in the context of daily life. The description of such a text magnifies the enactment of ethnic social power by the use of specific discourse structures of ethnic and linguistic competition. They also felt that the distinction attends to the ways in which discourses are constituted and ethnic based social relations formulated.

In this connection, raising what Pedersen said about the devastating degree of ethnocentrism is worth noting. He pointed out that "the problem of ethnocentrism as a

fundamental human tendency serves as a major counter veiling force."¹⁸⁶ In other words, he stated many factors combined to produce very complex ethnic attitudes. The reason behind this is that we are all ethnocentric, some of us are more than others. Especially, if we have not tasted diversity, how would we know it to be otherwise? Most of us know only our ethnic group and its traits and we consider it as a standard to judge others against. The more another ethnic is like our own the better it is. That is the very essence and meaning of ethnocentrism. So the key issues that students are arguing capitalize upon the already existing ethno-linguistic competition among different ethno-linguistic group members of the university students, as a result of the government's utilization of a policy to divide the country along ethnicity and language. With the text "*bəhu'lət yətəlaya'yū' bihæro'ch məka'kəl wi'di'di'r*" meaning "*Competition between two ethnic groups*" and "*yəra'sa'chəwin inidə li'yū' yəmi'qo'tru'*" meaning "*They consider as unique*" are among the reasons for the advancement of ethnocentric practices. The utterance emphasizing ethnic competitive spirit is a key concept as socially-constructed practices shaped in accordance of the attitude of ethnic uniqueness. A basic tenet of the word uniqueness is a product and re-product of the textual inculcations and transformation of the competitive discourses produced by students.

Bəta'm liyū'nət a'llə; yənæ ku'wa'nku'wa' inidəzih nəw eeh..... yəbihæx gicht ee...a'ləmæcha'cha'lo'ch a'llu'... yih nəw!
There is this acute tribalism and competing claims of ethnic and linguistic superiority and conflicts---eh---intolerance are there----and this has become a tradition (HU Int. No. 007)

The discursive effects on the above two excerpts indicate the existence of a lack of knowledge and its implications facilitating the reproduction of discourses of unequal ethnic relationship. As a result, students are seen practicing the ethno-linguistic based relationship as one in which they have no control. In most of the universities they feel ethnic shock and hostility toward the other ethno-linguistic group members. Cynicism is

¹⁸⁶ van Dijk: 1998, p. 5

the ultimate result of the social practices. So as the participants rose there is the concern about the existence of ethnocentrism in the universities. Participants also noted that, in such a case students do not mingle together with the other ethno-linguistic students. Such ethnocentric practices lead individuals not to enjoy their full rights and freedom of the use of language. Rather, they tend to stay only with in their own ethno-linguistic circle. The student's argument also emphasized the lack of practicing extensive knowledge transfer among various ethnic groups during their stay in the university. In touching upon cynical experiences students also underscored practices of ethnicist exaggeration as a prominent culprit. The following interviewee explains his common ground knowledge and practices of ethnicity that help him live in a diversified community particularly in the university.

Inæ læmia'læ bælyu'næt midææt midæmmo'ri aa'wikæya'læhu':. midæzi'h aa'yæt aa'mælæka'kæt bæu'nværisiti ko'yi'ta'sih næw yæmilæka'w. ta'wiki'ya'læsh. yækæræð bihærtænmæt smæto'ch ymisæba'ræka'lu' bætælyi a'ddis tæma'rma' a'nidæga' a'mæt kæho'næsh nægæri gm so'stæga' a'ra'tæga' a'mæt stihonji yikænsa'll. bæa'tæka'la'i firæsh ma'n stihonji mnm tigist yæmi'ba'l nægær yælæshim. ma'm a'nidæga' a'mæto'ch yi'jæmru'ta'l so'stæga'na' bæka' smyæro'ch' yikæla'kæla'lu'. yægichit mæneæsha' yho'na'l. mæ gm mæcha'cha'lm mærita'læhu'.

I understood how to live acknowledging differences but such an attitude is determined on your length of stay in the university. There is such a strong feeling of ethnocentrism at the fresh man level but that dwindles at the third and fourth year levels. When you are a fresh man, you don't exercise tolerance at all. So conflict that starts with freshmen, seniors will join it and it eventually becomes a full blown ethnic conflict. I prefer tolerance. (AAU. Int. No.002)

Aa'hu'n ka'nidæga' a'mæt wæðæ hu'lætæga' aa'mæt tæsha'læj kæza' wæðæ so'stæga' a'hu'ni bæta'm bzu' gu'wa'dægo'ch kæbzu' bihæro'och a'llu'ij;
Now, I am better off in the second year than the first and even better at the third year. I make friends with students from different ethnic backgrounds. (HU. Int No. 005)

Attempting to address issues of change on the tolerance discourses to ethno-linguistic diversity, of course, every ethnic group runs the risk of developing ethnocentrism

practices on other ethnic groups. The view held that argues one's own ethnicity as superior to all others is the dominant discourse. This resulted in one to produce and reproduce feelings of ethnocentrism when he/she joined universities. This has also been confirmed as one of the ways to break communication among the students in case of the existing ethnic and linguistic diversity. In particular the issues to be examined as the challenge of inclusion of diversity within the narrow mindedness practices. The knowledge of the uses of expressions like there is no tolerance at all is the every day way to express the accentuated ethnocentrism that exists in universities. Looking at these strategy cases and more generally in deciphering discourses and knowing meanings brings us to the conclusion that ethnic inequalities have their roots in the broader campus societal structure. With the levels of description in de-emphasizing the good nature of others and the self glorifying nature of the self are the reflections of the practices of ethnocentrism. Indeed, students have no control over the everyday ethnocentrist discourses that are seen as indicators of the power play to assert dominance and hegemony. Nonetheless in recent times and with the passing of time changes in ethnocentrism's feelings and practices have emerged and that calls for optimism.

Here follow additional but different texts which illustrate the discourses of ethnocentrism as shaping the surrounding university community in which it is produced through generating more complex understandings of the discursive relationships existent between different ethnic groups according to Schiffrin. It is obvious to see that influential people in communities produce and reproduce ethnocentric attitudes that seem to be plausible and then implemented and enacted in the social fields. Consider the following extract.

Ba'bz'a'na'w yəbhæritəŋmət chigiro'ch yənikəsətibət mɪkɪnɪyət təma'rɪwo'ch kəmmətu'bət kilil yzəwɪt yəmmətu't yəhɪwə't lɪmɪdo'ch a'llu'. I'na'm ya' bɪcha' tɪkɪlɪŋa'w mənɪgəd nəəw bɪləw ya'sɪba'lu' nəgər gɪ u'nɪvɪsɪtɪ wɪsɪt nəgəro'ch ɪ'zɪ'hɪyləya'li.

Most of the problems with regard to ethnocentrism arise as a result of the various ways of life that the students bring along from their respective regions. Hence they think of their way as the only right way. But things in the university

are very much different. So students should let go of those beliefs that they brought along as things are different here. (ASTU: Int. No.006)

The regularity of the statement " *yəbɪhæritəŋmət chɪŋro'ch* " meaning "ethnocentrism and its problem" implies and indicates the existing societal practices and discursive formation that prompts students in their everyday experience to typically associate ethnocentrism strategies. This discourse relates to other statements and it continues within and across texts. Students pointed and provide examples of how individuals and communities are attempting to challenge their regular discourses that they brought from their own family, to the campus environment in reflecting their supremacy over others' rights. The saying, " *təma'rɪwo'ch kənmətə'bət kilil yzəwɪt yənmətə't yəhɪwə't lɪmido'ch a'llu'. I'na'm ya' bɪcha' tɪkɪlɪŋə'w mənɪgəd nəəw bɪləw ya'sɪba'lu'* " confirms the societal practice of one's background reflected when he/she joins universities.

The next excerpt indicates the improvement of ethnic based relationships and the dwindling challenges of ethno-linguistic diversity; and, the engagement of the society as a whole in such ethnicity discursive structures.

nəgəro'ch aa'hu'n aa'hu'n təsha'shɪləwə'l; mɪkɪnyə'tu'm hu'lu'm təma'rɪwo'ch sillə məkəba'bərma' silə məbɪto'cha'chəw; silə ku'wa'nɪku'wa'chə'w mənə'gərma' ma'sa'dəgɪaa'wɪkəwə'l;
Things have now changed for the better that is because all students have now learnt about mutual respect, about their rights and speak of their language and develop it." (AAU Int. No. 003)

Hence, ethnocentrism is a natural human tendency and it consists of utilizing our own language and ethnicity as a standard for evaluating others. According to Triandis ethnocentrism distances dissimilarity while dissimilarity results in conflict and conflict results in negative stereotypes.

aɪdɛntɪtɪ maa'llət letɪl yətəməsərətɪ nəgər saa'yɪho'n yəho'nə rɪspækɪtɪ aa'drɪgən
who am I yəmɪləwɪn t'ya'kæ a'nɪdərɪstɪ'a'nɪdɪ lɪnə'dərɪgɪbət yətəfətər nəgərɪ bɪcha'
məho'nu'nɪ bɪgənəzəbu;

In the light of the above response, most of the texts remarked on, the degree of ethnocentrism that each individual displays in prioritising his/her ethno-linguistic group

practices. And, through denying others right and especially controlling the context as the text implies " *adəniti maa'llət letil yəməsərəti nəgər saa'yho'n* " the competitions that exist between different ethno-linguistic in group and out-group affiliations and reproduce more dominant conflictual discourses. As it has been indicated in the excerpts the competition exists with regard to ethnicity and language.

The following text indicates that it is a product of lack of knowledge that leads to practices of ethnocentrism. Problems with both ethnic and language differences and more specifically with the nature of the existing intolerance are usually felt by the university students. Excerpt:

silə bihærma' ku'wa'niku'wa' lyyu'nəto'ch bəki' gmza'bæ kəlælən bəunvərsitiwo'ch witi aa'sa'za'η yəho'nu' nəgəro'ch yfətəra'lu'
If we do not have enough knowledge of ethno-linguistic diversity, problems would occur on campuses and the consequences may be heartbreaking. (AAU FGD: Subj. A)

Ma'ga'nənu'na' yihæ bihærteymət a'ka'hæd ya'w ha'sa'b yəma'nəsmə' yətmihrit ma'nəss wəym ya'ləmərəda't chigr wəym bəka' ya'nd nəgər ma'nəss nə'wi';
Exaggeration of one's ethnicity is the result of lack of proper consciousness, education and understanding. It is the lack of one of these. (AAU.FGD: Subj. A)

Gu'da'yo'chu' bədənib bəhu'lu'mi bihəro'ch' gmza'bæ ma'nəsI nəgər a'ləwi; midəzi'h a'yənət' yəma'yəməch bihærteymət dəgmo' bəgzæw yəmfəta' nəgər nəw;
The issue has lack of consciousness by all ethnic groups. This will be defeated through time. (AAU. FGD: Subj, A)

In general, one can deduce from excerpts of the data, the over all implications of discourse in terms of how knowledge are wrongly valued. It is created challenging relationships among ethnic differences and the negative discourse is produced and reproduced widely. Such attentions on the practices of ethnocentrism have great societal discursive effects, which led to consider the ways in which the discourses are shaped by the university students.

Chapter Seven: Section Two

7.2 Dominancy Discourses

The dominancy based power relations, ethnic inequality and hegemony are major analytical dimensions of ethno-linguistic diversity conflicting discourses involving university students from diverse ethnic backgrounds.

7.2.1 Power Relationship and Dominance

A central notion in most critical works in discourse analysis is the indicators for the existence of power relationship and dominance in which the social power of ethnic groups is diversified in university situations. Thus, ethnic and linguistic groups have more or less power if they are able to control the acts and minds of members of other ethno-linguistic groups.¹⁸⁷

7.2.1.1 Superiority In-group Practices

The researcher of this study began to create conversational discourses among students with the question of power relationship and dominance with: "What does ethnicity dominance mean to you?" Students' responses were consistent and divided into different types. About half of the interviewees responded offering basic descriptions or very general definitions of the term, dominance. The 25-year-old student from Benishangul-Gumuz, shared this insight: "*Dominance to me is being powerful to differences from different ethnic groups by denying others right to their talk.*" After a certain pause, the respondent continued:

*Yəbə 'la'ymətn bəma'nitsəba'rəkɪ yələlo'chɪn məbɪt məta's nəgər
yta'ya'l;*

There are violations of the rights of others, as well as projections of domination. (AAU. Int. No. 003)

¹⁸⁷ Stubbs, 1983. as quoted by Yang, 2000

In this response, the abuse of human rights is clearly mentioned and it is vital to ethnic conflicting discourses. With disagreements happening due to the rights of others being denied, through the manner of powerful and influential discourses, they have more chance of controlling the social practice indicates, such as 'other' right. The ways of social practices on controlling the discourse goes against the interests of the others. Although practicing dominancy in language use ensured and reinforce the reflection in the textual discourses as the following students produced.

*Ta'riki bəra'su' a'nida'nid' səwo'chi'n yəbəla'yməta'chəwm
mɪdya'nɪtsəba'riku' a'sɪtəmɪro'a'chəwa'l;
History by itself taught some people to echo their perceived superiority
over others. (NU Int.No 007)*

In relation to the ethnic system the other student says:

*ra'su' ma'llət bɪzu' qu'tɪr sɪla'lən bɪzu'm miku'wa'n ba'yɪba'l zu'ro'
zu'ro' gɪ təsmo' mɪda'ləw æθnɪk fævərɪtɪzɪm mɪda'ləw ya'mələkɪta'l;
The feeling of numeric ethnic dominance is reflected in forms of ethnic
favouritism and numbers may lead to arrogance (NU Int.No 006)*

According to the above interview texts, the nature of power relationship and dominancy in the number of population of the university students led them to practice ethnic favouritism. The existing attitude of ethnicism of the students is indicated in the sentence, “yəyəra'su' ku'wa'niku'wa' yəbəla'yɪ mɪdəho'nə a'drɪgo' ya'sɪba'l” “Every one thinks that his language is superior to others”, (MU Int.No. 003) which shows that, especially on part of the students, the desire is that the textual discourses of language be strong.

Students like to talk about members of some ethno-linguistic groups as a dominant group who are specifically considered out-group members. In this way, they enact various forms of inter-group conflicts based on the existence of dominance and power relationship practices through their day-to-day ethnocentrism practices. The topics of talk, for instance, reflect the social position of the students as ethnic group members.

These social practices enable an understanding of why students discuss certain topics of the social discursive practices, based on competition of ethno-linguistic diversity. Furthermore, the data indicate that some students behave as ethnically superior from what they learnt in their home contexts; denying other ethnic members' rights. This creating a power relationship to show imposition of their dominant ideology over others. As one of the English speaking respondents explains: *"We learn to minimize or identify what is good and bad, from the awareness of the conflict aroused."* (WU Int. No. 005) (By English Speaker, it is meant: One who preferred to communicate in English only by excluding other local languages.)

A closer look at more detailed responses, however, reveals the seemingly positive attitudes about ethno-linguistic diversity are often very thin. When asked to explain their supported answers, students struggled to offer a common expression of power relationship and dominance throughout their discourse. Say for instance, on the subject of dominance, a student from WU talks of his internal concern and anxiety about the dominance of one language over another. An excerpt of this appears below.

bætələyɪ la'nɪgu'æɪ la'yɪ bəqa' bɪzu' nəgər bəqa' bætələy ku'wa'nɪku'wa' do'mnæt ya'dərægəbət u'nɪvɪsɪtɪ nəw ma'llət tɪchiya;ləʃɪ ɪhmik la'yɪ lɪk mɪdə la'nɪgu'æɪ ya'w a'nɪdɪ nəw;
Especially, in language there you say lots and I sense that the university has made a particular language privileged. The same is for language. (WU. Int. No. 003)

In a slightly different vein, the other interviewee says

O'ro'mo' yəho'nəw bɪhærma' ku'wa'nɪku'wa' tənə'gərɪ yəho'nəw læla'wm zɪk a'drɪgo' yəma'yət nəgər; a'mɪha'ra' yəho'nəw bɪhærma' ku'wa'nɪku'wa' tənə'gərɪ yəho'nəw læla'wm zɪk a'drɪgo' yəma'yət nəgər; bəkə' a'ka'hædu' mɪdɛzə' nəw; bəmæchərəsha' yɪhæ lægɪchɪtɪ mənəsha'na' a'nɪdu' kə'nɪdu' gər la'ləməsma'ma'tɪ tɪlɪk' mənɪsɪæ lɪho'n yɪchɪlɪ'l;
Oromo ethno-linguistic group members tend to undermine the members of the other ethno-linguistic groups. Amhara ethno-linguistic group members

may undermine the other ethno-linguistic group members. It goes on this way. This may create the potential for conflicts and disagreements. (AAU Int. No. 203)

Particularly, social power relationship dominance problem is a fact in contemporary university life. That large numbers of students are exposed as ethnocist victims in the course of their daily campus lives. As a student from WU asserted, both ethnic and language dominance is a common practice and topic of day-to-day discussions. As a result, the power relationship discourse indicated potential conflict opportunities. At present, as shown by students thinking and behaving ethnocentrically, even though this does not do any practical good for the existing ethno-linguistic diversity practices. *They expect you to always take yourself as superior. (WU. Int.No. 005) (English language speaker only)*

Once again the link between construction of language difference and the dynamics of inter ethnic contacts are evident in creating the position of power relationship. This inculcated discourses creates superiority and extracted ethnic conflict. In this case, a perceived power relationship and dominance leads to disagreement, as explained in the above texts from WU.

Kom'pa'ra'tvɪɪ sɪtɑ'yɪ yəkɪɪɪ lɪjɔ'chɪ yɪbɛzɑ'lu' mɑ' kəbo'tɑ'wɪ a'nɪtsɑ'r do'mmɑ'nɪsɪ a'llə mɪdæ gəllətəɲɑ ho'nən smɑ'yəw....yɪhæ ɪko' fædæra'l mɪstɪtu'shɪɔ'n nəw;

When we see it comparatively those who came from region are large in number.....but if you see things as neutral body you realise this is a federal institution. (MU. Int. No.006)

In certain instances, students are self-critical to ward their own personal judgmental attitude and views saying, " *yɪhæ ɪko' fædæra'l mɪstɪtu'shɪɔ'n nəw* " meaning "this is federal institution." Here, students pointed out that practicing the federal policies accurately is important in our higher educational institutions. This in turn relates to the category of one ethnic power relationship and dominance only, as exemplified by the

above quotes from MU, that "undermine the other ethno-linguistic group", referring to power relationship and dominance which are selected to represent the characterizations of the sources of ethnic tension.

According to the information mentioned above, universities belong to federal institutions that need to play a leading role in order to resolve ethnic group dominance over other groups. Such a textual description implies the description of each other's views rather than asking why one denies others' rights by in-group and out-group polarization. Besides strengthening the above, the next excerpt continues asserting that one ethnic group, with a system of ethnic dominance, sometimes consists of slight every-day discriminatory practices, sustained by socially shared representations. The very instance of such language use serves to reproduce relations of power.

*yənæ bɪhæɾ mɪdɛzɪh nəw a'ma'rɪŋa mɪdɛzɪh nəw mɪgɪlɪŋa' mɪdɛzɪh nəw;
o'ro'mɪŋa' mɪdɛzɪh nəw gu'ra'gɪŋa' mɪdɛzɪh nəw yɪhæ kəgu'ra'gæ nəw
yəmətə'w təma'rɪwo'ch' yəmɪlu'bətɪm gɪzæ a'lə;
Students may say that my ethnic group is like this; English is like this;
Oromiffa is like this; Guraginga is like this and they would also say this
person is from Gurage. (HU Int. No. 007)*

Such ideologies are often produced by students who viewed each other cynically. Consequently, these do not inspire confidence and are ineffective in achieving the outcome of successfully received ethno-linguistic diversity knowledge transfer. Whether it is related to ethnic, language identity or not other ethnic identities. Such ideologies have their own social effects. The category of ethnicity has its own implications for inter-ethnic relations and raises questions of language status in such encounters. This is discussed in the following quotes taken from the student at AAU.

*ləmɪsa'læ yaa'hɪl bɪgəlɪtsɪlɪʃh' yənəsʊ' bɪhæɾma' ku'wa'nɪku'wa'
təna'ga'rɪwo'ch' ra'sa'chəwɪm ha'ɪlɪ mɪda'la'chəwɪma' bəlælo'chu' la'yɪ
yəbəlɪ'yɪ nən bəma'lət ya'sɪba'lu'*

For instance, their ethno-linguistic group members consider that they have the power themselves; they think they can dominant of them. (AAU. Int. no. 203)

The following not only has this, it sounded the same.

Yənæ ku'wa'niku'wa' yəbala'yi nəw yəmiləwi nəgər bəyəkənu' yəmiya'ga'tmən nəgər nəw; ləla'w ya'w tiru' yəho'nə a'mələka'kət lələlo'ch bihæro'chma' ku'wa'niku'wa'wo'ch' ya'ləmənə'r nəgər nəw; Claims of language based superiority are day-to-day experience. There is no positive attitude towards other languages and ethnicity." (AAU, Int.No.204)

Ethnically explanatory intent talks are seen as an instance of discourse dominance. Such discourse of power and dominance manifested with change in ethnic communicative practices and, the absence of ethnic communication leads to dominancy and language based discrimination.

Conceptually, instead, the responses indicate that, the role of ethnic identity on the perception of ethnic power relationships to the out-group everyday practices. Students recognized that power relations texts construct their own in-group. But that does not necessarily mean hostility towards out-group. However, most other responses claim that positive sentiments toward the in-group were directly related with hatred and hostility towards out-groups' ethnic members, as seen in their powered textual discourses.

Generally, the next texts communicate a cynical view of no knowledge transfer of the ethno-linguistic diversity.

kəsu' pərispækctivi bəmənəsət yələla'wm tmish igm'r bəma'drəgi nəw mji yəho'nə ya'nidu'nizik a'drigo' ma'yət wəym yəra's'un kəff a'drigo' ma'yət lho'n yichila'lli. From his own perspective one may ignore others and take them as unimportant. (WU Int. No. 004)

In the daily basis of practicing power relations and dominance, categorizing one's group as superior and others as inferior, builds up an ethnic antagonistic relationship. Of the university students on the above excerpts, students have explained the deeper meanings on how ethnic and linguistic diversity dominance is practiced socially. They believe it imposes power relationships and dominance in the entire university. As *dominance* is practiced by *denying others rights*, some indicators of the text show the existing power relationship would thus produce and reproduce conflicts among university students. Another respondent mentioned the discourse about ethno-linguistic diversity by clearly reflecting the major causes of the disagreements derived from dominant discursual expressions that they always hear on a daily basis of the university experiences. For instance, the MU student says:

*A'nidd' sɔw ɔmɪkɪlɔ'tu' ts'ɛrɪsɔ' yɛgɛbɔ'wɪn a'sɪtɛsɔ'sɛb yɪhɛ yɪbɛlɪtɔ'l
ya' ya'nɪsɔ'l yɪhɛ bɪh' nɔw ya' mo'ŋ nɔw yɪhɛ mɪdɛzɪh ku'wɔ'ta'rɪ nɔw
ya' yɪsɛtɔ'l yɛmɪlɔwɪn a'sɪtɛsɔ'sɛb nɛkɪlɔ' kɔ'lɔ'wɛtɔ'w bɛsɪɛtɛkɛr mɪmɪ
a'yɪnɛt mɛfɪtɪhɛ lɪno'r yɪɔhɪlɔ'l; a;yɪɔhɪlɪm;
A person whose mind is filled with ethnic feelings thinks that a particular
group is superior/dominant: that one is inferior/minority group member;
that one is majority; this one is serious; that one is foolish; that one is
kind; this one is greedy; such ideas should be avoided from their roots
from an individual's thinking. Otherwise, there are no solutions at all.
(MU. Int. No. 005)*

The above dichotomy "That/This" discourse evokes concrete idea images with the clear purpose of physical dominance and powerful relationship emerging. The hidden ideologies, above, depicts that there are practices of ethnic groups and they consider them as powerful, and some as powerless group members. Such practices create an unfavourable campus atmosphere and leads students to negativity, as it has been implied in the next excerpt from MU.

*Ya'w lɛnɛsu' bɪhɛr tɛmɔ'rɪwɔ'ɔh mɛtʃɔ' yɛhɔ'nɛ sɪmɛt a'llɛŋ mɔ'm
yɛmɔ'yɪmɛɔh' nɛgɛr bɛwɪstɛ a'llɛ kɛmɛsu' gɔ'r bɛmɔ'wɛrɔ'bɛɪt sɛɔ't
a'yɪmɛɔhɛŋm mɛsu' ya'w bɪzɪ' nɛgɛr yɛŋɔ' nɔw bɪlɛwɪ sɪlɛmɪyɔ'sɪbɪ'.*

I have already negative attitude to them and do not feel comfortable about them; when I talk with them I feel discomfort. They think that many most things are on them. (WU, Int. No.05)

The above discursial text used two different but interrelated emotive terms " *məʔfo'o*" meaning "the worst" and "ayemechnгим" meaning "I feel discomfort" to represent the ethnocentrist's idea, as exclusively responsible for the wrong feeling created in him or her and by the cause of emerging predictive ethnic conflicts. What is acknowledged here is that the dominance relationship is represented in accelerating ethnic based ideology. Moreover, the discourse in the text indicates that same language users and ethnic group members are defined and considered as beneficiary members because they are from a single ethnic group and have been given a special social position within their hierarchy. What the discourse further implied, as the student tries to relate, is such ethnic ideology is typically associated with the position of ethnicity in the existing situation. It also implies the power relationship and dominance discourse among different ethnic group members, here serves to sustain the one ethnic group's social positions over others.

This shows that dominance and power relationship discourses appear frequently among students of universities. Such experiences do not help to create peaceful and harmonizing ethno-linguistic diversity situations in higher institutions. As a result, tensions in many universities arise repeatedly. Moreover, students criticizes that the existence of different ethnic ideologies in universities are not very favourable because they reproduce the perspectives, power relationship and dominance on their defined ethnic and linguistic group members. Students argued that for university students, enjoying the relationship of ethno-linguistic diversity is becoming difficult. Here it is important to restate Stubbs idea quoted by Yang that says those that tried to impose power relationship and dominance in their nation do not understand the existing situations.¹⁸⁸ As a result, they don't understand the existing practices and they only run with theirs to keep language and

¹⁸⁸ Alleyne, 2010, p.160

ethnic dominance. Such misunderstanding creates sympathetic situations of ethno-linguistic diversity and the burden of ethnic violence. And, its consequences spread ethnic hatred discourses among students and are considered as newly emerging discursive practices.

In relation to the newly emerging ethnic hatred practices, a student from WU expressed the following.

Excerpt:

“Yəzihm bihær ljo'ch bəmu'lu' ma'tifa' yəmil isira'tægi tædæriɡo' bəhu'wa'la' isira'tægiwɪ yətəsəbərəbət a'ga'ta'mɪ a'llə.” There was this strategy of killing of the children of this ethno linguistic group but that strategy has been failed.” (WU. Int. No. 003) and the strategy that was "let's kill this ethnic group's children" was finally thwarted. This "killing" strategy is constructed clearly to inform us that there are ethnic tensions in universities. The discourse above implies that there are ethnic frustrations related to numbers and this numbers game may be reflected in a simmering desire to harm the other with a smaller group. Next, it provides the inference that any strategy, designed to show dominance of one ethno-linguistic group over others, could be the source of ethnic conflict when there is no strong awareness of the devastating ethnic discourses or self controlling discourses. Furthermore, as several responses indicate, students' perception of ethnic group discourses can prompt feelings of intimidation which relate specifically to anxiety that have implications for the likelihood of subsequent interethnic contact.

*mæ yəmiləw a'nɪd' tɪlɪki ya'liɡəba'chəw nəɡər a'hu'n ləmɪsə'læ ɪɲa
ɪyətəɡəzə'n nəw yəmil mɪm a'la'chəw; mæ mɪdɛzə' nəw yəmɪya'sɪbu't
ɪɪyo'opɪa' bəma'nɪm a'yɪdələm ɪyətəɡəzə'ch ya'ləchiw bətɪo'pɪa' səwo'ch
nəw ɡm məsu' mɪdɛzə' biləw ya'sɪba'lu';
What I like to say is that there is something that they do not understand;
for instance, they feel that they are being ruled against their will. I think*

For instance, the following excerpts indicate that the practices of power relationship and giving priority for self, and identifying others as wrong, brought to develop in one's inside negativity. Let us consider the following excerpts:

*yihæ yænæ bicha' yibæita'l yæmilæw smæt ina' lælo'ch tikikil a'yidælu'm
yæmilæw nægær mæ midæma'sibæw ba'nid sæw libi wist' mætifo'
a'mælæka'kæt m ya'go'læbita'l;*

The attitude that on's way is the better communicates that one's way is the only right one and others are not in the right way may develop negative attitude deep inside one's heart." (AAU Int No: 204)

To add, the HU student also brings the existence of power relationship practices in the following excerpts:

*Læla'wm middə fæza'za' j'u's't' middə a'na'sa' bihær a'dirigəw
yæmiko'tru'bæt hu'næta' a'llæ; yihæ yihæ ya'w ti'liku' yæthimik fæværitizm
ymæsilæjal;*

They consider others just as dull, foolish and insignificant numerically, I consider this view as ethnic parochialism or ethnic arrogance. (HU Int. No.007)

Here, what we see is that the ideological competition underlies the main dominant discourse shaping response of students. In the process of discussing ethno-linguistic difference attitude with the students, they are less focused for the emerging ideas of positivity and lacked clear attitude. Furthermore, there is an indication that students tend to prioritize their own inter-ethnic group in different aspects. Their discourses are ways of representing, associated with favouring, their ethnic in-group that only leads to the practices of power-relationship and dominance.

The above two textual discourses helps to better understand the practices of ethnic favouritism reproduced by emerged social inequality and produced in a phrase "*fæza'za' j'u's't' middə a'na'sa' bihær*" meaning "considered as dull". What appears unusual here is that this could be seen as introducing the case for devaluing other ethno-linguistic groups' role as powerless or ineffective in social aspects. As it implied with the student's

talk, attributed to the external factors, it is enforcing. Further discussion detailing the impact of dominancy and power relationship, the student proceeds to inform the widespread occurrence of ethnic favouritism currently in the universities.

There are power competitions shaped by language among different ethno-linguistic group members, during their stay in the university. Students internalize power discourses as; everyone likes to be superior and claims that he/she is superior in his/her ethnic and language. This means that they want to discriminate against others. However, the social practice in the real world is quite different. In such practice, while in forming relationships with other ethno-linguistic group members, the power relationship and superiority feeling is held and is strongly displayed. Such as phrases "*bihær læla'wm middə fəza'za'*" meaning "*others as insignificant*" implies the dis-harmonizing situation and marginalizing of others is practiced in relations. With regard to this, Alleyne wrote that, "While everyone has the right to be different, and is claimed to be unique in his or her own one-of-a-kind way, the discourse overlooks power relations and continues to contribute to the marginalization of others."¹⁸⁹ At this time, processes of ethnic dominancy reproduction involve an interaction of individual experiences and representations of dominance from a variety of discourse types with socially shared belief practice. Following, such dominance and power relationship, recurrent misunderstanding and intolerance among members was the most typical worry of the students in the university. When asked to describe the problems of power relationship and dominance, most interviewees talked about the misunderstandings that often occur between students of different ethnic and language speakers. As a manifestation of most persuasive dominant ethnic ideologies and the discourse from group consciousness practiced through the repetition of discourse and solidifies the students' knowledge to lessen the power relationship.

¹⁸⁹ Blommaert , 2005, p.1

The practices of practicing tolerances which are generally limited to minor efforts at integrating diverse ethno-linguistic diversities exemplified. That is to conclude that, as is the case for many other students, more than ever, the university must adopt a more critical ethno-linguistic diversity perspective and believe that the end result of their efforts was creating a certain type of ethnic differences agreement.

mīgīdih mo'r' yəha'sa'bi məgiba'ba't yəku'wa'niku'wa'm dffirəns.....ya'w yəwədiə səw to'lo' ləməkīrəb mīdəzih ha'gəro'ch' a'yikəlm;
Even if there is agreement in ideas there are language differences.....it is difficult to approach those who came from remote regions. (WU. Int. No. 004)

The image of out-group which emerges from the above discourse is in severe contrast with their perceptions of ethnically different student; as remarked by the comments of the MU student. Coupled with these diverging priorities from students' responses from WU and MU, lacking in self esteem can impact upon inter-ethnic relations and can be interpreted as discursive practices that were used for creating powered Ethiopianness.

mə kəmo'tiku' sərido' a'yibikəl wəyim mə təgəntiyə kilia'chm a'nəsitəja bihərasəb nəw wəyim yəja kilil rīso'ris a'lləw....kəmiləw yilik bətiyo'pa'chm yəja məriwo'ch isikə hīywət dīrəs məsiwa't kəfiləwa'l.
Seeding secession on account of one's region having better resources and ethnic arrogance, resource arrogance, separatism ...is also not helpful to our Ethiopian leaders who even sacrificed their lives.(MU. Int.No 003)

Here, the discourses and texts reveal ideologies that perpetuate existing relations by discursive ethnic differences which have been negotiated. The textual discourses are major sites of struggle in that they show the historical discourses with the phrase " *yəja məriwo'ch isikə hīywət dīrəs məsiwa't kəfiləwa'l.*" meaning "Ethiopian leaders sacrificed even their lives." Situations would then represent to enact student ethno-linguistic diversity relations as may be the main cause for persuading to practice a system of power relation and domination. More specifically, the interview data indicates that there are approaches which involve looking at diversity as "other". Others see the university as

ethnicized challenging alternative perceptions of "sameness", and leading to revelations of discourses which produces and reproduces inequalities.

A student mentions the perception of domination of one ethno-linguistic group by another practiced in the day to day activities in the universities.

*U'nv̄erisitiwo'ch la'y sm̄m̄ta' ȳb̄la'ym̄tm̄ ȳma'n̄ts̄ba'r̄ak̄ n̄ḡar̄
ȳta'ya'l; ta'wik̄ya'l̄ash; m̄asu' b̄wa'n̄ḡa'n̄et̄ l̄ela'wm̄ do'm̄m̄æt̄
ya'd̄ar̄iga'lu'.... N̄ḡarḡm̄ ...ȳb̄ih̄ær̄ k̄ff̄ilu' iȳk̄en̄as̄ə iȳk̄en̄as̄ə ȳm̄ta'l;
b̄ət̄əȳ t̄əm̄əra'ki t̄əma'ri s̄it̄ho'ŋ;*
*When you come to the universities a climate of superiority by some is
perceivable. They dominate other groups in several ways. However,
division becomes minimized especially when you are at the Graduating
Class. (GC). (AAU Int. No.203)*

In articulating the above discourse, the intention is to suggest and enable the way for the existence of power relations in which it is coming down through the years. Also in respect of the way students perceive others, as unequal differences will be minimized upon maturity. They start to deconstruct the texts by unpacking the division of ethnicity and its constituent categories. Ultimately, in GC class students perceive and claim that ethnicity became relatively less different one from another. This shows that conceptual discourses of unity within diversity raise questions as to how it may relate to strengthening interethnic contact in universities without social practices of dominance and power relationship. The text, within the negotiation narrative previously, indicates "*ȳb̄ih̄ær̄ k̄ff̄ilu' iȳk̄en̄as̄ə iȳk̄en̄as̄ə ȳm̄ta'l;*" meaning, "the division of ethnicity is minimized". When time passed, especially at the GC, the power relationship and dominance reduces as the function of such utterances serve in the context.

7.2.1.2 Superiority and Inferiority Mind-set Powered Relations

Earlier an ethno-linguistic belief that is shaped through discourse, by creating a system of ethnicity and language dominance based on preserving power relationship and dominance

structures, discourse might be reproduced through ethnicity. In deed, the very knowledge of ethnicity discourse of students in universities is prominent and these practical possibilities are determined by the given discourses of ethnic groups and their members do.

What is clear is that in the contemporary ethnic environment of universities, the superiority/inferiority dichotomy is a widespread issue that disturbs the life of students, as defined with the key words and phrases.

*kəzɪh kədəm yənəbərut mərwɔ'ch yəbəla'yɪmətə'chəwɪn tətəkɪməw
a'nɪdu'n bɪhær mɪn a'liba't do'mmæt a'drɪgo' lɪho'n yɪchɪla'l....yɪhæm
a'nɪda'chəw bæ'nɪda'chəw la'ɪ su'pɪrɪyo'rɪtɪ ma' mfærɪo'rɪtɪ yfətɪra'l.
Our past leaders might have dominated certain groups which may have
caused diverse feelings of resentment, inferiority and superiority,, which
may have continued to produce diverse feelings. (HU Int. No. 007)*

Thinking about the above discourse, in earlier times, historical ethnic inequality may be constituted. As leaders may use their power as a tool of domination articulated like "su'pɪrɪyo'rɪtɪ ma' mfærɪo'rɪtɪ yfətɪra'l" meaning "it created inferiority and superiority." The text is centred on the dominance disequilibrium which created an unfair situation of superiority and inferiority status outlines, reaching to shape the realities.

Excerpts from the interview data indicate that ethno-linguistic diversity problems appear in different times through and by different discourses practiced for producing power relationship at a particular time. Consider the following response:

*Hu'llɪgzæ chɪgɪro'ch' bəzɪh u'nɪvərɪsɪtɪ wɪsɪt yɪkəsətə'l; ya'w yəbɪhær
yəbəla'yɪmətɪn yəma'sa'yət nəgərma' yəkɪ'wa'nɪku'wa yəbəla'yɪmətɪn
yəma'sa'yət nəgər yəyəkənu' lɪmɪdo'cha'chɪn na'chəw;
There are recurrent problems occurred in AA university with some groups
show linguistic and ethnic superiority. (AAU Int. No 204)*

Such ethnic distance growth enables, as well as constrains the likelihood of interethnic contact, to decrease. Given that the contact is perceived to be increasingly problematic

with dominance and power relationships, the sentence " *yəbɪhær yəbɛla'yɪmɛtɪn yəma'sa'yət nəgərma' yəku'wa'nɪku'wa yəbɛla'yɪmɛtɪn yəma'sa'yət nəgər yəyəkənu' lɪmɪdo'cha'chɪn na'chəw*" signifies the overall ethnic interaction of students. Their language use, as patterned ways of thinking which can be identified in superiority/inferiority powered relationship discourses, is produced.

The ideology of dominance is further illustrated in the above text through university students as 'every day' practices. Such an ideology, " *yəbɛla'yɪmɛtɪn yəma'sa'yət nəgər yəyəkənu' lɪmɪdo'cha'chɪn na'chəw* ", is reflected and regenerated in the very ideas that student practiced on a daily basis. Such dominance of power relationship is largely visible to most students because it deeply surrounds them in their everyday life experience. According to the following respondent, such thinking is a *natural* part of students seeing their universities as chaotic environments, poisoned by ethnic violence.

Within the text, the effects of dominance are used to construct ethnic differences and divisions. Phrases like that of " *yəbɛla'yɪmɛtɪn yəma'sa'yət* " meaning "*reflection on dominance*", as one dominates other problems begin. With the respondent discourses he/she demonstrates not just the wealthy environment capacitated to create conflict and demand disagreement. As a result, the ethnic distance favoured to constitute a major factor of dominance and practices of hegemony impacting up on inter-ethnic relations among them.

Likewise, the existence of dominance and power relationship discourse amongst makes to position themselves inside their own ethno-linguistic group. And makes them start to act, think, talk and see themselves in terms of their own group and newly emerged ethnic discourses helped them to practice dominance and power relationship. Besides, one of the stages towards this discourse is symbolic use of power relationship that empowers

students to learn new ethnicity discourses. For ethnic and linguistic power relationship, as well as dominance purposes. As a result, there are also domination and power relationship discourses distinguished by the students' projected major social issues and events in their university. As noted in the text, the strongest features to understand in universities ethnic tensions are the deep-rooted ones that need immediate solution.

For the following student from AAU, it was discouraging discourses that exist among university students, while the current situation was practicing to be tolerant of people's ethnic and linguistic differences. In explaining the tendencies of dominancy and power relationship practices it will be good to read the following student's comment from AAU.

məsu' yəmya'sibu't bələlo'ch la'yɪ yəbəlaɪ mɪdəho'nu' nəw lələo'chu'm dɛgmo' yəmya'sibu't pa'wəri mɪda'la'chəw nəw ma'm bəku'tɪrɪ bɪzu' mɪdəho'nu' ɪŋa' dɛgmo' ... lələo'chu'n a'nfərə'chəwɪm; ɪŋa yəmma'sɪbəw ya'w bəku'tɪr bɪzu' mɪdəho'nɪm nəw; mɪdɛɪh bəka' sɪna'na'ki ya'w məta'la't mɛga'chət a'yɪ'kɛrɪm;
They think that they are superior to others. Others also think that they have a power and that they are large in number. .. We don't fear them. We think that we are large in number too. As a result, when one rejects others, conflict and disagreement is a possibility. (AAU: Int. No 204)

This student suggests that their difference at the time of enrollment with regards to ethnic powered relations was employed as a label to differentiate and put them to think differently. This in turn implies that the construction of ethnic dominance surfaced highly in universities. The analysis of the statements " *bələlo'ch la'yɪ yəbəlaɪ* ", " *pa'wəri mɪda'la'chəw* " and " *lələo'chu'n a'nfərə'chəwɪm*" revealed and described, in his/her opinion, power, incompetence and dominancy.

Ya'w təma'rɪwo'ch yəra'sa'chəw bɪhɛrɪna' ku'wa'nɪku'wa' kələla'w kəffɪ a'dɪrɪgo' yəma'yət nəgər a'llə ma'm lələ'wɪm yəma'na'na'ki nəgərma' yəho'nə mətfo'ma' wɪshət a'dɪrɪgo' yəma'yət nəgər a'llə yɪhɛŋa'w kɛɪhɪŋa'w yətəsha'lə nəw yəma'lət nəgər;

There is a tendency that students tend to view their ethnic and language as superior and to look down on others as inferior and untruth. This one is better than one.(AAU Int. No.204)

The opinion from the AAU student articulates the ways in which they perceive other ethnic groups ideas with negative implications. As illustrated, there is a great emphasis on depicting the power relation. Statements like " *məsu' yəmya'sibu't bələlo'ch la'yɪ yəbərɫaɪ mɪdəho'nu' nəw lələo'chu'm dəgmo yəmya'sibu't pa'wəri mɪda'la'chəw nəw* ", " *lələo'chu'n a'nfəra'chəwɪm* "and " *yəra'sa'chəw bɪhərma' ku'wa'nku'wa' kələla'w kəffɪ a'drɪgo' yəma'yət nəgər* " appeared recurrently within the text. This emphasis is associated with the process of thinking about the experiences of dominance. It also came across in others, using words such as " *sɪma'na'ki*" meaning "discounting one another" and " *yəmananak negerina*" meaning "discounting practices", which lead to disrespect.

The social, ethnic and linguistic expressions of domination of certain individuals or ethnic groups by others manifested above in discourses in order to define their superiority status of ethnic and language background and talk about things that made them more comfortable. More specifically, using the phrase " *Ya'w təma'rwo'ch* ", their position is depicted by topicalized discourses where the discourses focus on the structures of enacting, confirming and reproducing relations of power and dominance that existed among the university students.

The overwhelming majority of students conceived that ethnic-linguistic power relationship discourse is embraced in different ideologies that exist among students who are living together. It also reaffirms the belief that leads to various disagreements and derogatory utterances, as indicated with " *yəməna'na'k yəməna'na'k hu'nəta a'llə*" meaning "There are situations of undermining each other". (HU Int. No. 007). The belief

was also reflected in the AAU participants' talk too. In relation to this, some background knowledge is as follows:

*məsu' ku'wa'niku'wa'chəw yəbəla'yɪ məho'nu'nɪ ləma'sa'yət kəho'nə
wɪmət yɪhæ yətfa't məniɡəd nəw bəlælo'ch la'y mətfo' a'mələka'kət nəw
yəmfətɾəw.*

If that is their interest to show that their language is superior then it is really the way to death. That results in negative impact on others. A path to destruction. Then will be a reaction by others who feel hurt (AAU. Int. No. 204)

Such beliefs are discursive constructions, drawn from particular negative ethnic perspectives of the contradictions, dilemmas and antagonisms of ethno-linguistic practices. Here, the main reason for conflicting with each other is that of dominance in language. Students learning and living together are not very conscious nor do they often strive for their campus mate to be established with ethnic groups' identity and language. They consider with inferiority and superiority powered relations their language is looked down upon. Throughout the dominance and power relationship practices considered, ethnic inequality surfaced as everyday practices.

Several patterns of discourse emerged in the data presented among the most enduring and critical problems in the ethno-linguistic diversity discourses and are the presence of power relationship and dominance. Thus issues of ethno-linguistic diversity are deeply connected to issues of dominance and power relationship. More subject positions can be added to create a fertile ground for heated arguments on ethno-linguistic diversity in terms of language and ethnic rights. The discourse on dominance between power of language and ethnicity has also been touched upon by the following respondents.

As has been pointed out in the FGD one student explained:

*ləmisa'læ bəku'a'niku'wa' ra'sm bəbɪhær mə'kɪbəd...ra'sm su'pər
mə'dɪrəɡ...eee...yə'nɪdɪn səw a'mələka'kət zɪ'mm bɪlo' fo'lɪsɪfay mə'dɪrəɡ*

....yɔɔja' bihær yətasha'llə nəw..... ləmisa'læ bəkriɔbu' ka'yəs' ɔɔh sa'dis't
kilo' wist' yəho'nə a'ləmɔgiba'ba't tɔfətiro' nəbər; midɔza' a'ymət dərja'
yəmidərəsibət gɔzæ a'llə ma'llət nəw; bæ'yin ya'yənəw ma'llət nəw::
sɔlɔɔh nəw mæcha'cha'lu' smiɔbo'lik nəw ya'liku'sh;

For instance, there is in some groups the feeling that they have superior language and ethnicity. There is also rejection or undermining of the perspectives of others. As a result if you see there was nearly a clash happened in on our sidist kilo campus; we have seen it with our own eyes. (AAU, Int. No.006)

Ra'sa'chəwm kɔf a'ddriɔgo' ma'yət do'mma'nt nən yɔla'lu'

They highly regard for themselves and consider their group dominant. (HU, Int. No. 008)

In the above discourse, the text " *ra'sm su'pær ma'drɔg*" meaning "taking oneself as superior" and " *Ra'sa'chəwm kɔf a'ddriɔgo' ma'yət* " meaning looking at themselves as powerful consistently assigns negative characteristics on those who are considered as "inferior", while self is assigned as having positive personal attributes, by highlighting the superior status of the self. These are systematic constructions of self as superior on others. It may show how ethno-linguistic dominance and power relationship discourses are wrongly practiced in the universities. As Blommaert pointed out, "power is a concern to many people, something that is easily translated into topics of discussion or narration. Power, its actors, its victims, and its mechanisms are often the talk of the town, and our everyday conversations, our mass media; our creative arts gladly use power as themes or motifs in discourses on society at large."¹⁹⁰

The students look at themselves as members of a dominant ethnic group over. In this way, students enact, at the same time, on various forms of inter-group conflicts, dominance and power, of ethno-linguistic diversity. The topics of talk reflect the social position of the speaker as a superior/inferior ethno-linguistic group member, and enabling

¹⁹⁰ Cushner, et al, 2000

how they envisioned relations between students was a certain topic discussed like ethnic competition. As a result, different ethnic groups are strongly represented, with a few to a lesser extent; however, there are other ethnic groups and languages which are highly represented. Likewise, he/she thought of the symbolic tolerances and explains with the discourse " *silæth næw mæcha'cha'lu' smibo'lik næw ya'liku'sh* " (tolerance is pretence). In this case, such discourse reproduces the symbol, for instance, intolerance, as has been produced.

The following excerpt also reflects the existing discursive practices of universities. It reads:

bæunivɜrsiti wi:st bæ'bzɑ:ŋə'w jætəwəsənu' so'st ku'wa'niku'wa'wo'ch' bɪtʃə' jægɪnɪjənətʉ'n hu'nætə' jwəsɪnɪtə'l;
In the university mainly three languages are dominant in the communication space and they are perceived to be superior. (AAU. FGD: Subj. G)

The respondent was convinced the three dominant languages eclipse all others languages. With this, the students say the communication under superior/inferior status creates every day dominant ideology discourse. As a result, the discourse implies that there are unfair representations which resulted in hegemony with the existence of such discourses aimed to defuse the dominance. To him, the impact of the languages on the existence of power relationships among students might create ethnic and linguistic based xenophobic agendas.

bæbzɑ't gɪn jə'mə'jɪsɪmɑ'mu'bət gɪzæ jɪbɛzɑ'l; bægru'p tɪlɑ'çə'm jə'gɑ'tɪmɑ'l mækɛfə'fəl ɪŋə' mɪdɪh nən mɑ'nɪt mɪdɪh nɑ'çʉ' mɪmɑ' mɪn jəmɪbɑ'libət ə'gɑ'tɑ'mɪ bɪzʉ' gɪzæ jə'gɑ'tɪmɑ'l.

At times they disagree and there are group-based fights, group descriptions, hostility and accusation and references to Us vs Them are all too frequent.. (NU Int. No 006)

As the respondent underscored, what students at Ethiopian universities are heavily lacking is diversity tolerances and this created interacted ethnic conflict between students from different ethnic backgrounds. Although, terms like "*tla'cha*" meaning "*hate*" and "*ko'nfilkt*" meaning "*conflict*" comprise the major causes of ethnic conflict that emerge. Beyond the ethno-linguistic difference, students discourse dominance is understood as a form of power abuse that is a morally illegitimate exercise of control over others. It resulted in social inequality and defuses the idea of unaccepted diversity. Respondents also confirm that creating ethnically and linguistically diverse campus environments, via student social activities by promoting interaction across ethnic and linguistic difference, lead to ethnic tolerances.

It is shown that some of the complex links between everyday language and representations of students in discussion and how discussions reproduce power inequality. The discussions are critical for the production, reproduction and transformation of power relations and dominance among universities. As the practice of universities as social members of the dominant group depicts that student reproduces the dominant ideologies of their in-group ethno-linguistic identity.

In sum, as seen in dealing with the above, most students explained their dislike of specific ethno-linguistic domination. In this sense, reproduction is also an instance of the reproduction of the in-group production. Respondents in their discourse on the ethnic and linguistic diversity focused mainly on the ethnic reproduction of the superiority/inferiority. As a result, the process of dominance and power relationship are central to the construction of ethnic differences and underlies the interplay of power and identity in portraying otherness. The texts also produced and understood while examining the social and discursive contexts. Focusing on the above ethnic discourses

which circulates to negative attitudes stored or memorized in expressing prejudice and stereotypes, as the following sub-themes further deal with.

7.2.1.3 Ethnic Prejudiced and Stereotyped Discourses

This section of analysis will focus on how students have expressed ethnic stereotype and prejudice in their respective universities. The interview and the FGD replies explain ideas on how stereotyped and prejudiced ethno-linguistic discourses have developed amongst students. And the stereotyped discourses have been expressed within them. Furthermore, respondents also respond by focusing on how they express their feelings of ethno-linguistic diversity stereotypical and prejudiced attitudes in their everyday communication.

Students repeatedly showed that inter-ethno-linguistic group contact is associated with stereotyped and prejudiced talk. But stereotype indicates a false or generalized conception of a group of people that results in an unconscious or conscious categorization of each member of the group, without regard for individual differences. According to Cushner, et al. "in a most general sense, the word stereotype refers to any summary generalization that obscures the difference within a group."¹⁹¹

In relation to it, no wonder that the dominant discourse of students underlie the production of stereotyped and prejudiced ethno-linguistic affairs. It is capable of making acute discriminations. In other words, ethnic focused attitudes produced by students discourses, and these ethnic discourses reproduce the stereotyped and prejudices ideologies. It is in this way that dominant prejudiced and stereotyped ethnic talk and text contribute to the reproduction of ethnicism. Fortunately, the same is true, however, for some of the responses that were not in support of either of the ethnic or linguistic

¹⁹¹ Ibarra, 2001, p.29

diversity stereotyped discourses. The following data drawn from the FGD confirms students' attitude towards the potential of conflicts based on prejudiced ethno-linguistic diversity practices in their respective universities. The excerpt explains this idea as follows;

*Ya'w zmm' bilo' tla'cha' nəw; midəzih a'ymət ch'iggır dəgmo' mət'fə'
ləho'nə prjnu'disd a'mələka'kət yməra'l;
It is simple hate of others, which is really bad as it can be contagious.
(AAU FGD: Subj D)*

Here, it is increasingly accepted that prejudiced textual production is based on a mental representation of experiences. Thus, the text is influenced by ethnicity, prejudiced attitude, and constructed the negative presentation. To express one's idea of ethnic and linguistic diversity on the text stated " *Ya'w zmm' bilo' tla'cha' nəw*" meaning "a simple hate" leads to damage, due to action on others as in disregard of one's right. Such prejudices are based on insufficient knowledge of the other.

*kətəma' ka'lho'n a'ka'ba'bi yəmmətu' ljo'chi gəna' sə'w sa'yəka'chəw
yəmma'ku' yməsla'chəwa'l
Those who came from rural areas think that others may undermine them.
(HU Int. No. 006)*

As is evident throughout the analyzed data, above, lack of ethnic background knowledge, lack of self esteem, lack of confidence, superiority/inferiority complex and alike, are the critical issues that often affect students from rural areas and from urban areas quite differently. As it has been stated by the students those who come from rural areas, are facing a dilemma. They cannot feel comfortable that other ethnic groups from urban areas are superior to them. And this would reveal the extent of their insecurity and inferiority status. Their own generalizations would have caused them and their ethnic identity to lose security and marginalize them at the periphery. And these lead to produce prejudiced and stereotypical attitudes and reproduce and reproduce problematic others' ethnic dislikes.

*kədməw msəkur məhon' bəka kə'hu'n kə'hu'n zik ya'dərigəŋa'l
ya'niku'wa'shishu'ŋa'l ma'yno'rɪɪ grup nəw biləw biləw ko'nsidər*

*ya'dərigu'ŋa'l bəmil fira'cha' bəva'yo'lənisi məgita't yəmicha'l
yməsila'chwa'l*

*They feel insecure; they think they would be undermined now and then...
considered as minority group members and think that they can use force to
face those who they think look down on them. (HU Int. No. 006)*

The subject positions available for them within the universities were those of victims who felt insecure, scared, distrusted and were either involved in violence and at the end produced ethnic conflicts. As has been stated in the text above, from the very beginning, students have the feeling of ethnic tensions and insecurity. Thus, to affirm this, the expressions " *kədməw msækur məhon'* " (*being insecure*) " *kə'hu'n kə'hu'n zik ya'dərigəŋa'l* " (*expecting others to undermine them*), " *ya'nku'wa'shishu'ŋa'l* " (*will humiliate me*) and " *ma'yomo'rɪti gru'p nəw biləw biləw ko'nɪdər ya'dərigu'ŋa'l*" (*feel that I am from a minority group*) are evidence of this; which sound more serious and are filled with ethnic prejudices. The student also uttered her tension with "*bemil firacha*" that shows the presence of ethnic tension and frustration among students. Immediately, the student clarifies the cause and effect of ethnic violence with " *bəva'yo'lənisi məgita't yəmicha'l yməsila'chwa'l*"

Ethnic out-group prejudices are also the identification of in-groups and imply the practices of discrimination out-groups, which are mainly based on the parental experiences where students have grown up which the next excerpt further indicates.

*Hu'lu'm təma'ri rɪs bəiris yəmi'ya'ta'la' yəmiya'ga'dil nəgər nəw
kəyəa'ka'ba'bw ma' kəbət yzo't yməta'l məkəba'bər mma' mm bəfit
a'ɪnəbərəm biləw nəw ko'nɪdər yəmiya'dərigu't məzɪh ljo'ch' bəfit
təchəku'nəna'l ma' a'hu'n mɪdə yədu'ro'wm mɪdə məka'ka's ko'nɪdər
ya'dəregu't chigrun ya'ba'bisu'ta'l ma'llət nəw ma'm ləkə'nfilɪkɪt
ra'sa'chəwm ya'ga'lta'lu' ma'llət nəw;*

*All students come to the university filled with biases and prejudices about
the other. They harbour resentment about perceived historical injustices*

and opperession which they want to settle old scores. They are hyper-vigilant and always prepared for a fight and a provocation.This only worsens the present problem. (HU Int. No. 006).

The description of the enactment of the societal power by the use of discourses, as in " *məkəba'bər mma' mm bəfit a'ılınəbərəm*" meaning "there is no respect" shows the absence of reciprocity of respect. With the choice of such discourse, the social representations are linked with historical discourses. The expressions " *ırs bəırs yəmı'ya'ta'la'*" and "*yəmıya'ga'dıl nəgər*" meaning "it leads to killing each other" reflect there is no ethnic tolerance among student based on ethno-linguistic diversity.

A'ba'tə a'ma'rıŋa'n wəymm yəho'nə ku'wa'nıku'wa'n lıtəla' yıchlal'; ya'nım təkətılə' mənı sıya'sa'dıgəŋ a'ma'rıŋa'n wəymm ısu' yəmtəla'wm ku'wa'nıku'wa' mıtıtəla' a'd'rıgo' lıya'sa'dıgəŋ ma'm lıya'dərıg yıchlal'

Let's say my father hates Amharic or other languages and may therefore inculcate the same discourse in me this hatred as I grow up. (AAU, FGD: Subj. C)

The negative attitudes of parents about others language will be activated, while the discourse above indicates this with the text like " *ısu' yəmtəla'wm ku'wa'nıku'wa' mıtıtəla' a'd'rıgo' lıya'sa'dıgəŋ*" meaning "to hate the language that he hates". Here, talking about the ethnic differences is challenging because it is based on parental attitude. In their narratives they deal with language dominance and construct prejudiced ideas.

yəyəra'su' ku'wa'nıku'wa' yəbəla'y mıtəho'nə a'drıgo' ya'sıba'l'; Students think that their own language is superior to all others. (MU Int. No 003)

Here, in these texts, the position of the subject on the concept of language is the way people talk or communicate with one another. For the student, he did not hesitate to speak his mind, that language is the vehicle for communication of ideas through social interaction and worried about the misinterpretation by others. On the one hand, the discourse he/she used allowed to position language as the major cause of great confusion

and ethnic conflict that breaks rules on the social and ethnic relations. On the other hand, the discourses also allowed parents to be placed as the major contributory agents, resulting in language dominance mirrored in stereotyped and prejudiced discourses.

Prejudice, as Ibarra stated, is the practice of individual behaviours including other forces on a hidden manner by exhibiting characteristics of the ethnic and linguistic discrimination.¹⁹² With such descriptions, negative prejudiced attitudes are attributed to ethnic characteristics of others and emerge as a dominant topic and replicate the ethnic stereotype in universities.

There are also many sources of stereotypes ranging from direct experience with members of the stereotyped groups to messages heard from other students, even though, without studying context, it is impossible to understand the functioning of individuals in groups, since human thoughts are influenced by historical and social contexts. The contextual meanings of the texts are also strategies for producing stereotyped discourses which may be directed at the intentional form. In fact, the negative form of stereotypes can be reduced by direct educational and attitudinal changes.

As can be inferred from the previous data, prejudiced and stereotyped attitudes are learnt and one of the influences that instilled prejudice and stereotypes is their family's background. However, the texts indicate the main reason to develop negative stereotypes and prejudice is therefore a mental fixation and mind control. Such mental fixations may be due to individual, personal or social practices.

¹⁹² Sidaniou et al, 2008, p.10

7.2.1.4 Emerging Changes on Topics of Ethnicity Discourses

Under this topic, I identify the key discourses the students used to produce their particular ethnic differences, and later connect to particular ethnic discourses they belonged to. I also describe the changes on topics of ethnic differences in expressions that are systematically associated with the strategies of text the student was supposed to say.

Consider the following two texts given below. One is from an interview with a female university student. The other is drawn from an interview with a male student within the same university. Both texts indicate that the major causes of ethnic problems led them not to respect the fruits of ethno-linguistic diversity.

Participants' voices are used to magnify the topics of ethnic differences.

A'hu'nI a'hu'nI bəu'nI nɔrɪsɪtɪ wɪsɪtɪ məkəbɑ'bəru' mɑ' bəsəla'm bɑ'nɪdmət mənɔ'ru' bɪzɪ'm a'yɪdələm mɪkmɪyɑ'tu'm bɪzɪ' nɛgəro'ch' ykəsətɑ'lu' bətəma'rɪwo'chɪ məkɑ'kəl yəbɪhærmɑ' yəku'wɑ'nɪku'wɑ' lɪyənət a'llə

At present there is hardly any mutual respect and interethnic tolerance or peaceful coexistence. The differences are overemphasised and the ethnic tension is high. (AAU Int. No. 001)

Defining unity and respect is important in the universities; words that were crucial in the text are respect, peace, conflict and division. The running theme across the above text was that as a place for educating citizenry, preparing workforce for the country and helping students develop tolerance, universities are significant places.

In addition, students are afraid of ethnic tension. It much scares the students, as the next discourse implies:

bətɑ'm bəbɪhærmɑ' bəku'wɑ'nɪku'wɑ' mələyɑ'yətɑ'chɪn sɪləbɛzɑ' a'nɪdɪ kənɪyəho'nə chɪgɪr mɪdəmɪfətər bɛzɪh gɪbɪ wɪsɪtɪ ɪtəbɪkɑ'ləhu';
Due to the ethnocentric attitude of students and ethnic difference, one day I expect devastating ethnic problems to occur on this campus. I fear that group in particular will be in the lead to cause chaos. (AAU Int. No.201)

The student highlights impending clashes, which need to be prevented. The discourse needs to be considered as a more sensitive topic than many other discourses. In the above excerpts, students mainly talk on the outcome of the negative ethnic differences. They are looking to the other ethnic group as the problem maker. They constructed ethnicity within discourses of orthodoxy views of one's own belief. Let us consider how the following excerpts look for differences:

*lyu'nət ma'llət yaa'wɪ llyu' məho'nnɪ ma'llət nəw nəggər ɡm bəwɪstɪ'
yəho'nə yətədəbəkənəgər a'lləbəya'nɪdaa'da'chm' libbɪwɪstɪ.
Diversity simply meant variety. But it has hidden meanings in each of our
hearts. (AAU Int. No: 004)*

Here, again, the students saw ethnic issues or linguistic diversity as sensitive ethnic issues that are deeply rooted in their minds.

The discourse above underscores that diversity is naturally a variety. Students raised the issues of the ethnic hidden meanings, which appear deep in the hearts of individuals. In addition, the discourse interprets lack of knowledge and few shared ideas.

As mentioned,

*ɪsshu'wɪm ɡɪbɪwɪ ɪsshu'ru'ru' ma'llət kəmɛfələgʊ' yətənəsə' bətə'mɪ
ya'sfərə'l;
The soft campus attitude cause things to be really very frightening. It
makes me scared.(HU. Int. No. 006).*

One of the responsible bodies for ethno-linguistic diversity problem and ethnic violence is the university itself, which is viewed as being not tough enough. As the interviewee seems to suggest, universities fail because of their failure to address the intercultural tension.

It is important to notice however that the image of ethnic and language diversity continued to be negative. And as part of the ideology, linguistic analysis is concerned with the presence of vocabularies and phrases, like " *ɪsshu'wɪm ɡɪbɪwɪ ɪsshu'ru'ru'* " (the

university administrators are not serious) in texts. Having this in mind, when we come to the text we find terms, such as "*cause disagreement*", "*ethno-linguistic diversity conflicts*" and "*negative attitude*" that construct participants' identity negatively and engender participant relations to be in negative ways.

Such intergroup attitudinal differences exist because of lack of knowledge about others and having a negative background attitude about others. It affects the overall situation of the ethno-linguistic diversity and then disagreements would develop between different ethnic group students. However, when any clashes among students occurred, it was considered as a simple conflict among students. The real cause may be ethnic and linguistic. Such a text indicates that the diversity has its own contribution and it is even more crucial to understand the social practices, because of discursive practices. However, the problem occurred recurrently because of lack of awareness and an inability of managing the deep-rooted ethnocentric attitudes.

The following text was drawn from one of the respondents of MU. The respondent suggests the intergroup relations are based on more than one dimension. The basis had an additional negative effect on the intergroup communication. As the data below indicates, the difference in language leads students to disagreements. Excerpts;

*ira's'u yaa'ka'ba'bi kififilo'shi a'llə kəa'digira't yəməta'w a'niddi
kəa'kisu'm yəməta'w a'nidi kəo'ro'mo' yəməta'w a'nidi kəa'miha'ra'
yəməta'wi a'niddi siho'n ma' a'hu'n mæ bicha' siləho'niku' kəa'dis
a'bəba' yəməta'hu't kəyətīḡa'wmm a'ka'ba'bi ga'r giru'pi məməsirət
a'ilchilm na'chu'ra'l yəho'nə nəgər nəw nəgər gm a'nida'nid gɹæ
nəga'tivi yəho'nə a'kita'cha' yiyzma' tətsmo' yfətira'l səwo'chila'ɹ;*

A division may also based your particular parish or because you are too local. My dormmates come from Axum, Adigrat, Oromia, Amhara, Gurage and I am alone as I came from Addis Ababa, I found it impossible to have friends and it is simply negative although differences can be natural. But

*sometimes the basis of the grouping is negative and it intimidates others.
(MU Int. No. 010)*

As the isolated and discriminated, but liberal, respondents' view suggests, it is the existing ethnic gaps in communication which leads students to ethnic violence. The respondents believed it is the difference of language and ethnicity practices that is creating problems. Further, it is possible to see differences of outsider social practices; in many cases, as produced and enforced. A construction of ethnic and linguistic difference produced, communicated and enforced throughout the university years. And, because these differences are clearly creating room for the elements of the outsider's social practices and create inequities of discourses of ethno-linguistic diversity, they can be usefully challenged.

There is another additional example here;

*æxtɪrmiɪ bəta'm yəniya'sitəlu' nəgəro'chɪyəmtsfu'bət a'ga'ta'mɪa'llə;
There is extremely hateful ethnic graffiti at times. (HU Int. No. 006)*

The polarized depictions like “*extremely hateful*” and “*ethnic based graffiti*” mirror a picture of ethnic differences. Similar to the view of others, the above respondent pointed out that the socially practiced and produced ideas of other ethno-linguistic group attitudes are instrumental ranging from individual discourse texts, to the topics of ethnic difference that students think of.. Attempts are made below to contextualize how aggressively developed and reproduced ethnic topics and social practices are. Of course, practices lead groups to be involved in ethnic violence and conflicts.

*bəta'm eh... a'ggɪræssɪvɪya'dərɪga'lu' bəta'm sənɪsɪtv bəka' hu'lu'm səw
mɪdʒɪh nəw
They make every one very aggressive and every one is sensitive.(HU Int.
No. 006)*

Students believe that diversity means positive variety. However, there are some others who do not feel comfortable with ethnic and language diversity. They raise topics including ethnicism and linguistic difference and get scared. According to the phrases "

a'ggræssni ya'dəriɡa'lu' bəta'm sənistiŋ bəka'' meaning "it (diversity) makes someone sensitive". The discourse in a text implies this in terms of the social practices of the articulation of the hating discourses. This represents the negative aspects of the in-group and out-group ethno- linguistic relations which sometimes lead to sensitivity and aggressiveness. The ethnic relationships provide particular representations and re-contextualization of the overall social practices carrying particular ideologies. It also indicates the particular constructions of ethnic identities.

In most quoted interviews, the ethnocentric ideology has been loaded with words such as "dominate", "negative" and "falsify" and these lead students to misunderstandings and intolerance and, as a result, cause ethnic conflict and violence. This idea has been supported by Ibarra. According to Ibarra, students on campus often assume that chronic tension of ethnicity originates from either individual or institutional discrimination.¹⁹³ This, in association with ethnic difference, has resulted in disagreement and preferences, to explicit violence. Frequent ethnic violence among students occurred because of ethnocentric attitudes and student practices, as indicated in the following excerpts:

*bənəɡərə'chm la'y ku'wa'niku'wa' yəmɪya'məta'w bɪzu' nəɡəro'ch' a'llu';
ay'ðmki bæzɪd yəho'nə chɪɡɡɪr a'llə.
There are problems due to language differences are ethnicity. (MU. Int.
No. 010)*

Among students it is believed that in the first university year, students are exposed and led into conflict and violence because of lack of knowledge of diversity.

*yɪhæ mm məsələsh a'nɪdəŋa' tə'ba'bmət' yəmɪjəmə'ri'a'w təbəbɪ
a'driɡəʃɪ mə'ssəb nəw hu'lətəŋa' yaa'w zərəŋmət nəw.... Wədə zərɪʃɪ
mə'dɪla'tɪʃɪ nəw. Kəza' bətəchəma'ri so'sitəŋa' dəɡɪmo' mmɪdməw mɪstɪr
ləmətəbək sɪtɪɪ yəmɪta'dəriɡɪw nəɡər nəw;*

¹⁹³ Marger, 2008, p.73

The first problem is narrow-mindedness. You think very narrowly and the second thing is ethnocentric. You better get balanced ideas of your own ethnic group and of others. Moreover, you like to keep things secret. (ASTU Int. No.006)

Here, again what we see from the text is extreme ethnocentric practices. For instance, the respondent's expression contains suggestions of the deep rooted ethnic conflict, critical terms such as " *tə'ba'b mət*", " *zəɾəŋmət* ", " *Wədə zəɾɪʃɪ ma'dɪlɑ'tɪʃɪ* " and " *mɪstɪr ləmə'tə'bə'k* " meaning narrow-mindedness, racism, ethnic favouritism, and secrecy as conflicting and discriminating discourses. The ethnic area is also a determinant of the type and level of impact of discursive approaches of ethno-linguistic diversity within student relationships.

The most significant points of ethno-linguistic diversity discourses are recognized as those which allow students to have a sense of belonging in diverse universities. The playing field should not be for projecting ethnic supremacy and power relationships. However, different types of ethnic power relationships are distinguishable and prevalent according to the various students' discourses that have been employed to exercise dominance and power. The power of the ethnic differences, rather based on the force of the existence of greater numbers of students found in universities, was the manifestation. One ethno-linguistic group may firmly believe in the ethnic power relation established because of their large numbers, ethno-political history, whereas, more or less, those who consider that they have strong ties to contemporary power elites may strive for their power relationship and dominance discourses.

The other most stereotypical moves used in prejudiced talk is apparent denial, which usually contains a general denial of one's own negative opinions about ethno-linguistic groups, followed by a negative opinion. The excerpts:

mæ ya'w bəta'm bihæɾɪtəŋɑ' təma'rɪ a'yɪdələhu'm nəgər ɡm ...

I am not an ethnocentric student, but ...,"

Ya'w yaku'wa'niku'wa'na' yabihær lɪy'u'næt a'yidæləm mətfo' a'mələka'kətɪ mɪdno'rən yəmɪya'dərigəw yəmətfo' a'mələka'kət məno'r nəw mɪjɪwədəya'ləməsma'ma't yəmɪya'məra'n;

It is not the existences of difference of language and ethnic background that brings us to such a disagreement. It is the problem of negative attitude that leads us to disagreement among us."(AAU FGD: Subj C)

The possible denial in the above textual discourse is the refusal to acknowledge one as being ethnocentric and refusing to admit self-serving biases. Immediate actions should be made to change the existing practices of intolerance. To conclude, ethnic relationships based on differences of language between students either by the act of nature or of God are produced and reproduced by a systematic dominance or power relationship which institutionalizes the power of one ethnic group over another. The university students from different ethnic backgrounds create problems and involve in violence and fight each other. This situation that periodically surfaces on our universities campuses needs to be tackled soon.

The students confirmed that ethnicity is an issue in their everyday talk and this leads them to develop negative attitude throughout their university days. For instance, consider the following responses.

yəunɪvɛrɪsɪtɪwo'chi bəbɪhærm bəta'm sha'rɪp ho'nəsh yəmɪtwəχɪba'chəw bo'ta'wo'ch na'chəw; bɪhæriʃm bəka' ləka' zəræ yɪhæ nəw ɪskəmɪɪyɪ bəta'm tɪ'bɪk' a'dɪrigəʃh'

Universities are very sensitive on issues of ethnicity. You become sharp and extremist and you come with your ethnocentric attitude. (HU. Int. No.005)

Thus, the above student believed that there were many more things taking them to the extremes of the ethnic difference on the current university campuses. What spoils language and enter-ethnic relationships is "mine is the best" and "my way is the best". Therefore, the majority of the students call these ethnocentrism behaviors, which fuel

the inflammatory discourse 'my language is the best language and my ethnic group is the best group', bigotted self-ethnic image construction. In short, as we see in the texts what prevents students from forming harmonious ethnic relationships is their ethnocentric orientation.

The concepts found in the text, i.e. "*respect each other and live peacefully*" indicates, through the inter-discursive analysis, the absence of tolerance to differences and related social practices on how to live together with diversity and help students realize their dreams. Consider the matter of texts which mix the discourse of peace, life, and respect for ethnic tolerance. This would probably entail the use of expressions like (*there is little tolerance and desire for peaceful coexistence*) that are warning signs. In relation to this, three things are highlighted as complaints: domination, discrimination and ethnic inequality.

*lɔra'sa'chəw...ku'wa'niku'wa'ma'giləl...yələlo'ch ku'wa'niku'wa'wo'chɪ
sməgəru' ko'mɪlæym ma'dræg.....mə ya'nɪn a'yɪchæ a'wɪka'ləhu';
They use their language to discriminate against others; but they complain
when others speak their own language. (AAU. Int. No: 004)*

From the above textual discourses, ethnic bigotry is implied, enacted and reproduced. It is through such a negative attitude that feelings of ethnicity are shared and become *every-day*.

*Ya'lu't təma'rɪwo'chɪ ætɪhɪk bæz ya'dəɾəgə məɪfo' a'mələka'kət
a'da'brəwa'l a'hu'n a'hu'n;
Now those students have developed negative ethnic attitudes. (AAU Int.
No:002)*

The above discourse explains that there are ethno-linguistic diversity based ideologies which influence their specific knowledge and how they consider others. Or influencing their specific knowledge and how they considered others.

The text implies the need for change in social practices and that the problems of the networking of ethnic practices should be improved. These social practices articulated a polarizing ethnic difference, constructed with the negative relationship between different ethno-linguistic groups.

In parallel, the problems of isolation and hate speeches are grounded in the basis of ethno-linguistic difference on university campuses. Consider the following.

*Tol'əæt a'drɪgən bəsəla'mma' bəfɪkɪr ha'gəra'chmm ləma'sa'dəg
məsɪra't nəw ya'ləbm bɪyæ a'sɪal'əhu' gm gru'p' fətɪro' la'dmma' wəym
ləa'məs yəmmətsa' wəym lətəb yəmfəlɪg a'llə
We have to tolerate each other and live together in love and work hard to
bring development to our country but in my opinion there are individuals
who like for a group and fight with others.(MU. Int. 010)*

The student through his text explicitly advocates the discourse "ethnic diversity for development", as discourse. But he shows that there are students who are bent on forming hostile ethnic groups to start ethnic violence, a completely anti-development act that is bound to kill the country.

The next textual discourse expresses the students' developmental potential as they live within ethnic diversity situations.

*yəu'nɪvərɪsɪtɪ mə'llət təma'rɪwo'ch bəlɪɪy'u'nət mɪdæt mɪdə'mmo'r
lɪa'wɪku' yəmɪchɪlu'bət tɪkɪlɪɔŋa'w bo'ta' nəw
I think university is the right place for students to learn 'how to live with
people different from themselves upholding the principle of 'unity in
diversity'. (AAU Int No:005)*

This text in fact describes the role of universities as centres for multicultural literacy development. The fact however is that the most frequently discussed discourses are the ones related to lack of diversity knowledge, bigotry, prejudice and arrogance and

unwilling to cross the ethnic divide. As they mature, students begin to learn what ethnic diversity denotes and learn new perspectives on differences.

In relation to this, the following extracts indicate that students' backgrounds and practices lead them to develop better social relationships. Some of the respondents understood the concept of ethnic relationship and practiced living crossculturally. Excerpts:

*Liyu'neta'chmm ya'llatka'wmo' məkəbəl a'lləbm; ya'ləbəlɛɪa' a'nɪd la'yɪ
məno'ri a'nɪd la'yɪ məma'r mɪdɪhu'm məsɪra't yəma'yimo'kər sɪləho'nə;
yɪh tɪkəba'ymet a'yimo'rəwm*

*We have to accept our differences without any objections. Otherwise, we
can't live together, learn together, work together and this is totally
unacceptable." (AAU Interview No: 004)*

The notion was therefore accepting ethno-linguistic diversity and creating a peaceful ethnic situation and developing a positive attitude. This is the way to construct a favourable ethno-linguistic diversity environment on university campuses. This will occur among the students as an explicit form of understanding of the cause and effect of ethno-linguistic diversity violence.

The following student demonstrates how students mature longitudinally as their exposure to and experience in ethnolinguistic diversity increases. He explains his views by relating diversity with the impact on the practices of social relations of students' ethnic and linguistic diversity.

*sɪɛzɪh lɪk bəgɪbw wɪsɪt ɪdmæ ɪyɛgəfa' smmɛta' gn bɪzu'wm nəgər
a'da'pɪt ɪya'dərɛgm mɪmɛta'lən dævælo'p ɪya'dərɛgm mɪmɛta'nən'
məcha'cha'lu'm ɪyɛmɛta' yɪhæda'l; sɪɛzɪhm da'yɪvərɪsɪtɪ wɪsɪt yəmno'r
ba'hɪl ɪya'dəgə yəmɪhædəw gɪbɪ wɪsɪtɪ' bəkoyu't ɪdmæ yəmɪləka'
yɪməsɪləgəl fɪræsh ma'n sɪho'nu' bɪzu'm yəməcha'cha'lu' nəgər
a'yimo'rm; ləmɪsəlæ a'hu'n gɪbɪ wɪsɪt bɪzu' gɪzæ bɪtɪbɪtu' yəmməsə'w
bəfɪræsho'chɪ nəw; ləmɪn sɪləma'ya'wɪku' kɛza' bəhu'wa'la' ya'n ya'hɪl
nəw mɪpa'ktɪ yələwm mɪdɪh bɛzər yəməkəfa'fəl hu'nɛta'w ya'w ya'n
ya'hɪl a'yɪdələm.*

When our stay on the campus is longer we learn more and develop tolerance. As a result, mature living in diversity will be measured in your stay years in the university. When you are a freshman student, you do not tolerate each other. Most of the time, the problem of ethnic conflicts occurs during freshman years. Freshman students lack knowledge. After freshman years, the chance of the problem of ethnic intolerance occurring is reduced. (ASTU: Int. No. 007)

The students noted that the situation of ethnocentricity is looking at the world from a perspective of self. However, as the years pass, this problem arises much less frequently. Based on the interview, one can understand that, diversity is becoming a challenge to living in harmony.

Chapter Seven: Section Three

7.3 Political and Historical Discourse

7.3.1 Historical Discourse

Analysis of the relationship of history and discourse is a widely practiced idea in the science of Applied Linguistics. The analysis of such discourse is based on ideologies which are uncovered by closely understanding the underpinning meanings. Most of the discourses of the students expressed the ideologies based on their knowledge of their country's historical practices. Despite this, the history of interethnic relations of the Ethiopian society can be best understood from the overall historical situations of the country. In relation to this, analyzing the historical discourses dominated by the ethnic centralization, ethnic competition, ethnic power relationship and the role domination plays are prevalent.

Indeed, in the history of Ethiopia, the optimistic view of ethno-linguistic relations was that it would not transgress into total violence. This is because the social distance in the country is relatively narrow. The society is experienced and prepared to live together and seems to have amazing intercommunal tolerance levels. The society seems to believe in the soundness of ethnic tolerance and the discourses of history have primarily contributed to the ethnic and linguistic diversity co-existing in mutually beneficial ways. Here then, considering the major emergent themes of historical utterances throughout the data and what the voices of historical discourses look like among the university students is significant.

As a result, the theme of historical discourses was selected among other analysis. Such analysis attempts to relate the current discourse with ethnic history of the whole Ethiopian society. It is through history that ethno-linguistic diversity discourses are

constructed, interpreted and understood differently by various ethno-linguists. Thus, the present section of the research is intended to provide a greater picture of historical ethnicized discourse practices; systematically associated with the talk and the texts of students' historical discourses provided, throughout the data, for analysis.

7.3.1.1 Why the Voices of History?

Here, sub-topicalization of the discourses is the voices of history, as described by most of the respondents' discourses. Therefore, this led to a consideration of the powerful discursive practices of the historical voice produced to the recognition of identities and construction of misrecognition. One of the questions raised during the FGD was how the historical discourses were understood among the students. For most, the voices of history are remembered as serving as an instrument for the reproduction of ethnic social problems, forms of ethnic inequality and ethnic power relationships.

This section marks the historical discourse ideologies reflected in the ethno-linguistically diversified Ethiopian university students. In terms of historical representations, students indicate that the discourses of history are interpretive. They voiced history as an endless cause of the current ethno-linguistic disagreements. They have also admitted to having limited knowledge regarding how the ethno-linguistically diversified society of Ethiopia came to experience recurrent ethnic violence and conflict throughout history. As a result of ethnic identity transition, the present generation of students seems to admit that their country is highly ethnic diversified. Moreover, students believe that the historical discourse represents limited historical utterances about one or two ethno-linguistic groups of the country.

Below, the following text refers to diversity knowledge which is another noticeable aspect of the historical practices of the ethno-linguistic differences.

*ijā piyo'pīa' kəfītəjā' ku'tr ya'ləw da'nərisitə mīda'la't
a'lītəgənəzəbmm
We didn't realize that Ethiopia has such a large number of diversity.
(AAU. Int. No 003)*

The historical discourse, " *a'lītəgənəzəbmm* " ("*we didn't realize*"), reveals that the students had limited knowledge of ethno-linguistic diversity. The reason is historical as written and spoken materials of the earlier social practices made less visible or even invisibilised some other ethnic groups. Knowingly or unknowingly, the historical practice denied the ethno-linguistic diversity of the country, as perceived by a number of students interviewed.

Further, the historical discourses enable students to look deeper into the socio-historical aspects by focusing on specific historical kinds of textual, discursive and contextual features. As a result, a large number of respondents discussed diversity in its broader terms by referring to historic linguistic and ethnic differences. This implies they realise that the constructed problematic historical discursal practices brought lack of integration and lack sharing of others' values. The next extracts taken from AAU clearly illustrate that the problem is defined as a negative attitude and concerns individuals, in discourses of history.

*bəta'rik yəməlika'mī a'mələka'kət a'ləmənə'r; mətfo'
a'mələka'kət...bəka'....nə bīcha'.....səlfīshī məho'n
In our history there has been lack of positive attitude.....widespread
negative attitude.....of course.....I only selfishnessh." (AAU FGD Subj
A)*

Ethnolinguistic history is blamed. The key phrase " *bəta'rik yəməlika'mī a'mələka'kət a'ləmənə'r; mətfo' a'mələka'kət...bəka'....nə bīcha'.....səlfīshī məho'n* meaning "*In our history lack of positive attitude...selfishness*" prevailed. As a result, students are manipulated by the dominant discourse and are aware of abuses of history in the matter of ethnic relations.

As the above text indicates, the dominant historical discourse gives the impression of the historical cross-ethnic abuses. Suggestion is made that the historical discursive practices, in an earlier time, often served the interests of some dominant powerful ethnic force. That is why the student raises the issues of the historic voices. They understand it as wrong intercommunal attitude and behaviour within their discourses of history. As one of the interviewee put it, "*bəta'rik yəməlka'mi a'mələka'kət a'ləmənə'r*" meaning there was "*lack of positive attitude throughout our history*".

In his words, the historical dimension should be acknowledged to help a fresh start of equality and respect in a diverse multicultural and multiethnic environment. Since a more positive relational picture can appear after a long period of history, we can now see recognition of different nations and nationalities as the result of deemphasizing the recurrent and usual ethnic dominant discourses of history.

From the general historical discursive practices, a student tries to offer advice that might help inter-communal reconciliation and a fresh start.

A'hu'n ləmisa'læ məsū' istill na'w ho'dma' jərɪba' na'chəw; ya' mɪɪdməw kədmo' yətəbədələw tɪwɪɪd ya' tɪwɪɪd a'liku'a'l;
Now for instance, they are still back and forth. But that generation that went through unhappy ethnic relationships has passed. (HU Int. No. 002)

In the above discursal texts, continued intergenerational resentment, was revealed in the sentence "*inesu istill naw hodina jerba nachew*", meaning "*they are still hostile*" and "*kədmo' yətəbədələw tɪwɪɪd ya' tɪwɪɪd a'liku'a'l*" meaning "*the past generation, that generation is already gone.*" The issue would be emphasized as the easiest of social practices. References to the past continue in current discourse and this engangers the continuity of more peaceful ethnic relations. The dominant historical discursive practice above is shaped by "*məsū' istill na'w ho'dma' jərɪba' na'chəw*" meaning "*they are still hostile.*" This implies ethno-linguistic diversity doesn't exist with a clear acceptance of

'us' and 'them' based on the historical discourses inculcated throughout. In fact, most of this argument takes place when the historical practices tend towards the celebration of difference in negative ways. In any case, the term " *ho'dma*" and " *jərba*" means harbouring dislike for one another. The aforementioned discourses with the Amharic ideom suggest oppositional and adversarial relationship continuing as a result of a real or imagined history of oppressed and oppressor.

A further illustration is a point of the voice of history presented in the following excerpts. As voiced by students, there are ethno-linguistic conflicts based on the historical past of the country. The student is suggesting that there were victims of ethnic dominant historical practices. There is also a hint that the deeds of yesterday are still remembered and continue to affect present day interethnic relationships.

*aidəniti nəw təbilo' bicha' sa'yihon yəho'nə fərɿər hɿsto'rika 'al nəgər
ga'r təya'yzo' mma'mm yəmisətish trru' ya'liho'nə nəgər kəno'rə
sita'digr;*
*It is not only identity but there are related historical things and you are
given a tag as a result of the past history. (HU. Int No. 006)*

The sense of history was revealed further by the students with the use of the phrase " *fərɿər hɿsto'rika 'al nəgər ga'r təya'yzo'*" meaning "further issues, related with history" adding fuel and not helpful to the transformation of ethnolinguistic relations.

Indeed, a large part of the students' discourse contains such implicit references, constructed as part of their mental models of the history. This has been seen with the appearance of historical gaps of wrong attitude and discourses to that effect. By associating their utterances with history and their negative opinion of others, they give an instance of a historically voiced opinion. Therefore, the speaker glosses their discourse with cross-ethnic historical practices.

Here, it is possible to determine that there are inefficient practices of ethno-linguistic diversity as produced and clarified by the discursal text of "*historical histo'rika'al nægər ga'r təya'yzo' mma'mm yəmisətish tiru' ya'liho'nə nægər*" meaning "relating the history with the current interethnic attitude." This implies that labeling the former historical interethnic issues is among the discursive practices of history produced recurrently by the students. In the discourses, the perceived historical experiences play such a powerful role in ethno-linguistic diversity, whereas negative details about in group actions tend to remain loudly voiced. And the same is true when the student describes that "*fərɪzər histo'rika'al nægər ga'r təya'yzo' mma'mm yəmisətish tiru' ya'liho'nə nægər kəno'rə sita'digi;*" meaning one is labelled in reference to the cross-ethnic history of bygone days. Relating with history implies again that historical discourse by itself increases the voices of negativity of individuals in their university stay. At times history appears to be trying to establish some kind of solidarity by trying to assert power among each other's ethno-linguistic groups. And students agreed that avoiding voicing of negative historical discourses is very important. They believed that it is significant for the current peaceful celebration of the socially voiced practices. The effort is made of reconstructing the students' consciousness of historically voiced dominant discursive practices. In relation to the perspective of ethno-linguistic diversity such practices can be described as the dominant discourse of the country's history. Below, one of the students from WU pointed out, the message of historical discourses by considering the good quality for historical discourse inculcations. Excerpt

məsʊ' kəhu'wa'la'ni yənəbərɪn nægər bəka' biya'siwəgidu't nəw; ya'ləfə nægər a'hu'n aymo'rm;
They should forget history for now; history is about the past. (WU Int No. 003)

One may consider the influential words and phrases with the formation of social practices and values. In particular, by producing the texts showing the importance of emerging discourses like "*ya'ləfə nægər a'hu'n aymo'rm*" meaning "*history is about the past*"

what is suggested is that a mention of past historical deeds has not much relevance for today. The discourse is helpful in terms of healing historical wounds and grievances. The word " *kəhu'wa'la'ni yənəbərɪ nəgər bəka' bɪya'swəgɪdu't*" meaning "avoiding historical discursive practices" influences the emerging new discourses to be produced, reproduced and inculcated on the current situations. That provides the necessary contexts for new relational beginnings.

These views of reconciliation have been strengthened by the following text from HU. The student supports what a student from WU raised about the historical discursive practices by saying:

*hɪstɔ'rɪka'l nəgəro'chi bəka' ya'ləfu' məho'nu'ni bɪcha' tədərɪgo' wədəft
ya'lu'tm ɪyo'pɪa'ni bɪyu'ldɪ ləma'drəgɪ bɪcha' yəmɪəgə' twɪlɪm
ləma'wɪta'tɪ ɪstɪrɪvɪ yəmɪya'dərɪgɪ bætəsəbɪ bɪmɪho'n hu'la'chɪmɪm.
Historical issues are already gone. Let us not dwell on the past. I like us
all to build the next generation that strives to develop the country called
Ethiopia. (HU Int. No. 006)*

In the above text the discourse indicates that " *wədəft ya'lu'tm ɪyo'pɪa'ni bɪyu'ldɪ ləma'drəgɪ bɪcha' yəmɪəgə' twɪlɪm ləma'wɪta'tɪ ɪstɪrɪvɪ yəmɪya'dərɪgɪ bætəsəbɪ bɪmɪho'n hu'la'chɪmɪm*" suggests the idea of the responsibility of all citizens coming together to strongly build the future Ethiopia and shows how the ethnic discourse production processes are inculcated in expressing historical discursive practices. The reconciliatory discourse constructively addresses the coming generation's vision but such doiscourses as "*hɪstɔ'rɪka'l nəgəro'chi bəka' ya'ləfu' məho'nu'ni*" meaning "history is history" may also be interpreted as signaling wrong doings in the course of past historical ethno-linguistic relations.

*mətfo'wɪn hɪstɔ'rɪm tɪtən aa'n'd wədəmɪya'dərɪgən nəʃɪon'
bɪuldɪŋg.....θɪo'pɪa' mə'llət mɪdətə'ɪk mə'ɪzən.
If we forget the bad history and if we go together to build the Ethiopian
nation.....this would be Ethiopia as a corner stone. (MU Int. No. 003)*

As the text above revealed, the relation between voiced historical discourses is mediated by shared mental representations. That forgetting the bad historical discourses would be helpful to build the future generation is voiced. A sense of Ethiopia first is important and was expressed through the words " *ጠካላውን ስህተት ለሁሉም ጥቅም አድርጎብኝ*" (*Ethiopia as a common interest*) through suggestions that differences should not be magnified and the discourse of a common Ethiopia should be a priority.

*mikniya'tu'm kəzihm bəft yənəbərəw nəgər midəmiyaye ya'dərigəwa'l
imji' ta'rik nəw mji'a'hu'n yətəsəra' nəgər yələm histo'ri nəw;
The reason is our common history makes us think differently and feel
differently. But it is just bygone times. (MU Int. No. 010)*

To sum up, the above textual discourse implies that we need to bridge the gap of historical discourses by narrowing the ideologies of the current ethnic polarizing practices. The reason is historical practices are shaped by the ethnic dominance discourses and the use and distribution of dominant discourses like " *kəzihm bəft yənəbərəw nəgər midəmiyaye ya'dərigəwa'l imji' ta'rik nəw mji'a'hu'n yətəsəra' nəgər yələm histo'ri nəw*" which means "history exaggerates the difference". With the reproduction of such voiced texts and practical practices, students have understood the existing relation with the historical relationship of ethno-linguistic groups. Besides, socially shared knowledge of historical discourses voiced with actual text of the students and influenced by student's personal historical experiences.

7.3.1.2 Discriminative Discourses

In this section of the chapter, expressional discourse of discrimination practices in different universities with the data discursals excerpts are presented. The topic of discrimination on such discursive practice is described through text and talk of students. The sub-theme deals with the expression of discriminatory discourses and discrimination against other ethnic groups' text and these are the major focus.

Discrimination serves as a means of injuring out-groups that the dominant group perceives as threatening to its existing position of privilege. According to Marger, discrimination becomes a basic component of the dominating group's ideology, which justifies differential treatment of other ethnic groups.¹⁹⁴ For instance, the following extracts indicate that ethnic relationships have been based on discriminatory practices shaped by the society which later spread in to student communities. The extracts indicate the issue by addressing the existing discriminatory practices faced.

“məsu’ kəra’sa’chəw idhnik giru’pɪ a’ba’la’t ga’r bɪcha’ nəw məko’yət yəmfəlɪgu’t. Yətəwəsən nəw mɪm a’yɪmət lɪmɪd yələŋɪm tənə’rwo’ch kələla’ ku’wa’nɪku’wa’ tənə’ga’rɪ wəyɪm bɪhær ga’r sɪho’nu’ ma’yət. Ya’ləbələzɪa’ ya’w məsu’ kələlo’ch’ ga’r məho’n a’yɪfəlɪgu’m. They like to relate with members of their own ethno-linguistic group. Cross ethnic bonding is very much limited. I have not seen students socializing crossethnically. They don't like to cross the divide with other language speakers.” (AAU Int. No. 004)

In presenting societal discursive practices of discrimination, it is essential to look at the day to day practices of the students' ethnic reflections and determined identities. The text "*məsu’ kəra’sa’chəw idhnik giru’pɪ a’ba’la’t ga’r bɪcha’ nəw məko’yət yəmfəlɪgu’t*" interpreted "*as they like to mix with their own ethnic group members only*" and they don't like to socialise with others are the dominant discourses produced. Students with such discriminatory ideologies and societal discursive practices are confronted. Such discriminatory societal discourse may be expressed by different individuals in different contexts because of what they are: different in language and ethnicity.

Discriminatory discourses of ethnicity are expressed through different practices. A possibly more tolerant image of ethno-linguistic diversity is considered as a significant part of the societal discursive practices. According to Ortiz and Santos, on university campuses ethnic and linguistic diversity is vital as students' attachment is necessary for

¹⁹⁴ Ortiz and Santos, 2009, p.256

integration of universities' social practices.¹⁹⁵ As a result of campus ethno-linguistic diversity many students said they feel singled out or isolated due to their ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. A number of research participants felt that talking to students from different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds was rather uncommon, because as one participant stated; students live in universities in their own little ethnic bubble.

*Ləmisa'læ mbəlna' mæ lmdo'chm midæ təmərə'ki təma'rmətæ
bərīka'ta' lmdo'chm a'gmichæ'ləhu'; yəsæt gu'a'dəŋa'yæn miku'wa'n
smərit bəzihu' ka'mipu's təma'ri nəchi wa'nəŋa tya'kæwa' kəyətŋa'w
bħæri midəho'niku'na' yətŋa'wm ku'wa'niku'wa' midəmna'gər nəbər.*

I can give my experience as a graduating student. When I popped the question to my partner (i.e. my girlfriend) who is a student on the same campus, her first questions were from which ethnic group I come and which language I speak. (AAU FGD: Subj. F)

Many of the respondents indicated that the practical experiences with regard to the realities of ethnic difference and linguistic diversity were used as a means for strengthening attachment to their ingroup friends. However, this was recognized in the above discourse in the sentence " *wa'nəŋa tya'kæwa' kəyətŋa'w bħæri midəho'niku'na' yətŋa'wm ku'wa'niku'wa' midəmna'gər nəbər*" meaning "the question is which ethnic group the student belongs to" and implies there are differencing intergroup attitudes and discourses as there are many ethnic communities. Constructing one's own identity by bonding exclusively with only one's own ethnic group is the standard practice and as the phrase " *wa'nəŋa tya'kæwa' kəyətŋa'w bħæri midəho'niku'*" ("the first question she asked was from which ethnic group..... I came) suggests" shows the difficulties of crossethnic romance. This discourse inculcates ingroup ideologies, resistance and exclusion of the other as well as mistrust in any form of intergroup ties.

¹⁹⁵ Marger, 2008, p.73

The following student claims the inculcated discourse practices by stating:

bəka' anidərma'ym yəmya'dərɪgu' ljo'ch' a'llu';
Ofcourse, there are students who undermine others. (ASTU Int. No 001)

At many levels of dominant discourse, for instance in lexical and semantic terms, the production and reproduction is influenced by the overall strategy of derogation which has been found in much of the earlier data. Here, the discourse is characterized in the products of societal practices and accompanies the reproduction of the dominant discriminatory discourses. Further, the discourse revealed that there are needs among the students to encourage sensitivity to diversity in the production of discriminatory discourses.

Often inculcated, the dominant claim is that students are not beneficiaries of the existing ethno-linguistic diversity social practices. As obvious from the statements below, the negativity and wrong attitude have been commonly mentioned during the interview. Excerpts:

A'nɪda'nɪdæ bəka'mɪpas wɪst mətfo' gɪzæya't a'll'u'; yəlælo'chu'n
ku'wa'nɪku'wa' ka'litəna'gərɪʃh bətə'm kəbəd nəw; zəræwmu' bɪchəl
məma'r nəw; ləmm bɪzu' chɪgɪro'ch' a'llu'; mə mɪdɛzə' a'ymət fɪrə'chə'
a'lləŋ mɪm mɪdəmɪtə' a'ta'wɪkɪm;
When there is a critical situation on campus, it is hard if you don't speak
others' language. You should learn it today. I have such a fear because
you don't know what will happen. (AAU Int. No. 203)

The student from AAU was scared, as understood from his/her words. He/she used words like isolation, frustration and being left out in critical times as the ethnic climate was not accommodating but remained volatile. The description and attribution of negative actions, which generally tend to emphasize others " *yəlælo'chu'n ku'wa'nɪku'wa' ka'litəna'gərɪʃh bətə'm kəbəd nəw*" meaning "if you do not speak others' language it is very difficult." Hence, the contribution of such discourse lies in its ability to generate awareness about discursive tactics. The threats can cause pain given the chance of being

at risk owing to being an outsider. As the following interviewee says, discriminatory practices are stressful.

*dɪskrɪmɪnæʃn bæzɪd yəho'nə bəku'wa'nɪku'wa'm bmo'r yɪhæn næga'tɪvɪ
bɪyænəw yəmɪrədə'w.*

*If there is a discrimination based on language or other factor I feel it is
negative. (WU. Int. No. 004)*

*dɪskrɪmɪnæt mədərəgu' bətəlyə'yu' nəgəro'ch wɪsɪt sɪgələl wɪsɪtu'
yəmɪsəma'w smæt ə'llə; sə'mɪ bədɪnəw yə'nɪm ɪyɑ'dərəgəyɑ'ləw;
A person experiencing discrimination can feel deeply hurt, but this is an
act of individuals. (MU Int. No 010)*

The above text raises the case of discrimination on account of membership of a minority. According to Marger, this reflects basic components of the dominating group's ideology, which justifies differential treatment of other ethnic groups.¹⁹⁶ Various types of dominant discourses play a fundamental role in the reproduction of ethnic discrimination. Discrimination results in some students feeling intimidated, cynical and demeaned by other ethno-linguistic groups. As the interviewee below says, interethnic relations can be thorny.

*dɪskrɪmɪnæʃn bə'nɪdɑ'nɪd bəku'l tətəri bə'llə bə'tɑ' lɑ'y ʃɑ'llæŋjɪ
yɑ'dəriŋ ŋɑl; bəkɑ';*

*We have been challenged in some cases by discriminatory practices
ofcourse. (MU Int. No 010)*

*ʃɪŋrɔch yagatemew mejemeria akababi yaw silne yemiwerea yimesleng
neber; ɪsu ɪsu yasdnegetng neber;*

*Early in my campus experience, I used to think they were talking about
me; I was often scared. (MU Int. No. 007)*

The above both texts from MU students claim that diversity makes them uncomfortable. As a result, the university context of ethno-linguistic diversity can be daunting.

¹⁹⁶ Okamura, 2008, p.92

The topic of discourse of discrimination has become a common strategy used by the students as an expression of their resistance to forms of practical social change in universities. Most of the respondents used the discriminatory discourse to inculcate in a number of discriminatory ways, such as, by in-group and out group distinction and differentiation which are the central characteristics of ethnic discriminatory practices. The following text addresses a discourse of discrimination.

*mæ midəzə' a'yɪmət lyu'nəto'ch' ma'lətɪm bəku'wa'niku'wa'na' bəbɪhær
diskrɪmmæt yəma'dræg nəgər a'yɪchæaləhu bəzɪh u'nɪvərɪsɪtɪ wɪsɪt; ma'lət
diskrɪmmæt ma'drɪgu'n a'wɪkələhu'.*

*I have seen language and ethnicity based discrimination in this university.
I mean that I know I myself experienced discrimination. (AAU Int. No.
002)*

Again one sees ways in which the discourse presents direct ethnic societal discriminatory practices, with a phrase " *bəku'wa'niku'wa'na' bəbɪhær diskrɪmmæt yəma'dræg nəgər a'yɪchæaləhu*" meaning "there are language and ethnic based discriminatory practices". It also reveals prominently topicalizing the discrimination based on language and ethnic differences and reflecting societal discriminatory practices.

The text points to the incidents of discrimination as in " *diskrɪmmæt ma'drɪgu'n a'wɪkələhu*" meaning "I myself experienced discrimination." Such inculcation is likely to be practiced by students, and other members of universities if it serves their deep interests. The most frequently used words in association with such ethnic discriminatory discourses to show the existence of ethnic discrimination was language differences. These included accusations of the creation of a hostile university environment because of one's ethnic and linguistic background, ethnic profiling, discrimination, ethnical symbols, and others are the emerging societal discriminatory discursive practices.

Overall having written or spoken discourses created and helped to say that "I am my language." In fact, the notion is that language is merely a reflection of one's ethnic

identity by underlying socio-historical trends chosen by an ethno-linguistic group. It is a significant aspect for constructing one's identity. Its meaning can also serve to unite its ethnic in-group members. In relation to this, Okamura stated that "such a constructed ethno-linguistic identity can raise the individual consciousness of group members regarding the shared discriminatory experiences and contemporary status in society and the social ties that bind them to one another and separate them from others."¹⁹⁷

In the dominant discourse of many advocates of the good things, of the ethno-linguistic diversity available in the university, the enactment of an ideological strategies. With this view, there is a strong possibility of not only learning other's language, but also avoiding disagreements and violence that would happen when there are divisions with ethno-linguistic group based on the discriminatory ethnic practices.

In addition, the ethno-linguistic diversity of university expressed some positive thoughts about the diversity discourses. Some research respondents commented that it is only through dialogue, discussion, by sitting down with students and listening to their views and by trying to understand that they develop their ethno-linguistic diversity ideas that harmony can exist. Students appreciate how they understand ethno-linguistic diversity discourses and controlled opinions about discrimination of dominant ethnic out groups. They agreed that such type of discussion is even more important to put some direction in regard to ethno-linguistic diversity and illuminate ethnic discriminatory practices.

The everyday talk of the question of ethnic discrimination in the university dominates its manifestations. Such ethnic and linguistic discrimination can be interpreted as an attempt to dominate. To conclude, pointing out the discriminatory social practices of universities of what Marger says is very significant. According to Marger, "when negative thoughts

¹⁹⁷ Marger, 2008, p.67

about particular ethno-linguistic groups and discriminatory behavior toward them are expected, and individuals will feel compelled to think and act accordingly." ¹⁹⁸

7.3.2 Inculcated Political Discourses

From the moment of starting to inculcate political discourses, the situations of higher educational institutions in particular emphasize the importance of national unity despite the ethnic diversity in the country. Apart from that, it is a known fact that in a multi-ethno-linguistic context ensuring the coming together of various ethno-linguistic groups helps to achieve national unity, and for this persuasive political discourse must be given priority. Following, the major sub-theme of political discourse is to be analysed in relation to the data gathered from the various universities. The sub topical discourse, "unity within diversity", "constructing discourses of tolerances" are the two sub-themes analysed in the following section.

7.3.2.1 Unity within Diversity

Under this sub-theme, there are attempts to show that language plays an important role that enables constructing and maintaining discrimination, oppression and on how to live in unity within diversity. For instance, our lives would be impoverished if we were all of the same minds and hearts. In the issues of the discourse of unity in diversity emerged repeatedly in the data as the most dominant idea of the societal discursive practices. The fact that unity is not uniformity or sameness, but harmony in the midst of diversity has long been known, bridging our personal or social world. The way in which differences bring us into conflict and finding ways to live well with differences is discussed. In general, the discourse of unity within diversity in social relationships, with the powerful messages, exerted a great amount of influence due to the many roles it played in the higher education institutional practices in the discourses of unity within diversity. Within

contemporary constructed practices, ideas about Ethiopianness are produced, preserved and promoted. Therefore, understanding the discourse of unity within diversity is crucial to an understanding of the marginalization, exclusion and domination of different ethnics within a nation.

There exists a possibility, as a student from MU states that more attention to promoting pride in being Ethiopian can pay dividends. Here one sees that being an Ethiopian is based on one's internal ethno-linguistic identity. On a similar note, the text states that promoting Ethiopianness makes some happier than everything as represented below.

bəθhɪo'pɪa'n wɪmətɪ kɔ'ra'ləhu'
I am proud of being Ethiopian. (MU. Int. No 009)

bəθhɪo'pɪa'n wɪmət bətə'am kɔ'ra'ləhu'; bətə'mɪ dəs yɪlə ŋa'l;
I am very proud of being Ethiopian. I am very happy. (MU. Int. No 010)

The use of the phrase " *bəθhɪo'pɪa'n wɪmətɪ kɔ'ra'ləhu'* " meaning "I am proud to be an Ethiopian" and inculcating it thoroughly can unify people. Such discourse can foster the nation building of Ethiopians. Although, there are many issues raised in the discourse of these sub-themes "unity within diversity" needs to be inculcated by promoting the country first. However, the relationships on reproduction of being Ethiopian are more complicated and not always reproduced in the same way for different students. This is because there are students who had practiced everyday ethnic power relations especially at a very difficult time in universities. It is likely that as a result of this, in trying to specify the historical experiences of Ethiopian universities, students talked about the misunderstandings that often occur between different ethno-linguistic backgrounds. The same is true of the text below. A student from AAU noted that the existing difficulties and those who suffered most from ethno-linguistic diversity of university experiences.

nəgər gɪn chɪgɪro'chi a'll'u'; bətə'mɪ mətfo' nəgər bɪyæ yəma'sɪbəw
yəθhɪo'pɪa'n u'nɪvərɪsɪtɪwo'ch' lɪmɪdo'ch nəw; bəθhɪo'pɪa hɪsɪto'rɪ wɪsɪt
yɪta'wəkə'l; bæ'bɪzə'ŋaw yəbɪhær mələya'yət chɪgɪro'chma'

*a'leməsma'ma'to'ch bəwa'nəga'nət yəgichito'ch mənəshaa'chəw;
bəu'nivəristi wist bihærm bæz, ya'dəragə gichito'chi ymo'ra'lu'.
Indəma'sibəw yihæ nəgər yəmmənəchəw təba'b a'miro' ka'la'chəwi
nəw;*

*However there are problems, and I think the worst is the experiences of
the Ethiopian universities. There are conflicts and disagreements. Mainly,
such conflicts appear when there is a rift between ethnic groups. Ethnicity
is mainly the cause for conflicts. I think conflict emerges due to those who
are narrow-minded." (AAU Int. No. 002)*

Such interaction with diverse groups prompts students to think in individualistic ways. But, promoting pluralistic ways encourage them to become committed to unity within diversity. However, students retreat from the opportunities offered by diverse environment and like to replicate only their home environments. With this, they become narrow-minded at the end of their university stay.

As suggested above, ethnic based problems continue to surface and the diversity continues to be subjected to dominance rejecting equality. Students appreciate unity within diversity discourses; indeed diversity means beauty for many Ethiopians.

*lyu'nət bəmmo'ribət səa't mə lya'sa'sibəŋ a'yigəba'm; lælo'chi
lidəsətu'bət siləmichilu' yihæ wibət nəw; lyu'nətac'hm wu'bəta'chm
...im...im... ta'wikya'ləsh lyu'nət bəhu'lət wəym bəso'sət bihæro'chi
məka'kəl wəym bəhizibo'chi məka'kəl yikəsətal;*

*Just because there is diversity I should not be worried. Diversity should be
cherished and enjoyed. It is beauty. Our diversity is our
beauty...Hmmmmm... diversity occurs within two, three different ethnic
groups or people". (AAU FGD: Subj. A)*

These ideas are examined using the phrase " *yihæ wibət nəw; lyu'nətac'hm wu'bəta'chm
...im...im...* " (Diversity is beauty) as a common principle to make their constituency focus of their every-day discourses. Once, students have such an insight, they start to reproduce the discourse of unity within diversity. That helps not to limit the freedom for the wide use of other's language and influence others' minds.

The use of the word " *lyu'nətaç'hm* " meaning "our difference" " *wu'bəta'çhm* " and "our beauty" are means of inclusion of others to create unity. The discourse of unity within diversity is among the most inculcated political discourses. With such recurrent inculcation, students acknowledged and considered the discourse as an important aspect of unity within diversity.

Student minds are dominated, influenced and made to accept the political discourses of the living in unity within diversity, or more or less consciously exercised. In the discourse, the student verbalized the concerns about the future of diversity. And, the importance of maintaining the difference; calling into question the role of diversity in creating unity. Such discourses reveal ideological issues that run throughout the data. The need to emphasize Ethiopia as a country for all ethnic groups' political discourses presupposes that they are living in diversity within their own identity.

On another hand, the discourse of university students demonstration, the messages held an anti-others unity within diversity campaign as an everyday conversation. Reproduction of power abuse or domination through unifying discourse, including the various forms of resistance or against such forms of discursive dominance, is every day practice. In particular such talk deals with the discursive conditions and consequences of social inequality resulting from dominant discourses. The importance of the discourses is to produce such unifying discourses in disseminating and trying to influence the political discourse "unity within diversity". The students' ideology has an implication, regardless of ethnicity, that they are all Ethiopians.

It is important to make university campuses real places where students from different backgrounds can take part in conversations and share experiences. For instance, the following ideas expressed that ethno-linguistic diversity is beauty;

*Inæ midæma'yæw yæbthær ma' yæku'wa'niku'wa' lyu'næt læŋa' wibæt næw;
 lyu'nætachm wu'bætachm næw;
 I take ethno-linguistic diversity as our beauty. Our diversity is our
 beauty."(AAU FGD: Subj. A)*

It indicates that students recognize diversity as the rainbow of Ethiopians. It does suggest that Ethiopia is a diversified country. Such discourse tries to deconstruct the dominant discourse that has been implanted in the hearts and minds of many students as an ideology that has been practiced. And it is a thoroughly inculcated discourse through the national mass media. Thus, the use of the "*lyu'næt læŋa' wibæt næw*" meaning "*our diversity is our beauty*," is all inclusive. It is a hope created by a student from AAU of a sense of common belonging and togetherness, regardless of one's ethno-linguistic background. The emphasis on how students position themselves within discourses of unity within diversity is based on the existing contextual situations.

*Ta'wikya'læsh hu'lu'm ku'wa'niku'wa' kætjopja' næw; yæra'su' yæho'næ
 wibæt a'llæw yihæ læŋa' wibæt næw; bæwmæt læŋa gætachm næw;
 You know.....every language is from Ethiopia. It has its own beauty.
 This is our beauty! True, it is our jewelry! (AAU FGD: Subj. A)*

Above, the concept of unity within diversity is emphasized. It is expressed, enacted and confirmed by the text, such as "*Ta'wikya'læsh hu'lu'm ku'wa'niku'wa' kætjopja' næw*" meaning "*You know every language is from Ethiopia*". Such discourses in everyday conversations appear and are conceptualized in terms of social recognitions as the discourse "*bæwmæt læŋa gætachm næw*" meaning "*this is our beauty*" implies.

*lyu'nætachm wu'bætachm zæwæŋmæt yitila'l mji yædidgæt milkit a'yidælæm;
 Our difference is beauty and serves to defeat tribalism but it is not a sign
 of development. (HU Int. No. 003)*

The production of the discourse Unity within Diversity text explains that reproduction of ethnicism implies such practical expressions or enactments of ideologies which led to disastrous effects. The sentence "*zæwæŋmæt yitila'l mji yædidgæt milkit a'yidælæm*" meaning

"racism is not the sign of development instead it is a failure". By implication, it makes the suggestion that bigotry creates exclusiveness, ethnocist and disunity practices.

And this follows in the next sentence where a student from HU points out that the practice presupposes the issue of unity within diversity.

A'nɪdməta'chm wɪbətə'chm lɪyʉ'nətə'chm wu'bətə'chm
Our unity is our beauty and our difference is our beauty, too. (HU Int. No. 007)

The claim is enhanced with the use of the words " *A'nɪdməta'chm* " meaning "our unity", "*wɪbətə'chm*" "our beauty" and "*lɪyʉ'nətə'chm*" "our diversity" which suggests construction of an ideology of one nation with many kinds of people.

The existing knowledge is socially shared and how the different ethno-linguistic groups define and understand the text that unity is beauty is socially determined. Also the discourse below influenced by socially shared knowledge and attitudes that are promoted that Ethiopians are beautiful. Such specific discourse is structured discursively and is embedded in broader social situations.

ɪŋa ɪyɔ'pɪa'n ma'mɪra'lən ma'llət lɪyʉ'nət wɪbət nəw yəmɪr; lɪyʉ'nət wu'bət nəw bəkə' dəbu'b dægmo' bɪtməchi yəbələtə da'yɪvərɪsfɪdɪ yəho'nə mahibereseb tkemachito minamne neger neew yaw....inde wibet inde idənɪtɪa'chmna'....ɪhyo'pɪa' agəra'chm m bɪwədə't bɪyæ a'sɪba'ləhu';
We Ethiopians are beautiful. I mean diversity is beauty I swear! Diversity is beauty of course if you come to the South you have the opportunity to see many diverse groups getting together.....l....and I think we should always love our country Ethiopia. (HU Int. No 006)

Both texts indeed indicated that students sometimes say something very similar about the ideology of constructing Ethiopian diversity as a base for expressing their unity. This implicature is to reassure great contributions for the existence of diversity and to a beauty of their country. The ideas were focused on the political discourse to provide that diversity is beauty. The student provided the special case of the Southern part of Ethiopia.

The statement upon seeing the role of diversity as an important step towards achieving unity, the student used the diversified Southern part of the country experiences as a strategy to magnify the Ethiopians ethno-linguistic diversity. The statement "*dəbu'b dəgmo' bɪtməχɪ yəbələt da'yɪvərɪsfɪd yəho'nə ma'hɪbərəsəb təkəma'χɪto' mma'mm nəgər nəw ya'w*"(*south Ethiopia is a beautiful amalgam of diverse ethnic groups*) has an implicature that enumerated and controlled diversity for beauty discourses. In this way, the main value expressed here is that of building Ethiopia as the next text shows, using the university multicultural student body as a microcosm as a strategy.

tmɪʃu'a ɪɪo'pɪa nəw u'nɪvərɪsɪtɪ ma'llət ma' hu'lu'm la'nɪgu'æj a'llə;
University is little Ethiopia and every language is there. (MU Int. No. 004)

It is possible to find that positive Ethiopian ethno-linguistic diversity presentation strategies in students' talk exist and help to avoid negative feelings towards ethnic diversity. Once established, such a discourse "*tmɪʃu'a ɪɪo'pɪa nəw u'nɪvərɪsɪtɪ ma'llət* " meaning "*university is little Ethiopia*", interest arises about the nation's features and the representation of languages as equal in the university.

A student thanked the university students and gives a description of how sharing of love among them had evolved. He discussed the implicature of how ethnic equality among the university students can help promote healthy relations amongst the peoples of the country.

ɪɪs bəɪɪs a'yɪtəma'mənu'm yət nəw ta'dya' məkəba'ba'ru' ya'ləw ta'wɪkɪya'ləsh....hu'lu'm ku'wa'nɪ'ku'wa' kəɪɪo'pɪa' nəw yərə'su' yəho'n wɪbət a'lləw; yɪhæ wɪu'bətə'χɪm nəw; gætə'χɪm nəw; mm ya'hɪl nəw ta'dɪya' yəmɪhədəw, ma'nəwɪs yɪhæn a'ba'ba'l yətəkəbələw yətɪŋa'wɪs nəw sɪlə lɪyɪ'nət təkəma'ɪɪ nəgər ləma'wək yɪhədəwɪl yɪhæ bətɪya'kæ mɪlkət wɪsɪt nəw;

They don't trust each other. Where then does the respect for each other lie? You know.....every language is from Ethiopia. It has its own beauty. This is our beauty! But, it is our jewellery! But how much have we advanced? Which ethno-linguistic groups know this perfectly? Which of

the ethno-linguistic groups likes to know more about the other? It is questionable."(AAU. FGD: Subj A)

The message conveys inequality discourses recurrently found in the student discourses. The student feels students do not currently trust each other while they stay in the university. The lack of knowledge about the ethno-linguistic diversity issues, lack of effort to know more about others ethnic and linguistic diversity calls the existence of unity within diversity practices in to question. This implies that practicing "unity within diversity" discourses is in the infancy stage it is not fully accepted by university students and they are confused by it. It is clear that much effort and attention should be given because they don't know exactly what the purpose of ethno-linguistic diversity is. As a result, that is why the student discusses the uncomfortable and concludes with questions. By implication, he says "*bətɪya'kæ mlɪkət wɪst nəw*" meaning "it is questionable", suggesting that beauty in diversity is still not practiced sufficiently

Another student described that nature plays an important role in this due to ethno-linguistic diversity practices. As a result, the discourses below emphasize that there is a need to minimize ethnic and linguistic differences. The student emphasized the uniqueness of diversity which been provided by supernatural power.

*bətəchəma'rm yɪhæ lyu'nət yəmətə'wɪ k....ə... ə... sɪləwədədɪməwɪnə'
sɪlə'lwədədɪməw ə'yɪdələm; yətəsət nəw; mənə'rm ə'llə'bət;
Further, such diversity came from uh... uh... uh... not because we like it
or not. It is a gift. It is a gift of God. It should exist, too."(AAU FGD: Subj.
A)*

In general, such diversity asks to reason out why the difference in language and in ethnicity is serious in creating difference among students who are living in the same compound of the university. For the above respondent, an appropriately diverse society is one in which all individuals are treated the same regardless of their ethnic and linguistic differences. One of the strategic ways to make sure that diversity should be

valued and celebrated is to acknowledge that it is a gift of God. And getting exposed to diversity and being able to accept unity within diversity discourses help a unified country as the above textual discourse implies.

7.3.2.2 Constructing/Building Tolerance Discourses

Analyzed within the topic, there is constructing tolerance in ethno-linguistic diversity discourses framework in which ethno-linguistic diversity is focused on as a site of struggle. Following, the student expressed how the opportunities of the ethno-linguistic diversity have not been accessed by the students of the universities. Most research participants expressed negative comments about the character of diversity they engaged in. However, there is some appreciation for the opportunity to learn other's language in a non-confrontational way and was a shared theme among many of the research participants. The message is clear that they encourage and facilitate difficult dialogue between and within different students' ethno-linguistic groups. This implies that discussing issues of ethnicity concerns students: however, discomforting, it minimizes ethnic conflicts and helps to reduce the existing diversity related misunderstandings.

Many interviewees noted how valuable it would be if they could exercise tolerance in a respectful way. This implies that ethnic equality among ethnic groups has been increased but also suggests that the construction of tolerance and respecting ethnic equality have not been achieved fully. Other participants were also surprised about diversity and complained about it in the following texts.

inəsʊ'm bəta'm təba'bmət a'ləba'chəw;
They are narrow-minded. (HU Int.No 002)

The discourse above indicates accusations of the other as parochial and not willing to accept others.

One of the ways to construct tolerance is teaching the unknown, by providing attention to the reproduction of the rhetoric tolerance which implies that ethnic equality among Ethiopians can be achieved.

*chigiro'ch a'llu' ya'wɪ mɪdæt məbɪto'chm ləmətəkəm yɪhæ dægmo' ya'w
kəwɪkət' ma'nəs nəw; ma'm kəgmɪzə'bæ ma'nəs mɪdæt məbɪto'chm
mətəkəm a'ləmæcha'l;*

There are problems on how to exercise their rights and I think problems occurred due to the lack of knowledge/awareness on how to use those rights. (AAU FGD: Subj. A)

One does not need any experience in dealing with diversity issues in order to propose with confidence that "we are all people." And any one can mobilize this discourse of abstract inclusion at any time. The following students stated that the existence of diversity is natural and following with the discursive text, indicated that tolerance is important as it is a way to live without any problem. The text highlighted how ethno-linguistic practices of peace and harmony brought success to construct tolerance.

bəbɪhæru' hu'lu'm tæcha'chɪlo' nəw yəmno'rəw;

We live in tolerating each other's ethnic group. (HU Int. No 003)

ɪh'nɪk gru'pɪ to'ləræt ho'nəw mɪdmo'ru';

For ethnic groups to live peacefully tolerating each other. (HU Int. No 007)

What is stated is the importance of tolerance, mainly thought of as weakening of ethno-linguistic differentiation. It has an implication that those university students are sisters and brothers even if they speak different languages. This suggests tolerance is possible, notwithstanding ethnic and linguistic differences. The discourses of the text and talk appeared to make a similar claim of tolerance. Peace was also emphasized as a stepping stone towards the success and usually implies the tolerance discourse on ethno-linguistic relations.

Another student indicated specifically his strong belief and experience of being exposed to the multiethnic environment.

In summary, most of the students indicated that whatever their ethnic and linguistic background they held similar attitudes to their friends who came from other ethno-linguistic identities. Their loyalty and appreciation of their friends, and their dependence on them for comfort and entertainment, were extraordinarily identical. The other side of the discourse also notes the emphasis on some batches of students who have been tagged because they intensified the ethnic tension. The following respondent says.

*Færo' yəmɪba'l ba'chɪ nəbər ma'lətɪm færo' yzəw tələya'yɪtəw
yəmidəba'dəbu';
There was a batch that got to university with machetees to fight
with.(ASTU Int. No 004)*

*mæ yəma'wkəw məwəlɪwəya' ba'ch yəmɪba'l a'sɪta'wɪsa'ləhu' smətəw
məwəlɪwəya' yzəw yəgəbu';
I know that there is a batch named as “mwlewyā” (broom). I remember
when they got into the university they came with it. (ASTU Int. No 004)*

Their discourses are highly concentrated on the students feeling anxious and frustrated at the time. The quote highlights moments of tension and the readiness to fight using machettes on university campuses. The text also shows namecalling as everyday discourse experience showing the evaluation among each other is highly based on their ethno-linguistic differences. Students do engage in different modes of discourses and construct versions of the topic and produce different kinds of truths.

Thus, most of the students interviewed were less tolerant of verbal abuse and threat of the ethnic diversity they faced. The following excerpt indicates that the tolerance is numbered below zero among university students.

*Mmm məcha'cha'l yələm;
There is no tolerance at all. (AAU Int. No. 003)*

As a result, students belonging to the different ethnic groups expressed their feelings of isolation, and frustration because of issues related to their ethnic and linguistic differences. Thus, they need to respect the ideology of a multi-ethno-linguistic society and practice the tradition of living in harmony with each other. As a direct result, it is possible to achieve a favourable campus environment that would considerably lift the quality of life of the Ethiopians and build a more liberal and tolerant society.

No matter, in what order they draw from historical facts, they often identified the obstacles to inter-ethnic contact as history. The cynical historical discourses dominantly emerged. This is an idea which the HU student reflects in the following texts.

*Aa'nidəŋa'w bihærasəb bələla'ŋa'w bihærasəb la'y bəta'm bəritta'ræ
yəməməlīkət bətələy yəbihærrəsəbo'ch ta'rik bəmæchəko'nma'
bəmæchəko'n la'y yətəməsəət kəho'nə bəta'mI nəw sənīstiv
yəmiya'dərigəw...bəta'm...bəta'm tiya'kəwo'chm yəmməsut
chəku'nəhəŋa'l ma' līchəku'nih wəym kəla'yə la'y tənəs nəw;*

There is a tendency to mistrust other ethnic groups; this intergroup suspicion appears to be worse in cases where there is a perceived history of oppressor-oppressed and mentality to that effect. There seems to be a desire to change historical roles and to be the new oppressor. (HU Int. No 001)

This discourse has been among students' emergent belief about disagreement, unfriendly approach, power domination of one over another ethnic group and oppression. The talk revealed students are usually duplicitous and diffuse ideas of ethno-linguistic dominance and power relationship in their everyday life. So the socially shared experiences and their discourses hold negative attitudes, based on the interpretation of existing historically emerging social practices. In addition, students' dominant discourses construct the experience of power relationships and dominance, considering as unique through strategies of distancing and excluding other ethno-linguistic group members practiced by historical deeds.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

8.0 Introduction

This chapter of the paper is the concluding section focusing on the empirical findings and practical implication in the light of the data analysis. The first part is summarized by uncovering the underpinning university student discourses associated with their everyday practical ethno-linguistic experiences. It also summarizes practical implications by highlighting some areas for further research.

In summary, this chapter touches on the principal nodal discourses of the ethno-linguistic diversity relationships practiced over a long period of time. Within the focus of passed and existing inculcated ethno-linguistic diversity discourses from the point of view of university students, the researcher witnessed ethnically conflicting discourses widely practiced in the country as a whole. Within the university setting of producing and reproducing of constructed and inculcated discourses have been reviewed.

This chapter also concludes the focused ideas of what the previous chapters, and the concept of how students positioned themselves within competing discourses, based on fluctuating ethnic diversity conflicting situations. In general, the researcher believed that the ethno-linguistic diversity discourses are a fairly unexplored area of inquiry and this research aimed to answer some important questions that surround the phenomenon.

8.1 Empirical Findings

The study made possible a deeper understanding of the practices of ethno-linguistic diversity inspired by the current ethno-linguistic diversity constructed discourses of university students.

Since the research was data-driven, detailed thematic discourses appeared after the data exploration took place and the dominant discourses with the discursive practices, recurrent in the participants' utterances, were identified. The dominant discourses involved in constructing the practices of ethno-linguistic diversity are mainly those surrounding the use of strategies of polarizing us and them, powered relationship, and dominance, distancing and expressing topics of ethnic differences. Excluding them, including us, magnifying voices of history, unity within diversity and the construction of tolerance, as well as the prejudiced and stereotyped were also the dominant discourses.

As the findings indicated, ethno-linguistic diversity discourses bring light to the general university climate of inter-ethnic relations. The analysis undertaken in the previous chapters resulted in the student voiced perception of prejudice, threat and discrimination and prevalence of stressful or harmonious inter ethno-linguistic relationships.

The findings revealed recurrently produced discourses of the ethno-linguistic identity feelings of students of belonging to their respective ethnicity were quite interesting. The predominant discourses foster a deep sense of ethno-linguistic identity and increased inter ethnic relations, and remained a bone of contention. I looked at the features of the text and strategies emerging from the analytical process of the identified discourses of ethno-linguistic diversity and associated based theories on the following major thematic areas.

The linguistic construction of creating powered relationships and dominance discourses; the cultivation of exclusion of 'them' and inclusion of 'us', by magnifying 'we only' discourses;

- the production by constructing ill defined discourses;
- the linguistic construction of discriminatory discourses;
- the linguistic construction of the voices of history;

- the construction of the unity within diversity by shaping the discourses;
- the construction of tolerance discourses;
- topics of ethnic difference discourses magnifying ‘us’ and ‘them’ and
- the positive self presentation and negative others presentation,

The discursive strategic action was socially constitutive and shaped by representing, acting, interacting and constructing one's ethno-linguistic identity. ‘We only’ discourse strategies of distancing from other ethno-linguistic group members by creating powered relationships and dominancy, and strategies of voicing the history by copying and reproducing from the wider public of the country was done recurrently. The strategies play a part to put the discourses into practice by enacting and inculcating the dominant discourse.

As argued extensively, life in diversified societies is too divergent, complex, heterogeneous, conflictual and constantly changing. A careful, serious and considerate view on ethno-linguistic diversity in the context of currently emerging discourses by celebrating pluralism is needed.

8.2 Discussion of the Findings

In this research, the researcher tried to give a picture of the ethno-linguistic diversity discursive practical situation of students at present, regarding in particular five government universities. The emphasis is on the dialogical construction and expression of ethno-linguistic diversity at the everyday level. The character of ethnic discourse today is influenced on the one hand by significant events from the near and remote past histories. Further, on the other hand various forms of the discourses of existing exclusion and inclusion observed in everyday practices contribute to power relationships and dominancy in ethnic relations.

The critical discourse analysis provided further support for my observations regarding the ethno-linguistic diversity, such as respect for the others and concern for diversity. The researcher brought these important ethnic and linguistic diversity issues directly and explicitly to higher education institutions. And, emphasized that the extended discourse analysis provided in this research gives a snapshot of what goes on in universities. The researcher found repeated evidence in the various universities of negative interactions and in the comments that participants made about the ethno-linguistic diversity discourses.

At the day-to-day level, practices of ethno-linguistic differentiation is salient, although inter group boundaries are obstacles and create zones of intensive contacts focused on strategies of positive self presentation and negative others. Representing others as incapable implies a stable and sovereign self. Thus, ethnicity becomes the reference capable of articulating and organizing ethnicity used to mark students. Multi-ethnic thus becomes an essential feature to define and describe universities. Discourses of the concepts of multi-ethnicity involve the idea of differences promoted as conflicting, as well as a simultaneous respect for ethno-linguistic differences; different yet united. However, it gives the country an opportunity to set universality calling a multi-ethno-linguistic state, representing its diversity through multiple ethnic and linguistic groups. Then, Ethiopia claims to be a melting pot concentrating various aspects of ethnic practices.

The other emerging discourses of tolerance and mutual understanding set patterns of peaceful co-existence in multi-ethno-linguistic communities and develop tolerance towards ethnic and linguistic diversity. However, questions of ethno-linguistic diversity have been a recurrent source of conflicts.

Universities have attracted the zealous attention of those who wish to influence the future, as well as those who wish to change the view of the past. In Ethiopian history, universities have not only been an institution in which to teach students skills and knowledge. They are also an arena where groups fight to preserve their values, to revise the judgments of history or to bring about fundamental social changes. For example, in recent years, the bitter ethno-linguistic diversity disputes provoked by some ethnic groups created turmoil in AAU which has stayed in the memory. The researcher is a witness to the everyday practices of students fighting each other by putting themselves as superior within their ethnicity and language bubbles.

Though, given the diversity of Ethiopian society, it has been impossible to insulate the universities from ethnic differences and tensions among ethno-linguistic groups. When students differ about basic issues like ethnic and language, disagreements turn up in battles about how universities are organized and these battles inculcate terrible injustices like ethnic discrimination. Sometimes, however, interest groups politicize the ethnic issues and attempt to impose their views on students. When ethno-linguistic groups cross the line into extremism, advancing their own ethnic agenda without regard to reason or to others, they threaten others. It resulted making it difficult to practice any issues honestly and making all the universities vulnerable to ethnic conflict campaigns as well as any other campaigns.

For many years, the universities every day practices indicated the attempts made to neutralize controversies over ethno-linguistic diversity by ignoring them. It was also hoped that universities would remain outside politics but they were not excluded from the outsiders' social and political influences. Nonetheless, such divisive questions were not usually excluded from the societal practices of diversity and from the overall society. The outsiders should minimize problems among ethno-linguistic groups by minimizing a sanitized version of history.

Together, ethnicity and language are presented as major elements in the universities today. Students concentrated on their differences during their stay for four or five years in the universities. Differences received great attention whereas the main harmonious issues in order to live together, like tolerance, were paid little attention. Tolerance is the core to bring about the seriously intended human development. Universities considered that they could remain outside historical ethnic injustices. Instead, informing and inculcating the true practices of ethnolinguistic diversity is the only means which should be practiced.

As a result of the social changes of the last two decades, ethnic and linguistic difference is now generally recognized as an organizing principle of university students. In contrast, the idea of harmonization which promised to erase ethnic and linguistic differences, students produced discourses of 'variety is not the spice of life'. They got 'lived' experience from their campus life that has provided a heaven for many different ethnics and language. It has allowed them to maintain their ethnic and linguistic heritage. They learn from the inculcated discourse that ethnic and linguistic pluralism is one of the norms of universities.

In a nut shell, socially practiced ethnic topicalization and thematization suggests that some ethnicist discourses are expressed and enacted either directly or indirectly. The various topics and themes are related to inherent personal characteristics of one's ethnic life practices of group members. This is because the society in which each discourse takes place inevitably affects the discourse, while the discourse influences the society as well. Students are aware of the fact that most of them put emphasis on avoiding possible ethnic criticism which means hegemony is maintained and exists throughout the data.

8.3 Practical Implications

This research found that there are implications for students trying to adjust their stay in the university by inculcating ethnic harmonizing discourses. The findings provide in-depth understandings of students by recognizing the problematic discourses is significant. The discussion showed practitioners in supporting universities to become more critical towards the challenges of ethnic practices. In particular, practical implications are important factors of competing ethnic discourses in creating ethnic tensions. These may lead to better understanding of the origins of fear of the other and of being the other.

However, ethno linguistic diversity discourses originated from outside and inside, ethnic differences became important and have practically implied the following issues to be considered as the implications for the Higher Education Institutions. It can help to develop programs of prevention and prepare prior appropriate ethnic conflict solutions.

In order to achieve unity, ethno-linguistic diversity policy had to be recognized properly and be inculcated in the right way in the university. In order to improve unity in diversity discourses inside the ethnically diversified universities, a number of outsider policy revisions of ethnic practices seem also to be necessary.

- Ethno-linguistic groups are expected to gradually melt and converge on the basis of 'I am I am' identity of Ethiopianness which itself was not supposed to change. By this, ethnic pilarization instead of ethnic polarization discourses should be inculcated.
- The ethnic fragmentation, tensions and conflicts ultimately result in competition, seeking advantage in relation to other ethnic groups which may lead to differences being played upon. Unity nodal discourses, by disarming of ill-defined discourse, should be inculcated thoroughly. This helps to realize the importance of diversity in

establishing and promoting national unity by constructing, producing and reproducing positive feelings towards other ethnic groups.

- Inculcating the discourses of the positive part of ethno-linguistic diversity and cultivation of inclusive discourses should be produced currently ethnocentrism discourses are enacted by students through oral discourse and universities should discredit the ideas of narrow nationalists' directions. It is likely that ethnicist practices result in disunity of the country.
- The way ethno-linguistic power relationship abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk of the students. This should be replaced with other newly, articulation of alternative and supportive positively emerging nodal discourses. Because, the influence of such discourse in bringing ethnic tension is great in universities.
- The national unity discourses should be enacted to persuade students to sustain their ethnic equality ideologies by providing priority to Ethiopianness discourses. Giving priority to emphasize more on the importance of Ethiopian national unity by demilitarizing the ethnicity mind despite the ethnic diversity in the country is timely.
- Avoid, to the greater extent, propagating ethnically constituted and wrongly provoked ethnic discourses. Provide accurate discursive information about, and recognition of, the commonalities of all ethno-linguistic groups, in order to ultimately reduce the tendency to draw sharp boundaries between ethnic groups. Plus, provide worldviews of social groups and the better aspects of the history of experiences that shaped the nodal ethnic discourses.

- Avoid ethnic organizations in universities by nurturing ethnically tolerant discourses that derogate the other ethnic groups and create the opportunities of students to participate in a global world with others who are different from them. Creating a more positive ethno-linguistic diversity group attitude among university students is timely and efforts need to be made to improve the climate of inter group attachments, by creating understanding and better attitude towards the other ethnic.
- All ethno-linguistic groups are equal or are equally treated was under critique. Students increasingly came to perceive that some are more than equal. So creating intensive inter ethno-linguistic contact situations is significant because those who interact more with the others will have positive attitudes and will be better able to participate in a heterogeneous society.
- Avoid the tense discourses of ethnic grievances which developed between students and were dominated by the erroneous ethnicity practices. Otherwise, ethnic tension will develop and explode like an atomic bomb of ethnic conflict and human lives may be lost unnecessarily.
- An implicative notion, regardless of ethnic origin, like "we are all university students", enacting discourses with trying to unite everyone irrespective of ethnic and language, is the way forward that students should walk together. This is necessary to avoid incidents such as those that led to inter ethnic conflicts surrounding universities observed between X and Y ethno-linguistic groups which resulted in the death of thousands of people and the destruction of property.

8.4 Chapter Summary

The researcher employed CDA in the study. The researcher had an interest in connecting the existing ethnic discourses to social, historical, linguistically, and ethnical contexts. Throughout the research, the researcher analyzed the participants' talk as texts, obtained from both the interview and FGD data. The researcher also situated this study within the qualitative interpretive tradition. I focused on key words, sentences and phrases and the use of ethnic self and other expressional discourses. The central issues deployed on the CDA determine the existing reality. It is also possible to see on how different ethnic groups make sense of the world and looking within a single ethnic and language differently. In addition, the dominant discourses that are associated with a particular ethnicity that are produced and maintained at the university are produced.

Findings on the ethnic competition also indicate that there are on-going ethnic struggle discourses which are engaged in a constant struggle with one another to achieve ethnic hegemony. On the other hand, university students have also tried to inculcate their ethno-linguistic identities within dominant discourses. Their texts are the actual media through which they project their socially constructed and contested ethno-linguistic identity. And the identity is made, remade, produced and reproduced by students positioning in a certain way within their everyday practical discourses, by polarizing their own ethnic and language positioning.

They were also able to magnify these constraints as they came to access more empowering alternative ethnic discourses of diversity, as they began to discuss their feelings of ethnicity discourses. For example, in several data extracts, I witnessed some research participants narratives of how during inter-group interaction they were helpless to empower themselves when marginalized as otherness within ethnic discourses of diversity. Then how they were later able to re-position and empower themselves by

gaining access to alternative discourse of ethno-linguistic diversity with the result of producing prejudices.

Lack of ethno-linguistic diversity tolerance was more painful and ethnic discourse was one of their fears. Intolerance and even hatred, disappeared, however, at the end of the university years. The analysis describes the everyday social basis of ethnic discourse with the practical practices of the current situation of the university students. The way ethnocentrism is produced and reproduced through everyday talk was analyzed. In group members regularly engage in conversations about ethnocentrism in the communities of the university students, and thus express and influentially communicate their attitudes to other in-group members. In this way, ethnic and linguistic based inculcating discourses become shared and may form the basis of ethnic or linguistic discrimination in inter-group interaction.

In the research, ethnocentric attitudes formulated in discourse with persuasive diffusion uses as the cognitive basis for action are practiced with the exact difference of the students' language in universities. They were mainly characterized by giving emphasis to language inter-group relations and revealed social issues. They represent ethnic dominance and power discursive practices. Ethnocentrism is represented in, and reproduced among, ethnic or linguistic group members in the first years of university stays during which ethnic identity transition is started. An analysis of ethnocentrism was also the crucial part of the analysis for understanding of ethnic and linguistic prejudice, stereotype and discrimination of us and them in the daily inter-ethnic encounters of multiethnic university students.

The existing practices of the students bring a set of attitudinal changes. The ethnic and linguistic prejudice becomes manifested in every day discourse of the university students,

such as how does what in-group members think and feel about out-group members' influences, what they say about other outside group members and how such talk is organized at various levels. Every day talk of students was not only just an expression of essential beliefs, but, was socially practiced and inhibited in the context. The discourse about ethnic out groups was scrutinized by interaction strategies. The ideas when students come at the beginning were not based on reality but of some preconceived negativity which included, for instance, ideas of those discourses that may describe positive self-presentation, negative others' presentation, inclusion of us and exclusion of them and trying to persuade powerfully. Such constraints were conflicting and demanded negative opinion practices about other ethnic groups formulated in terms of ethnic and linguistic tolerance, or dissimulated in other, strategically.

Analyzing how prejudiced discourse is understood, evaluated, and represented by in-group recipients who participate in such steps is essential for my understanding of the persuasive communication of ethnic attitudes. This would help expand my outlook and as a result to look far for my insight into the processes of their diffusion and sharing the initials attitude has been changed at the end through the dominant group.

The diffusion of prejudiced group attitudes transform and to understand the paradigm of ethnicity is a caricature and enacts the perception transfer to the "we are diverse people" instead of single, isolated, interpersonal every day practices of ethnic conversations. Attention on students' talk about ethno-linguistic groups in the university changed and express, convey, or form ethno-linguistic diversity beliefs or attitudes in their everyday conversations was based on the stereotypical which was far from the truth.

When students are junior and senior, they are exposed to ethnic and linguistic diversity group discourse about the ethno-linguistic diversity of out-groups. They merely include others' beliefs and attitudes by ignoring personal beliefs. In other words, they avoid

reproducing ethnic and linguistic opinions of their in-group as a whole, such as shared stereotypes and prejudices. These processes of communicative reproduction brings sets of attitudinal changes that involved an interaction of students' experiences and beliefs, representations of information from a variety of ethnic group discourses and more general, socially shared, belief and opinion structures about other ethno-linguistic groups. In general, in this research, the researcher tried to give a picture of the ethno-linguistic situation of students at present, regarding in particular five government universities. The emphasis is on the dialogical construction and expression of ethno-linguistic identity at the everyday level. The character of ethnic discourse today is influenced on the one hand, by significant events from the near and remote past practices. Various forms of the discourses of exclusion and inclusion can be observed in everyday practices, which contribute to the power relationship and dominancy interethnic relations. At the day-to-day level, practices of ethno-linguistic differentiation are salient, although inter-group boundaries are obstacles and create zones of intensive contacts, focused with strategies of positive self presentation and negative others. Discourses of tolerance and mutual understanding set patterns of peaceful co-existence in multi-ethno-linguistic communities and develop tolerant policies towards ethnic and linguistic diversity should be encouraged.

8.5 Future Research

As diversity is a rather well un-explored area of research there are numerous options for future research. Ethnic diversity conflicts are one of the phenomenon at present but they have increased substantially in the last few years. Future research is needed to explore the experiences of the individuals further, incorporating other diversity elements such as religion and gender.

Exploring the practical experiences of the other major elements of diversity would necessitate looking at individuals and the community who have a vested interest in their diversity. Understanding the experiences of the students, as they contemplate the diversity questions, would provide insight for other communities pondering the move.

The researcher have focused on ethnicity but as the discussion has indicated, many other dimensions of identity are also relevant in universities to be further explored and researched in the future.

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Appendices: Appendix A

Interview Questions For Students

ለተማሪዎች የቀረበ መጠይቅ

ይህንን መጠይቅ ያዘጋጀሁት የአዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ተማሪ ክብረወርቅ ለማ ስሆን በአሁኑ ወቅት የዶክተሬት ዲግሪዬን እየተማርኩ እገኛለሁ። የጥናቴ ርዕስም “Critical Analysis of Ethno linguistic Diversity Discourses in Ethiopian Government Universities.” ሲሆን እናንተን ለእንደዚህ ዓይነት መጠይቅ ስመርጥ፤ የተሻሉ ሀሳቦችና መረጃዎችን ልትሰጡኝ ትችላላችሁ በማለት ሲሆን፤ ትክክለኛ የሆኑ መልሶችን ለጥያቄዎቼ እንድትሰጡኝ በትህትና እጠይቃለሁ። የምትሰጡኝ መረጃ በሚስጥር የሚያዝና ለማንም የማይተላለፍ መሆኑን በቅድሚያ ላረጋግጥልዎት እወዳለሁ። ለዚህ ጥናት የሚፈለገው መረጃም ለጥናቴ አላማ የሚውል ስለሆነ የተቻላችሁን ያህል ጥናቱን የተሳካ ለማድረግ ከፍተኛ የሆነ ትብብር እንድታደርጉልኝ በትህትና እጠይቃለሁ።

ክብረወርቅ ለማ

- ከተለያዩ የብሔርና ቋንቋ የመጡ ተማሪዎች በዩኒቨርሲቲው ውስጥ የእርስ በርስ ሁኔታ ምን ይመስላል፤
- የብዙ ቋንቋና ብሔር፤ ልዩነቶች በዩኒቨርሲቲው ውስጥ መኖር እርስ በርስ የመቻቻል ሁኔታዎች እንዲኖሩና መቻቻሉ እንዲዳብር ምን ዓይነት አስተዋፅኦ አድርጓል፤ በዩኒቨርሲቲ ቆይታዎ የቋንቋ፤ የብሔር ልዩነትን በተመለከተ ምን ዓይነት አመለካከት አልዎት፤
- በእርስዎ አመለካከት በዩኒቨርሲቲ ውስጥ የብዙ ቋንቋ፤ የብሔር፤ ልዩነቶች መኖራቸው ከማህበራዊ ህይወትና ከጻፈኝነት አንጻር ጠቀሜታ አለው ይላሉ፤ አለው.. ካሉ በምን መልኩ፤
- ስለ ብሔር እና ቋንቋ ልዩነቶች መልካም የሆኑ ወይም አስፀያፊ የሆኑ የተፃፉ፤ የሚነገሩ ወይም በእለት ተእለት የግቢው ውስጥ እንቅስቃሴ የሚገለፁ አመለካከቶች በምን መልኩ ይንፀባረቃሉ፤ ከብሔርና ከቋንቋ፤ ልዩነቶች ጋር በተያያዘ በዩኒቨርሲቲ ቆይታዎ ያጋጠምዎት ችግር ካለ ቢገልፁ፤
- የብሔር እና የቋንቋ ልዩነትን በተመለከተ በተማሪዎች መካከል የሚደረጉ ያልተገቡ ተግባራት በትምህርት ላይ፤ በማህበራዊ ህይወት ላይ ይፈፀማሉ ወይ፤ ይግለፁ፤
- እርስዎ ጓደኝነትን ሲመሰርቱ በተለይ በዩኒቨርሲቲ ግቢ ውስጥ ምንን መሰረት አድርገው ነው፤ ለራስ ቋንቋ ቅድሚያ በመስጠት -የሌላ ቋንቋ ተናጋሪዎች ጎደኞቹ ሊሆኑ አይችሉም በማለት -ሌሎቹ ያስጠሉኛል በማለት -እነሱ የኔን ቋንቋ ስናገር እጅጉን ይከፋቸዋል -ከኔ ቋንቋና ብሔር ውጪ ሁሉም ያስጠሉኛል
- ምን ዓይነት ምክንያቶች በተማሪዎች መካከል አለመግባባትን ይፈጥራሉ፤ ቋንቋና ብሔር ልዩነትን መሰረት ያደረገ - ቋንቋን ብቻ መሰረት ያደረገ -ብሔርን ብቻ መሰረት ያደረገ

- በዩኒቨርሲቲ ቅጥር ግቢ ቆይታችሁ የሌላ ቋንቋ ተናጋሪና ከሌላ ብሄር ተወላጆች ከሆኑ ተማሪዎች ጋር ጊዜ ወስዳችሁ ስለእነሱ ለማወቅ ምን ያህል ጥረት ታደርጋላችሁ፤
- በልዩነት መካከል የሚደረግ ውይይት ለተለያዩ ሐሳብ፤ መረጃና ልምድን ለመቅሰም ምን አይነት እገዛ አለው ይላሉ፤
- በዩኒቨርሲቲ ቆይታዎ የራስዎን ቋንቋ ለማስተዋወቅ እንቅፋት የሆኑ ዋና ዋና ችግሮች ናቸው የሚሉአቸውን ይጥቀሱልን፤ ለምሳሌ፤ አለመግባባት ካለ፤ ትምህርት ላይ የተፈጠረ ችግር ካለ ቢጠቅሱልን
- በዩኒቨርሲቲ ቆይታዎ በብሄርና፤ በቋንቋ ልዩነቶች መካከል ስለሚፈጠሩ ችግሮችና አለመግባባቶች ምን አይነት መፍትሔ ይጠቁማሉ፤ ከተለያዩ የቋንቋ፤ ብሔር፤ ባህል የመጡ ተማሪዎች አንዱ ለአንዱ፤ ለምን መጥፎ የሆነ አመለካከት ይኖረዋል ይላሉ፤ መጥፎ አመለካከትን የሚፈጥሩባቸው ችግር ምን አይነት ነው፤ መልካም የሆነው/ያልሆነው አመለካከት እንዴት ይፈጠራል፤
- በግንኙነት ወቅት ኮሙዩኒኬሽን በትክክል እንዳይካሄድ የሚያደርጉ ምክንያቶች ምን አይነት ናቸው፤ ለምሳሌ መጥፎ አመለካከት፤ የተዛባ አመለካከት፤ የኔ ብቻ የሚል አመለካከት፤ የኔ ብሄርና ቋንቋ ብቻ ብሎ የማሰብ... ወዘተ
- ከእርስዎ ውጪ ያሉትን ባህሎችና ቋንቋዎች በምን አይነት መልኩ በመጥፎና በጥሩ ስሜት ያዩአቸዋል፤ እርስዎ ለሌላ ቋንቋ ተናጋሪዎች ምን ዓይነት ጥሩ አመለካከት አልዎት፤ ምን ዓይነት መጥፎ አመለካከቶችን አይተዋል፤
- በዩኒቨርሲቲ ቆይታዎ በብሔርና በራሴ ቋንቋ፤ በመጠቀሜ ልዩነት ደርሶብኛል ይላሉ ካሉ እንዴት፤ ወይም የኔ የምላቸው ሰዎች እጅጉን በሌሎች ላይ ልዩነት ሲያደርሱ ተመልክቼያለሁ፤

Appendix B

Interview Questions for Students

Addis Ababa University

Department of Applied Linguistics and Development

Dear students,

The following questions are interview questions designed to collect information on the PhD research topic "A Critical Analysis of Ethno Linguistic Diversity Discourses in Ethiopian Government Universities."

- How do you explain the relationship of students who join university from different ethnic and language?
- What is and what has been the meaning of ethnic and linguistic differences in University? Is there any contribution of tolerances?
- Is there any reflections of badly written ideas about once language and ethnic in your university?
- What would you say on the importance of others to know and understand your language and ethnic affiliation in your university?
- What is your attitude interms of ethnic and language in your stay in university? How do you think it benefits socially?
- Have you faced ethno linguistic diversity problems in your stay in university? Have you been embarrassed by the behaviour of others ethnolinguistic group?
- How do you see the ethnocentrism feelings of ethnic group in your stay in university?
- What factors of ethnic and linguistic diversity experiences do you think influence students?
- Are there any problems faced in such cases?
- What are the bases for ethnolinguistic diversity conflicting discourses?
- What do you know about problematic stories during your stay in university?
- What are the aggerativing reasons behind the ethnolinguistic conflicts between diversified students in university?

- Do you believe that people who speak the same language are members of the same ethnic and linguistic group?
- What do you think about the individual students to live in ethnically diverse world that requires tolerance?
- What do you think of ethnic and language differences that influence students to behave in a particular ways like in case of disagreements and conflicts?

Appendix C

Focused Group Discussion Questions

Addis Ababa University

Department of Applied Linguistics and Development

Dear students,

You have been selected to participate in a study designed to collect information on the PhD research topic "*A Critical Analysis of Ethno linguistic Diversity Discourses in Ethiopian Government Universities.*"

In this connection, I would like to request you to share with me your opinions and experience, spending a short time of few hours from your schedule for me. Your genuine cooperation is very important, because you represent many other instructors and students who have similar opinions and experiences.

The genuine responses you provide is highly valuable and determines the effectiveness of this research. Please, be assured that I will treat your responses confidentially and will not be use them for any purpose other than that of the research.

Kibrework Lemma

1. General Background

- In which region were you born? Probe: Say something on your own ethnicity? How long have you been in University?
- What language did you speak? Probe: language used at home. In the dormitory, and café on the University campus etc.
- How do you identify yourself in terms of your ethnic and language background?
- What would you say on the importance for others to know and understand your language and ethnic affiliation in the context of other communities in University?
- What is and what has been the meaning of ethnic and linguistic differences in University?
- How do you see the ethnocentrism and the feelings of some ethnic group? Probe: What could be the reasons for this? How do you express your feelings?
- Do you have stronger ties to your own ethnic group and language? Probe: If yes how and how do you look other ethnic groups and languages, Do you respect others language and ethnic groups?

- Have you been embarrassed by the behavior of others ethno-linguistic groups? Probe: Are any problems faced in such cases? What are the faults of other ethno-linguistic group members? Are you interested to know and learn others ethnic values and languages?
- What kind of stories told you know about your ethnic and language group and about others? Probe: Stories such as posted in classrooms, rest room, cafes and around dormitory, in your campus in general. (e.g. words, utterances, figurative speeches, expressions, etc)
- What do you think of ethnic and language differences can affect your performance in University? Probe: In terms of student-student relationship.
- What factors of ethnic and linguistic values and experiences do you think consider that influence students to think and behave in particular way? Probe: In case of disagreements, conflicts etc.
- What do you think about promotion of diversified ethno-linguistic for assisting diversified ethnic societies to live tolerably and respectfully? Probe: What do you think about the possibility that ethno-linguistic diversity contributes to the communities of University?
- What have you done to develop respect for ethno-linguistic differences and to promote societal cohesion in your stay at University? Probe: learning other ethnic groups, Knowing others' languages
- Do you know any kind of problematic stories heard during your stay in University? Probe: Could you tell some of them? Would you take to say more?
- What do you think the reason behind argumentations and conflicts between students who live together in campuses? Probe: problematic stories, Feelings of Ethnocentrism
- How do you consider the need that students of University should be aware of other people's language and ethnic differences? Probe: who live in the same campus, Students who have different ethnic and language background from your own
- What do you think about the preparation of individuals to live in ethnically diverse world that requires properly planned education to bring development in University?

Appendix D

Translated Sample FGD Data

AAU FGD, Student A (101)

As I think, using our own language is not a disease.....I think that. Even if the friendship clique based on language. I don't take it seriously. The reason is....hmm...when there is common sense and common understanding people may create friendship. Friendship bases through language. The friendship goes on here/ move on here and there through language. I think that! With out any obstacle the friendship may goes on even if it bases language. The disease is that the issue of conflict that comes based on that. I, for instance, when other individual using his own language may say or insult me. Where does such an idea came, it is a disease. This is completely wrong! I have to have a confidence. What is the reason that I am going to be insulted? If the case is that I have to be insulted I should have to accept it. This is by itself a negative attitude by itself. The issue that I would like to consider is more than that. After creating groupings.....each group.....of course.....one follows the other.....such a disease...as my brother says....when one culture day presents I shouldn't have to be worried of it. Others should have to enjoy it. It is beauty. Our diversity is our beauty.....Hmmmmmm.....diversity happens among two or three ethnic groups and peoples. It may also exist in one family. To magnify it and leading the diversity to create to ethnocentrism is losing a concept or it is a lack of education or lacks of understanding and it almost a lack of something.

I considered it is not to be the language and cultural problem. That is why I understood it is lack of awareness.....Or, lack of positive thinking.....negative attitude.....of course.....only me.....that is to be selfish.

What they said till now is acceptable and true, even if I can't say what the reason behind is typically. May be, our background, we bring from our family. The issue that we hear when we grown up. For instance, my father may hate X language or Y language he may create on me while I grew to hate X language as well as Y language. He (my father) may create on me his attitude and if it happens and grows with such negative attitude I can't avoid it with a few times or I can't change the attitude within a few times. It may create even other problems. So, our experience and our background by itself may be the cause for such negative attitude or prejudices. However, I am not an ethnocentric student, but," or "I have nothing against others,.... I guess! It is not the difference of language and ethnic that brings such negative attitude. It is the problem of negative attitude that lead us to disagreement among us.

Appendix E

Interview Questions for Instructors

ይህንን መጠይቅ ያዘጋጀሁት የአዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ተማሪ ክብረወርቅ ለማ ስሆን በአሁኑ ወቅት የዶክተሬት ዲግሪዬን እየተማርኩ እገኛለሁ። የጥናቴ ርዕስም “*A Critical Analysis of Ethno linguistic Diversity Discourse in Ethiopian Government Universities.*” ሲሆን እናንተን ለእንደዚህ ዓይነት መጠይቅ ስመርጥ፤ የተሻሉ ሀሳቦችና መረጃዎችን ልትሰጡኝ ትችላላችሁ በማለት ሲሆን፤ ትክክለኛ የሆኑ መልሶችን ለጥያቄዎቼ እንድትሰጡኝ በትህትና እጠይቃለሁ።

- የብዙ ቋንቋና ብሔር፤ ልዩነቶች በዩኒቨርሲቲው ውስጥ መኖር እርስ በርስ የመቻቻል ሁኔታዎች እንዲኖሩና መቻቻሉ እንዲዳብር ምን አይነት አስተዋፅኦ አድርጓል፤
- በዩኒቨርሲቲ ቆይታዎ የቋንቋ፤ የብሔር ልዩነትን በተመለከተ ምን ዓይነት አመለካከት አልዎት፤ በእርስዎ አመለካከት በዩኒቨርሲቲ ውስጥ የብዙ ቋንቋ፤ የብሔር፤ ልዩነቶች መኖራቸው ከማህበራዊ ህይወት አንጻር ጠቀሜታ አለው ይላሉ፤ አለው.. ካሉ በምን መልኩ፤
- ስለ ብሔር እና ቋንቋ ልዩነቶች መልካም የሆኑ ወይንም አስፀያፊ የሆኑ የሚነገሩ ወይንም በእሳት ተእሳት የግቢው ውስጥ እንቅስቃሴ የሚገለፁ አመለካከቶች በምን መልኩ ይንፀባረቃሉ፤
- ከብሔርና ከቋንቋ፤ ልዩነቶች ጋር በተያያዘ በዩኒቨርሲቲ ቆይታዎ በተማሪዎች መካከል ያጋጠምዎት ችግር ካለ ቢገልፁ፤
- እንደ መምህርነትዎ የብሔር እና የቋንቋ ልዩነትን በተመለከተ በተማሪዎች መካከል የሚደረጉ ያልተገቡ ተግባራት በትምህርት ላይ፤ በማህበራዊ ህይወት ላይ ይፈፀማሉ ወይ፤ ይግለፁ፤
- በዩኒቨርሲቲ ቅጥር ግቢ ውስጥ ተማሪዎች የራሳቸውን ብሄር ተወላጆች ብቻ ጋር በመገናኘት የመቆየትና የማዘውተር ሁኔታ ይታያል፤ ምክንያቱስ ምንድነው ይላሉ፤ የተለያዩ ግራፊቲዎችን በተመለከተስ ምን ይላሉ፤
- ምን አይነት የሆነ ብሔርና ቋንቋ አመለካከቶችን ያውቃሉ፤ የኔ ቋንቋና ብቻ በቅጥር ግቢ ውስጥ ይነገር፤ የሌላ ቋንቋና ብሄር ተከታይ ለኔ ቋንቋና ብሔር የተዛባ አመለካከት አለው፤ በታሪክ የማውቃቸው ብዙ ችግሮች ስላሉ ሌሎቹን አልወዳቸውም ፤ እነሱ/ሌሎቹ መጥፎ ናቸው
- ምን አይነት ምክንያቶች በተማሪዎች መካከል አለመግባባትን ይፈጥራሉ፤
- ቋንቋና ብሔር ልዩነትን መሰረት ያደረገ -ቋንቋን ብቻ መሰረት ያደረገ -ብሔርን ብቻ መሰረት ያደረገ

Appendix F

Interview Questions For Instructors

Department of Applied Linguistics and Development University

Dear Instructors,

The following questions are interview questions designed to collect information on the PhD research topic "A Critical Analysis of Ethno Linguistic Diversity Discourses in Ethiopian Government Universities."

- What is and what has been the meaning of ethnic and linguistic differences in University?
- What would you say on the importance of others to know and understand your language and ethnic affiliation in your university?
- What is your attitude interms of ethnic and language as instructor in the university? How do you think it benefits socially?
- Have you faced ethno linguistic diversity problems among students? What are the bases for ethnolinguistic diversity conflicting discourses?
- How do you see the ethnocentrism feelings of different ethnic group in the university?
- What factors of ethnic and linguistic diversity experiences do you think influence students?
- Are there any problems faced in such cases when you teach your students in the classroom?
- What do you know about problematic stories during your stay in university?
- What are the exaggerative reasons behind the ethnolinguistic conflicts between diversified students in university?
- How do you think tolerance would exist in universities?

Appendix G

Sample Observation Check List

አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ

የማህበረሰብ ሳይንስና የሰብአዊነት ስራ

የቋንቋዎች ጥናት ፋኩልቲ

የሚከተሉት ዋና ዋና የሆኑ መሰረታዊ መረጃዎች በጥንቃቄ የሚመለሱ የምልከታ ጥያቄዎች ናቸው

1. ከተለያዩ የብሔር ቋንቋና ባህል የመጡ ተማሪዎች በዩኒቨርሲቲው ውስጥ(በካምፓስ ህይወት፤ በመኝታ ክፍሎቻቸው፤ በካፌና በአጠቃላይ በዩኒቨርሲቲ ቆይታቸው) እርስ በርስ የመረዳዳታቸው ሁኔታ፤

2. በዩኒቨርሲቲ ውስጥ የብዙ ቋንቋ፤ የብሔር፤ የባህል ልዩነቶች መኖራቸው ከትምህርት አገገር፤ ከጎደኝነት አገገር፤

3. ስለ ብሔር ቋንቋ እና ባህል ልዩነቶች መልካም የሆኑ ወይም አስፀያፊ የሆኑ የተጻፉ፤ የሚነገሩ ወይም በአለት ተአለት የግቢው ውስጥ እንቅስቃሴ የሚገለጹ አመለካከቶች በየትኛው ቦታ ይንፀባረቃል፤

4. የብሔር፤ እና የቋንቋ ልዩነትን በተመለከተ በተማሪዎች መካከል የሚደረጉ ኢ-ዲሞክራሲያዊ ተግባራት በትምህርት ላይ፤ በማህበራዊ ህይወት ላይ ይፈፀማሉ ወይ፤ ከመጡበት ክልል ውጪ ከመጣ ተማሪ ጋር ጓደኝነትን መመስረት ይፈልጋሉ ወይ፤

5. በዩኒቨርሲቲ ቅጥር ግቢ ውስጥ ተማሪዎች የራሳቸውን ክልልና ቦታ ከመጡበት ክልል ጋር በማገናኘት የመሰይምና የማዘውተር ሁኔታ ይታያል፤ ምክንያቱስ ምንድነው፤

6. ምን አይነት ምክንያቶች በተማሪዎች መካከል አለመግባባትን ይፈጥራሉ፤ በተማሪዎች መካከል ለአለመስማማት መነሻ የሚሆኑ አመለካከቶች ምን አይነት ናቸው፤

7. በአንድ ተመሳሳይ ቋንቋ ተናጋሪና ከአንድ ተመሳሳይ ቋንቋ ተናጋሪ ውጪ ምን አይነት የኮሙኒኬሽን ሁኔታ ይታያል

Appendix H Interview Schedule

Table 1 Addus Ababa University(AAU)

Date of the Travel	Pseudo Name	Age	Gender	Date of the Interview	Year Stay of the interviewee	Length of Stay
18/6/2012- 24/6/2012	Alem	21	F	18/06/2012	Two	7:45
	Yoseph	23	M	18/06/2012	Four	9:13
	Mekonnen	24	M	18/06/2012	Four	12:24
	Ejara	20	M	18/06/2012	Two	11:00
	Mekedes	23	F	19/06/2012	Three	10 :09
	Andinet	22	M	19/06/2012	Two	9:17
	Yohannes	22	M	19/06/2012	Two	11:32
	Edil	20	F	19/06/2012	One	12:09
	Lidiya	25	F	20/06/2012	Four	14:14
	Tsegaye	20	M	22/06/2012	One	11:02
	Zahara	22	F	22/06/2012	Three	9:06

Table 2 Adama Science and Technology University (ASTU)

Date of the Travel	Pseudo Name	Age	Gender	Date of the Interview	Year Stay of the interviewee	Length of Stay
14/6/2012- 17/6/2012	Mahlet	21	F	14/06/2012	Two	15:57
	Bedria	22	F	14/06/2012	Three	11 :14
	Lidiya	25	F	15/06/2012	Four	14 :43
	Mignot	19	F	15/06/2012	One	13 :37
	Abebe	27	M	16/06/2012	Five	10:04
	Elyas	20	M	16/06/2012	Two	9:47
	Ashe	23	M	16/06/2012	Five	14 :02
	Natan	24	M	17/06/2012	Four	10:00
	Ferdos	21	F	17/06/2012	Two	9 :09
	Yonas	20	M	17/06/2012	Two	8:56
	Daniel	22	M	17/06/2012	Three	14:53

Table 3 Hawassa University (HU)

Date of the Travel	Pseudo Name	Age	Gender	Date of the Interview	Year Stay of the interviewee	Length of Stay
4/4/2012- 8/4/2012	Tigist	23	F	5/04/2012	Two	15:01
	Chalew	22	M	5/04/2012	Three	10:08
	Mahlet	21	F	6/04/2012	Two	7:09
	Selam	25	F	6/04/2012	Three	10:09
	Tsegaye	22	M	6/04/2012	Three	12 :07
	Menbere	21	F	6/04/2012	Four	9:11
	Zerihun	22	M	7/04/2012	Two	10:00
	Taerkeng	23		7/04/2012	One	10:15
	Mathiwos	24	M	7/04/2012	Four	8:23
	Sante	19	M	8/04/2012	One	7:34
	Mohammed	20	M	8/04/2012	Two	9:47

Table 4 Mekelle University (MU)

Date of the Travel	Pseudo Name	Age	Gender	Date of the Interview	Year Stay of the interviewee	Length of Stay in Minutes
28/5/2012- 2/6/2012	Dilenesaw	27	M	29/05/2012	Two	11:05
	Zahara	23	F	29/05/2012	Three	8:05
	Yahya	24	M	29/05/2012	One	10:30
	Zenebech	25	F	29/05/2012	Three	10:00
	Kenatu	25	F	01/06/2012	Two	15:40
	Tsion	22	F	01/06/2012	Four	12:05
	Mehari	22	M	01/06/2012	Two	8:05
	Alemayehu	28	M	01/06/2012	Five	8:05
	Yohannes	20	M	01/06/2012	One	10:45
	Tsige	21	M	01/06/2012	One	8:14
	Yodit	20	F	01/06/2012	Two	20:19

Table 5 Wollega University (WU)

Date of the Travel	Pseudo Name	Age	Gender	Date of the Interview	Year Stay of the interviewee	Length of Stay
24/4/2012- 28/4/2012	Selam	21	F	24/04/2012	Two	7:09
	Gebru	21	M	24/04/2012	Two	12:07
	Tsegaye	25	M	25/04/2012	Four	11:15
	Lelissie	24	F	25/04/2012	Three	8:00
	Keninisa	20	M	26/04/2012	One	7:43
	Habtamu	21	M	26/04/2012	Two	9:56
	Bayissa	21	M	26/04/2012	Two	10:11
	Biniyam	23	M	26/04/2012	Five	7:35
	Seme	23	M	27/04/2012	Four	8:57
	Tariku	22	M	27/04/2012	Three	9:56
	Meseret	22	F	28/04/2012	Three	11:37