

MULTILINGUAL LANGUAGE POLICY AND LANGUAGE PRACTICE
IN ETHIOPIA: OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES FOR
NATIONAL UNITY AND DEVELOPMENT

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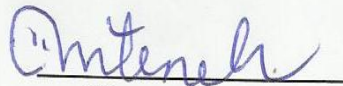
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Abstract

Multilingual Language Policy and Language Practice in Ethiopia: Opportunities and Challenges for National Unity and Development

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This dissertation investigates educated people's attitudes towards and discourses about opportunities and challenges of the present language policy and practice for national unity and development. Specifically, it examines educated Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and other mother tongue speakers' attitudes towards the role of employing numerous languages as media of instruction, administration, and mass communications on national unity and development as well as towards the use of Amharic only as a federal working language. Moreover, the study takes a firm look into educated people's discourses about the use of diverse mother tongues as media of multiple purposes as well as about the use of Amharic as a single federal working language.

To this effect, the research employed mixed methods research design - both qualitative and quantitative. Qualitative and quantitative data were collected through questionnaires from 218 postgraduate students of the Addis Ababa University. In addition, qualitative data were gathered from 20 key informants, who were engaged in various careers after graduating in bachelor, master's, and doctoral degrees through interviews and seven written policy statements were extracted from three government documents. To analyze the data one-way analysis of variance, the open code, and critical discourse analysis were employed.

The results of the quantitative data indicated that educated Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and other mother tongue speakers have positive attitudes towards the role of using a number of mother tongues as media of instruction, mass communications, and administration on national unity and national development. In contrast, they have divergent attitudes towards using Amharic only as a federal working language. The Amharic and Tigrinya mother tongue speakers have positive attitudes towards the use of Amharic as a federal working language, whereas the Oromo mother tongue speakers have negative attitudes towards the exclusive status of the language. Unlike the three mother tongue groups, other mother tongue speakers have a neutral position towards the use of Amharic as a single federal working language. There are also statistically significant differences between the means of the mother tongue groups regarding their attitudes towards the use of diverse languages as media of various purposes as well as towards the use of Amharic as a federal working language.

Besides, the results of the qualitative data revealed that the use of diverse languages in education, administration, and mass communications is decisive to confirm peoples' language rights, create stability, flourish diverse cultures, and exploit indigenous knowledge, which in turn helps to strengthen national unity and accelerate national development. On the contrary, the use of Amharic as a sole federal working language creates linguistic conflict and inequitable participation of linguistic groups in the social, cultural, political, and economic activities of the country. Therefore, it is recommended that the government should mitigate the federal linguistic friction by using either all the major indigenous languages or a foreign language, which is neutral to all nations and nationalities.

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ACRONYMS AND SYMBOLS

(...)	Pause
—	Inaudible
ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
EEC	European Economic Commission
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CLP	Critical Language Policy
DHA	Discourse-Historical Approach
EPRDF	Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopian
MLP	Multilingual Language Policy
MOE	Ministry of Education
PMAC	Provisional Military Government of Socialist Ethiopia
SNNPR	Southern Nations Nationalities People's Region
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the background of this study. It also explains the statement of the research problem, research questions, objectives, significance, scope, and limitations of the study. Moreover, the chapter offers definitions of key terms and organization of the dissertation.

1.1 Background of the Study

Language policy refers to decisions, laws, rules, regulations, and guidelines about the use, status, domains, and territories of language and the rights of speakers under question or a policy document that specifies these language behaviors (Shohamy, 2006). Besides, language policy deals with what government does officially by means of court decisions, legislation, executive action or other means to determine how languages are used in public context, cultivate language skills needed to national priorities, or establish the rights of individuals or groups to learn, use, and maintain languages (Crawford, 2000). Crawford adds that language policy is government regulation of its own language including steps to facilitate communication, foster political participation, and train and recruit personnel, guarantee due process, and provide access to public services, and documents.

The aforementioned statements indicate that language policy is the responsibility of the government. The explanations also indicate the domain of application of language policies. Language policies are concerned with determining the status of languages that implies whether languages should be used as national language, official language, working language, language of wider communication, language of instruction, and so on. Language policy is concerned with domains (or homes for languages to be used or lived in), use, and territories of languages also implies that which language should be used in education, administration, etcetera, and to what extent and where should be resolved by language policy. In addition, the decisions of a policy regarding the acceptable language for those who are to carry out the political, legal, economic, and social affairs of a country, or region of a country are the guidelines for language use in the public domain (Heath, 1985, in McNab, 1989). The decisions regarding language use in various formal domains can also promote either diverse languages or a single language by restricting the use of any other language.

A language policy that promotes diverse languages is known as multilingual language policy. Multilingual language policy, multilingual education in particular, started in 1939 in Wales, in the 1960s in the United States and in 1965 in Canada (Baker, 1996). In spite of these twentieth century events, the historical origins of multilingual language policy lie down before. Therefore, it is not a recent phenomenon. The history of multilingual language policy has existed in one form or another for more than 5 000 years or more (Mackey, 1978). It stretches from the ancient world through the renaissance to the modern world (Lewis, 1981).

Similarly, informal multilingual education has a long history in Ethiopia. Ethiopia started informal education using Ge'ez in the orthodox churches, Arabic in mosques, and Oromo in protestant churches and missionary institutions. Thus, the informal multilingual language policy and practice has a long history in Ethiopia. Nevertheless, the formal multilingual language policy, which was introduced by the contemporary government in 1991, is a recent phenomenon for Ethiopia.

Following the invasion of Italia, in 1934, Haile Selassie fled and stayed in exile for five years. During the five year period, for the first time in the history of the country, the Italian proclamation of 1938 divided Ethiopia into six administrative regions based on language. Accordingly, the alien government introduced multilingual language policy, particularly mother tongue education in the newly formed regions through Tigrinya and Arabic in Eritrea; Tigrinya in Tigray; Amharic in Amhara; Amharic and Oromo in Addis Ababa; Harari and Oromo in Harar; Oromo and Kafficho in Oromo and Sidama and Somali in Somalia (Ministero delle Colonie 1936, in Pankhurst, 1974). As a result, many languages were flourishing since textbooks and cultural and ritual services were offered through various indigenous languages. Nonetheless, the invaders were swept away from the country with the British and the Ethiopian patriots, and then the emperor came from exile in 1942 and started making new policy reforms.

In 1943, language policy was officially declared for the first time in the country: "... Amharic was declared the official national language of Ethiopia and the medium of instruction in all elementary schools throughout the empire in 1943; all other indigenous

languages were proscribed ...” (Mekuria , 1997, p. 335). After that, as Mekuria further points out, Haile Selassie’s language policy banned any sort of literature in all other languages of the empire, and restricted their use even for verbal communications in state and public institutions: The schools, churches, public offices, and law courts. Monolingualism was sought as the only option to maintain national unity and thus offering all formal services through the Amharic language only was taken as a firm political agenda of the monarch. Consequently, the “one language one nation” ideology and practice that used to promote all formal services, including education, through Amharic only resulted in increased dropouts, which hampered the educational activities of the country. The appalling number of primary school dropouts during the reign of Haile Selassie to some extent must be related to problems of communication as all instruction in the primary schools was given in Amharic (Balsvik, 1985).

Moreover, the imperial monolingual and monocultural policy contributed a lot to the social strife of the 1960s. There were secretly and openly formed linguistic groups that resist the linguistic, cultural and political hegemony of the monarch to which the First *Woyane* Rebellion of Tigrai and *Macha Tulama* of Oromia are typical instances. For example, Tadesse Birru, one of the spearheads of the *Macha Tulama*, “linked his appeal to the dignity of Oromo culture, a culture that he emphasized was being destroyed at the hands of the Amhara”... “sensitized the Oromo to the importance of their culture and language and to the contradictions inherent in the emerging politico-economic system” (Keller, 1988, p. 162). Similarly, the First *Woyane* (Rebellion) of the people of Tigrai took place from 1942 to 1943, just some months after the monarch returned home and

made a new policy reform. The First *Woyane* created consciousness in the people of Tigray, specifically in the founders of the TPLF (the Second *Woyane*), who actively participated in the student movements of the 1960s. Such movements and consciousness served as steppingstones in the processes of mobilizing the opposing organizations that fought against the monarch and later the Dergue after the downfall of Haile Selassie. The Addis Ababa University, then Haile Selassie I University, students publicly argued against the monolingual and monocultural policies of the regime. In addition, various linguistic and cultural movements that organized mainly based on language and ethnicity resisted the then cultural and linguistic assimilation and economic subjugation.

The emperor attempted to unite the country through suppression, exploitation, and forcible assimilation of linguistic groups. This practice was not successful, however. The suppression of nations and nationalities interest led to the national question. The promotion of one hegemonic language and culture as well as social and economic subjugation by the monarch hence brought about unexpected incidence. According to Mekuria (1997), linguistic suppression imposed with the pretext of nation building has become a cause for armed conflict and the disintegration of the state. Mekuria further argues, “Opposition to linguistic homogenization is incited by reasons that are basically existential and include concern about continuity of collective identity and disadvantages (economic and social) related to the imposition of a new and alien language” (p. 327).

Students, including those who had close kinship with the emperor like Tilahun Gizaw, one of the leaders of the student movement, urged the government publicly to pass the political power to the young generation and end national oppression and strife. Walleign

Mekonnen also openly argued that the then nationalism and “genuine” Ethiopianness, that consisted of only those who used to speak Amharic and listen to Amharic music was a fake one (Walleign, 1969). Walleign further questioned the social, cultural, and political composition of the then nation:

Is it not simply Amhara and to a certain extent Amhara-Tigr[ai] supremacy? Ask anybody what Ethiopian culture is? Ask anybody what Ethiopian language is? Ask anybody what Ethiopian music is? Ask anybody what the “national dress” is? It is either Amhara or Amhara-Tigrn[ai]!! (p. 4)

Such arguments and the execution of numerous students like Tilahun Gizaw by the imperial cadres aggravated the political instability of the country. However, the monarch ignored the national question that resisted mainly the then “one language, one nation” ideology and national oppression which eventually led to the demise of the regime.

Following the February Revolution, in 1974, a military junta removed the last monarch from power, and then having recontextualized the socialist ideology, it introduced promising reforms. In the policy reforms, language and other related rights were in the front. In so doing, the military government went after the Marxist-Leninist ideology in Article 5 of the National Democratic Revolution Program of Socialist Ethiopia (PMAC, 1976):

The right of self-determination of all nationalities will be recognized and fully respected. No nationality will dominate another one since the history, culture, language and religion of each nationality will have equal recognition in accordance with the spirit of socialism... Given Ethiopia's existing situation, the problem of nationalities can be resolved if each nationality is accorded full right to self-government ... each nationality will have regional autonomy to decide on matters concerning its internal affairs. Within its environs, it has the right to determine the contents of its political, economic and social life, use its own language and elect its own leaders and administration to head its own organs.

The abovementioned concept of the constitution of the Dergue was recontextualized based on Lenin's (1974) ideology pertaining to the right of nations to self-determination. Of course, Lenin's language ideology was put into practice in that many nations and nationalities in Russia were determining their rights in using their languages for media of instruction and administration. In contrast, the Dergue's recontextualized Leninist ideology was a mere propaganda, and hence practically, it was a replica of its predecessor as it was promoting only the Amharic language in all formal settings.

Therefore, the language policy of the Dergue was Leninist in theory and Stalinist in practice in that Stalin's assimilation policy was not put into practice owing to minorities' resistances and preferences to use the Leninist model. Leninist language policy had celebrated the linguistic and the national diversity of the Soviet Union, and "the Russian language had gained its place as first among equals not through legislation and an

imposed official status; rather, its dominant place had come about for two reasons – one functional and one demographic” (Hogan-Brun, Ozolins, Ramoniene, & Rannut, 2008, p. 76). As Hogan-Brun et al. (2008) further argues, functionally, Russian was always promoted, taught to all nations and nationalities in the school system and hence became the understood and used language of the elite in each Soviet republic; demographically, it was the mother tongue of more than 50 percent of the total population of the country. The Leninist language policy was substituted with a transition model by Stalin, which however was never fully implemented, due to the passive resistance of the population. The indigenization of Leninist policy commenced to be reversed in the 1930s under Stalin, but the Soviet Constitution kept its clauses on language rights (Spolsky, 2004). For this reason, Spolsky further explains, “some believe that Stalin’s reversal of support for selected national ethnic languages was simply a continuation of Czarist russification, carried out more brutally and violently” (p. 117).

In contrast, the language policy of the Dergue was promising as it theorized equality of languages and cultures, but it remained on paper. Hence, it can be argued that the policy was a continuation of the monolingual and monocultural ideology of the last monarch that used to promote linguistic and cultural assimilation. In Mekuria’s (1997) words, the socialist language policy and its practice “... was, in effect, a continuation of the imperial policy of Amharization” (p. 347). The linguistic and cultural freedom promised by the Dergue was vanished soon. The regime went back on its word and started to repress the use of indigenous languages. Rather than encouraging voluntary integration of the various nations and nationalities in the sociopolitical structure of the country, unity was

demanded with force (Mekuria, 1997). Though it was hoped that the 1974 Revolution would alleviate national oppression and forge the unity of the country on a completely new and democratic grounds (Berhane, 1990), the hope was ruined with the coming of the military government.

The people were denied all their democratic rights. The oppressed nations and nationalities were denied their right for self-determination along with their democratic rights. The unity of Ethiopia based on inequality and oppression was not dismantled and replaced by genuinely democratic unity based on the freely expressed will of the people. (Berhane, 1990, pp. 35-36)

The language policy reform was hence emerged as a mere propaganda that targeted at persuading the then oppressed ethnic minorities and creating a unified political system. However, some years later, it was proved so and thus resisted. Indeed, many university students, government employees and farmers went against the reinvigoration of the “one language, one nation” ideology and practice. There was “no major oppressed nationality in Ethiopia which [had] not taken up arms to resist national oppression” (Berhane, 1990, p. 35). The oppressed nations, nationalities and peoples continued demanding their rights of using their languages for various purposes, developing their cultures and determining their destinies by themselves. As a result, the creation of ethnic frontiers that resisted national oppression was increased ever since the Dergue seized the political power. Finally, just after horrific bloodsheds, the resistant groups overthrew the Dergue, and

then its monolingual language policy was vanished, which gave rise to the introduction of the present-day multilingual language policy and language practice.

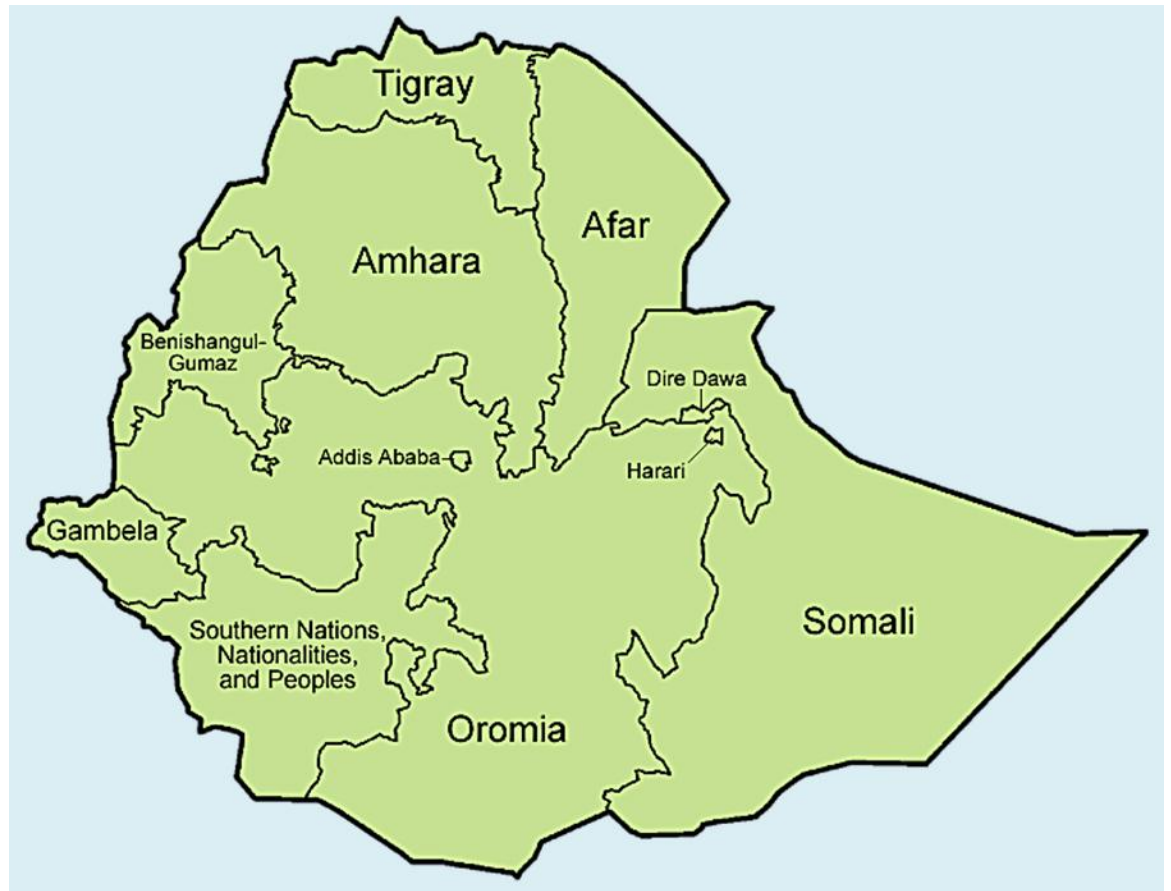
Following the collapse of the military regime, the EPRDF introduced ethnic federalism. It divided the country's political map along ethnic/linguistic lines based on the reason of bringing autonomy and decentralization of power to the ethnic and linguistic-based regions. The EPRDF also changed the language policy and thereby the political discourses closely related with it. It has designed and implemented a new language policy that promotes the use of multiple mother tongues as media of instruction, administration, and mass communications and Amharic only as a federal working language. Nonetheless, the use of numerous mother tongues as media of various purposes and Amharic as a sole federal working language has brought about the germination of opposition forces and ideological conflicts. In fact, let alone in new language policy cases, it is likely to face objections in any policy issues. As Lewis (1972) quoting Aron (1968) indicates, the idea that "we can have a policy without conflict is false" (p. 49). Thus, contestation over the present language policy can be seen as normal because it could not be a perfect policy that satisfies the interest and political views of every citizen of the country. Nevertheless, such contestations might have negative impacts on the unity and development of the country. Therefore, they should be researched and alleviated through reflections and language policy reforms.

1.2 Country Context

1.2.1 Location and Administrative Structure of Ethiopia

Ethiopia, a landlocked country, is situated about 60 kilometers away from the shoreline of the Red Sea. It is bound by Eritrea on the North, Kenya on the South, Djibouti and Somalia on the East, and the Sudan on the West. Though Ethiopia is landlocked and a bit far from vast water bodies, it is the water tower of East Africa as it has lots of rivers that flow throughout the year. Of these, Abbay (Blue Nile) is the major one. Ethiopia is also a mountainous country where Ras Dashen, 4 620 meters, is the highest peak, while the lowest point, the Denakil Depression, is 115 meters below the sea level.

Politically, Ethiopia is a federal state, as depicted in Figure 1 below, comprising nine administrative regions, namely Tigray, Afar, Amhara, Oromia, Benshangul-Gumuz, Gambela, Harari, Somali, and Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples, and two chartered cities, namely Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa. Each of the Tigray, Afar, Amhara, Oromia, and Somlia regional states is dominated by one linguistic group and thus they are somehow homogenous, while the SNNPR is the most heterogeneous region consisting of 56 different linguistic groups. Gambela and Harari are also heterogeneous regions wherein more than two numerically competing minority linguistic groups settle in. Unlike the other regions, Benshangul-Gumuz as the name denotes is a home for two linguistic groups: Benshangul and Gumuz.



Source: Wikipedia (2013)

Figure 1: Regions and Chartered Cities of Ethiopia

The present administrative structure, as indicated in the above map, of Ethiopia came into existence since the EPRDF came to power and launched federalism. The current administrative structure – federalism is a new phenomenon to Ethiopia but not for other countries. The idea of federalism dated back to the ancient Greek civilisation where the legal relationships between the leagues and the city-states were attempted to be elucidated; nonetheless, the modern concept of federalism was brought in by the American constitution of 1787 (Graves, 1964). The very discourse of federalism deals

with devolution of state power among the central and regional governments. It is “a system of government in which central and regional authorities are linked in a mutually interdependent political relationship ...” (Ville, 1961, p. 196). Nonetheless, the practices of federalism differ owing to the linguistic, ethnic, and economic contexts of a given country that formulates and implements it. For instance, Ethiopian federalism is implemented mainly on ethnic/linguistic basis, and thus the boundaries of the federal states are demarcated predominantly based on language and ethnicity. In so doing, the nations, nationalities, and peoples of the country ratified a constitution that serves them as an ultimate legal authority. According to the constitution, nations, nationalities, and peoples are “a group of people who have or share a large measure of common culture, or similar customs, mutual intelligibility of language, belief in a common or related identities, and who predominantly inhabit an identifiable contiguous territory” (FDRE, 1995, p. 97).

The ethnic federalism of Ethiopia is set out to confirm the central government power devolution and maintain the country’s unity. The federal arrangement was introduced as a means of power decentralization in response to the hitherto high concentration of power at the center, and to empower ethno-linguistic groups (Assefa, 2006). Threat of disintegration and the need to maintain unity are the major reasons why unitary states opt for federalism (Lovise, 2002). Federalism is certainly a good bargain for the political elites of a conflict spike unitary states, which is on the verge of complete disintegration as it provides a platform for conflict management and accommodation of differences (Lovise, 2002). The more federalism encourages self-governance the lesser demand for

secession (Hechter, 2000). For Hechter federalism is a stabilizing measure, as it accommodates the quest for autonomy through concession than repression. Moreover, Beken (2009) witnesses that the legal groundwork for linguistic/ethnic federalism in Ethiopia is laid by the federal constitution of which the preamble designates the new state building strategy. This strategy centers on two elements: Protecting the rights of linguistic groups and ensuring the unity of the country, hence unity in diversity (Beken, 2009).

Nonetheless, ethnic federalism is not without criticism. For example, as Beken (2009) pinpoints the major argument against ethnic federalism is that it “will only lead to further ethnic fragmentation, tensions and conflicts and will thus ultimately result in the demise of the state” (p. 1). Elazar (1994) also argues that in federalism, consent should be the basis of division and sharing of power; it should not be language, or religious, or national myth. Moreover, Merera (2006) argues that without national consensus on the modality of democratic governance, successful democratization will not be realistic. Merera further argues that to make successful democratization realistic and empower ordinary citizens, political leaders need to think and act bigger than their ethnic groups and able to reach a national consensus.

1.2.2 Peoples and Languages

Ethiopia is a multinational state where about 85 languages are spoken by about 74 million people of different ethnic groups. Of the linguistic groups, only ten consist of more than 1

100 000 persons of same language speakers, while each of the other groups comprises less than one million (see the 2007 Ethiopian Census for all population figures stated under this study). The 10 linguistic groups consist of Oromo, Amhara, Somali, Tigray, Sidama, Gurage, Wolaita, Hadiya, Afar, and Gamo (see Appendix I, for more details about the total population of these linguistic groups and other minority groups that comprises 100 000 and more total populations).

In Ethiopia, languages are classified into four major families: Semitic, Cushitic, Omotic, and Nilo-Saharan (Bender, Bowen, Cooper, & Ferguson, 1976). The Semitic family consists of Amharic, Tigrinya, Gurage, Argoba, Harari, Silti, and Zay only, while the Cushitic family includes many languages such as Oromo, Somali, Sidama, Afar, Wolaita, Hadya, Gedeo, Kembata, Halaba, and so forth. The Omotic family comprises Gamo, Kefficho, Shinasha, Hamer, Sheko, etcetera, and the Nilo-Saharan family consists of Anyiwak, Mursi, Gumuz, Kunama, and so forth. Of the Ethiopian languages, only ten are spoken by one million and more people. Of the ten languages, three (Amharic, Gurage, and Tigrinya) are Semitic, five (Afar, Hadiya, Oromo, Sidama, Somali) are Cushitic, and the remaining two, Wolaita and Gamo, are Omotic languages. The speakers of the ten languages account for about 90 percent of the total population of the country, where five of them (Amharas, Oromos, Somalis, Tigrayans, and Sidamas) comprise about 80 percent of the total population.

Afar, Amharic, Harari, Oromo, Somali, and Tigrinya are regional official languages. These languages, except Afar, are also languages of instruction at elementary level in

their respective regions. Other languages such as Sidama, Hadyia, Wolayita, and so forth are also used as media of instruction. In utilizing the languages as media of instruction, all the Semitic family languages have used the Ge'ez characters (see Appendix J), but most of the other languages have utilized Latin characters (see Appendix K). Whatever orthographies they use, many local languages are employed as media of multiple purposes in formal settings in their regions and localities only but Amharic. Amharic has spread across a large area and thus it is used as a medium of instruction in regions and zones where the language is spoken as a second language. Amharic is also the only indigenous language used as a federal working language. Regardless of the use of Amharic only as a federal working language, since the current language policy has been implemented, diverse languages have been used as media of instruction, administration, and mass communications (newspapers, radio, and television).

Moreover, English is a language that has gained a significant place in the sociopolitical activities of the country. It is used as a language of communication with other countries. It is taught as a subject starting from grade one. English is a medium of instruction starting from grade seven onwards in Addis Ababa and the Amhara regional state and starting from grade nine onwards in the Oromia and Tigray regional states, and so forth. It is also a medium of commerce and research in various government and non-government higher institutions.

In sum, Ethiopia is a home for a number of languages where multiple languages are used as media of administration, instruction, and mass communications. In fact, minority

languages – languages spoken by small populations – are less privileged than majority languages. For instance, in the Tigray regional state, there has been only one medium of instruction and one medium of administration until now – Tigrinya, which is the language of the major linguistic group that accounts for about 97.01 percent of the total population of the region. Nevertheless, the two minority linguistic groups, Irob and Kunama, which account for only about .85 percent, got the chance of learning their mother tongues as school subjects only. Besides, in Oromia region, despite the presence of a number of languages, there are only two media of instruction, Oromo and Amharic, which are spoken by 90.81 percent and 5.46 percent of the total population of the region, respectively.

1.2.3 Education

Following the downfall of the Dergue, the ruling party made policy changes in education, especially at the primary level. In the Dergue period, Amharic was the only medium of primary education throughout the country, but this trend was changed as the present government seized power in that a number of mother tongues have been introduced as media of primary education. It is hence in this area that the contemporary government radical change. According to Getachew and Derib (2006), the strongest manifestation of the present language policy is probably seen in the education system of the country than in the other areas. As stated in what follows, the general objectives of the Education and Training Policy (1994, pp. 7-8) are to:

1. Develop the physical and mental and the problem-solving capacity of individuals by expanding education and in particular by providing basic education for all;
2. Bring up citizens who can take care of and utilize resources wisely, trained in various skills, by realizing private and social benefits of education;
3. Bring up citizens who respect human rights, stand for the wellbeing of people, equality, justice, and peace, endowed with democratic culture and discipline;
4. Bring up citizens who differentiate harmful practices from useful ones, who seek and stand for truth, appreciate aesthetics and show positive attitude towards the development and dissemination of science and technology in the society; and
5. Cultivate the cognitive, creative, productive, and appreciative potential of citizens by appropriately relating education to environment and societal needs.

Education, particularly modern education, is the main tool to bring change in the social, cultural, political, and economic activities of a given country. For this reason, Ethiopia has been allocating a considerable percentage of its annual budget for the education sector and hence aggressively expanding the sector. According to Tekeste (2006), the major impetus for the rapid expansion of the education sector is the belief in the role of education in poverty eradication. The government is aggressively promoting education to eradicate poverty and thereby ensure the development of the Ethiopian society. Of course, as Tekeste (2006) argues, the Poverty Reduction Strategy Policy that the government was obliged to submit to the World Bank as a partial condition to continued loans and aid lay behind the policy of rapid expansion. Another policy that has played a role in the rapid expansion is the United Nations Millennium Development Goals where

the international society is committed to assisting least developed nations to provide universal primary education to their citizens and reduce by half the number of people that live below the poverty line of one dollar per day (Tekeste, 2006).

1.2.4 Economy

Ethiopia is one of the least developed countries in the world. Nevertheless, it is amongst the fastest growing non-oil economies in the world (National Bank of Ethiopia, 2013). Its economy largely relies on subsistence farming that engages over 80 percent of the total population (Dereje, 2010). The Ethiopian economy is dominated by the agriculture and services sectors, each of which accounting for about 45 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), while the industrial sector accounts for about 10 percent (Federal Government of Ethiopia, 2012). As the Federal Government of Ethiopia further indicates, presently, agriculture is the leading sector in terms of contribution to the overall economic growth and development by supplying food for domestic consumption and raw materials for the domestic manufacturing industries and primary export commodities that constitute as high as 86 per cent of the total foreign exchange earnings. It also accounts for 85 per cent of employment, and supplies 70 per cent of the raw material requirements of local industries (Federal Government of Ethiopia, 2012).

Ethiopia had been in conflict for decades, as one group or the other seeks to control the state to advance its interests, which, in turn, has led to cycles of violence and created levels of risk sufficient to thwart the economic growth of the country (Alemayehu, n.d.).

Nonetheless, in the near past, after the Ethio-Eritrean war, political stability was ensued. Consequently, the defense expenditure of the country has decreased, and the government and its people have devoted their time and money to development activities. Such circumstances, coupled with other factors, have enabled the country to be in an appropriate development path. These days, Ethiopia is amongst the fastest growing non-oil economies in the world where government reforms succeeded in opening the economy to foreign direct investments, which brought about expansion of commercial agriculture and manufacturing industry (National Bank of Ethiopia, 2013). As can be calculated from Appendix L, in the past nine years, the country's gross domestic product annual growth rate grew by 10.92 on average.

1.3 Statements of the Research Problem

Previously, various researches were conducted on language policy and its practice related issues in Ethiopia. However, only three dissertations that are believed to have some related elements with the present research are briefly reviewed. These are McNab (1989), Cohen (2000), Dereje (2010), and Moges (2010). McNab's (1989), "Language Policy and Language Practice," dissertation is the first of its kind that deals broadly with language policy and implementation in the country. McNab's study examines the formulation and implementation of language policy during the Dergue regime. She analyzed the language policy of the then period. Her work is different from this dissertation in that she largely focuses on linguistic development and endorsement of the then government's socialist ideologies in the formulation and implementation of the policy where a single language,

Amharic, was being promoted in all formal social services and administrative activities. In contrast, this study deals with people's attitudes and discourses about the present language policy and practice where all languages are declared equal and a number of languages are being used for various purposes.

Cohen's (2000), dissertation, "Identity and Opportunity," investigates people's attitudes towards the introduction of local languages for the purpose of primary education in the SNNPR, in the present political system. The research setting of Cohen's study was only one region, the SNNPR, and most of the research participants were minority groups. In contrast, the present research concerns with the language use affairs of the country as a whole, and the research participants are both majority and minority linguistic groups. Thus, Cohen's study might have had a limitation, though the region is a home for more than a half of the country's linguistic groups, in describing the language use situations of the country at large. Besides, Cohen explored peoples' attitudes using qualitative methods.

Dereje's (2010), dissertation, "The Implementation of a Multilingual Education Policy in Ethiopia," investigates how teachers, students, parents, and institutions appraise the Oromo language as a medium of primary education in Oromia. The research setting of Dereje's study was the Oromia region only and its concern was describing the attitudes of teachers, students, and parents towards the use of the Oromo language as medium of primary education. The current study is thus different from Dereje's in that its concern is to investigate various linguistic groups' attitudes and discourses about the present

language policy. Similar to Cohen's (2000) study, Dereje employed qualitative methods in investigating his study, whereas in this research both quantitative and qualitative methods are used.

Moreover, Moges's (2010), study, "Language Ideologies and Challenges of Multilingual Education in Ethiopia," makes a critical appraisal of the implementation of mother tongue education in the Harar regional state. It also examines the challenges of offering primary education in several indigenous and exogenous languages, that is, Amharic, Arabic, English, Harari, and Oromo. The research setting was the Harar region only, and the research participants were policy-makers, school directors, teachers, and parents. Moges employed both qualitative and quantitative methods to investigate his research, whereas the present study has employed critical discourse analysis to analyze secondary data besides the instruments that Moges used in his research. This study is thus different from Moges's research owing to its countrywide focus and concern on the investigation of educated people's attitudes and discourses about the role of using many languages as media of instruction, administration, and mass communications and Amharic only as a federal working language on national unity and development.

In sum, none of the earlier mentioned studies made comprehensive investigation into educated people's attitudes and discourses about opportunities and challenges that might result in owing to the use of diverse languages as media of instruction, mass communications, and administration as well as due to employing Amharic only as a federal working language for national unity and development. Hence, none of the studies

investigated language policy issues of Ethiopia using critical discourse analysis that makes them completely different from this study. None of the studies also examined attitudinal differences between different languages speakers by taking mother tongue as a factor to describe or compare the attitudes of educated people. Nevertheless, four of the earlier mentioned studies have been very crucial in that all of them have served as steppingstones for the present study.

The main target of multilingual language policy and its practice is to solve the diverse problems of a linguistically heterogeneous country and thereby open a fair administrative and educational opportunities and a wide range of occupations to the society. In Ethiopia, conceivably with similar intention, since the early 1990s, the contemporary government has implemented ethnic federalism and multilingual language policy. In so doing, the government divided the country's political map along linguistic lines. Linguistic diversity was thus an essential feature for establishing the regions and their territories. Linguistic diversity was also an essential premise for implementing multilingual language policy.

Nevertheless, following the establishment of the regions and the implementation of multilingual language policy, different politicians and other professionals have been forwarding their divergent views. Many Ethiopians have become suspicious about the country's perpetuation in unity as well as about enhancing its development by using diverse languages as media of instruction, mass communications, and administration. They seem to be sceptical about the unity and development of the country through multilingual language policy and the predominantly language-based administrative

structure of the country. For instance, as Dereje (2010) argues, from the dominant groups, native Amharic-speaking elites, viewpoints, any move in the direction of the current language policy is considered a “separatist” and at worst, an act of “treason.”

On the other hand, the language policy was intended to confirm equity of all Ethiopian languages. The 1995 constitution of the country declared that all languages should enjoy equal recognition. On the other hand, the constitution claims that Amharic shall be the working language of the federal government. The declaration of Amharic as a federal working language is not however entirely accepted by other dominant linguistic groups, and thus there is a claim by many for achieving the same language status. Especially, the speakers of the competing languages such as Oromo and Tigrinya do not show any signs of consent to use Amharic as a federal working language. Instead, there are disputes over the status of the language. For example, contrary to the ruling party’s use of Amharic only, Medrek, a coalition of six political parties, claims overtly to introduce another major language as additional federal working language, besides Amharic, of Ethiopia (See the political program of the Medrek coalition party, 2012, Article 3).

Moreover, there are a considerable number of persons who speak dominant languages as mother tongues, who resist the use of Amharic as a medium in formal domains such as in meetings. The researcher has his own personal experiences concerning such cases. When the researcher was learning for his master’s degree, he and his colleagues used to take their salaries from the Ministry of Education by filling a sheet of paper in Amharic. In those times, there were Oromo postgraduate students who were insisting in using the

Amharic language to fill in the sheet. In addition, the researcher came across many times with Oromo speakers who expressed their views in English in meetings where the medium of the meetings was Amharic. There have also been Oromo and Tigrayan colleagues of the researcher who argue against the exclusive federal status of the Amharic language. These and other similar instances are hence contests against the use of the Amharic language as a sole working language in formal domains of the federal government.

In general, there are contestations over the language policy. Since its coming to existence, the policy has generated the mechanisms that set in motion policy development and implementation courses of action. This, in turn, influenced the creation of opposition forces. In other words, the language policy has become a very popular discourse in Ethiopia where the proponents and critics of the policy are persistently reflecting their contesting ideologies that brought about divergent discourses such as “unity in diversity,” “ethnic/linguistic difference is the center of divisiveness,” “Amharic hegemony is still prevailing,” and so forth. It is also normal to expect people who articulate such divergent discourses can have attitudinal differences regarding the present language policy and its practice. Especially, the educated section of the society is expected to hold antagonistic attitudes as well as to articulate divergent views regarding the language policy and its practice.

The language policy seems to encompass such divergent attitudes and discourses. Such attitudes and discourses might contain “potential seeds” that could produce “bitter fruits”

of ideological conflicts that hinder the already instigated processes of national unity and development. As Cohen (2000) comments, examining attitudes towards language use in formal settings such as primary schools will also help to illuminate the attitudes that certain linguistic groups hold towards the state. Hence, investigating educated people's attitudes and discourses about the language policy and practice is essential to reveal antagonistic attitudes and divergent discourses as well as to suggest ways how to solve them.

1.4 Objectives and Research Questions of the Study

The general objective of this study is to investigate educated people's attitudes and discourses about opportunities and challenges of the present Ethiopian language policy and its practice for national unity and development. The research took a firm look into attitudes and divergent discourses of educated people about the use of diverse languages as media of instruction, mass communications, and administration as well as about the unsettled status of using Amharic as a single federal working language. Specifically, the objectives of the study are to:

- Find out educated people's attitudes towards the present language policy and its practice. In this regard, the study examines educated people's attitudes towards the use of a number of languages as media of instruction, administration, and mass communications as well as towards the use of Amharic only as a federal working language.

- Examine if there are statistically significance differences between the means of educated Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother tongue speakers regarding their attitudes towards the use of several languages as media of multiple purposes as well as towards the use of Amharic as a single federal working language.
- Find out educated people's discourses (says) about opportunities and challenges of language policy and practice for national unity and development.
- Find out if the present language policy has confirmed linguistic equality.
- Examine educated people's discourses about the use of Amharic as a sole federal working language.

In scrutinizing the abovementioned specific objectives, this study attempted to answer the following research questions:

- What are educated people's attitudes towards using several languages as media of instruction, administration, and mass communications?
- Do educated mother tongue speakers of Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages differ in their attitudes towards the use of many languages as media of instruction, administration, and mass communications?
- What are educated people's attitudes towards employing Amharic as a single federal working language?

- Do educated mother tongue speakers of Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages differ in their attitudes towards the use of Amharic as a federal working language?
- What do educated people say about opportunities and challenges of multilingual language policy and its practice for national unity and national development?
- Does the current language policy confirm linguistic equalities (as stipulated in the constitution of the country)?
- What do educated people say about the use of Amharic as a sole federal working language?

1.5 Significances of the Study

Investigation into people's attitudes and discourses about opportunities and challenges of the present language policy and language practice for national unity and development is hoped to have several applications. First, existing antagonistic attitudes and divergent discourses of multilingual language policy and practice are seen as problems that have to be tackled by reflection as well as by taking remedial actions such as policy change, while at the same time promoting promising policy discourses targeted at achieving national unity and development. Analysis of this kind can help illuminate how attitudes diverge as well as how discourses contest with each other. In this regard, for instance, this study identified textual practices that legitimate and illegitimate discourses and revealed how particular texts are oriented towards difference in terms of ideological positions

concerning what could be the grounds for national integration as well as national disintegration.

Second, in analyzing policy texts that are part of debates about multilingual language policy and language practice, the research can also contribute to the existing knowledge that can facilitate reflections among producers, critics, and consumers of language policy texts. That is, the analyzed discourses that revealed ongoing language policy debates can induce some movement of thought about how to think and act. In this way, the analysis can contribute to knowledge that can consolidate academic debates about language policy and practice.

Last of all, the study has a paramount significance in that unmasking linguistic hegemony helps to make the linguistic social practice visible to the people who are subject to it, which is an invaluable input to mitigate the existing linguistic hegemony. It also helps the government to know how language use is associated with hegemony that might result ultimately in threatening resistance. It would therefore raise consciousness on the part of politicians of the ruling party and other parties, which in turn helps them to provide timely solutions to the language use problems of the country as well as to take the problems with the utmost care as language issues are explosive. Furthermore, this study would help to provide policy makers with a substantial input in making language policy changes. In so doing, language policy and language practice are likely to be improved. Language policy and practice improvement in turn helps people, who are subject to linguistic inequalities and linguistic hegemony, get the attention of the government. In

brief, it is helpful for the government to address social problems and thereby mitigate linguistic conflicts. The government might not have enough awareness about the volatile nature of language use that might cause social strife if a timely solution is not given. The study would thus serve as an alarm bell to awaken the government timely. The result of the study would also serve as a steppingstone for further study.

1.6 Scope of the Study

This study is delimited to the investigation into people's attitudes and discourses about opportunities and challenges of multilingual language policy and language practice for national unity and development. Specifically, it focuses on the discourse analysis of the use of diverse indigenous languages as media of multiple purposes and to the reactions forwarded against them. The focus is thus on people's attitudes and discourses about the use of mother tongues as media of instruction in primary education, and as media of mass communications and administration at various levels and domains.

In so doing, the written policy text analysis is limited to the analysis of seven language policy statements extracted from the 1994 education and training policy, the 1995 constitution, and the 2002 education and training policy and its implementation of the country by taking the notion of intertextuality into consideration. In fact, there are language policy statements in the constitutions of every region of the country. However, the researcher did not analyze them because the focus is on countrywide level.

In addition, the primary data focuses on qualitative and quantitative data gathered from research participants who were selected from the Ministry of Education, culture and tourism, political leaders of two opposition parties, critics, and postgraduate students of Addis Ababa University, educated civilians, and education and tourism bureau experts of the Amhara, Oromia, Tigray, and SNNP regional states. That is, qualitative and quantitative data were gathered from 218 postgraduate students through questionnaires. Qualitative data were also collected from 20 key informants through interviews.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

The very constraint that posed a problem in the research process was shortage of money. The research fund allocated by the Addis Ababa University was not enough to run the study effectively. The money constraint was solved by the researcher's close relatives' supports. The other limitation was that it was difficult to contact and interview the key political leaders. Hence, the researcher did not interview the key political leaders of the ruling party. This constraint was alleviated by interviewing key officers from the culture and tourism and education bureaus as well as the Ministry of Education as their stand concerning multilingual language policy and language practice is mostly similar with the key political leaders of the ruling party. Furthermore, there was domestic language policy research related restraint in that, as Dereje (2010) says, many of the language policy researches undertaken by Ethiopians who live abroad as well as by foreigners are not available in the country.

1.8 Definitions of Key Terms

Attitude is a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor (Gilbert, Fiske, & Lindzey, 1998). It expresses likes and dislikes, passions and hates, attractions and repulsions. People have attitudes when they love or hate people or things and when they approve or disapprove of them (Gilbert, Fiske, & Lindzey, 1998).

Challenge refers to problems or impediments for language policy and language practice that hinder national unity and national development.

Discourses refer to the written and spoken language policy texts and to the reactions forwarded against them by the critics and opposition political parties. They are the formal and informal exchange of reasoned views as to which of several alternative courses of action should be taken to solve social problems.

Federal working language is a language used in the administration, policy making, mass communications, recruitment, meetings, justice, and other government activities.

Indigenous language is the language of the people considered as the original inhabitants of an area (UNESCO, 1968).

Language allocation is the authoritative decisions to maintain, extend, or restrict the range of uses (functional range) of a language in particular settings (Gorman, 1973, in Cooper, 1989).

Language practice refers the implementation of language policy in practice, that is, the actual use of language as media of instruction, administration, and mass communications (see 2.1.10).

Lingua franca (language of wider communication) is a language that is used habitually by people whose mother tongues are different in order to facilitate communication among them (UNESCO, 1968).

Linguistic community/group is a community/group that its members speak the same language.

Minority languages are languages that are spoken by a small population.

Minority languages are languages spoken by linguistic communities that are relatively small in number than others and have less application within the various social, cultural, political and economic activities of the country.

Mother or native tongue is the language that a person acquires in early years and which normally becomes his/her natural instrument of thought and communication (UNESCO, 1968).

Multilingual language policy refers to the current Ethiopian language use situation at societal level where many languages are employed for instructional, administrative, and communicative purposes – not to the common incident of multilingual language policy that allows individuals to learn more than one language.

National development refers to the economic development of Ethiopia where development is expressed in terms of economic growth, attainment of economic targets, growth rate, and increase in gross national product and per capita income.

National language is the language of a political, social, and cultural entity (UNESCO, 1968).

National unity stands for the (political) union of the nations and nationalities of Ethiopia.

Nations, nationalities, and peoples are a group of people who have or share large measure of a common culture or similar customs, mutual intelligibility of language, belief in a common or related identities, a common psychological make-up and who inhabit an identifiable, predominantly contiguous territory (FDRE, 1995).

Official language is a language used in the business of government, that is, in legislative, executive, and judicial affairs (UNESCO, 1968).

Opportunity denotes to fertile ground of using multiple languages that can enhance national unity and national development.

1.9 Organization of the Dissertation

The current study is organized into six chapters. This chapter presents the background of the study, the problem statement, objectives, research questions, significance, scope, and limitations of the study. Chapter 2 explains related literatures. It reviews the functions of language, language policies and language ideologies, language use in education, language use resistances, multilingual language policy and national unity, multilingual language policy, national development, and so forth. It also describes the theoretical framework of the study. While describing the framework, it reviews materials and talks about data analysis. Because of such a reason, this chapter is placed at the end of the review and before the methodology chapter. Chapter 3 treats the research design, paradigm, participants, and variables. The chapter also explains the data gathering and analyses instruments and how the data were gathered and analyzed. Chapter 4 deals with pilot study. It discusses how the validity and reliability of the research instruments were tested.

Chapter 5 covers the results and discussions of the research. The chapter examines the attitudes of educated people towards the current language policy and their discourses about the policy. It also describes the attitudes of the research participants towards and discourses about the use of Amharic as a single federal working language and their federal working language(s) choices. In this chapter, results and discussions are treated concurrently in order to help readers find the discussed issues and evidences that support them together. Presenting them in one chapter also helps to avoid redundancy. Had the results and discussions been treated in two separate chapters, the analyzed data in the results section would have been repeated for highlighting the data while interpreting it in the discussion chapter. Moreover, the last chapter presents the summary, conclusions, and recommendations of the dissertation.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the review of related literature and conceptual framework of the present research. The chapter reviews both theoretical and empirical literatures. It also discusses the conceptual framework that has served as an “advocacy lens” in investigating the research.

2.1 Literature Review

This subsection reviews language function, language and society, language and culture, language and ethnicity, and linguistic hegemony and resistance. In addition, language ideologies and language policy, language policy and language planning, mother tongue education, language policy in education, and language policy and practice are discussed. The chapter further reviews political views associated with language, multilingual language policy and politics, multilingualism and national unity, and multilingualism and national development.

2.1.1 A Glimpse at Functions of Language

The term language has no fixed definition. Sapir (1921) defined it as “a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions, and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols” (p. 7). Moreover, Black defined language as any “means of conveying meaning or communicating ideas; specially, human speech, or the expression of ideas by written characters or by means of sign language ...” (1979, p. 792). In general, the term language has a number of associated meanings such as the individual’s mother tongue; the description of language behavior by linguistics as typified by dictionaries and grammatical descriptions; or the language of a particular community and its literature, especially the standard language of a particular nation (Cashmore, 1994).

Language, in the aforementioned definitions is largely viewed as a tool or a means of communication in a certain linguistic community. In such practices, language is not as such problematic. It is a helpful tool of integration if the society of a certain country accepts it as a means of wider communication – instrumental attachment.

At the instrumental level, a common language helps to integrate the system and to tie increasing numbers of individuals into it. In a society that does not have a common language ... we are likely to find not only impairments in social planning and in the efficiency of institutional arrangements but also a limited access to the system for wide segments of the population and an allocation of

resources that discriminates against minorities or other subordinate groups.
(Kelman, 1972, p. 195)

Nevertheless, its disadvantage takes place when a section of the society refuses to use the language as an instrument. That is, when it goes beyond its linguistic community and seen as a symbol of sentiment – when used as a language of wider communication or language of government, and declared to serve as a national, official, or working language within a multilingual state where a number of groups who speak different languages exist. Moreover, people whose language is not chosen might not see it as an ordinary means of communication – they may associate it with identity, culture, history, ethnicity, power, *and etcetera*. Similarly, those people whose language is not chosen, compared with those whose language is chosen, are likely to be feebly advantaged from the central government services delivered through the chosen language. Thus, they may claim against the government's policy. Hence, selecting and using a common language is likely to have both positive and negative impact on the political system of a multinational state. As Kelman (1972) argues, a common language is a powerful tool in unifying a multilingual population and in involving individuals and subgroups in the national system. Nevertheless, some of the features of language that give it this power under some circumstances may, under other circumstances become major sources of disintegration and internal conflict within a national system. According to Kelman (1972), these “considerations should have some definite implications for language policy...” (p. 185).

2.1.2 Language and Society

The link between language and society is a very broad area that can be explained under macro-sociolinguistics and micro-sociolinguistics that examines how social structure influences the way people talk and how language varieties and patterns of use correlate with social attributes such as sex, age, and class (Coulmas, 1998). Macro-sociolinguistics investigates what societies do with their languages – attitudes and attachments that account for the functional distribution of speech forms in society, language shift, replacement, and maintenance, the delimitation and interaction of speech communities (Coulmas, 1998). In this paper, the link between language and society will briefly be reviewed from macro-sociolinguistics vantage point.

Language and society are closely interrelated constructs. Every world society speaks a language. There is no language without a society and vice versa. Every language has a speech community, “a set of individuals who share the knowledge of what is appropriate conduct and interpretation of speech and share the understanding of at least one language so that they may communicate with each other” (Eastman, 1983, p. 1). Therefore, the sociolinguistics of society is about the social importance of language to groups of people. If everyone in the group spoke the same as everyone else in the group, there would be no such thing as the sociolinguistics of society (Fasold, 1984). Fasold further argues that “not only do people use language to share their thoughts and feelings with other people, they exploit the subtle and not so subtle aspects of language to reveal and define their

social relationships with the people they are talking to, with people who can overhear them, and even with people who are nowhere around” (p. 1).

Therefore, language is an important tool that serves various purposes for those who use it. As a result, societies give boundless values to their languages. In a multilingual society, where a number of languages are spoken and social prestige and power are unevenly distributed, each separate language is assigned a functionally differentiated social role (Daoust, 1998). For example, in Ethiopia, Amharic is a federal working language, while other major languages are regional working languages. In addition, about 30 languages are used as media of instruction, while the remaining 50 or so languages are not assigned any formal role. As Daoust (1998) argues, many linguistic choices are not made consciously. Shared norms are based on judgments, feelings, and attitudes of speech communities. As speech communities consists of subclasses that share different norms and desires, language is both a unifying and a separating force by triggering conflicts which gives rise to such feelings as language loyalty (Kontra, et al., 1999; Garvin, 1973), and resistance against other higher status languages. These unifying and separating forces take place when societies associate them with political goals and sociocultural practices. As a result, language is recognized as a societal resource due to the identity and communication values attached to one or more languages by the community (Jernudd & Das Gupta, 1971). Such language-attached values could be shaped to accomplish sociopolitical goals like other types of resources (Daoust, 1998).

2.1.3 Language and Culture

Culture is defined in this study as “the ‘know-how’ that a person must possess to get through the task of daily living; only for a few does it require a knowledge of some, or much, music, literature, and the arts” (Wardhaugh, 1992, p. 217). Culture has a close relationship with language – sounds, words, and syntax of a language and the ways in which speakers of that language experience the world and behave in it seems obvious as to be truism (Wardhaugh, 1992). Whorf, quoted in Carroll (1956), described the relationship between language and culture as follows:

The background linguistic system (in other words, the grammar) of each language is not merely a reproducing instrument for voicing ideas but rather is itself the shaper of ideas, the program and guide for the individual’s mental activity, for his analysis of impressions, for his synthesis of his mental stock in trade. Formulation of ideas is not an independent process, strictly rational in the old sense, but is part of a particular grammar, and differs, from slightly to greatly, between different grammars. We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages. the categories and types that we isolate from the world of phenomena we do not find there because they stare every observer in the face; on the contrary, the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which has to be organized by our minds – and this means largely by the linguistic systems in our minds. (pp. 212-214)

People cut nature up, organize it into concepts largely because they are parties to an agreement to organize it in such a way – an agreement that holds throughout their speech community and is codified in the patterns of their language. In sum, language provides a filter to existing reality and determines how speakers perceive and organize the world around them, both the social and natural world (Wardhaugh, 1992). As a result, as Wardhaugh (1992) argues, the language we speak helps to form our world-view. It defines our experience for us; we do not use it simply to report that experience. The language we speak is not neutral but gets in the way, imposing habits of both looking and thinking.

2.1.4 Language and Ethnic Identity

Ethnicity is defined as “...a set of descent-based cultural identifiers used to assign persons to groupings that expand and contract in inverse relation to the scale of inclusiveness and exclusiveness of the membership” (Cohen, 1978, p. 387). Similarly, ethnic groups are defined as human groups that entertain a subject belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type and/or of customs, or because of memories of colonization and migration regardless of whether or not an objective blood relationship exists (Weber, in Smelser, Wilson, & Mitchell, 2001). Any ethnic group comes into being by reasons of its relationships with other ethnic groups, usually by experiencing some degree of friction with other groups that adjoin it in physical or social space and they must entertain ideas of being culturally different from others (Eriksen, 2002; Zelinsky, 2001).

Moreover, in this dissertation, the term identity is described in terms of language use at group level. According to Joseph (2004), the importance of language as an identity marker is much more readily evident at a group level than that “everyone is used to accent, dialect and language variations that reveal speakers’ memberships in particular speech communities, social classes, ethnic and national groups” (p. 21). Therefore, speaking a particular language connotes belonging to a particular speech community (Edwards, 2009). Identity is also associated with the demand for recognition, the notion of authenticity, the idea of difference and the principle of equality (Taylor, 1994). Recognition is the idea that others should be sensitive to our quest for authenticity, while authenticity denotes the idea that each of us should live in a way that is true to oneself, not obeying and following to a way of life merely because it is recognized by others (Taylor, 1994).

Language and identity are hence inseparable (Joseph, 2004). In addition, the relationship between language and ethnic identity is so broad which is beyond the scope of this study to explain it in detail. The intention of this subsection is thus to give a brief review in a cursory way. As Dorian (1999) points out, in reality there are two different kinds of links between a language and an ethnic group that speaks the language. The links are not however always clearly separated in the minds of observers or even in the minds of the speakers themselves. According to Dorian (1999), an ethnic language serves its speakers as an identity marker and identifies the people who belong to a certain group. As it is only one of an infinite variety of potential identity markers, language is easily replaced

by other markers that are just as effective. At this level of linguistic linkage to the group, the ancestral ethnic language is functionally expendable (Dorian, 1999).

The second and deeper connection between an ethnic language and the people who speak it is not so easily replaced. Many behaviors can mark identity, but language is the only one that actually carries extensive cultural content (Dorian, 1999). In sum:

The link between an ethnic language and the history of the ethnic group is usually a close one. For example, if the group still occupies its traditional land, geographical features will have indigenous-language names that reflect the group's profound connection to the region: Places where important events took place have names that reflect those events, and places with mythological or supernatural associations also have names rich in meaning for the group. ... Core spiritual concepts framed in the heritage language of the group can be difficult or impossible to express with equal clarity or depth of meaning in another tongue. Much of this clarity or depth is inescapably diminished or lost when a people replaces its ancestral language with another. (Dorian, 1999, p. 32)

Furthermore, the salient feature of collective identities is manifested through national identity. As pinpointed by Smith (1991), "Of all the collective identities ... national identity is perhaps the most fundamental and inclusive" (p. 143). Nevertheless, national identity is not always manifested through a language. The idea of nation-state identified with a single ethnic group that speaks a single language is no longer in existence. Originally, the term nation-state denoted a state based upon and identified with a single

ethnic group, a people with a consciously shared language, culture, and history (Keller, 1995). Nonetheless, as the same author further argues, in the beginning of the twentieth century, “the notion of such homogeneous entities had lost its saliency and been replaced by a widespread acceptance of multi-ethnic states which attempted to invent a national identity based on a shared history and culture” (p. 621).

This reality is evident in situations where people who do not speak a common language live in multilingual countries where the substantial percentage of the total population does not speak the common language. For example, in Ethiopia the substantial percentage of the total population does not speak Amharic, which is the only working language of the federal government, and thus could not identify their attachments with the state by speaking the language but through other symbols like national flag, a shared culture and history, and a will to live together. Besides, there are individuals in Ethiopia who speak Amharic, but label themselves as members of other ethnic groups. For instance, from the participants of this study, there was one person who does not speak the Tigrinya language, but identified himself as Tigrayan. Therefore, language does not always serve as ethnic and national identities marker. While a specific language may be identified as a significant cultural marker of a given ethnic group, there is no inevitable correspondence between language and ethnicity (May, 2001). May further explains that linguistic differences do not always correspond to ethnic ones – membership of an ethnic group does not necessarily entail association with a particular language, either for individual members or for the group itself. Likewise, more than one ethnic group can share the same

language while continuing without difficulty to maintain their own distinct ethnic or national identities.

2.1.5 Linguistic Hegemony and Resistance

Hegemony, as Fairclough (1992) argues, is domination across the linguistic, economic, political, cultural, and ideological domains of a society. In Fairclough's view, hegemony is a focus of constant struggle around points of greatest instability between classes and blocs, to construct, or sustain or fracture alliances and relations of domination and subordination, which takes linguistic, economic, political, and ideological forms. In fact, state hegemony could not be sustained over time without the consent of the society by means of ideological persuasion (Gramsci, 1971) as it is about constructing alliances, and integrating rather than merely dominating subordinate classes, by way of concessions or ideological means, to win their consent (Fairclough, 1992). In brief, state hegemony may be attained in two ways "through its 'spontaneous consent' of people to the direction of social life imposed by dominant groups, and ... through apparatus of state coercive power which enforces discipline on members who do not consent to the dominant ideology" (Tollefson, 1991, p. 12). If the state fails to win people's consent, language policy makers use force to control the government language policy activities, as members of competent linguistic groups can claim to have some expertise to put their ideology into practice and so resist the imposed language policy (Baldauf, 1994). In other words, the choice of working or official languages is a controversial political issue in that when "governments, firms, associations, and international organizations designate the languages that they

require or permit to be used in official business, interests come into conflict” (Pool, 1991, p. 495).

Linguistic hegemony is reflected and resisted in a range of institutions: Administration, education, the court, and so forth. A language becomes a battleground, if it is associated with job opportunity and cultural domination. In a multilingual state, a language plays a number of roles in societal control and manipulation.

Language in the current nation-state has a number of crucial roles to play as groups realize its value for manipulation and for obtaining power; they therefore use it as a tool in the battle for control, visibility and representation. It expresses “national” (or other entities) identities, often embedded in shared history and cultures; it is “ideological” because it is associated with aspirations of unity, loyalty and solidarity, patriotism; it is “social” because it is perceived as symbols of status, power, group identity and belonging, and it is “economic” because knowledge of a language can be linked to different types of economic consequences, positive as well as negative. (Shohamy, 2006, p. 41)

The elite hence propagate ideologies of cohesion and unity through a common language. The dominant linguistic group also in the society use language to construct their own individual or collective identities in the form of visibility, recognition, imposition, hegemony and power as well as in the form of manipulation, domination and control of the job opportunities of the state.

In most multilingual countries, speakers of the dominant language are immediately placed at an advantage in both accessing and benefiting from the civic culture and state services (Shohamy, 2006). The debates, resistances, and contestations over the status of government working language are hence opened to alter such hegemonic practices. Hegemonic resistance takes place on a broad level, which ranges from local (family, workplace, community, and etcetera) to national domains (language policy, education policy, etcetera). According to Shohamy (2006), such debates and tensions are marked in the representation and use of languages as these fall in the midst of the battles of those seeking to maintain the “order” of the “national” language versus those trying to change it towards local, regional and global languages. Shohamy further argues, “Language, in its different forms, continues to play a major role at the center of the debates and at the center of the arena of the battles for power, control, manipulation and domination” (p. 39). In many circumstances, violent conflicts take place between groups, within groups, and with central authorities because of demands for recognition and the acknowledgment of difference and special linguistic rights.

Therefore, resistances against linguistic hegemony might be manifested as political language conflicts, that is, conflicts between or among the speakers of the hegemonic and the subordinate language(s). Political language conflicts can be brought about by changes in an expanding social system when there is contact between different language groups (Inglehart & Woodward, 1967, in Nelde, 1998). Nelde (1998) elaborates the reasons for such circumstances by taking Belgium and Canada as instances:

A dominant language group (French in Belgium, English in Canada) controls the crucial authority in the areas of administration, politics, and the economy, and gives preference in employment to those applicants who have command of the dominant language. The disadvantaged language group is then left with the choice of renouncing its social ambitions, assimilating, or resisting. While numerically weak or psychologically weakened language groups tend towards assimilation, in modern societies numerically stronger, more homogeneous language groups possessing traditional values, such as their own history and culture, prefer political resistance, the usual form of organized language conflict in this century. (p. 290)

Despite the realities that almost 80 percent of the Francophone population spoke only French in the French-speaking Canada; English appeared to be the necessary means of communication in trade and business, thus the French speakers being excluded from social elevation in the political and economic sector (Nelde, 1998). As a result, as Nelde further argues, French-speaking elite, ultimately precipitated the outbreak of the socially motivated language conflict. Most current language conflicts are the result of the differing social status and preferential treatment of the dominant language on the part of the government. In such cases, there are religious, economic, and social or psychological fears and frustrations in the weaker group that may be responsible for the language conflict (Nelde, 1998). Nelde further explains that language problems in politics, education, economics, and administration appear under the heading of language conflict. In such situations, “politicians and economic leaders seize upon the notion of language

conflict, disregarding the actual underlying causes, and thus continue to inflame ‘from above’ the conflict that has arisen ‘from below,’ with the result that language assumes much more importance than it may have had at the outset of the conflict” (Nelde, 1998, p. 291).

2.1.6 Language Ideologies and Language Policy

Ideologies, views and beliefs involving languages in any multilingual country are always unstable (for detailed explanations of ideology, specifically in relation with CDA, see the conceptual framework). They always change over time: Language ideologies, views and beliefs in Ethiopia were changed from monolingualism to the recognition and use of a considerable number of languages in informal settings following the downfall of the last monarch of the Solomonic dynasty and to multilingualism since the demise of the Dergue reign, for instance. In Blackledge’s (2005) words:

Language ideologies are positioned in, and subject to, their social, political and historical contexts. Nor are language ideologies fixed, stable, or immutable. They are multiple, and influenced by changes at local, national, state and global levels. Moreover, language ideologies are often contested, and become symbolic battlegrounds on which broader debates over race, state and nation are played out. However, to say that language ideologies are contested and changeable over time is not to assert that they are necessarily always negotiable. (p. 32)

As Blackledge further argues, language ideologies contribute to the production and reproduction of social differences, constructing some languages, or a language, as of greater worth than other languages. The production and reproduction of social difference process can only continue if the dominant and the dominated groups alike accept the greater value of (a) certain language(s), which is meant to promote social homogenization (Blackledge, 2005). Blackledge further explains that in the face of hegemonic ideologies of homogenization, it is not surprising that those who are subject to the ‘symbolic violence’ or discrimination because of dominant language use appear to comply with their symbolic domination. In brief, a process of normalization occurs, in which it comes to appear natural that one language dominates others is more legitimate, and provides greater access to symbolic resources (Blackledge, 2005).

There is no one-to-one correspondence between language ideologies and language policies (Ricento, 2000). As the same author further explains, the overt rationale for a particular language policy might appear to be “liberal,” whereas the hidden agenda could be reactionary or chauvinistic (for instance, economic exploitation, increasing political power, and so on). Wherever authorities impose languages, communities resist, and appropriate them by developing oppositional discourse and ideologies of their own. Language ideologies are articulated covertly. They are associated with other ideologies that can influence and constrain language policies and practices (Pennycook, 2000).

2.1.7 Language Policy and Language Planning

Language policy has been studied for at least five decades, with growing interest and publication over the last twenty years, but no consensus has emerged about the scope and nature of the field, its terminology and theories (Spolsky, 2004). The term language planning was also introduced before fifty years to the literature by Haugen who defined it as “the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community” (1959, in Cooper, 1989, p. 29). Language policy sometimes appears as a synonym for language planning, but more often, it indicates the goals of language planning (Cooper, 1989). It is thus pertinent to explain the difference and relatedness of language policy and language planning. These constructs are “two different yet related concepts” that “share some common characteristics” (Poon, 2000, p. 119). Poon further argues that both language policy and language planning are top-down entailing organized and deliberate efforts to solve language problems that very often have a political, social, and economic orientation. The main difference between the two terms is that language planning is a macro-sociopolitical activity at national and government level only while language policy can be either a micro-sociopolitical or macro-sociopolitical activity at national and governmental or at institutional level (Poon, 2000) and hence it subsumes language planning.

Language policy can be either overt or covert. Covert language policies make no mention of any language in any administrative code, legal document, etcetera; while overt policies

indicate explicitly the rights of any or all linguistic groups to the use of their language in whatever domains they specify (Schiffman, 1996). Similarly, Spolsky (2004) points out that some countries record their language policy in their law or constitutions; others do not. Some implement their written policies; others do not. However, as the same writer goes on arguing, it does not mean that the countries that do not state their language policy in their constitutions are without policy:

Language policy exists even where it has not been made explicit or established by authority. Many countries and institutions and social groups do not have formal or written language policies, so that the nature of their language policy must be derived from a study of their language practice or beliefs. Even where there is a formal, written language policy, its effect on language practices is neither guaranteed nor consistent. (p. 8)

There might be hence a language policy without language planning but there is no society without language policy (Eastman, 1983, in Orman, 2008). Nevertheless, it does not necessarily mean that a state's language policy is easily observable. In cases where there is no overt language policy and questions of language are not particularly salient or high profile, language policy may only exist implicitly (Orman, 2008). As Orman goes on arguing, such implicit policies can only be ascertained through examination of the language practices of the state in question. Moreover, locating language policy is often rendered problematical by the existence of what may be termed an unharmonized language policy situation, which may be defined as the existence of some discrepancy or

contradiction between the *de jure* and *de facto* language policies that operate within a country.

According to Spolsky (2004), for a broader understanding, it is helpful to distinguish between three components of a language policy: “Its language practices – the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire; its language beliefs and ideology – the beliefs about language and language use; and any kind of language intervention, planning or management” (p. 5). This definition implies that a language policy is the combination of language practices and language beliefs and ideologies, or, in Schiffman’s (1996) words, a speech community’s “*linguistic culture*” (p. 5) and language planning. Language planning is thus a subset of language policy.

In its narrowest sense, language policy usually refers to the formulation of regulations, laws, and official positions regarding language usage and the allocation of linguistic resources by government or other political organization (Spolsky, 2004). Here, it is useful to explain the term further by dichotomizing it into its overt (explicit, formalized, *de jure*, codified, manifest) policies and covert, which is usually ignored, (informal, implicit, unstated, *de facto*, grassroots, latent) aspects (Schiffman, 1996) in order to elaborate the focus further. To be precise, as Schiffman puts forward, many policy-makers and researchers have taken the overt and explicit formulations of and statements about the status of linguistic varieties, and ignore what actually happens down on the ground, in the field, at the grassroots level, etcetera. In Gessinger’s words:

The narrower and broader meaning of the term language policy should not be confused, however, as they are different in one essential point: language policy in a narrow sense – I call it *explicit* language policy – is social decision-making that is directly geared toward those contexts of the lives of the speakers that are transmitted by language, whereas *structural* language policy denotes those actions of social groups or state administrations which incorporate those contexts of life (that are demonstrably linguistically conveyed), into the all-encompassing context of general political practice. (1980, in Schiffman, 1996, p. 14)

Furthermore, language-planning activities are divided into three: Acquisition planning, corpus planning and status planning (Millar, 2005; Paulston & Heidemann, 2006). Corpus planning refers to activities such as reforming spelling, coining new terms, and adopting a new script. It denotes “the creation of new forms, the modification of old ones, or the selection from alternative forms in a spoken or written code” (Cooper, 1989, p. 31). As Cooper further indicates, the language cultivation, reform, and standardization and the selection, codification, and elaboration of linguistic features are instances of corpus planning. On the other hand, acquisition planning is concerned with the question of who uses which particular language(s). It involves activities targeted at facilitating the spread of (a) language(s) throughout particular communities or parts of such communities (Orman, 2008). In brief, as Haugen advocates, the dividing line between corpus planning and status planning is convenient rather than natural (in Millar, 2005). In most circumstances, corpus planning and status planning processes go hand in hand; they are co-occurring, complimentary processes (Millar, 2005; Orman, 2008).

In addition, acquisition planning can be seen as the most developed form of status planning. Even though it is tempting to portray corpus planning as being at the center of language planning, the inequalities of languages' status that affect the possibilities of survival of many languages currently vigorously demand status and acquisition planning rather than corpus planning (Millar, 2005). Thus, status planning is central to this study as it is the cause for the inequalities of languages' status, which affect the possibilities of survival of many languages and subordinate languages speakers' ideologies and resistance against linguistic hegemony. Hence, status planning is further reviewed at length below.

Status planning is an aspect of language planning which reflects primarily social issues and concerns and thus is external to the language(s) being planned (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). It refers to "deliberate efforts to influence the allocation of functions among a community's languages" (Cooper, 1989, p. 99). Cooper further points out that status planning also refers to the allocation of languages to given functions such as medium of instruction, official or working language and vehicle of mass communication – language selection and language implementation. Selection of (a) language(s) involves the choice of (a) language(s) by/for a society through its political leaders and the development of language policy (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). Implementation involves the adoption and spread of the selected language(s). For example, the selection and implementation of a number of languages as media of instruction in elementary schools and Amharic as a federal government language of administration, in Ethiopia, by the ruling party is status

planning. The declaration of Oromo as a federal working language by Medrek, one of the opposition parties in Ethiopia, is also status planning.

Therefore, status planning is invoked when changes in the functional allocation of a community's language is seen as desirable (Cooper, 1989). However, as Cooper further argues, elites "may be slow to alter the status quo precisely because they may share, with the community at large, the evaluations, which they ultimately seek to change" (p. 120). In sum, status planning decisions are made with respect to functional allocation of (a) language(s) for official, provincial, wider communication, international, capital, group, educational, school subject, and literacy (Stewart, 1968), and for mass communications and working purposes (Cooper, 1989).

2.1.8 Mother Tongue Education

To commence with, the term mother tongue usually refers to the language learned in early childhood (Verdoodt, 1998). Mother tongue is the language of the immediate environment and daily interaction that children grow up with and of which they have learned the grammatical rules before formal schooling. Mother tongue education thus stands for the use of a language that the child learns in early childhood as a medium of instruction.

Mother tongue education is believed to be useful for children's effective learning. According to Vawda (1999), "... mother tongue instruction results in improved learning

achievements, low dropout rates, better adjustments to school, cultural preservation, and self-confidence in children” (p. 557). Besides, language is a symbolic code that is used to create and maintain human relationships (Kembo, 2002). Kembo further argues that it uses to express thought and share knowledge. It also provides social identity, and is intricately interwoven with the psyche and perception of a speaker as to, who he is, who he is vis-à-vis those around him/her and phenomenon around him/her (Ting-Toomey & Korzeny, 1989, in Kembo, 2002). Instruction given in language that is used in the child’s immediate environment is thus regarded as a practice that manifests the confirmation of linguistic rights and social identity and equal access to knowledge. Education in mother tongues at the primary level, as stated in Table 1, is indispensable for the learner’s full development for the reason that it has pedagogical, psychological, economic, and cultural advantages.

Table 1: Relevance of Mother Tongue Education to the Child

From the educational point of view	Use of the mother tongue guarantees a child's emotional and psychomotor development. It alone sets free a child's expressive potential. It offers the child the opportunity to verbalize all his experience.
From the teaching point of view	Use of a mother tongue already spoken by the child enables efforts to be chiefly concentrated on the learning of content. Use of a foreign [or a second] language causes effort to be expended first of all on learning the medium of instruction and only then on learning the content. Much more time and energy is required.
From the psychological point of view	The things first learned through the medium of the mother tongue must be followed up in the same language in order to avoid the phenomena of interference and confusion due to too sudden a break between two different forms of expression.
From the social and family point of view	Use of mother tongues at school makes it possible for the family and the community to: Continue the educational effort already undertaken in the family setting; and play a part in the child's education by seeing to it that traditional values are taken into account at school.
From the cultural point of view	Mother tongues are the first foundation of the personality of an individual and of the nation. Denying mother tongues is to deny oneself.
From the economic point of view	Mother tongues bring education within the reach of a larger number of children by reducing the number of those who have to repeat classes, which are expensive, and by reducing failure at school resulting from having to learn a non-mother tongue with difficulty at an early age.

Source: Poth (1988, in Ouane, 2003, p. 81)

The use of mother tongues as media of instruction is advantageous for better learning and transmission of cultural forms and knowledge of cultural values; encourages greater motivation for learning, and the course of instruction becomes psychologically more adequate as the concepts are already familiar (UNESCO, 1976, in Bamgbose, 1994). In brief:

It is axiomatic that the best medium for a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression or understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs.

Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through unfamiliar linguistic medium. (UNESCO, 1953, in Fasold, 1984, p. 293)

Therefore, if mother tongue education assists the cognitive, emotional, and psychomotor development of the child – “full-human” development, it is certain that the child becomes an innovative and a productive citizen that facilitates national development. Related with this concept, Article 10 of the third African-Caribbean-Pacific Countries/European Economic Commission (EEC) Convention argues that cooperation shall be aimed at supporting development in the African-Caribbean-Pacific states, a process centered on man himself and rooted in each people’s culture (in Bamgbose, 1991). As Bamgbose quoting the convention further indicates, “It shall back up the policies and measures adopted by those States to enhance their human resources, increase their own creative capacities and promote their cultural identities” (p. 45).

2.1.9 Language Policy in Education

Language policy in education refers to a mechanism used to create de facto language practices in education. According to Shohamy (2006), language policy in education, particularly, refers to carrying out language policy decisions in the specific contexts of schools, colleges, and universities in relation to mother tongues and to foreign and second languages. These decisions often include several issues such as: Which language(s) to teach and learn in schools? When (at what class level) to begin teaching these languages? For how many years and hours should they be taught? It is considered a form of

imposition and manipulation of language policy as it is used by those in authority to turn ideology into practice through formal education. Language policy in education is also used as a bottom-up, grassroots mechanism to demand, negotiate, and introduce alternative language policies (Shohamy, 2006). It is hence a mechanism through which ideology is meant to turn into practice or practice into ideology.

According to Kembo-Sure (2002), the most controversial area of language policy is that of education. Determining media of instruction is the status planning decision most frequently made, which is also most commonly subject to strong political pressures (Cooper, 1989). For instance, implementing multilingual language policy has become a site for competing political ideologies in Ethiopia. Cooper (1989) argues that “since education is, from the state’s point of view, a primary means of social control and, from the individual’s or family’s point of view, a means for social mobility, it is scarcely surprising that the language of instruction should be an important political issue” (p. 112). The link between language and society and job opportunity makes “language in education a potent area of conflicts and the success of a national language policy is assessed by how well it manages the conflicts” (Kembo-Sure, 2002, p. 79). As a result, while most give support to the importance of maximizing the educational attainments of students, the decision as to what languages should be used to teach them usually depends on political mission. The degree to which educational considerations influence the choice of medium of instruction varies from case to case, but political considerations always play a role (Cooper, 1989). As Cooper further explains, while good arguments can be marshaled to rationalize the use of indigenous languages as media for initial literacy, the

decision to employ them for the Ethiopian campaign had, as we have seen, a strong political motivation.

Moreover, when states give special status to (a) language(s) in society, such a language policy is manifested through the educational and administrative institutions of the state. This may entail using specific language(s) as medium (media) of instruction, that is often the prestigious language(s) of the state that most often have been declared as “official” or working language, an issue that may have special problems when the official working language is different than the mother tongue(s) of some of the students (Shohamy, 2006). Shohamy further points out that in the current political environment where states are becoming multilingual, multinational, and at the same time more global, students are asked to learn national or international language(s) that reflect and affect the interests of different groups in quite different ways. Such preferred languages may consist of languages that are considered essential in the global world, as is the case with English in most countries (Shohamy, 2006). It may also consist of decisions to teach a certain language in the educational institutions as a second language as is the case with Amharic in Ethiopia in order to promote social integration and social participation in the economic and political activities of the country.

However, as Pool (1991) argues, those “whose languages are not official spend years learning others’ languages and may still communicate with difficulty, compete unequally for employment and participation, and suffer from minority or peripheral status” (p. 495). In other words, those who cannot access public services or participate meaningfully in the

conduct of public business owing to their linguistic capabilities are vulnerable to having their rights and interests overlooked (Patten, 2001). In addition, the universality of one dominant language or culture is affirmed by rejecting all other cultures and languages, which in turn force them to fall into particularity (Bourdieu, 1998). Consequently, "... linguistic minorities usually press for the recognition of their languages as official federal languages because of anxiety that otherwise they would be handicapped in participating in federal affairs" (Watts, 1967, p. 79).

2.1.10 Language Policy and Language Practice

There might be discrepancy between language policy and practice of a given country. The government may declare a policy without assessing the interests and beliefs of the society towards the language(s) that the government sets out a policy. Thus, the language policy is like to be implemented effectively if it goes parallel with the society's interests and beliefs and remain on paper if it is in contradiction with the society's interests and beliefs. It is thus crucial to assess the interests and beliefs before a policy is implemented. However, as Shohamy (2006) indicates:

Language policies are mostly manifestations of intentions while less attention is given to the implementation of policy in practice. It is often the case that even when policies are stated explicitly it still does not guarantee that the language policy will in fact turn into practice and there are situations when the use of languages are in opposition to declared policies. Thus, those who introduce

language policy are often skeptical about the extent to which policy will actually be implemented and adopted by the population. (p. 51)

In such circumstances, Baldouf notifies that language policy makers or language planners should not have the illusion that they will be able to control the language scenes of a country, as there will always be those who want to construct their own language agenda and resist the imposed top-down policy from bottom-up (1994, in Shohamy, 2006). As Shohamy quoting Baldouf further pinpoints, language policies and planning are often totally ignored as there are bottom-up forces in society that will try to introduce their own language ideologies and agendas within their own priorities, pace, and processes. Language policy makers devise a variety of strategies to ensure the implementation and practice of their policies (Shohamy, 2006).

2.1.11 Political Views on Language

Language is perceived as a resource, a right, or a problem. Both views, language as a right and language as a resource, are complementary as their goal is language promotion and protection; while language as a problem orientation is a counter-view. Therefore, three of these political perspectives are discussed, in what follows, based on such notions.

2.1.11.1 Language as a Resource

Multilingual nations with a political agenda of linguistic and cultural promotion and protection see linguistic diversity as a resource that economically and socially enriches the culture as a whole, and actively promote languages via educational means (Lotherington, 2004). Such nations promote multilingual educational policy where students are allowed to learn using their mother tongue. Within this orientation, there tends to be the assumption that:

Linguistic diversity does not cause separation nor less integration in society. Rather, it is possible that **national unity and linguistic diversity can co-exist**. Unity and diversity are not necessarily incompatible. Tolerance and cooperation between groups may be as possible with linguistic diversity as they would be unlikely when such linguistic diversity is repressed. (Baker, 1996, p. 58)

Under the general heading of language as a resource also comes concerning minority languages as a social and cultural resource. While languages may be viewed in terms of their economic bridge building potential, languages may also be supported to flourish for their ability to build social bridges across different groups, bridges for cross fertilization between cultures (Baker, 1996).

2.1.11.2 Language as a Right

Language rights have appeared in the Post-Cold War years as one of the dimensions of the quest for a new society based on human rights (Kontra, Phillipson, Skutnabb-Kangas, & Várady, 1999). Thus, though some arguments may be fresh, the problem is not a new issue. However, the term “linguistic rights” commences to emerge in book titles after 1979 and “linguistic human rights” in the 1990s (Paulston, 1997). Paulston further argues that the literature on language policies as language right and linguistic human right falls into two main camps. First are lawyers, historians, political scientists, applied linguists or language policy academicians often promoting the use of individual linguistic rights to bring about some change that they personally advocate. Typically, these accounts are descriptive and a theoretical and language rights are mostly treated as a dependent or resultant variable.

There is no attempt to predict the consequences of language rights. According to the legal situation, language rights are often considered as individual rights. The other camp consists of applied linguists, anthropologists, politicians, and educators all figure prominently here some belong to the first camp. According to Paulston (1997), this camp is exhortatory at times quite wildly so and often ideologically biased and can range from ethnic nationalism as in the Baltic States to federalist extremism as in Quebec. These writings are concerned with social change or future developments in which language right is clearly the independent or causal variable. In the majority, the rights advocated here are based on the notion of group or collective rights.

Owing to the effect of the earlier mentioned movements, an increasing number of international treaties and conventions, since 1989, have been affirming individual and minorities linguistic rights. As Spolsky (2004) points out, in 1989, the United Nations adopted the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which specifically dealt with the linguistic needs of the child who belongs to a minority group. In 1990, the United Nations adopted an International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of their Families that included language rights. Spolsky further explains, in 1992, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights adopted a Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to Ethnic, Religious, and Linguistic Minorities, which included whenever possible state measures to enable minorities to learn or have instruction in their mother tongue. In Central and Eastern Europe as well as in the other parts of the world, the issue of language rights has provoked political action, legislation, and international treaties; it has also served both as a reason or pretext for brutal conflict, and as a benchmark of tolerance. As Kontra et al. (1999) argue:

Language can serve, in all spheres of social life, to bring people together or to divide them. Language rights can serve to unite societies, whereas violations of language rights can trigger and inflame conflict. There is, therefore, every reason to clarify the position of language rights in various states and in international human rights law, and to analyze the experience of the management of multilingualism in diverse societies. (p. 1)

In a world that is simultaneously coming together as a global society while it splits apart into ever smaller ethnically defined pieces, the protection of linguistic minority rights has

become increasingly prominent concern. In 1987 and 1989, Two UNESCO-supported conferences have called for a Universal Declaration of Language Rights that ensure the right to use the mother tongue in official situations and to learn well both the mother tongue and the official language of the country, or one of them (Phillipson, 1992, in Hornberger, 1997). Furthermore, as Alfredsson (1989) indicates, the United Nations' Commission on Human Rights that has since 1985 been developing a draft Universal Declaration on Indigenous Rights, which includes, among 28 rights of indigenous peoples, the right to maintain and use their own languages, including for administrative, judicial, and other relevant purposes (in Hornberger, 1997).

Quoting Alfredsson, Hornberger states, "The right to all forms of education, including in particular the right of children to have access to education in their own languages, and to establish, structure, conduct, and control their own educational systems and instructions" (p. 88). In this perspective, education in a democratic society supportive of the linguistic rights of minorities can become a tool for affirming diversity and confirming human rights. This represents an asset for every democratic citizen and plays an important role in ensuring equality. All children in a country should be given the same opportunities to participate and become active citizens, regardless of whether or not their mother tongue differs from the official languages or media of instruction. Such practices help to confirm linguistic rights and fulfilling linguistic rights that, in turn, affirm diversity and confirm human rights.

2.1.11.3 Language as a Problem

A country with assimilationist political agenda views linguistic and cultural pluralism as incompatible with national unity, and understands language diversity *per se* to be a problem (Lotherington, 2004). Multilingualism in nations of this political discourse is seen as neither desirable nor a normal social trait, but running contrary to historical legacy, or to a non-negotiable cultural identity.

In this perspective, perpetuating language minorities and language diversity is likely to cause less cohesiveness, less integration, more antagonism, and more conflict in society (Baker, 1996). The perceived complication of minority languages is to be solved by monolingual policy – assimilation of minority languages into the majority language. Such an argument holds the view that the majority language, for example Amharic, unifies the diversity. The ability of every citizen to communicate with the country's majority language is regarded as the common leveler. A strong nation is regarded as a unified nation. Unity within a nation is viewed as synonymous with uniformity and similarity (Baker, 1996). The opposing argument, as Baker argues, is that it is possible to have national unity without uniformity. National unity and diversity of languages can co-exist (example, Singapore, South Africa, and Switzerland).

In Baker's (1996) view, the co-existence of many languages is rarely a cause of disunity, tension, conflict or strife. The history of war hints that political, economic, and religious differences are prominent causes. Language is rarely the cause of conflict. Rivalries

between different political parties, religious jihads and crusades, and economic aggressions tend to be the instigators of strife. In a research study on causes of civil strife, Fishman (1989) found that language was not a cause: “The widespread journalistic and popular political wisdom that linguistic heterogeneity per se is necessarily conducive to civil strife, has been shown, by our analysis, to be more myth than reality” (in Baker, 1996, p. 353). Instead, the causes of strife were found to be authoritarian regimes, depression, and modernization.

2.1.12 Multilingual Language Policy and Politics

Multilingual language policy can be societal and individual phenomenon. In Ethiopia, these days, the main aim of the language policy is enabling nations and nationalities to use their respective languages for various purposes. It encourages all nations and nationalities to use their mother tongues as media of multiple purposes – it does not encourage them to learn two or more indigenous languages by using the languages as media of instruction, or by offering them as school subjects. Therefore, as the study bases on such circumstances, its focus is on the societal multilingual language policy of the country.

Wherever multilingual language policy exists, politics is close by (Baker, 1996). At the back of multilingual language policy, there are always tide of political change, political initiative, and expressions of political discourses. What might be presented as pure motives – minority languages’ preservation and use as media of instruction in a given

country – may hide basic political discourses and political assumptions. Surrounding multilingual language policy are always political debates about national unity, identity and control by elites in power, questions about social order, and the perceived potential subversiveness of language minorities (Baker, 1996).

Although multilingualism is generally lauded as an enriching experience, this is not a universal opinion. Given the range of political perceptions of multilingualism, from economic bonus to political threat and the influence of social policies on public views and expectations of citizens' language competencies, opportunities for and attitudes towards multilingualism vary widely (Lotherington, 2004). In other words, national political reactions to cultural diversity range from multilingualism, where cultural pluralism is welcomed as an asset (for example, Australia), to assimilation, where minority cultural populations are expected to abandon their linguistic heritages and melt into majority language and cultural norms (for example, the United States of America) (Baker, 2001, in Lotherington, 2004).

2.1.13 Multilingualism and National Unity

Here, the term nation is used synonymously with the term state. In fact, there are scholars who argue that the two terms could not be used synonymously to call countries like Ethiopia wherein many ethnic groups are residing; but to call countries like Somalia. For instance, Connor (1978) says that it cannot be called a nation, if a state is not established by a single ethnic group. Putting such arguments aside, owing to the presence of scholars

who disagree with this view, in this study, the two terms are taken as synonymous as Ethiopia is a member of the united nations conceivably due to such a perspective, if not the reality would be otherwise as the country is a constituent of lots of ethnic groups. Supporting this view, Fishman (1968a) says that a nation is considered as a state, a country, or a polity "... a politico-geographic entity ... might qualify for membership in the United Nations" (p. 39). Therefore, in this study, the term "national" is used to mean countrywide. Of course, the term nation does not refer to any specific national group, but to all Ethiopians. Moreover, "national unity" refers to the political cohesion of the country's physical landscapes as well as to the nations' and nationalities' living together in harmony.

National unity is insured through various mechanisms. According to Bamgbose (1991), one method of ensuring national unity is to bring the multiethnic nationalities together in interaction and conflict, with the result that a basis is found for compromise and working together for the development and progress of the nation. This is already happening in many countries where political, educational, and economic arrangements have to take into consideration the pluralistic nature of the society. According to Smock and Bentsi-Enchill (1975), national unity is often fostered through a series of overt measures designed to reinforce the sentiment of oneness (in Bamgbose, 1991). Such measures consist of legal requirement for a multi-ethnic base for political parties, power sharing through zoning of political and bureaucratic posts, special programs designed to bring young people together, and ideologies designed to raise consciousness about tolerance, unity, loyalty, discipline, and obedience.

According to Bamgbose (1991), arising from the false association of language with ethnicity, two complementary myths have developed around the concept of language and the nation. These are: 1) multilingualism is a barrier to national unity; and 2) national unity necessarily involves the emergence of a nation-state with one common language. The myth that multilingualism impedes national unity is a prevalent one. While discussing such views, Schwarz (1965) says, "... differences between indigenous languages keep the people apart, perpetuate ethnic hostilities, weaken national loyalties and increase the danger of separatist sentiment" (in Bamgbose, 1991, p. 14). Bamgbose quoting Alexandre (1972) further pinpoints that "each local language is ... intimately related to a tribal culture; thus use of a local language reinforces attachment to a tribe, thereby going against the current of national sentiment, which is slightly developed" (p. 15).

Besides, Takkele (1995 E. C.) says that "... man is between two centers: One of the centers is divisive, while the other center strengthens unity; we found ethnic difference at the center of divisiveness" (p. 36). Takkele further argues that ethnic difference is found at the center of divisiveness in that Professor Schlesinger, mentioning Ethiopia as an example, wrote "seen in all directions, ethnicity these days is dividing and destroying countries" (p. 36) (Interpreted from Amharic by the researcher). Hence, in Ethiopia, "the use of local languages in primary education has been seen by some as an aspect of an ethnically divisive policy that encourages the perception of differences and the development of regional nationalisms" (Cohen, 2007, p. 64). Similarly, Pool (1972) pinpoints that language diversity aggravates political sectionalism; hinders inter-group

cooperation, national unity, and regional multinational cooperation; impedes political enculturation, political support for the authorities and the regime, and political participation; and holds down governmental effectiveness and political stability. Hence, a common language or language of wider communication that serves as a unifying device is seen as obligatory in a multilingual country.

On the contrary, there is a view that argues a language does not divide but the attitudes of the speakers and the sentiments and symbolism attached to it (Fishman, 1968a). Furthermore, there are observations that regard the concept of a common language for national unity as a recent phenomenon. According to Hornberger, the concept of one nation one language, signaling the unification of a multiethnic country through a common language emerged, in human history, relatively recently following the establishment of eighteenth and nineteenth century nation-states in Europe and the Americas (2001, in Lotherington, 2004). Whatsoever, while it must be agreed that a common language is a potentially unifying force, the point must be made other factors conducive to unity must be present before a common language can unify (Bamgbose, 1994). As Bamgbose further argues, social, political, economic, and educational arrangements must be such that the different groups in the polity feel a sense of belonging and a conviction that their needs and aspirations are being met. Owing to such a reason, Asfaw and Seyoum (1997) claims that successful unity can only be achieved through respect and equality that in the case of Ethiopia “requires psychological and societal liberation from an abusive past in order to facilitate moral ground for positive contributions ...” (p. 169).

Therefore, choice of a common language or language of wider communication does not always unify. For example, for the Philippines, the choice of national language has been divisive rather than unifying, mainly now in Cebu (Gonzalez, 1991), where Cebuanos are challenging Tagalog as the basis of the national language in their demand for a multiethnic-based national language incorporating elements from all the other Philippine languages and other languages used in the country (Gonzalez, 1993). In general, in Renan's (1992) words:

Language invites one to reunite; it does not oblige it. The United States and England, Spanish America and Spain speak the same language and do not form a single nation. In contrast, Switzerland, so well formed since it was created by the assent of the different parts, has three or four languages. There is in man something superior to language: that is *will*. The will of Switzerland to be united, in spite of the variety of its languages, is in fact much more important than a similitude often obtained by humiliation. It is to France's credit that it has never tried to obtain unity of language by measures of coercion. (In Judt & Lacorne, 2004, p. 5)

2.1.14 Multilingualism and National Development

National development is a complex concept. It has several connotations (Seya, 2007). Nevertheless, to mention some, national development most of the time is used to refer to the economic development of a country. That is development expressed in terms of

economic growth, attainment of economic targets, growth rate, and increase in gross national product and per capita income (Bamgbose, 1991). This definition is the narrower conception as it excludes other components of national development activities such as citizens' maturity in politics, discipline, tolerance, and national consciousness of self-reliance.

In addition, Openjuru (2004) has defined development as the general improvement in economic, political, and social conditions of the whole society in terms of elimination or reduction of poverty, injustice, inequality, insecurity, ecological imbalance, and unemployment within the context of a growing economy. However, for Schumacher:

Economic development is something much wider and deeper than economics, let alone econometrics. Its roots lie outside the economic sphere in education, organization, discipline, and beyond that in political independence and a national consciousness of self-reliance ... It can succeed only if it is carried forward as a broad popular "movement of reconstruction" with primary emphasis on the full utilization of the drive, enthusiasm, intelligence, and labour power of everyone.

(In Bamgbose, 1991, p. 44)

Schumacher's definition of the term, development, is more inclusive than Openjuru's. For Schumacher, Development is much wider than just an improvement in the economic wellbeing or condition of society members. It includes national consciousness of self-reliance, full utilization of the intelligence, derive and labor power of everyone in a given society. In Schumacher's view, man provides the primary resources and "the key factor

of all economic development comes out of the mind of man” (Schumacher, in Bamgbose, 1994, p. 39).

Therefore, economic growth, attainment of economic targets, growth rate, and increase in gross national product and per capita income are not the only index of socioeconomic development, although they are certainly the dimensions that easily come to mind. For instance, there are oil-rich countries where the economic growth, growth rate, and increase in gross national product per capita income are high but where the population is not necessarily developed in other dimensions (Gonzalez, 1993). Gonzalez further explains, besides a desirable level of *per capita* income, of such social welfare indicators as a balanced distribution of wealth, perceived security and well-being, protection of legal and other rights, law and order, level and quality of education, the quality of the environment, housing availability, adequate supply of food and other necessities.

Assuming the narrower conception – economic development, which is the focus of this study, a question arises yet about the role of language in national development. The assumption is that language does have a role to play, but the nature of that role is hardly spelt out (Bamgbose, 1991, 1994). However, one major problem to which attention has been drawn is the relationship between development and linguistic heterogeneity. Linguistically heterogeneous societies are characterized by low or very low per capita gross national product and are usually economically underdeveloped, while linguistically homogenous societies have a high or medium *per capita* gross national product, and are relatively economically well-developed (Banks & Textor, 1965). Fishman, making the

use of the Banks and Textor cross-polity files, has shown that there is no necessary correlation between low economic development and linguistic heterogeneity or vice versa (Fishman, 1968b).

Despite the earlier mentioned positive arguments, linguistic heterogeneity or multilingualism continues to be viewed as a problem for national development. It is argued that language diversity slows down economic development, by, for instance, “breaking occupational mobility, reducing the number of people available for mobilization into the modern sector of the economy, decreasing efficiency and preventing the diffusion of innovative techniques” (Pool, 1972, p. 214). Likewise, Cohen (2006) points out that many Ethiopians fear that if students learn in local languages they “will be confined to opportunities in a small geographical and social area” and thus “will never be able to take advantage of the wider opportunities that accrue at the level of the state” (p. 175). In addition, while partly supporting an identified correlation between linguistic heterogeneity and underdevelopment of many least developed countries, including Ethiopia, by Banks and Textor (1965), Fishman (1968b) came up with the conclusion that the presence of political enculturation and most particularly sectionalism are two distinguishing characteristics of linguistic heterogeneity. That is, political enculturation and sectionalism could be seen as impediments to national unity and development, while other variables that are used in the study conducted by Banks and Textor are found to be less contributing and less recognizable. Fishman (1968b) puts forward that in connection with the variables Banks and Textor find that:

...linguistically homogenous and linguistically heterogeneous polities differ from each other as much as or more than do polities with higher and lower per capita gross national product. Thus, it would appear that exaggerated sectionalism and (to a lesser degree) the presence of significant, politically nonassimilated minorities in extreme opposition come closer to being major correlates (both as preservers and as consequence) of linguistic heterogeneity than any of the many other variables we have examined. (p. 63)

According to Bamgbose (1994), in examining national development, two models present themselves: The model of use of official or national languages, usually language of wider communication and the model of use of indigenous languages. Bamgbose further explains that if the development effort aims to reach the masses, it is obvious that the language to be used in literacy and communication, for example, must be one that is capable of reaching a large proportion of the population. In literacy education, mother tongues or indigenous languages are usually believed to be the best media of instruction. The use of indigenous languages as media of instruction is advantageous for better learning and transmission of cultural forms and knowledge of cultural values. When local cultures and indigenous knowledge of a certain country integrated into the school curricula, students can learn how traditional economic activities can be done in modern ways, and the indigenous knowledge can be developed which in turn can add a lot to the economic development of the country (Ilboudo, 2003).

Moreover, the positive attitudes to language encourages greater motivation for learning the course of instruction is psychologically more adequate as the concepts are already familiar and the choice of language is in consonance with cultural and political attitudes (UNESCO, 1976, in Bamgbose, 1994). Such practices in turn encourage students to come to and stay at school. In other words, the use of mother tongues as media of primary education increases enrolment rate, which is believed to have significant in enhancing economic development. For instance, sociologists believe that producing human capital at primary education is a decisive factor for economic development (Tekeste, 2006). Likewise, Kiani (2008) says that Gross Domestic Product growths are positively related to the primary school enrolment-labor force ratio in that primary education is an essential prerequisite for accelerating growth.

Therefore, the use of mother tongues as media of primary education is perceived as a tool that facilitates national development. According to Batibo (2007), "...all the world's developed countries have reached their present positions on the basis of their own national languages; they have adopted and integrated technology within their own cultural and social values, thus making it possible for the developments to reach all citizens ..." (p. 24). Batibo further argues that it is worth mentioning that "the fast-developing countries ... base their development strategies on their indigenous languages as this is the only way to involve the whole population in the development effort and to meaningfully bring technological advancement within the country's cultural framework" (p. 24). On the contrary, forcing students to learn in others' mother tongues leads to underdevelopment. For example, as Mekuria (1997) pinpoints, in Ethiopia, "the policy of

‘one language, one nation’ when implemented became rather an obstacle to socio-economic development” because insistence “on the use of a single language prevented vital information from reaching the majority of the population” (p. 336).

Furthermore, in the area of mass communications the undoubted advantages that can be achieved through a greater flow of information necessarily call for an intensification of the use of African or local languages in the media. As a result, it “... seems inevitable in the situation of most developing countries ... that a multilingual policy is the only viable avenue for development” because African languages can have well-defined roles in education, administration, and mass communications (Bamgbose, 1994, p. 42). However, communication specialists tend to underestimate the role of local languages. For instance, Schramm (1964) observes Africa as “a veritable crazy quilt of languages” the use of which inevitably makes for small audiences (in Bamgbose, 1994, p. 41). In addition, as Bamgbose quoting Schramm further points out, the use of tribal and regional languages in India increases the problems of national broadcasting and exchange of information. Likewise, Weiner (1967) views multiplicity of languages as a barrier to communication, and particularly the development of Indian languages as divisive, as literacy leads to a deepening of divisions in terms of reading materials (in Bamgbose, 1994).

Moreover, the use of several mother tongues as media of instruction is perceived as an impediment to providing “education for all.” For Takkele (1995 E. C.), providing equal opportunity and education for all is necessary to enable citizens run their livelihood; this could be possible if multi-linguistic societies choose only one indigenous language by

consensus for this purpose and to run other government activities with it (translated from Amharic by the researcher). This kind of progress, as Takkele goes on arguing, results ultimately in bringing opportunities that help all citizens to be in unity besides enabling them to exchange each other's ideas. In contrast, learning in others mother tongues is perceived as a problem for children. For instance, African children's major learning problem is a linguistic one: "Instruction is given in a language that is not normally used in the immediate environment," a language that the learner does not understand well enough (Obanya, 1980, p. 80). As a result, in multilingual societies, several languages are required to facilitate the best opportunity for equitable and quality access to academic achievement – a single language option is not enough, thus a multiple language option or set of options is unavoidable (Heugh, Benson, Berhanu, & Mekonnen, 2007). For this reason, the scholars see the current Ethiopian medium of instruction policy of eight years of mother tongue medium schooling is one of the best on the continent and promotes sound educational practice.

2.2 Conceptual Framework

This subsection offers a conceptual framework that has served as an "advocacy lens" in analyzing people's attitudes and discourses. The advocacy lens is constructed based on three conceptual banners that emerged following critical theory. They are the historical-structural approach, the postmodern approach, and critical discourse analysis. Hence, explaining the concept "critical theory" before explaining the three terms is relevant. To commence with, the word "theory," as elucidated by Ricento (2006), refers to "... a

statement, or series of statements, proposed by an individual or group of individuals, about a position on understanding of the world ... or some aspect of it” (p. 1). Research in language policy has offered various language planning theories or rational models that attempt to describe the process of language policy development (Fishman, 1979; Haugen, 1983). The rational models have been criticized for their linearity and lack of consideration for the social, political, and cultural contexts in which languages are planned. Consequently, the critical theory, which is the central conceptual tenet of this study, was immersed with possible remedies.

There are various “critical” perspectives in applied linguistics. Pennycook (2004) points out that some of these perspectives have emerged under explicit banners of criticality: Critical discourse analysis, critical pedagogy, or critical literacy; others are informed by general formations of social critical theory and work: Queer theory, gender studies, postcolonial studies, or anti-racist pedagogy. Critical theory consists of contributions by Foucault (1972), Habermas (1988), and others. These works mainly focus on rethinking and critiques of Marxist and neo-Marxist works. In sum, works in critical theory examine the practices by which social inequality is produced and sustained, and the struggle to reduce inequality to bring about greater forms of social justice (Tollefson, 2006).

Critical theory has influenced language policy research in many ways. Specifically, as Tollefson (2006) points out, two assumptions are widely accepted in critical language policy (CLP, henceforth) research. The first assumption is that structural categories, particularly ethnicity, class, and gender are central explanatory factors in all social life. In

the beginning, CLP research, for instance, Tollefson (1991) emphasized the neo-Marxist view that language policies should be viewed as one arena in which different classes are engaged in struggle over fundamentally antagonistic interests. Subsequently, CLP research was extended to focus on ethnicity and gender, as well as on issues of language, culture, and discourse (Tollefson, 2006).

The second assumption from critical theory that has become widely accepted in CLP research is that a critical examination of epistemology and research methodology is inseparable from ethical standards and political commitments to social justice (Tollefson, 2006). As Tollefson further indicates, partly, based on the work of Habermas (1988), CLP researchers seek to develop a “critical method” that encompasses a self-reflective examination of their relationship with others who are the focus of research. A critical examination of research methodology raises several fundamental questions about building and preserving preferred forms of knowledge in different discourse communities, including language policy and language planning researchers (Bloomaert, 1996), and the accountability of legitimate research questions, acceptable research methodologies, and persuasive forms of evidence (Williams & Morris, 2000). According to Tollefson (2006), most CLP researchers accept the political principle that people who experience the consequences of language policy should have a major role in making policy decisions. This democratic principle of participation is a moral imperative you can put the responsibility for decisions on the shoulders of those who will suffer the consequences, and simultaneously “you stimulate the participants who have to make up their minds in practical discourse to look around for information and ideas that can shed

light on their situation” (Habermas, 1986, p. 207). Extended to policy research, this view implies that analyzing language policy requires that researchers identify and attempt fully to characterize ideological strains, alternative policies, and the links between social inequality and language policies, thereby contributing to the development of informed citizenry (Donahue, 2002; Tollefson, 2006).

In addition, recent language policy works, influenced by critical theory, have emphasized how a nation can use language policy to perpetuate systems of inequality (Tollefson, 2002). For instance, in developing what he calls the historical-structural approach to language policy and planning, Tollefson (1991) proposes, a politicized understanding of enacting language policies as an exercise in power: Language policy is viewed as a mechanism by which the interest of the dominant social, cultural, economic, political, and linguistic groups are maintained and the seeds of transformation are developed. Thus, critical language policy research has helped illuminate ideologies enmeshed in language policies and provided a rich picture of language policy development as one aspect among many sociopolitical processes that may reinvigorate social inequality (Tollefson, 2002). In critical language policy research, power – which refers to the ability to control events to achieve one’s aims – is seen as implicit in all social relationships. In investigating power, critical language policy research focuses on the dynamic relationship between social structure and individual agency, particularly in institutions, which constrain and provide meaning to individual actions (Pederson, 2000, in Tollefson, 2006). Nonetheless, the critical approach has also been criticized for underestimating the power of human agency and not capturing the processes of language policy or planning (Davis, 1999).

Hence, as the same author further notes, from a theoretical perspective the historical-structural approach is believed to provide a philosophical construct for policy analyses.

Moreover, the present research focuses on economic and political issues of language policy and language practice in Ethiopia. The historical-structural approach is thus essential to investigate such language policy issues. The historical-structural approach is influenced by critical theory, particularly its emphasis upon the role of socioeconomic class in shaping language policy alternatives, and its critique of ahistorical analyses that evaluate policies without regard to their role in systems of oppression and exploitation (Tollefson, 2006). As Tollefson further argues, the historical-structural approach views that language policy research is inescapably political, and that researchers should explicitly acknowledge their own role in shaping the arguments of language policy alternatives. For instance, a number of language policy researchers lack an understanding of the political feature of language policy and language practice, are unaware of relevant theoretical developments in sociology, and hence explicit analysis of the links between language policy and social, historical, and political processes as state formation and political conflict is necessary (Williams, 1992).

Furthermore, postmodernism is used as part of the operational framework to unveil language policy and language practice issues. The main interest in postmodernism is in changes to social structures, culture, communication, and *etcetera* because of new conditions of political structure, work, and economy (Pennycook, 2006). From a language policy perspective, this position is:

...principally concerned with the state of languages in the new millennium, with implications for the survival of many of the world's languages under current economic and political relations. From this point of view, then, postmodern language policy is about mapping language policy against changing economic and political conditions. What are the causes and effects, for example, of the spread and promotion of major languages, such as English? ... Whose interests are served by the adoption of major international [national] languages over local languages? Can a notion of language rights address the death of many languages...? (Pennycook, 2006, p. 61)

In questioning such debatable views, postmodernism attempts to deconstruct existing language use practices – it argues against the exclusion of individuals and minority groups from the social, economic, and political system. Postmodern intellectual inquiry commenced to turn back on itself, to question how we come to think as we do, why we construct particular visions of reality, in whose interests supposed norms, values, and givens operate (Pennycook, 2006). Thus, postmodernism is a philosophical questioning of many of the foundational concepts of received canons of knowledge. In general, postmodern thought can be viewed as anti-essentialist, anti-foundationalist, and opposed to grand narratives. Postmodernism, therefore, calls into question any claims to overarching truths such as “human nature,” “enlightenment,” or “emancipation” which makes us skeptical about talk of reality, truth, or universality (Pennycook, 2006). It rejects totalization, unity in homogenization, and transcendental concepts, or a belief in disinterested knowledge.

Furthermore, in the last four decades several studies have examined the role of language and language policy in national unity and development. Nationalism is central to issues related to the role of language and language policy in nation or multination state formation. According to Schwarz, "... differences between indigenous languages keep the people apart, perpetuate ethnic hostilities, weaken national loyalties and increase the danger of separatist sentiment" (1965, in Bamgbose, 1991, p. 14) (I have quoted this sentence elsewhere and repeated it here because of its relevance and relatedness). However, different theories of nationalism vary greatly on the function of language in the processes of nation building (Wright, 2000). Consequently, the four main schools of thought accord different weighting to the need for a community of communication, to promote the process of strengthening national unity. According to (Wright, 2000), ethno-linguistic nationalism perceives language as a mythical and mystical unifier where only those who share the linguistic worldview can participate in the nation. The perennialists argue that the linguistic worldview can be acquired. As Wright further argues, the modernists see linguistic unification as a by-product of industrialization and the development of democracy, whereas the post-modernists see language as discourse, the tool and the product of the creative process that constructs the nation, but have little to say on language difference.

There appears to be, then, most theorists underestimate the significance of a single community of communication, or the "one language, one people" ideology as an essential element of national unity. Most of them challenge the obligation of using a single language in nation building. Only the apologists for nationalism argue that language is a

crucial component in nation building. Each of the perennialists, primordialists, modernists, and postmodernists give different roles and different weightings to language (Wright, 2000).

Pertaining language and economic development issues, Rubin and Jernudd (1971) who viewed language as a resource ask “Can Language Be Planned?” What role does language policy have to national development? Since then researchers have taken different outlooks on the subject: Haugen (1972) and Fierman (1992) claimed that language policy plays a crucial role while others like Fishman (1983) and Woolard (1986) are skeptical about the role of language policy in economic development. In sum, language policies in multilingual societies have direct and indirect impacts on economic development. In multilingual societies, language policies are developed based on the interests of the politically and socially powerful groups. Such groups promote a single language mainly with the intention of “promoting national unity” as we witnessed in the eras of Haile Selassie and the Dergue. In so doing, they force people who do not speak the chosen language to learn, communicate, and administer through it. It is thus unquestionable that such practice would have a negative impact on the socioeconomic development of the country because it has brought about conflicts and destruction of properties.

Moreover, there would not effective communication in disseminating information about modern thoughts, technological innovations, and so forth, which either directly or indirect minimizes productivity. In addition, people could not learn effectively if they are forced

to learn in a naïve language that encourages dropouts and hinders the production of educated workforce. Promoting several languages is not however a seamless option. It discourages the dissemination of a single language because every speech community is likely to give a focus to its own language and less emphasis to learning a common language. In turn, the absence of a common language hinders the movement of the productive citizenry to various parts wherein different languages speakers dwell in and thereby the economic development of the country.

In contrast, if a multilingual country promotes all languages people would get the chance to learn through their mother tongues, which are the most familiar languages for them. Learning through familiar language would thus bring about increment in the number of educated laborforce that in turn increases productivity. That is, as the human capital theory says, educated labor force is more productive because human resources constitute the ultimate basis of wealth of nations because, as Van de Werfhorst (n.d.) argues, education provides skills and knowledge that have direct influences on the productivity of workers. That is, “capital and natural resources are passive factors of production, human beings are the active agencies who accumulate capital, exploit natural resources, build social, economic and political organization, and carry forward national development” (Psacharopoulos & Woodhall, 1997, p. 102).

Moreover, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA, henceforth), which is a branch of critical theory, is adapted in this study, for it is a recent innovative method of language policy analysis. In this research, the term “discourse” refers to the bundle of ideas that express a

certain thought. Discourse is a configuration of thoughts that provides the threads from which ideologies are interwoven (Sutton, 1999). It is thus used to denote a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts that manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action, oral or written tokens, often as texts (Wodak, 2001a), while discourse practice refers to the production, distribution, and consumption of a text (Fairclough, 1995). Text is used to denote the written or spoken language produced in a discursive event where discursive event is an instance of language use, analyzed as text, discursive practice, and social practice (Fairclough, 1995). And, the term “critical” is “understood as having distance to the data, embedding the data in the social, taking an explicit political stance, and focusing on self-reflection as scholars doing research” (Wodak, 2001b, p. 9). Besides, Critical Discourse Analysis refers to a particular way of revealing implicit views, power, and ideologies interwoven within language policy and practices texts.

In this study, texts related to language policy and practice were extracted and analyzed. The analysis aims to gain an understanding of language policy and practice discourses that have been institutionalized or marginalized within the country’s communities and institutions general discourses. The analysis of the extracted written texts was conducted through the method of CDA in order to disclose and describe the way dominant discursive practices of discourses influence the language policy and practice. As mentioned earlier, CDA is employed to analyze policy texts. Norman Fairclough is a critical discourse analyst who provided detailed models for the analysis of texts. One of the main strengths of his work in critical discourse analysis is precisely its specificity

regarding linguistic and sociocultural analyses. This is a characteristic which Fairclough (1992) emphasizes by referring to his work as textually oriented discourse analysis. Fairclough's model recognizes the constitutive nature of discourse, whereby language signifies reality in the sense of creating meanings for it rather than simply referring to an external reality.

The data analysis method adapted here is a three-dimensional discourse analysis method. Discourse, and any specific instance of discursive practice, is seen as simultaneously (1) a language text, spoken or written, (2) discourse practice (text production and interpretation), and (3) sociocultural practice, in which a piece of discourse is embedded at a number of levels; in the immediate situation, in the wider institution or organization, and at a societal level (Fairclough, 1995). The discourse analysis method consists of linguistic description of the language text, interpretation of the relationship between the (productive and interpretive) discursive processes and the text, and explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes. A special feature of the approach is that the link between sociocultural practice and text is mediated by discourse practice. That is, how a text is produced or interpreted, in the sense of what discursive practices and conventions are drawn from what order of discourse and how the discursive practices and conventions are articulated together, depends upon the nature of the sociocultural practice, which the discourse, including the relationship to existing hegemonies, is a part of (Fairclough, 1995). The nature of discourse practice of text production shapes the text and leaves "traces" in surface features of the text, and the

nature of the discourse practice of text interpretation determines how the surface features of a text will be interpreted.

Thus, Fairclough's model, coupled with other textual analyses notions (critical social theories) like Bourdieu's (1991) habitus, is employed in this research. That is, a number of discourse analyses features such as modality, lexical choices, grammatical structures, field, and metaphors were utilized to reveal inequality, hegemony, power, and ideology in language policy and language practice texts. In so doing, discursive analysis of discourses revealed the un-reflected upon, implicit power, hegemony, ideologies, and perceptions of language policy and language practice. Modality, lexical choices, and grammatical structures are treated under the lexical level discourse analysis, while metaphor and field are used along with other concepts such as power, hegemony, and recontextualization as tools in revealing sociocultural practices.

Modality in grammar was traditionally associated with the modal auxiliary verbs (must, may, can, shall, should, and so forth), which, as Fairclough (1992) says, are an important means of realizing modality. Indeed, modality refers to speaker's, or writer's, judgment of the probabilities, or the obligations, involved in what he/she says or writes (Halliday, 1994). In this study, modality stands for language policy writers' judgment of the probabilities, or obligations, involved in what they wrote. Such issues were treated at the lexical levels of the discourse analysis. The reason is that the characteristics of genre at the lexical and grammatical levels include the use of resources of modality to express the writer's opinion with respect to the events (Bolivar 1994). In addition, modality is a

major dimension of discourse, and more central and pervasive than it has traditionally been taken to be; one measure of its social importance is the extent to which the modality of propositions is contested and open to struggle (Fairclough, 1992). Moreover, the term metaphor stands for the expression of ideas in a subtle way. It is a way of conceiving one thing in terms of another (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

CDA comprises a multiple of theories and methodologies – it is not a single theory or methodology. CDA does not constitute a well-defined empirical method but rather a cluster of approaches with a similar theoretical base and similar research questions: There is no typical CDA way of collecting data (Meyer, 2001) and analyzing data. It is a way of doing discourse analysis or an approach that emphasizes certain notions such as politics, bias, power, and ideology as well as emerging and hegemonic discourses and their recontextualization and operationalization in specific sociocultural practices.

The DHA, which is a part of CDA, was also employed because it helps to analyze language policy and practice discourses based on prior coincidences. According to Meyer (2001), one important characteristic, which hints the inclusion of the DHA within CDA, arises from the assumption of CDA that all discourses are historical and can hence only be understood with reference to their historical context. In accordance with this CDA denotes to extra linguistic factors such as culture, society, and ideology. In any case, “The notion of context is crucial for CDA, since this explicitly includes social, psychological, political and ideological components and thereby postulates an interdisciplinary procedure” (Meyer, 2001, p. 15).

The DHA adheres to the socio-philosophical orientation of critical theory (Wodak, 2001a). As such, as the writer further indicates, DHA follows a complex concept of social critique that consists of at least three interconnected aspects, two of which are primarily related to the dimension of cognition and one to the dimension of action: “Text or discourse immanent critique,” “socio-diagnostic critique,” and “prognostic critique” (p. 65). Text or discourse immanent critique targets at discovering inconsistencies, (self-) contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in the text-internal or discourse-internal structures. On the contrary, socio-diagnostic critique is concerned with the demystifying exposure of the – manifest or latent – possibly persuasive or manipulative character of discursive practices. With socio-diagnostic critique, the analyst exceeds the purely textual or discourse internal sphere. She/he makes use of her/his background and contextual knowledge and embeds the communicative or interactional structures of a discursive event in a wider frame of cultural, social, and political relations, processes, and circumstances. Besides, prognostic critique contributes to the transformation and improvement of communication (for example, within public institutions by elaborating proposals and guidelines for reducing language barriers in hospitals, schools, courtrooms, public offices, and media reporting institutions) (Wodak, 2001a).

Moreover, the DHA, which consists of a number of characteristics, perceives both spoken and written discourse to be a form of social practice (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Wodak 2001a (pp. 69-70) outlined the most important characteristics of the DHA as follows:

- The approach is interdisciplinary on several levels: theory, work, teams, and practice.
- The approach is problem oriented, not focused on specific linguistic items.
- The theory and methodology are eclectic; that is theories and methods are integrated.
- The study always incorporates fieldwork and ethnography (study from the inside) to explore the object under study as a precondition for further analysis and theorizing.
- The approach is abductive: a constant movement back and forth between theory and empirical data is necessary.
- Multiple genres and multiple public spaces are studied; and intertextual and interdiscursive relationships are investigated. Recontextualization is the most important process in connecting these genres and topics and arguments.

Most of the aforementioned characteristics are integrated into the present study. Besides, the “historical context is always analyzed and integrated into the interpretation of discourses and texts” (Wodak, 2001a, p. 70) because the emphasis placed on the historical context is of particular significance for providing options. Wodak further explains that the historical context helps a critical analyst to make choices, rather than evaluating what is “wrong” or “right,” at each point in the research itself and makes these choices transparent. It also justifies theoretically, why certain interpretations of discursive events are more valid than other events. Yet, the analyst’s assumptions can never truly be absent, as one’s own memoirs, history, and political orientation are brought to the reading

of a text (Blackledge, 2005). Nonetheless, it is important to consider ways in which to minimize the risk of bias (Weiss & Wodak, 2003). This may be achieved in part by sticking to the principles of triangulation, a prominent feature of the DHA. The triangulation approach adopted by Wodak (2001a) can also be characterized as theoretical and based on the concept of context, taking into account the following four levels. They are the immediate language or text internal co-text; the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between texts and discourses; the extra linguistic (social or sociolinguistic) variables or the context of situation; and the broader historical and sociopolitical contexts, which the discursive practices, are embedded in and related to. In addition, the triangulation approach was based on a concept of oral discourses which takes into account interviewing politicians, policy decision makers, culture and tourism officers, education bureaus key officers, and other educated citizens, who are active participants in the sociopolitical activities of the country.

Moreover, three key concepts that are predominantly used in CDA are employed in this study to reveal linguistic inequality, linguistic hegemony, and language policy and practice discourses: Power, ideology, and recontextualization. To begin with the explanation of the term power, it has no fixed meaning and method of analysis: Its meaning, its location, and its method of analysis in or as discourse are all debatable issues in the broad field of language and discourse studies. Power means different things to different people; it is multifaceted, and can take many different forms (Thornborrow, 2002).

Behaviorists see power as a matter of individual agency, residing in individuals rather than in organizations. In their views, power can be said to exist only in so far as it is empirically observable in the world, measurable, in reference to people's responses to it (Thornborrow, 2002). On the other hand, in structuralism, power is conceptualized in a much more abstract way, as ideological and hegemonic. The effect of the hegemonic power is perceived as an instrument that shapes people's perceptions and preferences in a way that social agents accept their role in the existing order of things, either because they see or imagine no alternative to it or because they see it as natural and unchangeable or as divinely ordained or beneficial (Thornborrow, 2002).

Power is also considered as a "symbolic capital," whereby some social practices take on more value and status than others do, and where knowledge of and access to those practices put some groups of a society in potentially more powerful positions than others (Bourdieu, 1991), where it could easily be visible or least invisible. Bourdieu goes on to argue that in a state of the field in which power is visible everywhere, while in previous ages people refused to recognize it everywhere it is staring in the face. It is perhaps worthwhile to remember that, without turning power into a "circle whose center is everywhere and nowhere," which could be to dissolve it in yet another way, we have to be able to discover it in places where it is least visible, where it is least completely misrecognized – and hence recognized (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 163). Bourdieu further argues that for symbolic power is invisible power that can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it. Symbolic power is a power of constructing reality, and one that tends to

establish a gnoseological order: The immediate meaning of the world (and in particular of the social world). In this respect, symbols are seen as instruments *par excellence* of “social integration.” As instruments of knowledge and communication that “make it possible for there to be a *consensus* on the meaning of the social world, a consensus which contributes fundamentally to the reproduction of the social order” (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 166).

To comprehend, the nature of symbolic power, it is crucial to realize that it presupposes a kind of active complicity on the part of those subjected to it. Dominated individuals are not passive bodies to which symbolic power is acted upon, instead, symbolic power requires, as a condition of its success, those subjected to it believe in the legitimacy of power and the legitimacy of those who exercise it (Bourdieu, 1991). Furthermore, as Bourdieu further argues, to understand the ways in which symbolic power is exercised and reproduced in the society, it is useful to look carefully at how, in different markets and fields, institutionalized mechanisms have emerged which tend to fix the value accorded to different products, to allocate these products differentially and to inculcate a belief in their value. By concealing the link between qualifications obtained by individuals and the linguistic capital inherited by virtue of their social background, this mechanism provides a practical justification of the established social order. It enables individuals who benefited most from the system to convince themselves of their own intrinsic worthiness, while preventing other individuals who benefit least from grasping the basis of their own deprivation (Bourdieu, 1991). It is also in such practices that symbolic violence shows itself where symbolic power brought about discrimination

against minority language speakers. In such social practices, “symbolic violence rests on the adjustment between the structures constitutive of the habitus of the dominated and the structure of the relation of domination to which they apply.” The dominated perceive the dominant through the categories that the relation of domination, which is identical to the interests of the dominant, has produced (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 121).

In general, as Foucault pinpoints, the conceptualization of power has two central consequences for exploring the relationship between discourse and institutional, social organizations – the exercise of power and the resistance against it. Foucault argues that there are no relations of power in the absence of resistances, where these are formed right at the point power is exercised (in Thornborrow, 2002). In Fairclough’s view, critical discourse analysts tend to see power as already accruing to some participants and not to others and this power is determined by their institutional role and their socioeconomic status, ethnic identity (in Thornborrow, 2002). In CDA, consequently, approaching the role of power in discourse tends to be a question of examining how those members of society, who possess it, reflect, reinforce, and reproduce it through the language they use, their discourse practices.

The second key term explained under this chapter is “ideology.” Ideology is a set of more or less coherent, which is mutually consistent, beliefs about the world, including both empirical (that is descriptive, having to do with matters of fact) and normative (that is views on what should be, what is right or wrong, what the individual ought to do) elements (Needler, 1996). As an ideology contains both empirical and normative

elements, which are related to each other in a coherent way, it both makes sense of, interprets the world and at the same time provides a guide to action and to evaluation of what is done by others (Needler, 1996). In Zuckermann's (1999) view:

Ideology should not be understood as an individual related idiosyncrasy but rather as the mental-cultural "image" of what really exists. However, ideology shapes and structures what exists and manifests itself in diverse individual utterances that dispute and compete with each other. Thus, ideology is based on a general notion: It arises from complex discourse practices which on their part stem from evolving or existing structures of economic, political or cultural power, dominance and violence. Consequently, ideology fulfills a "positive" cementing function as well as a function that legitimates what exists with its partly covert, partly overt power relations. (In Duchéne, 2008, p. 27)

The above definition of ideology indicates that ideology is discursive; representational and collective; structuring and structured; and brings out interests arising from relations of power, of domination and of political and economic issues. Therefore, from this definition, it can be understood that ideology deals with a wide variety of subjects. For example in politics, as Needler (1996) points out, leaders, who are requested to articulate points of view on a wide variety of subjects, are in need of explicit ideologies.

Ideology is a common discourse in politics and other governmental policies and practices of a given society. Political ideology "is a belief system that explains and justifies a preferred political order for society, either existing or proposed, and offers a strategy

(processes, institutional arrangements, and programs) for its attainment” (Christenson, Engel, Jacobs, Rejai, & Waltzer, 1972, p. 5). It is then central to political discourses. Ideologies are representations of aspects of the world that can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power and domination (Fairclough, 1992). In Fairclough’s view, discourse can be ideological, the ideological discourse contributes to the endeavor to maintain and transform relationship of power. For CDA, “ideology ... is seen as an important aspect of establishing and maintaining unequal power relations” (Wodak, 2001b, p. 10). Hence, the critical discourse analysis of language policy texts cannot ignore ideology. Rather, it reveals language policy ideology of the dominant group that influences the formation and maintenance of language hegemony and the counter ideology.

Moreover, in order to analyze how language ideologies and power relations are produced and reproduced in the contexts of language policy and practice in Ethiopia, Bourdieu’s (1991) notion of habitus was employed. Habitus is a set of dispositions that predispose individuals to act and react in certain ways, where the dispositions generate attitudes, perceptions, and practices that are “regular” without being consciously governed by any “rule” (Bourdieu, 1991). Bourdieu added that the habitus provides individuals with a sense of how to act and respond in the course of their daily lives. It “orients” their actions and inclinations without strictly determining them. It gives them “a feel for the game,” a sense of what is appropriate in the circumstances and what is not, a “practical sense” (Bourdieu, 1991).

Therefore, habitus is a way of being that has been inculcated as a set of dispositions via patterns of behavior of a group in its language, culture, history, and so forth. In terms of language and linguistic exchange, linguistic expressions are considered as forms of practice that can be understood as the product of relationships between a linguistic habitus and a linguistic market (Bourdieu, 1991). The linguistic habitus is a subset of the dispositions that comprise the habitus, wherein that subset of dispositions acquired in the course of learning to speak in particular contexts such as the mass media, the school, the peer group, the House of Federation, and the family. These dispositions, as Bourdieu (1991) indicates, govern both the subsequent linguistic practices of an individual and the anticipation of the value that linguistic products receive in other fields or markets, for instance in the mass media and the labor market.

A “field,” which is also referred to as a “market” or a “game,” is a structured space of positions in which the positions and their interactions are determined by the distribution of different kinds of resources or “capital” (Bourdieu, 1991) in a given social context. A linguistic field, or linguistic market is the structured space where different kinds of capital, where the term capital in the censorship metaphor refers to “cultural capital” (that is, knowledge, skills and other cultural acquisitions as exemplified by educational or technical qualifications) and “symbolic capital” (that is, accumulated prestige or honor), are sold or monopolized by dominant linguistic groups. Moreover, in Bourdieu’s (1991) words, the term metaphor of censorship:

Is the structure of the field itself which governs expression by governing both access to expression and the form of expression, and not some legal proceeding

which has been specially adapted to designate and repress the transgression of a kind of linguistic code. This structural censorship is exercised through the medium of the sanctions of the field, functioning as a market on which the prices of different kinds of expression are formed; it is imposed on all producers of symbolic goods ... and it condemns the occupants of dominated positions either to silence or to shocking outspokenness. (p. 138)

Therefore, in the economic market, there are power relations and monopolies that indicate all the producers and their products do not start out equal, so too in the linguistic market there are power relations that denote all speakers are not start out equal (Bourdieu, 1993). The constitution of “a linguistic market creates the conditions for an objective competition in and through which the legitimate competence can function as linguistic capital, producing a *profit of distinction* on the occasion of each social exchange” (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 55). Bourdieu further argues that through the medium of the structure of the linguistic field, conceivably as a system of specifically linguistic relations of power based on the unequal distribution of linguistic capital, the structure of the space of expressive styles reproduces in its own terms the structure of the differences that objectively separate conditions of existence. The dominant competence functions as linguistic capital, securing a profit of distinction in its relation to other competences so that the groups, which possess that competence, are able to impose it as the only legitimate one in the formal markets such as artistic and administrative markets and in most of the linguistic interactions in which they are involved (Bourdieu, 1991).

In addition to Bourdieu's censorship metaphor, two metaphors – weed and Tower of Babel – are employed to explain the language use situations of Ethiopia. The weed metaphor is useful to explain statuses of languages and the values attached to them. When tracing back to the original definition of weeds, 'weed' has a subjective cultural definition; attitudes to weeds and their economic usefulness may shift and it has to be borne in mind that many weeds have become at some time valued cultivated plants (Mühlhäusler, 1996). Relating the weed metaphor to the field of languages, we find that one or a few language(s) has/have a very broad domain, but many other languages have a very limited domain. Besides, the metaphor of Tower of Babel is used to describe people's views that associate linguistic heterogeneity with obstruction of national unity as well as with human beings' dwelling on one earth, one planet. Going back to the original definition of the term, it refers to a building that was intended to reach unto the heaven but remained unfinished because of linguistic differences. According to the Bible, "The whole earth was one language" ... its speakers said let us build "a tower, whose top may reach unto the heaven," and the Lord said "behold, the people is one, and they have all one language ... and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do" (Genesis, Chapter 1, pp. 1-9). The Lord stopped the people building the tower by letting them speak different languages: "...they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance" (Acts 2, pp. 2-4); thus they could not communicate with each other and finish what they imagined to build.

The last key term explained in this chapter is "recontextualization." The term recontextualization is a dialectic action that includes an appropriation of previous

national nodal or discursive policies and practices as well as a dialectic activity of global participation (globalization) and universal democratization practices. It is dialectic of appropriation “external” discourse (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999), and “internally” articulated and practiced discourses of previous political regimes. As Fairclough (2010) points out, there is both a process of an “external” discourse colonizing the recontextualizing practices (country, region, organization, *etcetera*), and a process of the “internal” discourse being appropriated within the recontextualizing practices. In principle, there is no adaptation of previous regimes’ domestic discourses and, as Fairclough (2010) argues, colonization without appropriation – recontextualization is always an active process on the part of “internal” social agents of introducing an “external” element into a new political context, working it into a new set of relations with its existing elements, and in so doing transforming it. This is manifested in the interdiscursive hybridity of texts, the mixing of “external” with “internal” discursive elements.

In addition, in strategic terms one could argue that strategic relations between “external” and “internal” social agents will always be inflected by strategic relations between “internal” social agents. Fairclough further argues what are significant with respect to recontextualization is both the presence and the absence of particular discourses in particular texts, and the relations in which diverse discourses are articulated, “textured,” together. It is possible to identify differences between texts in this regard by analyzing the relationship between discourses and features of genre, in the sense that genres can be

seen as “framing” devices for organizing relationships between discourses (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999).

In brief, recontextualization is a condition for the constitution of any practice in discourse in that “the practical knowledge of a social practice, the knowledge of how to perform as a participant of this practice, is knowledge in an “unrepresented” state. As soon as the practice is represented (taught, described, discussed) it is recontextualized” (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 109). In this process, discourses are abstracted from their social bases and power relations and relocated as imaginary practices involving imaginary subjects. The “‘imaginary’ is not in contrast with the ‘real,’ rather it precisely draws attention to how practices or subjects are ideologically constructed as unproblematically real through recontextualisation in ways which mystify the arbitrariness of the divisions between them by disguising the principle of classification, the specific logic of the recontextualising practice, which effects those divisions” (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 109).

Altogether, the conceptual framework employed in this research is an amalgam of the historical-structural approach, postmodernism, and CDA. However, the very idea adhered is that there is no an overarching theory of language policy (Ricento, 2006) and its role in national unity and development, in large part due to the complexity of the issues that involve language in society. Indeed, while questioning and investigating their theoretical and epistemological assumptions on a range of matters as researchers try to understand phenomena of which they participate and by which their views are formed, researchers

often commence with theoretical and epistemological assumptions about “how the world works” and engage reflexively with the topics they choose to examine (Ricento, 2006). Likewise, the present search for answers does not commence in a theoretical and epistemological vacuum, or in a *tabula rasa*. Taking critical views of prominent researchers about language policy and its role in national unity and economic development as an “advocacy lens,” or a springboard to guide the research processes, and relying on “domain of inquiry” by employing analytical tools such as SPSS and CDA than on prior theories, is found to be essential to approach the study. The reason is that the researcher believes it is an appropriate method because researchers often tend to ask questions about a particular domain or issue, which involves language matters, rather than searching for data to prove a *priori* theory (Ricento, 2006) be it about people’s attitudes or discourses.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methods of the study, that is, the range of approaches, procedures, and techniques employed to collect, analyze, and discuss data, which in turn form the whole system of the data collection and analyses processes, the methodology. In other words, the chapter discusses the research design, research paradigm, research participants, and sampling, and the research sites of the present study. It also explains the instruments – questionnaire, interview, and text selection – utilized in gathering qualitative and quantitative data as well as the tools, that is, the Open Code, SPSS, and CDA that were used to analyze the data. The chapter further discusses the procedures of codifying, transcribing, categorizing, integrating, and analyzing the qualitative and quantitative data.

3.1 Research Design

For the study, a mixed methods design, both qualitative and quantitative research designs, were employed to gather and analyze primary and secondary data. Interviews were employed to gather qualitative data only, whereas, questionnaires were administered to collect both qualitative and quantitative data. Qualitative data were also extracted from language policy related documents as well as from interviews of key informants.

There is a strong case for the use of integrated research because the strengths and weaknesses of qualitative and quantitative methods often complement each other (Valadez & Bamberger, 1994). For this reason, there are a number of instances where researchers combine techniques that are usually accepted as quantitative and qualitative: For example, the researcher who uses probability sampling techniques in conjunction with interviewing or basic descriptive statistics in analyzing qualitative data (Mouton, 1996).

In fact, for many researchers, the abovementioned way of doing research is not only possible, but also desirable. It could be argued that the use of multiple methods and techniques is one of the best ways to improve the quality of research (Mouton, 1996). For this reason, both qualitative and quantitative data were gathered. Therefore, the mixed methods design is used, in this study, for two central purposes. The first reason is to achieve an elaborate and comprehensive understanding of the issue, looking at it from different vantage points, and the second one is to verify one set of findings against the other, or validate the conclusions that are drawn at the end by presenting converging results obtained through different methods (Dörnyei, 2007).

In general, a mixed methods study involves the collection and analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data in a study with attempts to integrate the two approaches at one or more stages of the research process (Dörnyei, 2007). In this study, therefore, the two methods are integrated in two stages of the research process. Regarding the data collection stage, at the initial level of data gathering, secondary data were extracted from

language policy documents. The secondary data, coupled with reviewed literature, were used as input in developing an interview guide. Then, qualitative data were gathered through the interview guide, which was analyzed and used as input in developing a questionnaire. Some concepts were also taken from the secondary data in constructing the questionnaire: For instance, about equality of languages from the 1995 constitution. Finally, to test its validity and reliability, both qualitative and quantitative data were gathered through the questionnaire. Hence, at this level, the data collection and analysis processes were sequential.

On the other hand, at the main data collection level, qualitative and quantitative data were gathered through interviews and questionnaires concurrently. The intention was to collect all interview data first in order to follow a similar sequence as in the pilot study. As a result, the main data collection was started by interviewing three key informants. It was however impossible to contact the informants at the proposed time. There were key informants who appointed me many times but they were not in a position to keep the appointments and thus I could not contact them based on the schedule. For instance, I waited for about three months to interview one key informant. Consequently, I decided to interview the remaining key informants at any time after collecting the questionnaire data because I planned to perform other activities such as coding and describing questionnaire data, while waiting for interview appointments. Hence, the remaining 17 key informants were interviewed after the questionnaire data were collected. In other words, the questionnaire and interview data were gathered without any fixed sequence. Whatsoever, both the quantitative and qualitative data were collected to study attitudes and discourses

of selected educated people through survey questionnaire and interview. The data were collected from each of the selected people in a single period; it is hence a cross-sectional study.

Concerning the data analysis stage, first, quantitative data were analyzed through SPSS. In so doing, One-way ANOVA was employed to explore Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother tongue speaker educated people's attitudes as well as to determine if there were attitudinal differences among them. Secondly, following the analysis and discussion of the quantitative data, qualitative data were categorized into themes using the Open Code, and then analyzed and interpreted. Qualitative data gathered through the questionnaire were also thematically categorized manually. Finally, qualitative data gathered through text extraction were analyzed, along with the primary qualitative data, by utilizing various discourse analysis features such as modality, metaphors, lexical choices, grammatical structures, and *field* so as to uncover inequality, ideology, hegemony, and power enmeshed in language policy and practice texts. In fact, quantitative data that are related with research participants' reasons for responses to the use of Amharic only as a federal working language were discussed immediately after quantified responses. There were also qualitative justifications discussed along with quantitative figures. Thus in such cases, the analyses of the data were concurrent. However, most of the quantitative and qualitative data were analyzed and discussed sequentially, first the quantitative data and then the qualitative data. Therefore, in general, the data analyses and discussions were more of sequential: First, the quantitative data

were analyzed and discussed, and then the qualitative data were thematically categorized, analyzed, and discussed.

Note that the sequence of the analyses and discussions of the quantitative data first and then the qualitative data does not show the weight given to the quantitative data. Instead, the research gives more weight to the qualitative part of the research. Thus, the quantitative section is used as a steppingstone, a concrete figure, where making critical analyses and discussions by using quantitative data commences. In so doing, one categorical independent variable (mother tongue that subsumes Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and Others) and one dependent continuous variable (attitudes about language policy), which is scaled along a continuum ranging from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree.” Of the postgraduate students that have been pursuing their studies, it is only the Amharic, Oromo, and Tigrinya linguistic groups, who have had substantial number of individuals, while the number of other languages as mother tongue speakers was so small. Therefore, they were put under one category – “Others.” Whatsoever, the focus is on describing how mother tongue and people’s attitudes about language policy relate to each other, rather than labeling causal relationships between them. In fact, the values of attitudes about language policy depend upon the mother tongue categories. One-way ANOVA is used to explore attitudinal differences between the four groups. One-way ANOVA assumes that the independent variable is categorical and the dependent variable is continuously distributed (Cohn, Manion, & Morrison, 2007; Rudestam & Newton, 2001).

Furthermore, the categorical variable was classified into four strata, namely Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and Others, and independent samples were taken from each stratum using stratified random sampling. Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) is used to operate the independent samples that are selected from the same population, which have no effect on one another. The Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and other linguistic groups are independent samples selected from postgraduate students. The samples have no effect on one another and thus there is no correlation between or among the samples. In addition, note that despite its inclusion in the questionnaire, ethnicity is not used as a variable because there were research participants who did not want to indicate their ethnicity in both the pilot and main studies. For example, there were research participants, who left the item that required them to specify their ethnicity unanswered. There was also a respondent, who specified her ethnicity as Ethiopian. Indeed, it is difficult to choose an ethnicity for individuals if their parents' ethnic origins are not the same. Consequently, ethnicity is not used as a variable; in other words, mother tongue is the only variable used in describing the research participants' attitudes towards the language policy and its practice.

3.2 Research Paradigm

For the research design is a mixed one, the research paradigm employed in this research is pragmatism. The pragmatism philosophical worldview relies on using procedures that “work” for a particular research problem under investigation and that researchers should use many methods when understanding a research problem (Creswell, 2012). Individuals holding this world view focus on the outcomes of the research – the actions, situations,

and consequences of inquiry – rather than antecedent conditions (as in post-positivism). There is a concern with applications “what works” and solutions to problems (Patton, 2002). According to Patton, studies that “use only one method are more vulnerable to errors linked to that particular method ... than studies that use multiple methods in which different types of data provide cross-data validity checks” (2002, p. 248).

It is thus pertinent to gather both qualitative and quantitative data through questionnaires, interviews, and text extraction. These instruments are considered the means for increasing the reliability of the data, or for consolidating the answers of the research questions given that most of the research questions are likely to be answered by the data gathered through questionnaires, interviews, and text selection. In so doing, slightly answered questions can adequately be answered by one or two of the instruments and unanswered ones can be complemented by the other instrument. For this reason, in using more data collecting tools, no research question is likely to be left unanswered; there might be differences in the in-depth of the answers, however.

3.3 Research Sites

Addis Ababa University is situated at the center of the oldest part of the Addis Ababa City, which was a palace of the last monarch, Emperor Haile Selassie I, of the Solomonic dynasty. Addis Ababa University was purposely selected as it is the only university in the country where a number of society, language, and language policy related postgraduate programs, both master’s and doctoral, are given. This site was mainly selected in order to

gather qualitative and quantitative data through questionnaire. The research site of the questionnaire is thus found in a specific area.

On the other hand, the sites of interviews are located in many parts of the country: Addis Ababa, Bahir Dar, Kulito, Hawassa, Mekelle, and Mojo. The Addis Ababa City was purposely chosen because it is the center for different political activities of the federal government such as culture and tourism and Ministry of Education. It is also the center for various activities like education, culture, and tourism of the Oromia regional state. Bahir Dar, Hawassa, and Mekelle were also purposely selected as they are the centers for political activities of the SNNP, Tigray, and Amhara regional states, which, along with Oromia, are the main entities of the political system of the country. Mojo town, which is found in the Oromia regional state, was also purposely selected to find out experiences and views of educated Oromos, who were residing outside of Addis Ababa and had active involvement in the social, cultural, and political activities of the region. Besides, the Tigray and Oromia regional states are homes to relatively developed regional languages that could compete with Amharic as well as owing to the presence of people who argue for the use of the Oromo and Tigrinya languages for various purposes at federal level. The Tigraian and Oromo linguistic groups are also as strong as the Amhara linguistic group politically and economically.

Moreover, Kulito town was purposely chosen because the researcher had pieces of information regarding a failed attempt to use Alaba as a medium of instruction, as well as to find out the experiences, feelings, and the problems of those who could not use their

mother tongues as media of instruction. In Alaba and its nearby linguistic groups, there was an attempt to mix three languages, namely Kembata, Alaba, and Tembaro, in order to create a new language called Ke'ATe. Ke'ATe, which is an acronym for the three languages, was thought to serve as a medium of instruction. However, it was failed owing to the resistance of the people, and the Alaba linguistic group could not start using their mother tongue as a medium of instruction yet. In fact, the purpose of selecting the Alaba linguistic group was not to investigate the failed attempt and the resistances. It is rather to look into why Alaba has not been started as a medium of instruction yet, and other related problems.

3.4 The Research Participants

Research participants must be selected with great care, as huge populations in developing countries long remain substantially untouched by most of the specific products of language policy or planning (Fishman, Das Gupta, Jernudd, & Rubin, 1971). As Fishman *et al.* further suggested, among the most feasible populations to reach and among those in which some desirable impact of language policy or planning may be expected are educated people such as teachers, students, and municipal office employees. Based on such a view, the participants of the present study include postgraduate students, politicians, key officers of ministry of tourism and culture, and Ministry of Education as well as regional education bureaus and tourism and culture key officers, and other educated people who have had active participations in the social, cultural, political, and economic activities of their local communities.

3.5 Sampling Techniques, Sampling Frame, and Sample Size

Sampling is the way of selection of sampling units from the population to estimate population parameters in such a way that the sample correctly represents the population (Singh, 2007). Taking a sample is required since collecting data through questionnaires from whole population is expensive and time taking. Obtaining data from a smaller group or subset of the total population in such a way that the knowledge gained is representative of a defined total population of a specific study (Cohn, Manion, & Morrison, 2007). A question that often arises is how large a sample for a research should be: There is no clear-cut answer, for the correct sample size depends on the purpose of the study and the nature of the population under scrutiny. The scholars further suggest that a sample size of thirty is held by many to be the minimum number of cases if researchers plan to use some form of statistical analysis on their data (Cohn, Manion, & Morrison, 2007). Depending on this view, in this study, thirty percent of the total population is taken as a representative sample.

Therefore, having taken lists of postgraduate students of Addis Ababa University, who came from different colleges, universities, and other institutes, from 13 departments and/or fields of studies, the researcher categorized them into four strata based on their mother tongues. The list of the entire postgraduate student population of the 13 fields of studies at Addis Ababa University eligible to be included in the sample is hence a sampling frame. Sampling frame refers to “the frame of entities from which sampling units are selected for a survey” (Singh, 2007, p. 88). Hence, the list of 721 postgraduate

students (645 males and 76 females), being stratified into four categories based on their mother tongues, of 13 departments or fields of studies is the sampling frame. Therefore, postgraduate students of Applied Linguistics, Applied Linguistics and Communication, Applied Linguistics and Development, Constitutional and Public Law, Federal Studies, History, Human Rights Law, Journalism and Communication, Political Science and International Relations, Social Anthropology, Sociolinguistics, Sociology, and Teaching English as a Foreign Language are the target population of the current study.

In selecting the required sample size, the population was stratified into four homogenous subpopulations based on mother tongues. The subpopulations comprised 329 Amharic speakers, 192 Oromo speakers, 85 Tigrinya speakers, and 115 other languages speakers out of which the required sample was selected randomly using the lottery system. Each member of the subpopulations was assigned a “unique number,” written in small pieces of equal-sized paper and folded. Then, the folded pieces of paper were placed in a bowl and mixed exhaustively. Thereafter, an undergraduate student of Addis Ababa University, who had a close contact with the researcher, selected the required numbers from the bowl blindfold. Lastly, the selected numbers were included in the sample. These procedures were followed thoroughly in selecting the samples from Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages speaker subpopulations. In this way, 218 postgraduate students were selected and incorporated in the final sample of the main study. That is, the final sample size consisted of 218 postgraduate students (202 males and 16 females), of which 99 (45.4 percent) were Amharic speakers, 58 (26.6 percent) were Oromo speakers,

26 (11.9 percent) were Tigrinya speakers, and 35 (16.1 percent) were other languages speakers. The ages of the 218 postgraduate students ranged from 21 to 53 years old.

Moreover, twenty key informants were chosen to participate in the main study. The informants include people from actors in policy decision-making and implementation, whether they were policy writers or not. From this group, five Ministry of Education and education bureau key experts and five culture and tourism bureau officers of the federal government as well as the Amhara, Oromia, Tigray, and SNNP regional governments were purposely selected for their being key persons in their respective institutions. Two politicians from opposition parties, namely All Ethiopia Unity Party and Oromo National Congress Party were also purposely chosen because they were key political actors in their respective parties as well because the two parties have divergent views concerning language use, especially at federal level. Despite their working under the umbrella of the Medrek collision party, they have been articulating antagonistic views about the use Amharic as a federal working language. The All Ethiopia Unity Party argues for the use of Amharic only, while the Oromo National Congress Party argues against this practice and suggests the use of other languages, especially Oromo, as federal working languages along with Amharic. In addition, two doctoral students of Applied Linguistics were purposely selected from Addis Ababa University owing to their specialized knowledge on language use related issues, and five other educated people were chosen purposely from Kulito, Hawassa, Mekelle, and Mojo because of their active involvements in the social, cultural, and political activities of their regional and local communities. Besides,

one critic, who wrote articles and a book that included issues that criticize the present language policy, was purposely selected from Addis Ababa.

3.6 Data Collection Instruments and Procedures

3.6.1 The Questionnaire

Prior to the development of a questionnaire by the researcher, an attempt was made to find out a standardized questionnaire. However, it was impossible to realize the search. As a result, the researcher decided to develop his own questionnaire based on interview data that was gathered from five interviewees, secondary data that were extracted from the 1994 education and training policy, the 1995 constitution, and the 2002 education and training policy and its implementation, and the literature review (see the pilot study chapter for details). Hence, a survey questionnaire was developed to investigate postgraduate students' attitudes towards language policy and practice. The questionnaire was developed in English. It was not translated into any other language because the research participants are educated people. The questionnaire consists of a section that deals with personal information of research participants and another section that focuses on general questions about language policy as well as two Likert type attitude scales ranging from five (strongly agree) to one (strongly disagree). The Likert type attitude scales consist of 17 continuous items. Of the 17 items, seven were negatively worded in order to minimize response bias. The questionnaire was also developed to find out

language policy discourses by means of gathering qualitative data through open-ended questions.

One limitation of survey research is that it is difficult to attain deeper understanding of contextual differences and processes through a questionnaire, which is standardized and by its nature limited in length and depth of responses (Muijs, 2004). Muijs further suggests that a combination of survey and qualitative methods is helpful to mitigate the limitations of survey questionnaire. For this reason, in the present study, both quantitative and qualitative methods are employed. The questionnaire is used to examine postgraduate students' attitudes as well as to complement the qualitative data gathered through interviews because some research questions are likely to be answered more effectively by using either of or both of the instruments. To this effect, the questionnaire consists of both closed-ended and open-ended questions. The reason is that open-ended answers permit the researcher to examine the reasons for closed-ended responses and identify any comments people might have that are beyond the responses to the closed-ended questions (Creswell, 2012).

3.6.2 Quantitative Data Collection Procedures

Questionnaires were dispatched to 218 postgraduate students, 30 percent of the total population, in a face-to-face encounter. Then, the participants were requested to return the questionnaires within ten days. Finally, within 54 days (from 26 January 2012 to 19 March 2012), 218 questionnaires were gathered. For the respondents were in various

activities such as collecting data, attending courses, *etcetera*, the researcher contacted them in person in different settings such as classrooms, libraries, and cafes. The researcher contacted many participants through telephoning. There were also participants who the researcher contacted in offices and other settings through their colleagues' suggestions. Though such activities were tiresome and time taking, they resulted in high return rates in that most of the questionnaires were gathered. However, there were nine unreturned and three incomplete questionnaires. To replace both the unreturned and incomplete questionnaires, twelve participants that were not chosen in the course of selecting the 218 participants were randomly selected through the lottery system from the four linguistic groups received 12 questionnaires, filled in, and returned them to the researcher.

3.6.3 The Interview

Interview is used in this study to find out people's views towards the language policy and its challenges and opportunities for national unity and development. Interviewing offers access to the context of people's views or behavior and thereby provides a way for researchers to understand the meaning of that behavior; allows researchers to put behavior in context and provides access to understanding their action (Seidman, 2006).

We interview people to find out from them those things we cannot directly observe. The issue is not whether observational data are more desirable, valid, or meaningful than self-report data. The fact is that we cannot observe everything.

We cannot observe feelings, thoughts, and intentions ... We cannot observe how people have organized the world and the meanings they attach to what goes on in the world. We have to ask people questions about those things. (Patton, 2002, pp. 340-341)

In sum, the purpose of interview is “to allow us to enter into the other person’s perspective ... We interview to find out what is in and on someone else’s mind ...” (Patton, 2002, p. 341) and to collect his/her views. Therefore, in this study, the purpose of employing the interview is to ferret out what views are in and on key informants’ mind concerning the present Ethiopian language policy and practice. Using key informants as a source of data about what the researcher has not experienced, as well as sources of explanation for events the researcher has witnessed is one of the mainstays of fieldwork (Patton, 2002).

However, interview is not without drawbacks. Loaded interview questions and biased or untrue responses may contaminate an interview data (Patton, 2002). Therefore, other additional methods, questionnaire and text selection, were employed to mitigate the weaknesses of interviews because, as Patton further suggests, different types of data gathered through multiple methods provide “cross-data validity checks” that could reduce “errors linked to that particular method” (p. 248).

In general, interview was an instrument employed to generate qualitative data through face-to-face encounters. In fact, there was also an intention to conduct focus group

discussions to generate qualitative data. Nevertheless, bringing educated people into one place was found to be very difficult because as the study deals with a political issue, people refused to make discussions openly, though the researcher informed them that their views would remain confidential. For instance, before interviewing the five interviewees whose views were employed in developing the questionnaire, the researcher requested five doctoral students of Applied Linguistics to participate in a focus group discussion though the attempt was failed owing to their refusal. As a result, focus group discussion was not employed as a data gathering tool; instead, interviews were used to generate qualitative data from educated people. The other widely used instrument, which is not employed in this study, is observation. The reason is that it is difficult for one researcher to observe what is happening throughout the country. Instead, it is believed to be appropriate to see the situation through lived experiences of many educated people who have been residing in many parts of the country. For instance, if we consider the postgraduate students, they came from more than thirty universities that are situated in various parts of the country. The key informants were also selected from several parts of the country – Addis Ababa, Bahir Dar, Hawassa, Kulito, Mekelle, and Mojo.

3.6.3.1 Interview Guides

On the basis of secondary data that were extracted from the 1995 constitution and the 2002 education and training policy as well as the review of related materials, a guide for key informant interviews was constructed. The guide starts with a general language policy concept and then deals with specific language policy issues as the purposes of the

interview were to explore educated people's experiences and views regarding the policy. In other words, the guide consist of open-ended questions that took the central research themes as a starting point but also encouraged the research participants to direct the flow of the conversation and data generation. The interview employed in this study is therefore a semi-structured one because, as Patton (2002) points out, such an approach permits greater flexibility and individualization.

The interview guide was first developed in English and then translated into Amharic and Tigrinya by the researcher. Of course, the interviewees are educated people who know English and thus it was possible to interview them in English, but in order to collect a more elaborated data by interviewing through languages they are most familiar with, the guide was translated into local languages. The guide was also translated into Amharic and Tigrinya by two doctoral candidates in order to check out the consistency of the concepts of the translated guides. Thereafter, the guides were evaluated against the topic, the research questions, and the objectives of the study by three doctoral candidates because as Cohen and Manion (1994) point out, it is helpful to produce the right kind of data necessary for satisfactory answers to the research problem.

Lastly, Amharic and Tigrinya speakers were interviewed through their mother tongues since the researcher is a speaker of the two languages, while other languages as mother tongue speakers were interviewed through Amharic, which is their second language. It would be good to interview them through their mother tongues by hiring interviewers. However, this option was not used for the fear that employed interviewers would be less

effective in probing and gathering the required data than the researcher himself would. Such an approach is also an important way to achieve greater validity by means of avoiding “misperceptions on the part of the interviewer of what the interviewee is saying; and misunderstandings on the part of the respondent of what is being asked” (Cohen & Manion, 1994, p. 282). The reason is that the researcher is more familiar with the subject and thus hardly likely to misconceive it and more capable to avoid misunderstandings on the part of the informants by explaining the issue than any employed interviewer can do. As a result, other languages as mother tongue speakers were interviewed through Amharic by the researcher. In so doing, there were no any problems faced owing to medium barrier during the interviews for the informants were educated people and so familiar with the Amharic language.

3.6.3.2 Interview Data Collection Procedures

The interviewer, the researcher himself, gave brief concepts about the purpose of the interview to each of the key informants, and then as the plan was to tape record responses, as Tuckman (1972) recommends, the informants were requested for their assent. All of the informants showed their agreement, and therefore qualitative data were gathered in a face-to-face interaction between the researcher and each of the key informants. In this way, qualitative data were gathered from 20 key informants using tape recorder. During the processes of the data collection, the interviewer attempted to follow up by probing on vague ideas or ideas that require clarifications in which the participants presented their views. In this manner, more concrete data that accurately represent the

ways in which educated people's understanding, views, and experiences concerning the present language policy and its opportunities and challenges for the unity and development of the country were reflected and ideas were generated.

3.6.4 Text Selection

In this study, text selection refers to the extraction of written and oral texts from language policy related documents and key informant interview oral texts. The conception of "intertextuality" is central to text selection. It offers a perspective of both reading and writing texts as a way of looking at a text's interactions with prior writers, texts, and conventions. All spoken and written texts are constructed and have the meanings which text-users assign to them in and through their relations with other texts in some social formation (Cincotta, 2006). As Cincotta further suggests, the notion of intertextuality – that all texts are created in relation to other texts within an order of discourse has essential implications for any study taking the text as its unit of analysis.

According to Fairclough (1992), "the concept of intertextuality points to the productivity of texts, to how texts can transform prior texts and restructure existing conventions (genres, discourses) to generate new ones" (p. 102). Intertextuality is concerned with how texts are produced in relation to prior texts and how texts help to construct the existing conventions in producing new texts. It raises the question of how the boundaries of a text are to be defined in relation to other texts, and once this is done, which texts are to be included in the analysis. The view advocated here is, there is no set definition of a text,

nor any predetermined specification for which texts are relevant to any particular social question (Cincotta, 2006). It is rather a matter of the researcher's own notions of intertextuality – which texts are related to which and how – and the degree to which he incorporates views of intertextuality held by authorities in the particular context. Text selection can also be constrained by access to information, both knowledge of the existence of texts and the relationships between them as well as the ability to procure desired texts (Cincotta, 2006).

Therefore, written language policy texts were extracted from the 1994 education and training policy, the 1995 constitution, and the 2002 education and training policy and its implementation by taking the notion of intertextuality into consideration. In addition, oral texts were extracted from interview transcripts. Written and oral texts were bordered and extracted as individual units based on the researcher's knowledge about them and their relatedness to the general language policy and practice, and then analyzed using thematic analysis and CDA. Indeed, extracting texts does not mean analyzing the whole document or transcript. It rather refers to extracting specific texts from interview transcripts and language policy related documents.

3.7 Analyzing and Integrating the Quantitative and Qualitative Data

The present research involved gathering primary data through interviews and questionnaires. It also dealt with extracting secondary data from language policy related texts in order to substantiate the primary data. In addition, the research involved

codifying and analyzing quantitative data using SPSS; categorizing themes using the Open Code, analyzing, and interpreting themes; extracting texts and analyzing them through CDA.

3.7.1 Codifying and Analyzing the Quantitative Data

The quantitative data were gathered from postgraduate students through questionnaires. Then, the data were coded and prepared for computer entry. The questions of the questionnaires were answered in terms of a five-point scale: Five (strongly agree), four (agree), three (undecided), two (disagree), and one (strongly disagree). While coding the data, negatively worded items were reversed: Five into one, four into two, two into four, and one into five. After that the quantitative data were recorded in the SPSS (Version 20.0 for windows), processed, and analyzed through tables and bar graphs. The tables and bar graphs were used to depict quantitative data in summaries or in visual pictures, which includes frequencies and percentages. Means were also computed for multilingual language policy scale as well as for federal working language scale in order to find out the attitudes of postgraduate students towards the current language policy and practice. In addition, ANOVA was used to test, if there were statistically significant differences between the means of Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother tongue speakers.

3.7.2 Transcribing, Categorizing, and Analyzing the Qualitative Data

The qualitative data were obtained through interviewing key informants, in Amharic and Tigrinya, and audio-recording their views as well as through questionnaire. The audiotaped recordings were converted into Amharic and Tigrinya written text data by listening to the recorded views. Thereafter, the transcribed Amharic and Tigrinya text data were translated by the researcher into English. The transcribed Amharic and Tigrinya text data were also translated into English by two doctoral students of Applied Linguistics and hence the data were proven consistent. The translation was context based. It prioritized content over form because it is unlikely to find a word-for-word concordance between the local languages (Amharic and Tigrinya) and English. Therefore, the translation was made by finding equivalent meanings that are rendered in words and deemed most appropriate in the English language. The reason is that this form of translation has universal roots both in the West and in the East, and hence it is understood as a matter of practicality rather than idealistic (Raffel, 1993). Finally, the translated qualitative English text data were analyzed by means of organizing it into categories using the Open Code.

The Open Code 3.4 is employed to categorize the qualitative data that were gathered through interviews. The “open coding” specially constitutes the first level of conceptual analysis of qualitative data (Dörnyei, 2007), in Grounded Theory. The Open Code can nonetheless be used as an instrument to assign codes and manage categories in eclectic analytic procedures like the present study, which does not follow any specific model.

Therefore, the Open Code is used as a tool to manage categories and generate themes from each of the 20 key informants' transcribed data. Qualitative data gathered through questionnaires were also categorized into various themes manually. Then, the generated themes of the qualitative data gathered through interviews and questionnaires were analyzed by selecting the themes and linking them, or by connecting the selected categories and themes. In so doing, key informants' views were also directly quoted and then interpreted. Furthermore, as themes were connected and interpreted, they were interlinked with relevant literature since such connections, as Hatch (2002) recommends, enable readers to make sense of the findings.

Moreover, the qualitative data collected through text extraction were analyzed along with the qualitative data gathered through questionnaires and interviews. CDA was employed to analyze the extracted texts, where modality, metaphor, field, and other methods were used to unveil the nature of sociocultural practices, power, and ideology embedded within language policy and practices texts (See Chapter 2 for details).

3.8 Ethical Research Issues

First, a letter, "To Whom It May Concern," was requested and received from the Department of Foreign Languages and Literature. Then, it was shown to the institutions and the people who participated in the study when they were asked for cooperation in the data collection processes. The purpose of the research was explained for each of the participants. Each of the participants was also requested for their consent. Moreover, they

were informed that their names and data would be kept confidential. For this reason, in analyzing and appending the data, codes were used instead of names in order to protect participants' anonymity.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE PILOT STUDY

4.0 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to test the reliability and validity of the instruments. Therefore, the chapter describes the reliability and validity of the questionnaire. It also explains the content validity of the interview guides – whether the main constructs of the objectives of the study are included in the interview guide. Besides, the chapter briefly analyzes the pilot study data.

4.1 Pilot Study Participants

In order to test a questionnaire, second year master's students of eleven departments or fields of studies, namely Applied Linguistics, Constitutional and Public Law, Federal Studies, History, Human Rights Law, Journalism and Communication, Political Science and International Relations, Social Anthropology, Sociolinguistics, Sociology, and Teaching English as a Foreign Language were selected randomly. Second year master's students only, whose age ranged from 23 to 34 years, were included as first year students of the 2011 academic year are participants of the main study. First year students were therefore deliberately excluded because participating two times is likely to bring about an impact on the respondents' attitudes towards the language policy and practice. Hence, starting from 19 April 2011, 48 questionnaires were distributed to second year master's

students. Then, 42 questionnaires were gathered from 17 Amharic, 11 Oromo, nine Tigrinya, and five other languages as mother tongue speakers within 24 days, out of which one questionnaire was excluded owing to its incompleteness.

4.2 Validity and Reliability of the Instruments

The validity and reliability of the instruments were tested. As indicated in what follows, the validity of the questionnaire and the interview guides were tested by experts; whereas, the reliability of the questionnaire was tested using the Cronbach's alpha.

4.2.1 Validity of the Instruments

The present study required data gathering tools development. In so doing, firstly, a comprehensive review about language function, language policy, language and ideology, linguistic hegemony and resistance, mother tongue education, multilingual language policy and politics, multilingualism and national unity, multilingualism and national development, *etcetera* was made. Secondly, an interview guide was developed, in English, based on the literature review as well as secondary data extracted from the 1994 education and training policy, the 1995 constitution, and the 2002 education and training policy and its implementation. Then, the interview guide was translated into Amharic and Tigrinya. Thirdly, qualitative data were gathered from five educated people (one doctoral student, one education bureau language expert, and other three educated persons who had

active involvements in their local and regional communities' sociopolitical activities) through interviews, prior to developing a survey questionnaire. The purpose of the interviews was to generate ideas that would serve as input in constructing a survey questionnaire as well as to test the validity of the interview guides. To this effect, the interview data were gathered, and then main themes were generated and used, coupled with other concepts taken from the 1995 constitution, and the 2002 education and training policy, and the review of literature, in constructing the questionnaire.

Fourthly, the constructed questionnaire was evaluated by three doctoral students of Applied Linguistics as well as by one doctor of psychology, who used rating scales while doing a research for his doctoral dissertation in the near past. They gave two main comments on the number of items and one phrase. There were 24 items, 18 in the “multilingual language policy scale” and six items in the “federal working language scale,” but the items were reduced to 17 following the comments for there were related items and giving answers to open-ended questions of each item was believed to be time taking. In addition, some words were replaced. For example, a phrase labeled “development activities” was commented as vague and broad. Thus, it was replaced by the term “innovative techniques.” Thereafter, in order to conduct a pilot study, questionnaires were distributed to 48 participants, of which only 41 questionnaires were returned being filled in properly.

Finally, quantitative and qualitative data that were gathered from the participants were transcribed, coded, and analyzed. While dispatching the questionnaires, the respondents

were requested to give comments concerning the wordings and concepts of the items, and the time required to fill in the questionnaires. Nonetheless, there were no major comments given by the respondents that did bring a significant change in the instrument. The only major comment brought about a change was related with the order of the sections of the questionnaire. Section 2, which was the last section of the questionnaire, was rearranged (see Appendix A).

Moreover, the instruments, both the questionnaire and the interview guides, with the pilot study raw data and the transcribed and analyzed data, were given to five doctoral students with the intention of checking out the validity of the instruments for gathering related, adequate, and dependable data that could answer the research questions stated under Chapter 1. One of the doctoral students was a psychologist and four of them were applied linguists. The doctoral students evaluated the entire contents of the questionnaire and the interview guides against the title, the research questions, and objectives of the study. As a result, a number of points were discussed. In this way, the content validity of the instruments, that is, the inclusion or the reflections of the contents stated in the objectives and research questions of the study in Chapter 1 and the face validity of the instruments – their capacity to generate the data the researcher is attempting to gather and the appropriateness of their designs – were tested. The doctoral students agreed that the instruments were valid to collect dependable data. The doctoral candidates indicated their agreement through rating the scales. They rated the multilingual language policy scale and the federal working language scale, 8.6 and 8.3 out of 10, respectively.

Furthermore, the doctoral students commented on the inclusion of major languages in the options of an item that consists of nine major indigenous languages that are spoken by more than one million people (see Appendix A). In that item, Gurage that has more than one million speakers was not included as an option because there are about 30 Gurage dialects and hence there was a doubt on whether the Gurage people have a common Gurage language that serves them as a language of intra-ethnic group integration. Whatever the case, it was commented that including the language in the alternatives is relevant. Thus, following the comments, Gurage was included as an option. In addition, the doctoral students commented on the structure of the questionnaire, which was also commented by the respondents of the pilot study. Accordingly, as pointed out earlier, a section that had been placed at the end was rearranged to be the second section of the questionnaire.

In a nutshell, based on the comments received and the modifications made, it was proven that the piloted research instruments are valid for gathering rigorous data that could answer the research questions of the study thoroughly. The analysis method employed was also proven appropriate to generate valuable results and insights about the issue under investigation.

In addition, an attempt was made to increase the validity of the results of the study through the integration of qualitative and quantitative data gathering and analyses tools. An attempt was also made to increase the credibility, validity, and the transferability of the data. It was done through the triangulation of the questionnaire data with the

interview data as well as through the inclusion of different social groups, namely postgraduate students, politicians, language experts, and other educated persons who had active involvement in the sociopolitical activities of the Ethiopian society and are believed to have diverse viewpoints concerning language policy and practice.

4.2.2 Reliability of the Questionnaire

Before the piloted instruments were developed, the researcher was looking for a standardized questionnaire though the search was proved unattainable. Thus, ultimately, the lesson learnt was to construct a questionnaire that consists of both closed-ended and open-ended questions that require the participants to rate their attitudes and give reasons for their responses.

Therefore, a questionnaire that consists of four sections was constructed. The first section is about personal information of research participants, while the second section consists of general questions about opportunities and challenges of language policy for national unity and development. Moreover, the third section of the questionnaire is about a scale that measures the attitudes of educated people towards using a number of languages as media of instruction, mass communications, and administration, and the last section is about a scale that measures the attitudes of educated people towards employing Amharic only as a federal working language.

The first section is about personal information of the participants. It does not thus need any test of reliability and validity. The second section deals with general concepts of the study. This section comprises four items that demanded the respondents a “Yes,” “No,” or “I Do Not Know” responses followed by justifications for their responses. The main purpose of developing the items was to generate discourses that are related with opportunities and challenges of language policy and practice for national unity and development. In other words, in this section, there was no any attempt made to rate the attitudes of the respondents. Instead, the responses of the respondents were expressed through frequencies and percentages only. Testing the reliability of the items through Cronbach’s alpha was thus found to be unnecessary. Rather, the items were tested only for the construct and content validity of the questionnaire.

4.2.2.1 Reliability of Multilingual Language Policy Scale

Section two of the questionnaire was developed to measure the attitudes of educated people towards using various languages as media of instruction, administration, and mass communications. The scale consists of 12 items (see Appendix A). The items are considered as parts of one general construct that deals with using various languages for multiple purposes. Cronbach’s alpha was used, in order to measure the reliability of the items. The Cronbach’s alpha of the scale is .937.

Table 2: Item-Total Statistics of Multilingual Language Policy Scale

Item	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
1	48.12	42.760	.729	.671	.931
2	48.07	43.720	.758	.717	.931
3	47.83	46.095	.577	.512	.937
4	48.05	43.848	.743	.706	.931
5	48.15	42.228	.750	.797	.930
6	48.15	41.978	.778	.807	.929
7	48.37	40.188	.805	.790	.928
8	48.37	40.138	.842	.837	.926
9	48.49	40.206	.672	.637	.935
10	48.46	42.005	.661	.649	.934
11	48.49	40.856	.787	.762	.929
12	48.17	43.495	.647	.650	.934

Table 3: Inter-Item Correlations and Cronbach's Alpha for MLP Scale

No of Items	Mean of Inter-Item Correlations	Cronbach's Alpha
12	.568	.937

The corrected item-total correlation of the scale is the correlation of a given item with the total score of all other items. In the fourth column of Table 2, the correlation between item 1 and the score of other items is .729. All the values are greater than .40, which is the least suggested value by various researchers.

The last column of Table 2, Alpha if item deleted, is the most important one. It represents the Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient for internal consistency of the scale, if the individual item is omitted from the scale. For example, in the last column, the Cronbach's alpha of the scale would be .931 if item one were deleted. The scale's alpha would also

be .934 if item 12 were omitted. These values are compared to the Alpha coefficient value in Table 3, if there is a need to delete the items. Nevertheless, the Cronbach's alpha of the scale is high, and hence item deletion is found to be unnecessary.

Moreover, the reliabilities of three sub-dimensions that are subsumed in the multilingual language policy and practice scale were computed separately. The three sub-dimensions are the use of a number of languages as media of instruction, opportunities and challenges of employing various languages as media of multiple purposes for national unity, and opportunities and challenges of employing various languages as media of multiple purposes for national development. Each of the sub-categories consists of four items. Computed separately, the internal consistencies of the relevance of using several languages as media of instruction is .858, with inter-item correlation mean of .616, and the internal consistencies of the opportunities and challenges of employing various languages as media of multiple purposes for national unity and development are .917 and .833, with inter-item correlations means of .741 and .562, respectively.

4.2.2.2 Reliability of Federal Working Language Scale

Section three of the questionnaire was constructed so as to measure attitudes of educated people towards using Amharic only as federal working language. The scale consists of five items (see Appendix A). The items of the section deals with one construct – the use of Amharic only as a medium of various purposes at federal level. Cronbach's Alpha was

used to measure the reliability of the scale – internal consistency of the items. The Cronbach’s Alpha of the scale is .916.

Table 4: Item-Total Statistics of Federal Working Language Scale

Item	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach’s Alpha if Item Deleted
1	13.98	22.524	.831	.741	.889
2	13.49	24.756	.754	.668	.904
3	14.10	24.490	.843	.727	.886
4	13.05	27.548	.763	.662	.907
5	13.98	23.124	.781	.690	.900

Table 5: Inter-Item Correlations and Cronbach’s Alpha for FWL Scale

No of Items	Mean of Inter-Item Correlations	Cronbach’s Alpha
5	.698	.916

In the fourth column of Table 4, the correlation between item one and the score of other items is .831. All the other values of the corrected item-total correlation of the scale are also considerably greater than the least suggested value, that is, .40.

The Alpha if item deleted of Table 4, is also crucial to explain the scale’s Cronbach’s alpha reliability coefficient if the individual item is deleted from the scale. For instance, in the last column of the table, the scale’s alpha would be .889 if item one were omitted. The Cronbach’s alpha of the scale would also be .886 if item three were omitted. These values are compared to the Alpha coefficient value in Table 5, if it is essential to delete the items. Nevertheless, the Cronbach’s alpha of the scale is high, and thus item omission is found to be undesirable.

4.3 Pilot Study Results and Discussions

For the pilot study, quantitative and qualitative data were gathered and analyzed by employing various methods. In so doing, participants' attitudes and discourses about the opportunities and challenges of using a number of languages as media of instruction, administration, and mass communications for national unity and development were analyzed. However, as the purpose of the pilot study was to test the data collection instruments, it was found to be desirable to reduce the analyzed data of the pilot study. Therefore, the results of the pilot study are reduced after the data were used for testing the reliability and validity of the instruments and depicted in a reasonable length hereunder.

4.3.1 Attitudes towards the Use of Various Languages for Multiple Purposes

The average mean of each of the linguistic groups, concerning employing various languages as media of instruction, administration, and mass communications, was found to be 4.38, which is above average, with a standard deviation of .76. This implies that regardless of their mother tongues, the respondents held positive attitudes towards using a lot of languages as media of instruction, mass communications, and administration. As the thematically analyzed views of the respondents as well as the interviewees indicated, confirming language equality avoids conflict that might occur in the country. Thus, providing the right for nations and nationalities to learn and administer in their mother tongues consolidates the unity of all linguistic groups in Ethiopia. Moreover, to work

cooperatively and enhance national unity and development, the language rights of each ethnic group should be respected. The right to use one's language for various purposes such as for media of instruction and administration solidifies the unity of the nations and nationalities, which also facilitates national development. Moreover, the interviewees pointed out that using many languages for various purposes enhances the unity of the country because all people could feel happy and develop affection towards the country when their language and culture are respected.

4.3.2 Opportunities and Challenges of MLP for National Unity and Development

Thirty-six (87.8 percent) of the participants replied using numerous languages as media of instruction, administrations, and mass communications has various opportunities that strengthen national unity. Allowing nations and nationalities to use their languages to any purposes they want enables to build strong national unity through free will. On the other hand, 18 (43.9 percent) of the respondents said that using a number of languages as media of instruction, mass communications, and administration hampers national unity as nations and nationalities are likely to give disproportionate focus to their languages and local values and thereby develop a sense of sectionalism rather than a nationwide patriotism.

Moreover, 35 (85.4 percent) of the pilot study participants said that the use of many languages as media of instruction, administration, and mass communications has created various opportunities that facilitate national development. If citizens administer, learn,

and get access to the mass media in their mother tongues, they would understand pieces of information related to education as well as to their day-to-day activities that could enhance national development.

In contrast, 16 (39 percent) of the research participants said that the use of numerous languages as media of instruction, mass communications, and administration hinders national development. Giving much emphasis to local languages discourages nations' and nationalities' learning Amharic that help them to move from one region to another. The nations and nationalities might not freely move from one part of the country to another, if they do not speak the language. It might thus hinder national development by restricting the movement of the productive workforce.

4.3.3 Attitudes towards the Use of Amharic as a Federal Working Language

The means of Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya and other linguistic groups, pertaining their attitudes towards employing Amharic only as a federal working language, were found to be different. The average means of the Amharic and Tigrinya speakers were found to be 4.22 and 3.78, which are more than average, with standard deviations of .876 and 1.301, respectively. However, the means of the Oromo and other linguistic groups were found to be 2.08 and 2.80, which are below average, with standard deviations of .882 and 1.259, respectively. Briefly, the Amhara and Tigraian linguistic groups held positive attitudes, while the Oromo and other linguistic groups held negative attitudes towards employing Amharic as a single federal working language.

Those who held positive attitudes towards using Amharic as a single federal working language said that Amharic has spread across the country, and thus Amharic is a language that brings all Ethiopians together. All citizens that speak more than 80 languages communicate with Amharic as it was recognized as a sole national working language and medium of instruction for all nations and nationalities by the imperial and military governments. Higher government authorities also accept it as a sole federal working language presently, which helps to enhance the unity of the country. Besides, all Ethiopian students are learning Amharic as a subject because it is accepted by most of the Ethiopian society. As a result, it is easily understood by most people and less problematic than any other languages when used as a federal working language.

On the contrary, the respondents who held negative attitudes towards using Amharic as a single federal working language said that a vast majority of Ethiopian people do not speak the Amharic language. Hence, it is preferable if various languages are used as federal working languages. The federal government should use and develop the major languages equally without any linguistic discrimination. There are a number of major languages, how can Amharic be superior to other languages, then? Amharic, Oromo, Somali, Sidama, and Tigrinya should be seen and used equally as working languages at federal level. That is, since all languages are equal; the federal government has to use the major languages.

4.3.4 Educated People’s Federal Working Language(s) Choices

Twenty-three (56.1 percent) of the respondents believed that using Amharic only as a federal working language is absolutely appropriate and gave a number of reasons, which are summarized under 5.4.3. In contrast, 18 (43.9 percent) of the respondents believed that using Amharic as a sole federal working language is inappropriate. Of the 18 respondents, 27.8 percent chose Amharic, Oromo, Somali, and Tigrinya, 27.8 percent Amharic, English, Oromo, Somali, and Tigrinya, 22.2 percent Amharic and Oromo, 16.7 percent English, and 5.6 percent Amharic, English, Oromo, Sidama, Somali, and Tigrinya.

Those who chose Amharic and Oromo as appropriate federal working languages gave various reasons. They said that Amharic got its “national” status during the past authoritarian regimes. Currently, the history of the country is completely changed by overthrowing the dictatorial regimes. Nevertheless, the Amharic language has not lost its exclusive status. Moreover, a number of the Ethiopian people are Oromo speakers, who do not speak the Amharic language. Hence, it is preferable if Amharic and Oromo are used as federal working languages.

In addition, those who chose Amharic, English, Oromo, Somali, Sidama, and Tigrinya said that Amharic should not be the sole federal language. The respondents who chose the four major indigenous languages – Amharic, Oromo, Somali, and Tigrinya – also gave related reasons. They said that the federal government should use and develop the

major languages equally, without any linguistic discrimination as other countries do. For instance, there are countries such as South Africa and Switzerland that employ more than two working languages at federal levels. Thus, using more languages than one as federal working languages is a good practice, while promoting a single indigenous federal working language that is, or likely to be, a source of contestations is unnecessary.

On the other hand, 14 respondents chose English only as an appropriate federal working language. Their reasons were that English is an international language and a language of technologically developed countries and thus it would be useful for the country. They also said that it should be a federal working language as many Ethiopians have the ability to speak it. For instance, many educated individuals have high proficiency in the English language. If everything runs in English, there will not be any negative effect brought about from language use at federal level. It also serves as a means to communicate with other countries. Thus, it should be used as a federal working language, taught effectively, and spread in a better way throughout the country.

4.4 Lessons Learnt from the Pilot Study

Two major lessons were learnt from the pilot study. The English language was not included in the piloted questionnaire as the focus of the study is mainly on the use of local languages as media of mass communications, instruction, and administration. However, it was included in the alternative part of the last question of the questionnaire after realizing that a number of respondents chose it to be used as a language of

compromise under the “Others (specify)” option. Before that, the researcher has not had the thought about its possibility to be used as a language of compromise as it is uncommon in the routine language use of most of the Ethiopian populace and thus all the alternatives were about indigenous languages.

The second learnt lesson was related with the research objectives and the data analysis method. After the pilot study, one new research question was added to the existing ones and a new data analysis method is introduced to answer it. The question was emerged following the analysis of average means that were used to determine the attitudes of postgraduate students towards the present language policy. For instance, the new question reads, “Do Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother tongue speaker educated people differ in their attitudes towards the current language policy?” That is, in the pilot study, the statistical significance differences of the means of the linguistic groups were not determined. Nevertheless, after the pilot study, determining the mean differences was found to be relevant to make comparison between the groups. Consequently, new data analysis tools called one-way ANOVA and the Tukey test are introduced to determine the mean differences. Of course, the target is not to test a causal hypothesis, it is rather to test an associative hypothesis that “describes how variables may relate to each other, not necessarily in a causal manner” (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007, p. 519).

4.5 Pilot Study Concluding Remarks

The instruments were tested through various methods, and in doing so, they were found to be valid and reliable. As a result, it was concluded that the instruments were valid and reliable to gather dependable data for the main study. In addition, the pilot study data were analyzed. The results revealed that the educated linguistic groups who participated in the pilot study held positive attitudes towards employing several languages as media of instruction, administration, and mass communications. Similarly, the Amhara and Tigraian linguistic groups held positive attitudes towards using Amharic as a federal working language. In contrast, the Oromo and other linguistic groups held negative attitudes towards using Amharic only as a federal working language.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

5.0 Introduction

This is the results and discussions chapter. In this chapter, qualitative and quantitative data that were gathered from educated people, who were attending their master's and doctoral studies at Addis Ababa University, through a questionnaire were analyzed and discussed. In addition, qualitative data that were gathered from educated people, who were engaged in various careers just after having their bachelor, master's, and doctoral degrees, through interview were thematically categorized and discussed. In so doing, quantitative data gathered from 218 Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother tongues speaker respondents were analyzed by employing one-way ANOVA and depicted using tables and bar charts. Descriptive statistics was employed to explore the respondents' attitudes towards the present language policy and practice. It was also used to determine if there were statistically significance differences between the means of the four linguistic groups.

Moreover, qualitative data that were gathered through interview and questionnaire were categorized manually and using the Open Code, respectively, into themes and analyzed in juxtaposition. In so doing, while analyzing and interpreting the data, general themes were identified and used as headings and subheadings. Other related themes were also linked to each other following the identified headings and subheadings. Moreover, secondary data that were gathered through text selection from language policy related documents

were analyzed and discussed, using critical discourse analysis, under the identified headings and subheadings.

5.1 Language Policy and Practice Attitudes

This subsection deals with the analysis of research participants' attitudes towards the current language policy and language practice. It discusses educated people's attitudes towards the use of several languages as media of instruction, administration, and mass communications. It also deals with the educated people's attitudes towards employing Amharic as a single federal working language. Descriptive statistics was employed to find out the educated people's attitudes towards the language policy and practice, and the Tukey test was carried out to determine if there are statistically significant differences between the means of Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother tongue speakers.

5.1.1 Attitudes to Multilingual Language Policy and Practice

Here, attitudes of educated Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother tongue speakers towards mother tongue education, the role of using several languages as media of instruction, administration, and mass communications on national unity and development, as well as towards using Amharic as a single federal working language are analyzed and discussed.

Moreover, note that before undertaking any analysis of variance, as illustrated in Table 6 below, Levene's Test for Equality of Variances was carried out because it is the main determinant assumption that should be met before running ANOVA. Levene's Test is used to determine if the assumption of equal variances between the four linguistic groups exists. If variances are statistically significantly different in the data, the test is said to be different.

Table 6: Test of Homogeneity of Variances for Multilingual Language Policy Scale

Item	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
Equal state recognition of all languages is relevant for maintaining national unity	2.695	3	213	.047
Using various languages as media of instruction strengthens national unity	6.622	3	212	.000
Several working language impedes national unity	8.976	3	212	.000
Employing mother tongues as media of mass communications strengthens national unity	6.229	3	213	.000
Linguistic diversity prevents the diffusion of innovative techniques	7.874	3	214	.000
Mother tongue education enhances national development	7.360	3	212	.000
Employing mother tongues as working languages facilitates national development	8.603	3	211	.000
Use of mother tongues as media of mass communications slows down national development	3.565	3	212	.015
Use of mother tongues as media of instruction negatively affects quality of education	9.397	3	214	.000
More attention should be given to mother tongue instruction	7.672	3	212	.000
Mother tongue education is useful to utilize local knowledge	6.124	3	214	.001
Mother tongue education should be discouraged	2.779	3	212	.042

As illustrated in Table 6 above, for each of the items of the multilingual language policy scale, the significance value is $< .05$ – the p value is significant. Hence, the variance

between Amharic and Oromo, Amharic and Tigrinya, Amharic and other languages as mother tongue speakers; the variance between Oromo and Tigrinya, Oromo and other languages as mother tongue speakers; and the variance between Tigrinya and other languages as mother tongue speakers means were predicted to have a possibility of being statistically significant different. In each item, at least the mean of one linguistic group, regarding their attitudes towards multilingual language policy, can be different from another one.

5.1.1.1 Attitudes towards the Role of MLP in National Unity

In this subsection, descriptive analysis was made to explore Amharic, Tigrinya, Oromo, and other languages as mother tongue speaker respondents' attitudes towards the role of using lots of languages as media of administrations, mass communications, and instruction in national unity. Besides, the one-way ANOVA and the Tukey test were used to determine if there were statistically significant differences between the means of the respondents who speak Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother tongues.

Table 7: Descriptive Statistics of MLP and National Unity for Analysis of Variance

Item	Mother Tongue	N	Mean	SD	SE	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Min.	Max.
						LB	UB		
Equal state recognition of all languages is relevant for maintaining national unity	Amharic	99	3.87	1.066	.107	3.66	4.08	1	5
	Oromo	57	4.60	.495	.066	4.47	4.73	4	5
	Tigrinya	26	4.65	.846	.166	4.31	5.00	2	5
	Others	35	4.34	.938	.158	4.02	4.66	1	5
	Total	217	4.23	.959	.065	4.10	4.36	1	5
Using various instructional media strengthens national unity	Amharic	97	3.49	1.100	.112	3.27	3.72	1	5
	Oromo	58	4.50	.570	.075	4.35	4.65	3	5
	Tigrinya	26	4.58	.902	.177	4.21	4.94	2	5
	Others	35	4.37	.770	.130	4.11	4.64	2	5
	Total	216	4.04	1.029	.070	3.90	4.18	1	5
Several working languages impede national unity	Amharic	97	3.49	1.183	.120	3.26	3.73	1	5
	Oromo	58	4.57	.624	.082	4.40	4.73	2	5
	Tigrinya	26	4.54	.706	.138	4.25	4.82	2	5
	Others	35	4.51	.818	.138	4.23	4.80	1	5
	Total	216	4.07	1.080	.073	3.93	4.22	1	5
Employing mother tongues as media of mass communications strengthens national unity	Amharic	99	3.47	1.072	.108	3.26	3.69	1	5
	Oromo	57	4.56	.567	.075	4.41	4.71	3	5
	Tigrinya	26	4.54	.859	.169	4.19	4.89	2	5
	Others	35	4.23	.843	.143	3.94	4.52	1	5
	Total	217	4.01	1.027	.070	3.87	4.15	1	5

Where *N* is number of respondents; SD is Standard Deviation; SE is Standard Error

As depicted in Table 7 above, the means of the linguistic groups for the four items are above average (above three). This implies that the respondents' attitudes towards the role of using numerous languages as media of administration, mass communications, and instruction in national unity were positive. Nevertheless, as can be seen from Table 7, there are mean differences though it is unknown whether they are statistically significant or not. It is hence important to test the mean differences. Therefore, for each item, an associative null hypothesis that reads, "There is no statistically significant difference between the means of the Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother tongue speakers" is tested using the one-way ANOVA, where the level of significance (α) to accept or reject the hypothesis is .05.

Table 8: MLP and National Unity SPSS Output for One-Way Analysis of Variance

Item		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Equal state recognition of all languages is relevant for maintaining national unity	BG	25.697	3	8.566	10.559	.000
	Within Groups	172.783	213	.811		
	Total	198.479	216			
Using various instructional media strengthens national unity	BG	52.439	3	17.480	21.143	.000
	Within Groups	175.265	212	.827		
	Total	227.704	215			
Several working languages impede national unity	BG	59.139	3	19.713	21.803	.000
	Within Groups	191.676	212	.904		
	Total	250.815	215			
Employing mother tongues as media of mass communications strengthens national unity	BG	54.627	3	18.209	22.373	.000
	Within Groups	173.355	213	.814		
	Total	227.982	216			

Where df is degree of freedom; *F* is *F* ratio; Sig. is significance; BG is Between Groups

As depicted in the last column (Sig.) of Table 8, ANOVA states that there were statistically significant differences between the means of the Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother tongue speakers (Sig. = .000, that is, $p < .05$), for all of the items. The associative null hypothesis is hence rejected. This indicates that there were statistically significant differences between the means of the four linguistic groups, at least between two of the group means. Nevertheless, it may not mean that all the means were statistically significantly different from each other. Thus, the Tukey test (a *post hoc* test) is used to determine which mother tongue groups were different from each other. As depicted in Table 9 below, for all of the items, the Tukey test compares each linguistic group against the three linguistic groups to determine where there may be statistically significant differences. In Table 9 and in other forthcoming tables that deal with the Tukey test, the Amharic linguistic group is first compared with Oromo, second with Tigrinya, and last with other languages as mother tongue speakers.

Table 9: The Tukey Test for MLP and National Unity Subscale

Item	(I) Mother Tongue	(J) Mother Tongue	MD (I-J)	SE	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Equal state recognition of all languages is relevant for maintaining national unity	Amharic	Oromo	-.728*	.150	.000	-1.12	-.34
		Tigrinya	-.785*	.198	.001	-1.30	-.27
		Others	-.474*	.177	.040	-.93	-.02
	Oromo	Amharic	.728*	.150	.000	.34	1.12
		Tigrinya	-.057	.213	.993	-.61	.49
		Others	.254	.193	.557	-.25	.75
	Tigrinya	Amharic	.785*	.198	.001	.27	1.30
		Oromo	.057	.213	.993	-.49	.61
		Others	.311	.233	.543	-.29	.91
	Others	Amharic	.474*	.177	.040	.02	.93
		Oromo	-.254	.193	.557	-.75	.25
		Tigrinya	-.311	.233	.543	-.91	.29
Using various instructional media strengthens national unity	Amharic	Oromo	-1.005*	.151	.000	-1.40	-.61
		Tigrinya	-1.082*	.201	.000	-1.60	-.56
		Others	-.877*	.179	.000	-1.34	-.41
	Oromo	Amharic	1.005*	.151	.000	.61	1.40
		Tigrinya	-.077	.215	.984	-.63	.48
		Others	.129	.195	.912	-.38	.63
	Tigrinya	Amharic	1.082*	.201	.000	.56	1.60
		Oromo	.077	.215	.984	-.48	.63
		Others	.205	.235	.819	-.40	.82
	Others	Amharic	.877*	.179	.000	.41	1.34
		Oromo	-.129	.195	.912	-.63	.38
		Tigrinya	-.205	.235	.819	-.82	.40
Several working languages impede national unity	Amharic	Oromo	-1.074*	.158	.000	-1.48	-.67
		Tigrinya	-1.044*	.210	.000	-1.59	-.50
		Others	-1.019*	.187	.000	-1.50	-.53
	Oromo	Amharic	1.074*	.158	.000	.67	1.48
		Tigrinya	.031	.224	.999	-.55	.61
		Others	.055	.204	.993	-.47	.58
	Tigrinya	Amharic	1.044*	.210	.000	.50	1.59
		Oromo	-.031	.224	.999	-.61	.55
		Others	.024	.246	1.000	-.61	.66
	Others	Amharic	1.019*	.187	.000	.53	1.50
		Oromo	-.055	.204	.993	-.58	.47
		Tigrinya	-.024	.246	1.000	-.66	.61
Employing mother tongues as media of mass communications strengthens national unity	Amharic	Oromo	-1.087*	.150	.000	-1.48	-.70
		Tigrinya	-1.064*	.199	.000	-1.58	-.55
		Others	-.754*	.177	.000	-1.21	-.29
	Oromo	Amharic	1.087*	.150	.000	.70	1.48
		Tigrinya	.023	.213	1.000	-.53	.58
		Others	.333	.194	.317	-.17	.83
	Tigrinya	Amharic	1.064*	.199	.000	.55	1.58
		Oromo	-.023	.213	1.000	-.58	.53
		Others	.310	.234	.547	-.29	.91
	Others	Amharic	.754*	.177	.000	.29	1.21
		Oromo	-.333	.194	.317	-.83	.17
		Tigrinya	-.310	.234	.547	-.91	.29

*.The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

As indicated in the sixth column (Sig.) of Table 9, for all of the items, there were statistically significant differences between the Amharic and the other three linguistic groups' means only. The respondents, who held negative attitudes towards the role of using many languages in national unity, gave several reasons following their responses that are analyzed thematically as follows.

Countries that use many languages as media of instruction, mass communications, and administration are fragile. Countries that use a single language have strong national unity. Therefore, national unity is strengthened by cultivating one common language. For example, if different ethnic groups are restricted to their own exclusive language and culture, their attachment to the rest of the people would be negligible. Using one common language is hence useful to enhance national unity. That is, national unity is strengthened with the cultivation of shared memories, languages, and cultures. If a given community is restricted to its exclusive area, media, languages, and cultures, the emotional attachment of the members of the community with the rest of the citizenry declines.

In contrast, the thematic analysis of the reasons that were given to each of the items that are illustrated in Table 9 above by those who held positive attitudes towards the role of using numerous languages in national unity are thematically analyzed as follows. Multilingual language policy confirmed the rights of nations and nationalities to use their languages for education, mass communications, and administration. Confirming language rights helps to develop peoples' affections towards the country. As a result, people are working for unity peacefully. Moreover, the language policy was developed based on

democratic principles that enhance equality and tolerance among nations and nationalities that can in turn strengthen the unity of the country. Multilingual language policy ensured linguistic human rights, which satisfied the language use interests of a number of linguistic groups. It has also raised nationalities' awareness of the rights of each ethnic group to use their languages and promote their cultures, which has in turn created fertile grounds for promoting tolerance and stability. In brief, the language policy confirmed language rights, which has in turn created fertile grounds for strengthening national unity.

5.1.1.2 Attitudes towards the Role of MLP in National Development

In this subsection, respondents' attitudes towards the role of multilingual language policy in national development were analyzed through one-way ANOVA. That is, descriptive analysis was made to explore the respondents' attitudes towards the role of using several mother tongues as media of administration, mass communications, and instruction in national development. In addition, the Tukey test was employed to determine if there were statistically significant differences between the means of the respondents who speak Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother tongues.

Table 10: MLP and National Development Descriptive Statistics for ANOVA

Item	Mother Tongue	N	Mean	SD	SE	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Mini.	Maxi.
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Linguistic diversity prevents the diffusion of innovative techniques	Amharic	99	3.52	1.155	.116	3.28	3.75	1	5
	Oromo	58	4.48	.599	.079	4.33	4.64	3	5
	Tigrinya	26	4.35	.936	.183	3.97	4.72	2	5
	Others	35	4.37	.731	.124	4.12	4.62	2	5
	Total	218	4.01	1.043	.071	3.87	4.15	1	5
Mother tongue education enhances national development	Amharic	97	3.59	.987	.100	3.39	3.79	1	5
	Oromo	58	4.59	.497	.065	4.46	4.72	4	5
	Tigrinya	26	4.58	.703	.138	4.29	4.86	2	5
	Others	35	4.29	.572	.097	4.09	4.48	3	5
	Total	216	4.09	.908	.062	3.97	4.21	1	5
Employing mother tongues as working languages facilitates national development	Amharic	97	3.53	.991	.101	3.33	3.73	1	5
	Oromo	57	4.54	.537	.071	4.40	4.69	3	5
	Tigrinya	26	4.62	.496	.097	4.41	4.82	4	5
	Others	35	4.29	.572	.097	4.09	4.48	3	5
	Total	215	4.05	.913	.062	3.93	4.17	1	5
Use of mother tongues as media of communications slows down national development	Amharic	98	3.78	1.135	.115	3.55	4.00	1	5
	Oromo	57	4.39	.881	.117	4.15	4.62	1	5
	Tigrinya	26	4.50	.762	.149	4.19	4.81	2	5
	Others	35	4.46	.611	.103	4.25	4.67	3	5
	Total	216	4.13	1.010	.069	4.00	4.27	1	5

Where *N* is number of respondents; SD is Standard Deviation; SE is Standard Error

As depicted in Table 10, the means of the four mother tongue groups, for each item, are above average. Hence, it can be inferred that the attitudes of the respondents towards the role of using many languages as media of multiple purposes in national development were positive. In fact, there are mean differences though it is unknown whether they are statistically significant. For example, for the first item of Table 10, the mean of Oromo as mother tongue speakers is 4.48 (above 4.01, the mean average), while the mean for Amharic speakers is 3.52 (below the mean average). It is thus important to test the mean differences of each item. An associative hypothesis that says, “There is no statistically significant difference between the means of the four groups” is tested using the one-way ANOVA, where the level of significance (α) to reject or accept the hypothesis is .05.

Table 11: SPSS Output of MLP and National Development for One-Way ANOVA

Item		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	Sig.
Linguistic diversity prevents the diffusion of innovative techniques	Between Groups	44.716	3	14.905	16.677	.000
	Within Groups	191.266	214	.894		
	Total	235.982	217			
Mother tongue education enhances national development	Between Groups	46.266	3	15.422	24.945	.000
	Within Groups	131.063	212	.618		
	Total	177.329	215			
Employing mother tongues as working languages facilitates national development	Between Groups	50.815	3	16.938	28.004	.000
	Within Groups	127.623	211	.605		
	Total	178.437	214			
Use of mother tongues as media of mass communications slows down national development	Between Groups	23.351	3	7.784	8.429	.000
	Within Groups	195.756	212	.923		
	Total	219.106	215			

Where df is degree of freedom; *F* is *F* ratio; Sig. is significance

As depicted in the last column (Sig.) of Table 11, for each item, ANOVA reads that there were statistically significant difference between the mean values (Sig. = .000, that is, $\rho < .05$). Therefore, the associative null hypothesis is rejected. In other words, there were statistically significant differences between the means of the Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother tongue speakers. However, this may not mean that all the means were statistically significantly different from each other. As a result, as depicted in Table 12 below, in order to determine which linguistic groups were different from each other, the Tukey test is used.

Table 12: The Tukey Test for MLP and National Development Subscale

Item	(I) Mother Tongue	(J) Mother Tongue	MD (I-J)	SE	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Linguistic diversity prevents the diffusion of innovative techniques	Amharic	Oromo	-.968*	.156	.000	-1.37	-.56
		Tigrinya	-.831*	.208	.001	-1.37	-.29
		Others	-.856*	.186	.000	-1.34	-.37
	Oromo	Amharic	.968*	.156	.000	.56	1.37
		Tigrinya	.137	.223	.928	-.44	.71
		Others	.111	.202	.946	-.41	.64
	Tigrinya	Amharic	.831*	.208	.001	.29	1.37
		Oromo	-.137	.223	.928	-.71	.44
		Others	-.025	.245	1.000	-.66	.61
	Others	Amharic	.856*	.186	.000	.37	1.34
		Oromo	-.111	.202	.946	-.64	.41
		Tigrinya	.025	.245	1.000	-.61	.66
Mother tongue education enhances national development	Amharic	Oromo	-.999*	.131	.000	-1.34	-.66
		Tigrinya	-.989*	.174	.000	-1.44	-.54
		Others	-.698*	.155	.000	-1.10	-.30
	Oromo	Amharic	.999*	.131	.000	.66	1.34
		Tigrinya	.009	.186	1.000	-.47	.49
		Others	.300	.168	.283	-.14	.74
	Tigrinya	Amharic	.989*	.174	.000	.54	1.44
		Oromo	-.009	.186	1.000	-.49	.47
		Others	.291	.204	.482	-.24	.82
	Others	Amharic	.698*	.155	.000	.30	1.10
		Oromo	-.300	.168	.283	-.74	.14
		Tigrinya	-.291	.204	.482	-.82	.24
Employing mother tongues as working languages facilitates national development	Amharic	Oromo	-1.018*	.130	.000	-1.35	-.68
		Tigrinya	-1.090*	.172	.000	-1.53	-.64
		Others	-.760*	.153	.000	-1.16	-.36
	Oromo	Amharic	1.018*	.130	.000	.68	1.35
		Tigrinya	-.072	.184	.980	-.55	.41
		Others	.258	.167	.412	-.17	.69
	Tigrinya	Amharic	1.090*	.172	.000	.64	1.53
		Oromo	.072	.184	.980	-.41	.55
		Others	.330	.201	.360	-.19	.85
	Others	Amharic	.760*	.153	.000	.36	1.16
		Oromo	-.258	.167	.412	-.69	.17
		Tigrinya	-.330	.201	.360	-.85	.19
Use of mother tongues as media of mass communications slows down national development	Amharic	Oromo	-.610*	.160	.001	-1.02	-.20
		Tigrinya	-.724*	.212	.004	-1.27	-.18
		Others	-.682*	.189	.002	-1.17	-.19
	Oromo	Amharic	.610*	.160	.001	.20	1.02
		Tigrinya	-.114	.227	.959	-.70	.47
		Others	-.071	.206	.986	-.61	.46
	Tigrinya	Amharic	.724*	.212	.004	.18	1.27
		Oromo	.114	.227	.959	-.47	.70
		Others	.043	.249	.998	-.60	.69
	Others	Amharic	.682*	.189	.002	.19	1.17
		Oromo	.071	.206	.986	-.46	.61
		Tigrinya	-.043	.249	.998	-.69	.60

*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

As illustrated in the sixth column (Sig.) of Table 12, for each item, there were statistically significant differences between Amharic and the other three mother tongue groups' means only. There were no statistically significant differences between the mean values of Tigrinya and Oromo, Tigrinya and other languages as mother tongue speakers, as well as between Oromo and other languages as mother tongue speakers. This denotes the number of Amharic as mother tongue speaker respondents who held negative attitudes towards the role of using many languages as media of instruction, administration, and mass communications in national development is significant, whereas the number of the respondents who speak Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother tongue speakers is not substantial. Following their negative ratings, the respondents gave various reasons that are thematically analyzed bellow.

The present language policy has created various problems that slow down the economic development of the country. Nations and nationalities are using their mother tongues as media of mass communications and administration, but it is becoming difficult to employ skilled journalists that could provide them with latest news that deal with what is happening in the country and in the world at large. In addition, the nations and nationalities could not get information broadcast through other languages such as Amharic that has skilled journalists that explore global information and broadcast daily through television and radios. Hence, many linguistic groups may not have access to information. This situation makes diffusion of knowledge difficult, which in turn hinders economic development.

In contrast, the thematic analysis of the views of respondents, who held positive attitudes towards the role of employing multiple languages as media of multiple purposes in economic development, revealed that multilingual language policy has created numerous fertile grounds that accelerate national development. Children learn effectively using their mother tongues and thereby utilize their local knowledge. The use of mother tongues as media of instruction helps to imprint the local knowledge in students' mind in their early ages. It assists them to exploit indigenous knowledge embedded in their mother tongues and cultures. Learning through mother tongues also helps children to utilize local knowledge and become innovative by deeply understanding concepts easily because it enables them to understand their environment, indigenous knowledge, culture, history, and adapt exogenous knowledge. Innovative people who could understand their environment and utilize indigenous and exogenous knowledge in turn accelerate national development when they engage in different careers.

5.1.1.3 Attitudes towards Mother Tongue Education

In what follows, postgraduate students' attitudes towards mother tongue education are analyzed through one-way ANOVA. Specifically, the attitudes of the respondents, who speak Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother tongues, towards using many mother tongues as media of instruction are identified using descriptive analysis and their attitudinal differences are determined using descriptive statistics and the Tukey test in and under the forth coming three tables.

Table 13: Language Use in Education Descriptive Statistics for Analysis of Variance

Item	Mother Tongue	N	Mean	SD	SE	95% CIM		Mini.	Maxi.
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Use of mother tongues as media of instruction negatively affects quality of education	Amharic	99	3.86	1.143	.115	3.63	4.09	1	5
	Oromo	58	4.69	.467	.061	4.57	4.81	4	5
	Tigrinya	26	4.81	.694	.136	4.53	5.09	2	5
	Others	35	4.74	.505	.085	4.57	4.92	3	5
	Total	218	4.33	.966	.065	4.21	4.46	1	5
More attention should be given to mother tongue education	Amharic	97	3.72	1.143	.116	3.49	3.95	1	5
	Oromo	58	4.62	.587	.077	4.47	4.78	2	5
	Tigrinya	26	4.69	.679	.133	4.42	4.97	2	5
	Others	35	4.71	.572	.097	4.52	4.91	3	5
	Total	216	4.24	1.001	.068	4.11	4.38	1	5
Mother tongue education is useful to utilize local knowledge	Amharic	99	4.15	.885	.089	3.98	4.33	1	5
	Oromo	58	4.76	.471	.062	4.63	4.88	3	5
	Tigrinya	26	4.85	.464	.091	4.66	5.03	3	5
	Others	35	4.80	.473	.080	4.64	4.96	3	5
	Total	218	4.50	.757	.051	4.40	4.60	1	5
Mother tongue education should be discouraged	Amharic	97	4.08	.997	.101	3.88	4.28	1	5
	Oromo	58	4.69	.503	.066	4.56	4.82	3	5
	Tigrinya	26	4.58	.857	.168	4.23	4.92	2	5
	Others	35	4.74	.561	.095	4.55	4.94	3	5
	Total	216	4.41	.858	.058	4.30	4.53	1	5

Where *N* is number of respondents; SE is Standard Error; CIM is Confidence Interval for Mean

As shown in Table 13 above, for each item, the means of the four mother tongue groups are above average (above three). That is, the attitudes of the respondents towards the use of many languages as media of instruction are positive. Nonetheless, there are mean differences. For all of the items depicted in Table 13, the means of Amharic as mother tongue speakers is below the mean average, whereas the means for the other mother tongue groups are above the mean average.

Nonetheless, the mean differences might not be statistically significantly different. It is hence vital to test whether the means of each item are statistically significantly different.

To this effect, an associative null hypothesis that says, “There is no statistically

significant difference between the means of the four groups,” is tested through ANOVA where the level of significance (α) to reject or accept the hypothesis is .05.

Table 14: Language Use in Education SPSS Output for One-Way ANOVA

Item		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	Sig.
Use of mother tongues as media of instruction negatively affects quality of education	Between Groups	41.397	3	13.799	18.323	.000
	Within Groups	161.158	214	.753		
	Total	202.555	217			
More attention should be given to mother tongue education	Between Groups	47.660	3	15.887	20.069	.000
	Within Groups	167.821	212	.792		
	Total	215.481	215			
Mother tongue education is useful to utilize local knowledge	Between Groups	22.167	3	7.389	15.452	.000
	Within Groups	102.333	214	.478		
	Total	124.500	217			
Mother tongue education should be discouraged	Between Groups	19.543	3	6.514	9.951	.000
	Within Groups	138.786	212	.655		
	Total	168.313	216			

Where df is degree of freedom; *F* is *F* ratio; Sig. is significance

For each item, the seventh column (Sig.) of Table 14 reads that there were statistically significant differences between the means of Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother tongue speakers (Sig. = .000, that is, $p < .05$). The null hypothesis is thus rejected. However, it is unknown which means were different from each other and which are not. Hence, as indicated below, the Tukey test is used to define which means were different from each other and which are not.

Table 15: The Tukey Test for Language Use in Education Subscale

Item	(I) Mother Tongue	(J) Mother Tongue	MD (I-J)	SE	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Use of mother tongues as media of instruction negatively affects quality of education	Amharic	Oromo	-.831*	.143	.000	-1.20	-.46
		Tigrinya	-.949*	.191	.000	-1.44	-.45
		Others	-.884*	.171	.000	-1.33	-.44
	Oromo	Amharic	.831*	.143	.000	.46	1.20
		Tigrinya	-.118	.205	.939	-.65	.41
		Others	-.053	.186	.992	-.53	.43
	Tigrinya	Amharic	.949*	.191	.000	.45	1.44
		Oromo	.118	.205	.939	-.41	.65
		Others	.065	.225	.992	-.52	.65
	Others	Amharic	.884*	.171	.000	.44	1.33
		Oromo	.053	.186	.992	-.43	.53
		Tigrinya	-.065	.225	.992	-.65	.52
More attention should be given to mother tongue education	Amharic	Oromo	-.899*	.148	.000	-1.28	-.52
		Tigrinya	-.971*	.196	.000	-1.48	-.46
		Others	-.993*	.175	.000	-1.45	-.54
	Oromo	Amharic	.899*	.148	.000	.52	1.28
		Tigrinya	-.072	.210	.986	-.62	.47
		Others	-.094	.190	.961	-.59	.40
	Tigrinya	Amharic	.971*	.196	.000	.46	1.48
		Oromo	.072	.210	.986	-.47	.62
		Others	-.022	.230	1.000	-.62	.57
	Others	Amharic	.993*	.175	.000	.54	1.45
		Oromo	.094	.190	.961	-.40	.59
		Tigrinya	.022	.230	1.000	-.57	.62
Mother tongue education is useful to utilize local knowledge	Amharic	Oromo	-.607*	.114	.000	-.90	-.31
		Tigrinya	-.695*	.152	.000	-1.09	-.30
		Others	-.648*	.136	.000	-1.00	-.30
	Oromo	Amharic	.607*	.114	.000	.31	.90
		Tigrinya	-.088	.163	.950	-.51	.34
		Others	-.041	.148	.992	-.42	.34
	Tigrinya	Amharic	.695*	.152	.000	.30	1.09
		Oromo	.088	.163	.950	-.34	.51
		Others	.046	.179	.994	-.42	.51
	Others	Amharic	.648*	.136	.000	.30	1.00
		Oromo	.041	.148	.992	-.34	.42
		Tigrinya	-.046	.179	.994	-.51	.42
Mother tongue education should be discouraged	Amharic	Oromo	-.607*	.134	.000	-.95	-.26
		Tigrinya	-.494*	.179	.031	-.96	-.03
		Others	-.660*	.160	.000	-1.07	-.25
	Oromo	Amharic	.607*	.134	.000	.26	.95
		Tigrinya	.113	.191	.935	-.38	.61
		Others	-.053	.173	.990	-.50	.40
	Tigrinya	Amharic	.494*	.179	.031	.03	.96
		Oromo	-.113	.191	.935	-.61	.38
		Others	-.166	.209	.858	-.71	.38
	Others	Amharic	.660*	.160	.000	.25	1.07
		Oromo	.053	.173	.990	-.40	.50
		Tigrinya	.166	.209	.858	-.38	.71

*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Table 15, under the sixth column (Sig.) reads that, for each item, there were statistically significant differences between the means of Amharic and Oromo, Amharic and Tigrinya, Amharic and other languages as mother tongue speakers. In contrast, there were no statistically significant differences between the means of Oromo and Tigrinya, Tigrinya and other languages as mother tongue speakers as well as between Oromo and other languages as mother tongue speakers. Therefore, it can be inferred that despite the presence of respondents who held negative attitudes towards mother tongue education from the four linguistic groups, the number of Amharic as mother tongue speakers is substantial. The respondents, who held negative attitudes towards using mother tongues as media of instruction at elementary level, gave many reasons following their rating the items depicted in Table 15. The reasons are thematically analyzed, in what follows.

The use of many mother tongues as media of instruction affects quality of education negatively. For example, the older student generation that was not learning through its mother tongues is far better than the present generation, which is learning using mother tongues. Besides, it affects quality of education negatively at secondary and tertiary levels as students face difficulties in learning through English. Learning through mother tongues makes students to have poor command of the English language, which is the medium of instruction at high schools and higher institutions. Had the use of English as a medium been commenced at the early stage of schooling, students would have been very proficient in the language that could help them to understand educational contents in high schools and higher institutions effectively. Therefore, mother tongue education should be discouraged.

However, generally speaking, the four linguistic groups held positive attitudes towards the use of mother tongues in education. The respondents mentioned a lot of reasons for their positive rating that are thematically analyzed as follows. Students face difficulties when they learn through languages other than their mother tongues because they are with limited experiences for they do not have exposures to other external environments. Mother tongue education is a remedy for such difficulties as it helps them learn easily. It helps them to understand their school subjects. It also enables them to understand and express concepts easily. It promotes students' progresses and achievements. In so doing, mother tongue affects quality of education positively. It affects quality of education positively, as the use of mother tongues as media of instruction enables children to focus only on the contents of their subject matters without being confused with medium barrier as it were happening in the previous regimes when many children used to learn through others' mother tongues. Hence, mother tongue education should be encouraged.

Altogether, the statistical data analyzed so far deals with using many mother tongues as media of various purposes. In other words, the items of the multilingual language policy scale were treated by categorizing them into three general issues; namely the role of multilingual language policy and its practice in national unity, the role of multilingual language policy in national development, and mother tongue education. Now it is time for combining the three general issues of the scale into one in order to see the cumulative attitudes of the respondents towards multilingual language policy and its practice. To this effect, the means of the Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother

tongue speakers are summarized, in Table 16 below, and then discussed following the table.

Table 16: Combined Results of Respondents' Multilingual Language Policy Attitudes

Variable	Mother Tongue of Respondents	Number of Respondents	Mean	Standard Deviation
Attitudes towards using numerous mother tongues as media of multiple purposes	Amharic	99	3.71	1.071
	Oromo	58	4.58	.567
	Tigrinya	26	4.61	.742
	Others	35	4.49	.664
Total		218	4.35	.761

Note. This table depicts the combined results of the means and the standard deviations of the 12 items of the multilingual language policy scale (see Appendix A for the items).

As can be seen from Table 16 above, the means of each of the four mother tongue groups, regarding their attitudes towards using various languages as media of instruction, administration, and mass communications, is found to be more than average. The mean average of the linguistic groups was found to be 4.35, which is above 3, with an average standard deviation of .761. This denotes that the respondents held positive attitudes towards the use of numerous languages as media of instruction, administration, and mass communications irrespective of the different mother tongues they speak. There were mean differences, nonetheless – the mean for Amharic as mother tongue speakers is below the mean average, while the means for Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother tongue speakers are above the mean average. The magnitudes of attitudinal differences are associated with respondents' mother tongues. Respondents who speak Tigrinya as a mother tongue demonstrated high positive attitudes towards multilingual language policy and its practice, followed by Oromo and other languages as mother

tongue speakers, whereas the Amharic as mother tongue speakers exhibited relatively low positive attitudes than the three mother tongue group respondents.

Furthermore, for the 12 items of the scale, there were statistically significant differences between the means of the Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother tongue speakers (Sig. = .000, that is, $p < .05$). Specifically, as depicted in Tables 9, 12, and 15, for each item, there were statistically significant differences between the means of Amharic and Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother tongue speakers only. In other words, there were no statistically significant differences between the means of Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother tongue speakers.

As it can be seen from the thematic analysis stated following Tables 9, 12, and 15, the respondents, both those who held negative attitudes and those who held positive attitudes towards using diverse mother tongues as media of administration, instruction, and mass communications, gave many reasons. Thematic analyses of the views of the respondents who held negative attitudes showed that the use of numerous mother tongues as media of instruction at elementary level helps students to learn effectively without any difficulties. The use of multiple mother tongues as media of mass communications, administration, and instruction also strengthens national unity and accelerates national development. On the contrary, the thematic analysis of the views of those who held negative attitudes towards multilingual language policy and its practice revealed that employing several languages as media of various purposes is an impediment to quality of education, national unity, and national development. In brief, despite the small number of the respondents

who held negative attitudes, as compared with those who held positive attitudes, towards the use of diverse languages as media of multiple purposes, the finding revealed the existence of divergent attitudes. This coincides with Dereje's (2010) view that the "language policy under implementation has aroused an antagonistic attitude especially in the elite circles, those who wish to maintain the monolingual policy and those that favor the current multilingual policy" (p. 203). Here, note that the respondents' discourses regarding opportunities and challenges of the use of numerous languages as media of administration, instruction, and mass communications for national unity and development are discussed, along with key informants' discourses, under 5.2.1, at great length.

5.1.2 Attitudes to Federal Working Language

In this subsection, educated people's attitudes towards federal working language are analyzed and discussed. In addition, as illustrated in Table 17 below, Levene's Test for Equality of Variances was carried out before undertaking any analysis of variance because, to run ANOVA, Levene's Test is the main determinant assumption that should be met in advance. Precisely, Levene's Test is employed to determine if the assumption of equal variances between the four linguistic groups exists. If variances are statistically significantly different in the data, the test is said to be different.

Table 17: Test of Homogeneity of Variances for Federal Working Language Scale

Item	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
Amharic is a pride for all nations and nationalities	2.793	3	214	.041
Amharic degrades nations' and nationalities' identities	2.832	3	214	.039
Amharic federal recruitment medium provides equitable job opportunities	3.479	3	213	.017
Amharic only federal working language use is a threat for national unity	2.903	3	211	.036
Using Amharic as a sole federal working language is appropriate	4.128	3	214	.007

As depicted in Table 17 above, for each of the items of the federal working language scale, the significance value is $< .05$. That is, the p value is significant. Hence, the variance between Amharic and Oromo, Amharic and Tigrinya, Amharic and other languages as mother tongue speakers; the variance between Oromo and Tigrinya, Oromo and other languages speakers; and the variance between Tigrinya and other languages as mother tongue speakers' means are anticipated to have a probability of statistically significant differences. In each item, at least the mean of one group, regarding their attitudes towards using Amharic as a sole federal working language, can be different from another one.

As the variance of each of the items is statistically significantly different, it is possible to run ANOVA. Therefore, in what follows, in order to find out postgraduate students' attitudes towards the federal working language and determine if there are statistically significant differences between the means of Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother tongue speakers, descriptive statistics and the one-way ANOVA are carried out, respectively.

Table 18: Federal Working Language Descriptive Statistics for Analysis of Variance

Item	Mother Tongue	N	Mean	SD	SE	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Min.	Max.
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Amharic is a pride for all nations and nationalities	Amharic	99	4.34	1.042	.105	4.14	4.55	1	5
	Oromo	58	1.81	.963	.127	1.56	2.06	1	5
	Tigrinya	26	3.88	1.275	.250	3.37	4.40	1	5
	Others	35	3.14	1.240	.210	2.72	3.57	1	5
	Total	218	3.42	1.511	.102	3.22	3.62	1	5
Amharic degrades other nations' and nationalities' identities	Amharic	99	4.32	.946	.095	4.13	4.51	1	5
	Oromo	58	1.91	1.113	.146	1.62	2.21	1	5
	Tigrinya	26	3.92	1.093	.214	3.48	4.36	2	5
	Others	35	2.97	1.294	.219	2.53	3.42	1	5
	Total	218	3.42	1.473	.100	3.22	3.61	1	5
Amharic federal recruitment medium provides equitable job opportunities	Amharic	99	3.86	.937	.094	3.67	4.05	1	5
	Oromo	58	1.55	.799	.105	1.34	1.76	1	4
	Tigrinya	26	3.69	1.123	.220	3.24	4.15	1	5
	Others	34	2.82	1.193	.205	2.41	3.24	1	5
	Total	217	3.06	1.375	.093	2.88	3.24	1	5
Amharic only federal working language use is a threat for national unity	Amharic	96	4.33	1.102	.112	4.11	4.56	1	5
	Oromo	58	2.07	1.090	.143	1.78	2.36	1	5
	Tigrinya	26	4.08	1.129	.221	3.62	4.53	1	5
	Others	35	3.20	1.302	.220	2.75	3.65	1	5
	Total	215	3.51	1.482	.101	3.31	3.71	1	5
Using Amharic as a sole federal working language is appropriate	Amharic	99	3.95	1.146	.115	3.72	4.18	1	5
	Oromo	58	1.45	.753	.099	1.25	1.65	1	5
	Tigrinya	26	3.65	1.129	.221	3.20	4.11	1	5
	Others	35	2.71	1.226	.207	2.29	3.14	1	5
	Total	218	3.05	1.497	.101	2.85	3.25	1	5

Where *N* is number of respondents; SD is Standard Deviation; SE is Standard Error

As calculated from Table 18, for the federal working language scale, the means of the Amharic and Tigrinya as mother tongue speakers were found to be 4.16 and 3.84, which are more than 3 (the mean average of the scale), with average standard deviations of 1.035 and 1.150, respectively. In contrast, the average mean of the Oromo as mother tongue speakers is found to be 1.76, which is below average, with an average standard deviation of .944. In addition, the average mean of other languages as mother tongue speakers is found to be 2.97, which is almost 3, with an average standard deviation of 1.251. Thus, it can be inferred that the Amharic and Tigrinya as mother tongue speakers

held positive attitudes towards employing Amharic only as a federal working language. In fact, those who speak Amharic as a mother tongue showed relatively high positive attitudes towards the use of Amharic as a sole federal working language than Tigrinya as mother tongue speakers. On the contrary, the Oromo as mother tongue speakers held negative attitudes towards using Amharic as a single federal working language, while the other languages as mother tongue speakers held a neutral position.

Moreover, there are differences between the means of the four mother tongue groups. For example, for each of the five items, the means of the Amharic and Tigrinya as mother tongue speakers are above the mean average, while the means of the Oromo and other languages as mother tongue speakers are below the mean average. Therefore, one-way ANOVA is employed to test if the means are statistically significantly different from each other. That is, for each item, an associative null hypothesis that reads, “There is no statistically significant difference between the means of the four linguistic groups” is tested, where the level of significance (α) to accept or reject the hypothesis is .05.

Table 19: Federal Working Language SPSS Output for One-Way ANOVA

Item		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	Sig.
Amharic is a pride for all nations and nationalities	BG	242.998	3	80.999	68.737	.000
	Within Groups	252.177	214	1.178		
	Total	495.174	217			
Amharic degrades nations' and nationalities' identities	BG	225.971	3	75.324	65.781	.000
	Within Groups	245.043	214	1.145		
	Total	471.014	217			
Amharic federal recruitment medium provides equitable job opportunities	BG	207.377	3	69.126	73.309	.000
	Within Groups	200.845	213	.943		
	Total	408.221	216			
Amharic only federal working language use is a threat for national unity	BG	197.236	3	65.745	50.907	.000
	Within Groups	272.504	211	1.291		
	Total	469.740	214			
Using Amharic as a sole federal working language is appropriate	BG	242.325	3	80.775	70.809	.000
	Within Groups	244.120	214	1.141		
	Total	486.445	217			

Where df is degree of freedom; *F* is *F* ratio; Sig. is significance; BG is Between Groups

As illustrated in the last column (Sig.) of Table 19, for the five items, as determined by one-way ANOVA, there were statistically significant differences between group means (Sig. = .000 that is, $p < .05$). As a result, the associative null hypothesis is rejected. This implies that there were statistically significant differences between the means of the linguistic groups; that is, pertaining to their attitudes towards the use of Amharic as a sole federal working language. However, it does not clearly show whether all the means were statistically significantly different from each other or not. Hence, the Tukey test (a *post hoc* test) is employed to determine which means were statistically significantly different from each other. As illustrated in Table 20 below, in each of the five items, the Tukey test compares each mother tongue group against the three groups to detect where there may be statistically significantly difference. In Table 20, the Amharic as mother tongue speaker group is first compared with Oromo, second with Tigrinya, and last with other languages as mother tongue speaker group.

Table 20: The Tukey Test for Federal Working Language Scale

Item	(I) Mother Tongue	(J) Mother Tongue	MD (I-J)	SE	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Amharic is a pride for all nations and nationalities	Amharic	Oromo	2.533*	.179	.000	2.07	3.00
		Tigrinya	.459	.239	.224	-.16	1.08
		Others	1.201*	.213	.000	.65	1.75
	Oromo	Amharic	-2.533*	.179	.000	-3.00	-2.07
		Tigrinya	-2.074*	.256	.000	-2.74	-1.41
		Others	-1.333*	.232	.000	-1.93	-.73
	Tigrinya	Amharic	-.459	.239	.224	-1.08	.16
		Oromo	2.074*	.256	.000	1.41	2.74
		Others	.742*	.281	.044	.01	1.47
	Others	Amharic	-1.201*	.213	.000	-1.75	-.65
		Oromo	1.333*	.232	.000	.73	1.93
		Tigrinya	-.742*	.281	.044	-1.47	-.01
Amharic degrades other nations' and nationalities' identities	Amharic	Oromo	2.409*	.177	.000	1.95	2.87
		Tigrinya	.400	.236	.328	-.21	1.01
		Others	1.352*	.210	.000	.81	1.90
	Oromo	Amharic	-2.409*	.177	.000	-2.87	-1.95
		Tigrinya	-2.009*	.253	.000	-2.66	-1.36
		Others	-1.058*	.229	.000	-1.65	-.46
	Tigrinya	Amharic	-.400	.236	.328	-1.01	.21
		Oromo	2.009*	.253	.000	1.36	2.66
		Others	.952*	.277	.004	.23	1.67
	Others	Amharic	-1.352*	.210	.000	-1.90	-.81
		Oromo	1.058*	.229	.000	.46	1.65
		Tigrinya	-.952*	.277	.004	-1.67	-.23
Amharic federal recruitment medium provides equitable job opportunities	Amharic	Oromo	2.307*	.161	.000	1.89	2.72
		Tigrinya	.166	.214	.865	-.39	.72
		Others	1.035*	.193	.000	.54	1.53
	Oromo	Amharic	-2.307*	.161	.000	-2.72	-1.89
		Tigrinya	-2.141*	.229	.000	-2.73	-1.55
		Others	-1.272*	.210	.000	-1.81	-.73
	Tigrinya	Amharic	-.166	.214	.865	-.72	.39
		Oromo	2.141*	.229	.000	1.55	2.73
		Others	.869*	.253	.004	.21	1.52
	Others	Amharic	-1.035*	.193	.000	-1.53	-.54
		Oromo	1.272*	.210	.000	.73	1.81
		Tigrinya	-.869*	.253	.004	-1.52	-.21
Amharic only federal working language use is a threat for national unity	Amharic	Oromo	2.264*	.189	.000	1.77	2.75
		Tigrinya	.256	.251	.738	-.39	.91
		Others	1.133*	.224	.000	.55	1.71
	Oromo	Amharic	-2.264*	.189	.000	-2.75	-1.77
		Tigrinya	-2.008*	.268	.000	-2.70	-1.31
		Others	-1.131*	.243	.000	-1.76	-.50
	Tigrinya	Amharic	-.256	.251	.738	-.91	.39
		Oromo	2.008*	.268	.000	1.31	2.70
		Others	.877*	.294	.017	.11	1.64
	Others	Amharic	-1.133*	.224	.000	-1.71	-.55
		Oromo	1.131*	.243	.000	.50	1.76
		Tigrinya	-.877*	.294	.017	-1.64	-.11
Using Amharic as a sole federal working language is appropriate	Amharic	Oromo	2.501*	.177	.000	2.04	2.96
		Tigrinya	.296	.235	.592	-.31	.91
		Others	1.235*	.210	.000	.69	1.78
	Oromo	Amharic	-2.501*	.177	.000	-2.96	-2.04
		Tigrinya	-2.206*	.252	.000	-2.86	-1.55
		Others	-1.266*	.229	.000	-1.86	-.67
	Tigrinya	Amharic	-.296	.235	.592	-.91	.31
		Oromo	2.206*	.252	.000	1.55	2.86
		Others	.940*	.277	.004	.22	1.66
	Others	Amharic	-1.235*	.210	.000	-1.78	-.69
		Oromo	1.266*	.229	.000	.67	1.86
		Tigrinya	-.940*	.277	.004	-1.66	-.22

*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

As shown in Table 20, for each item, there were statistically significance differences between the means of the Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother tongue speaker educated people (Sig. = .000, that is, $p < .05$). Precisely, there were statistically significant differences between Amharic and Oromo, Amharic and other linguistic groups' means as well as between Tigrinya and Oromo, Tigrinya and other linguistic groups' means. There were also statistically significant differences between the means of Oromo and other languages as mother tongue speakers. As discussed earlier, just following Table 18, the means of other languages as mother tongue speakers is 2.97, which is very close to neutral. As a result, it was found out that their means were statistically significantly different from those who held positive attitudes as well as from those who held negative attitudes towards the use of Amharic as a sole federal working language.

As stated under Table 18, the Amharic and Tigrinya as mother tongue speakers held positive attitudes towards using Amharic as a single federal working language. In other words, they perceived the use of Amharic only as a federal working language as appropriate, useful to strengthen national unity, and important instrument to provide the citizenry with equitable job opportunities. Besides, the reasons that were given following each of the rated items by the respondents who held positive attitudes towards using Amharic only as a federal working language are thematically analyzed, in what follows. Using Amharic as a single federal language is appropriate for various reasons. The Amharic language is spoken in many parts of the country and hence it is serving as a tool of societal cohesion. Presently, all nations and nationalities who speak different

languages as mother tongues communicate effectively with Amharic because it was used as a national language and as a medium of instruction for decades. As a result, currently, it is used as a federal working language.

Amharic serves all nations and nationalities as a common medium of communication that enhances national unity. These days, Amharic is not a language of the Amhara people. It has become a neutral language for all Ethiopians. As a result, all nations and nationalities are using it with pride in social gatherings. In fact, all ethnic groups have contributed to the development of the Amharic language. Moreover, the Amhara ethnic group that speaks Amharic as a mother tongue is a mixture of many ethnic groups. Hence, the use of Amharic as a federal working language is a national pride than using one of the colonialist languages unlike other African countries. Amharic unlike English is our own language. Amharic is closer to the nations and nationalities and hence it serves them to express their cultural practices better than English. Amharic is also serving as a tool to provide equal job opportunities in federal institutions for all nations and nationalities. The reason is that Amharic has become a common language. Therefore, educated people of different ethnic groups who learnt the Amharic language for years compete for federal employments and employ equally in federal institutions.

On the contrary, as indicated under Table 18, the Oromo as mother tongue speaker respondents held negative attitudes towards employing Amharic as a sole federal working language. In fact, it does not mean that all of the respondents who speak Amharic and Tigrinya as mother tongues held positive attitudes and all the respondents who speak

other languages as mother tongues held neutral position. There were Amharic, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother tongue speakers who held negative attitudes towards using Amharic only as a federal working language. Of course, it was most of the Oromo and some of the Amharic, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother tongue speakers, who perceived using only Amharic as a federal working language as inappropriate, destructive of national unity and a source of inequitable job opportunities. Moreover, in what follows, the reasons that were given following each of the rated items by the respondents who held negative attitudes towards employing Amharic as a single federal working language are thematically analyzed.

The use of Amharic only as a federal language is inappropriate for a number of reasons. Employing Amharic as a federal working is a pride for its speakers only, but not for other nations and nationalities. Rather, people who do not speak Amharic fluently feel shame and fear to speak Amharic since the speakers of the language laugh at them. Thus, using Amharic as a federal working language has created a sense of superiority and inferiority between Amhara ethnic group and other ethnic groups, respectively. Moreover, Amharic was imposed by force, in the past regimes, as a national language of Ethiopia. In those times, Amharic has been regarded by many Ethiopians as an imposed language, and because of this view many people do not consider it as a pride. In contrast, people are proud of using English because it is an international language. A number of people enjoy using English and so prefer English to Amharic. The use of English as a federal working language is also preferable as it is a useful medium for participating in global development.

The use of Amharic as a sole federal working language degrades the identities of other languages, other than Amharic, as mother tongue speakers since the Amharic language dominates other languages, which leads to the extinction of the dominated languages and so the identities that are reflected through them. Many speakers of other languages are discouraged to use their languages and hence they are hardly likely to be identified by their languages. Consequently, as Amharic is the federal working language, everything at national level that is reflected through the federal working language is the identity of the Amharas. Using Amharic as a federal working language promotes Amhara's identity at the expense of other linguistic groups. Therefore, employing Amharic only as a federal working language is a problem for the equality of languages as well as for the identities of their speakers. In brief, if the aim of the government is to pacify historical injustice, Amharic must not be a federal working language since it undermines others and shows a continuity of the old social structure.

Furthermore, using Amharic as a recruiting medium for federal vacancies has brought about inequitable job opportunities in federal institutions because most people who speak other languages, other than Amharic, are learning through their mother tongues and thus those who speak Amharic as a mother tongue and learn through it have better access. People who speak Amharic as a mother tongue are advantaged. As a result, federal institutions are dominated by Amharic as mother tongue speakers. Moreover, a number of Ethiopians do not speak the Amharic language. There are people who reside in different localities that can contribute a lot to the development of the country, but they are systematically excluded from federal job opportunities because they do not speak

Amharic very well. In this regard, Amharic entirely favors its speakers. For obvious reason, therefore, other languages speakers are victims. People who speak Amharic as a second language and people who do not speak the language at all are discriminated. Thus, it is better to use a neutral language as a federal working language and thereby mitigate the employment inequalities of federal institutions. Here, note that issues that are related to what has been discussing in this subsection will be discussed at length under 5.2.2.

5.2 Discourses about Language Policy and Practice

This subsection deals with the analysis and discussions of educated people's discourses about language policy and language practice. Specifically, it deals with the analyses and discussions of educated people's discourses about opportunities and challenges of using numerous languages as media of mass communications, justice, administration, and instruction for national unity and development. It also analyzes and discusses people's discourses about using Amharic only as a federal working language.

5.2.1 Multilingual Language Policy and Practice Discourses

Currently, several languages are used as media of instruction, administration, and mass communications. Moreover, despite the presence of minority nationalities that are still suffering from learning through unfamiliar languages, the Ethiopian government has provided the chance for about 30 linguistic groups, which account for about 92 per cent of the total population of the country, to learn in their mother tongues. A number of

nations and nationalities are also using their languages as media of administration and mass communications. Such practices have brought about two controversial views: Promoting linguistic diversity – giving rights for nations and nationalities to use their languages as media of various purposes – promotes linguistic equality, strengthens national unity, and enhances national development, and its antithesis – encouraging linguistic diversity brings inequality, impedes national unity, and slows down national development. Moreover, mother tongue education has become a very controversial discourse in Ethiopia where the proponents and opponents of the policy have been reflecting divergent discourses. The aim of this subsection is therefore to reveal divergent discourses on opportunities and challenges of using many languages as media of mass communications, instruction, and administration for national unity and development as well as on using mother tongues as media of instruction.

5.2.1.1 Opportunities of MLP and Practice for National Unity

Majority of the respondents, 171 (78.4 per cent), replied that the current language policy has created various opportunities for strengthening national unity, while 17 (7.8 per cent) responded that they did not have any idea about the policy and its opportunities. In addition, under an item that deals with challenges of the present language policy for national unity, majority of the respondents, 111 (50.9 per cent), replied that it did not create any challenges that obstruct the unity of the country. Thereafter, the respondents, who said the language policy has created a number of opportunities that strengthen national unity, gave a number of reasons. The reasons are thematically analyzed along

with other related reasons given following respondents' responses to other items and key informants' views, in what follows.

The current language policy confirmed the right of nations and nationalities to use their languages as media of instruction, administration, justice, and mass communications. Confirming the rights of nations and nationalities to use their languages for various purposes is useful to develop a sense of inclusion in all linguistic groups in the economic, social, cultural, and political systems of the country. It also helps to confirm peoples' linguistic human rights. As the policy provides the right for linguistic groups to use their languages as media of instruction, television, newspapers, and the radio, it enabled them to think about their country. For instance, the present language policy in education enables students to stay at school and learn effectively as well as to strengthen their relationships with their teachers and with their community. This in turn strengthens national unity as students' and their communities' relationships with the country are likely to be very strong. Hence, allowing nations and nationalities to learn effectively through their mother tongues is useful to develop positive attitudes towards their country. This chance is provided for most of the citizenry equally. Therefore, confirming nationalities' rights of using their languages as media of instruction, administrations, justice, and administration is beneficial for sticking all linguistic groups together. It strengthens national unity by promoting mutual respect, tolerance, love, and harmony because promoting such social values helps to create good outlooks and feelings towards the state. In so doing, the present language policy has created opportunities to strengthen national unity based on willingness of all nations and nationalities.

Ensuring language equality satisfies ethnic groups' language use needs and interests and thereby avoids linguistic conflicts that might occur in the country. Giving equal state recognition for all indigenous languages as well as confirming the rights of nations and nationalities to use their languages as media of instruction, administration, and mass communications have minimized the conflicts that were taking place between linguistic groups and the central government in the previous regimes and brought about hopes for building strong national unity. That is, the language policy satisfies the diverse language use interests of different ethnic groups, which leads to peaceful coexistence among the groups. Hence, confirming the right for nations and nationalities to learn, get information, and administer in their mother tongues consolidates the unity of the country. Moreover, the language policy has created the feeling and awareness that Ethiopianness is not an imposed entity as it was in the previous regimes where various ethnic groups were forced to assimilate to the Amharic language and Amhara culture. This opportunity made them to work in union for a common national goal. Likewise, one of the key informants, a mayor of the Kulito town, argued that:

The one language, one religion, one nation, one flag practice of the past made people to see the nation and the flag doubtfully and think as if all of us were to assimilate to one religion, one language, and one ethnic group. In the grassroots, farmers used to feel this thing. Besides, those who get the chance of learning also used to feel as if they were made Ethiopians by force, unwillingly. However, currently, it is through providing people the advantages that they could get from Ethiopia, respecting their constitutional right, and allowing them to develop their languages and cultures, and use their histories in a way they want. The policy

possesses all these qualities that help to create the feeling of national unity. If I and you are equal, ... If people believe in equality and those who had the sense of superiority disappear, and people live anywhere their identity being respected, without making any effort to look like others, the policy becomes very crucial for national unity and citizens' freedom because it creates the confidence, in everyone, to live being themselves. (KI2, 25/10/2011)

Therefore, to strengthen national unity, the language right of each ethnic group should be respected as confirming the right to use one's language for various purposes such as media of mass communications and administration solidifies the unity of nations and nationalities. If every individual gets pieces of information, learns, and administers in their own tongues, they would develop positive national feeling. Any individual starts to think about national unity by utilizing the language and culture of his or her locality. Similarly, a given linguistic group starts thinking about unity from using its own language for various purposes in its specific locality and then about the country in a broader manner. Thinking about the country at large is likely to be achieved when nations and nationalities get the right to learn, get information, and administer in their mother tongues and be cultivated being positive thinkers. In other words, unity starts from the willingness of individual persons of a specific locality or nationality. For this reason, any person prior to all begins to think about his/her locality and interact with people of that area and then commences to think beyond that – he/she starts to think about the unity of the country and integrate with other nations and nationalities.

As the thematic analysis of the research participants' views revealed, the present language policy and practice enabled every nation and nationality to use their languages with freedom and equality. All languages are equal – there is no language inferior to any other language. Everyone came to understand that all languages are equal and respect one another. This leads to nations, nationalities, and peoples peaceful coexistence as well as to unity in diversity. There exists peace because the right of using mother tongues, which was the question of nationalities and source of conflicts, is confirmed or equality of all languages is respected. If there is peace, there are stability, respect, and tolerance among linguistic groups. If there are stability, respect, and tolerance among different linguistic groups, and peace in the country, there is obviously a strong unity. Hence, nations and nationalities should get the right to use their languages and be proud of their languages, cultures, and identities, and then think about strengthening national unity. Nations and nationalities have to be proud of their languages, cultures, and identities for such practices have great contribution for strengthening national unity. For instance, when the right of students for learning through their mother tongues is confirmed, they understand their lessons easily and try to put it into practice, which in turn helps to produce good citizens who love each other and the country and work hard to strengthen the unity of the country.

Likewise, using mother tongues as media of radio, television, and newspapers at zonal and regional levels helps to expose people to regional, national, and international news that focus on the relevance of togetherness that the grassroots can understand the messages easily through languages they know best. Employing several mother tongues as

zonal and regional working languages also enhances national unity because it confirms the right of people to access information in their languages. People feel happy when they use their languages as media of mass communications, which creates unity as all people enjoy the right to use and develop their languages equality. This finding coheres with Asfaw's and Seyoum's (1997) view that claims successful unity can only be achieved through respect and equality that in the case of Ethiopia "requires psychological and societal liberation from an abusive past in order to facilitate moral ground for positive contributions ..." (p. 169).

In general, using many languages, as media of instruction, mass communications, justice, and administration creates various opportunities to strengthen the unity of the country. Any individual person thinks about national unity, if his/her rights are respected. People would also develop a sense of inclusion in the social, cultural, economic, and political systems of the country, whenever their languages, cultures, and identities are respected. Therefore, recognizing all languages equally by the state make their respective speakers feel respected and included in the social, cultural, political, and economic activities of the country. Recognizing all languages equally also avoids conflicts that can result in from inequalities of languages. It helps to avoid the sense of otherness, which is an indication of exclusion that leads to separation. In addition, it is also useful to avoid ethnic conflicts that might arise because of undermining languages of one another. In so doing, it helps to develop a sense of equality and to avoid inferiority and superiority complexes among ethnic groups. These circumstances avoid the act of undermining one another, which in turn leads to national unity. This agrees with the literature that other factors conducive to

unity such as making different groups in the polity feel a sense of belonging and a conviction that their needs and aspirations are being met must be present before a common language (Bamgbose, 1994).

In addition, in order to strengthen national unity, the language policy should consider the Ethiopian people's settlement circumstances. As the thematic analysis showed, these days, there are children who are still learning in languages that are not familiar to them. Children who are forced to learn in languages they and their parents do not know may develop negative attitudes towards the languages and their speakers as well as towards the state. Therefore, if the policy does not confirm language rights and language equality, national unity would be in danger. Besides, denying the right of learning through mother tongues is a violation of language rights that might result in conflicts. Likewise, a key informant, a language expert in the SNNPR education bureau, argued that if schools in Oromia region force every individual to learn in Oromo, the administrators do not take the Ethiopian peoples' settlement in which various linguistic groups are living in an intermingled manner, into consideration (KI1, 23/10/2011). The informant further argued that this might lead to chaos, which in turn creates a problem in national unity, if timely solution is not provided. Therefore, it is only if every ethnic group's language use interest is respected and their needs are assessed and got the necessary response based on their interest that they could develop a sense of inclusion, which is an essential means for safeguarding the unity of the country.

Multilingual language policy is a common trend used by many countries as a part of language use management and different ethnic groups' identity manifestation. Moreover, using many languages and reflecting different cultures and identities are naturally endowed human rights. Thus, promoting various languages and cultures could not be a source of political antagonism and antinational unity; rather, it convinces nations and nationalities to accept their differences as their beauty and coexist in harmony by respecting each other's languages and cultures. Thus, the very issue that should be taken into consideration is that there is no a nation or nationality that wants to neglect its own language and use any other nation's language as a language of mass communications, education, justice, and administration. For this reason, multilingual language policy is getting social acceptance, and nations and nationalities are respecting others' rights to use their languages for various purposes. In other words, promoting multilingual language policy is a source of understanding, tolerance, respect, and unity as it confirms language rights of almost all linguistic groups and enables them to get various services through their own languages. As a key informant, a state minister of the Ministry of Education firmly argued:

Ethiopia is built by nations and nationalities. So, in Ethiopia, in a country built by nations and nationalities, the basic thing is respecting, respecting without transgressing the rules of the constitution, the question of rights. ... The struggle for disintegration [that had been taken place] in the previous regimes disappeared and people who work for disintegration are vanishing. People who believe that Ethiopia is a country where each individual lives with their rights respected are

emerging. In these years, national love, living together, development, growth, and living in peace have come and continued. In contrast, 20 years ago, we were in times of war. We were in a process of fragmentation during the time when we were forced to assimilate to one language, to learn in one language, culture. The country was returned from the peak of break up, managed to come out of the danger of disintegration, owing to the introduction of respecting human rights and the creation of national allegiance. ... The feeling of national love has been increasing. People started to understand Ethiopianness with reliance on each other, with trust among nations and nationalities, rather than with force. (KI19, 28/05/2013)

As can be inferred from the above text, for the informant, the present language policy is designed to safeguard the rules of the constitution and confirm the language rights of the nations and nationalities. Hence, the multilingual language policy could not be a divisive political instrument and antinational unity for it is established based on the real situation that is prevailing in Ethiopia. There was linguistic diversity in the past. The language policy enabled citizens to use the existing diverse languages with freedom – there is no new language that came into being as the result of the policy. Thus, it could not bring disunity. Instead, giving official recognition for all languages and using them for various purposes have a significant role in consolidating national unity. As a key informant, a language expert in the Oromia culture and tourism bureau, pointed out:

Since Ethiopia is a country of many nations and nationalities that speak a number of languages, respecting their rights, confirming equal rights for all in order to

help them develop their languages cannot erode national unity; it rather strengthens unity. Misunderstanding and disintegration happen, when one nation tries to suppress the rights of others. Thus, providing a suitable circumstance for different nations and nationalities to learn in their languages, develop their languages equally and participate in such issues strengthens unity and develops togetherness; it could not bring any fragmentation and controversies among them. Hence, in my view, when we see from the past regimes' situation, questions that say the right of nations and nationalities should be respected equally were raised as one big issue in the struggle of Ethiopian nations and nationalities. Language was raised as one factor. Therefore, I believe respecting the rights of nations and nationalities, the absence of suppressing one by any other nation leads to a better situation. (KI8, 05/07/2012)

A language and cultural value development director of the federal government culture and tourism bureau shared the earlier mentioned language expert's view. He emphasized that "there was a different situation before change: All nations and nationalities were suppressed and forced to use one language that in turn brought about different questions" (KI16, 08/02/2013). The director further argued that the use of many languages as media of various purposes presently is a response to the then language questions. This response has confirmed language rights, ensured stability, and thereby brought about national unity. It is evident that a number of opposition forces, which at the end gave birth to the current government, fought for a long time against the one-language one-nation ideology and its practice.

After the current government seized the political power of the country, the one-language one-nation ideology was changed to the ideology and practice of diversity in many respects. The ideological change is boldly indicated in the constitution under Article 39(2) that “every Nation, Nationality and People in Ethiopia has the right to speak, to write and develop its own language; to express, to develop and to promote its culture; and to preserve its history.” Likewise, the unifying symbols were changed from one language, one nation, and one religion to symbols that encompass diverse entities that are believed to bring about unity in diversity. For example, such a convictional symbol is clearly stated in the constitution of the country, under Article 3(2) that: “The national emblem in the flag shall reflect the hope of the Nations, Nationalities, Peoples as well as religious communities of Ethiopia to live together in equality and unity.”

Nevertheless, the shift in the ideology of unifying symbols is not without criticism. As the thematic analysis of the views of the educated people respondents, who held negative attitudes towards the role of multilingual language policy in national unity, pinpointed, the degree that the young generations of different linguistic groups communicate with the “national” language is severely undermined. Without a common language and common cultural values, the project of national unity is unattainable. Currently, the language policy is driving the country apart. People are focusing on their local languages and cultures and forgetting the issues of the country that paves a way for division and disintegration. Likewise, as one of the key informants, a critic who wrote articles and a book on language use in the present regime articulated, “The current language policy is bad because it has divided the people by ethnicity” (KI11, 13/07/2012). This concurs

with Takkele's (1995 E. C.) opinion that "... man is between two centers: One of the centers is divisive, while the other center strengthens unity; we found ethnic difference at the center of divisiveness" (p. 36). Such views are discussed at length in the following subsection. At any rate nevertheless, as the thematic analysis indicated, national unity is strengthened by confirming language rights of nations and nationalities and thereby creating peace and harmony among the nations and nationalities rather than by forcing them to use one language and forget their ethnicities because it is likely to bring about national strife and disintegration.

Therefore, allowing nations and nationalities to use several languages for instructional and administrative purposes is by far more relevant to strengthen national unity than forcing them to use a single language by abandoning their own languages, as the purpose of promoting numerous languages is to safeguard linguistic and cultural interests of many nations and nationalities and thereby to create harmony. Besides, ratifying language equality and language rights would increase peoples' beliefs on and loyalties to the country, which helps to strengthen the unity of the country. National unity is strengthened, if all nations and nationalities use their own languages in administration, mass communications, and education. The nations and nationalities can develop positive attitudes towards each other and the country, if the right to use their mother tongues or languages of their preferences is confirmed. This practice strengthens the unity of the people because it satisfies their language use interests. Therefore, if nations and nationalities get the right to use their languages as media of mass communications, instruction, justice, and administration and thereby enrich their languages, cultures, and

indigenous knowledge, they can work for unity and development in union. Such a practice also creates an opportunity for the development of diverse cultures, music, and literatures through which the country can be adorned. Regarding the relevance of promoting several languages, a key informant, who has been an active participant in the social, cultural, and political activities of her community, said that:

All Ethiopian languages were in existence as they do currently. It is a matter of using or not using them with freedom; and this does not mean the languages were not in existence. Thus, giving official recognition for their presence and using them for various purposes will have a significant importance on the unity of the country. The reason is that the languages are seen as different vegetables that are presented in one dining table. The beauty that exists when one variety of vegetables is presented in a dining table is different from presenting diverse varieties of vegetables. I see the languages from this vantage point. They are beauty. They had been in existence; there is no language that is created now. The country had unity; it is also in unity and will remain in unity forever. I say there will not be any change. (KI4, 05/04/2012)

In this text, the informant described linguistic diversity metaphorically. Languages are seen as vegetables, though they are not, that beautify the country as different vegetables presented in a dining table do rather than as problems that destruct national unity. Thus, multilingual language policy and its practice, promoting linguistic diversity, cannot bring disunity, as it does not attempt to suppress any linguistic groups' language use interest. If

linguistic groups' language use interests are ensured, it is highly likely to ensure national unity. Promoting several languages *per se* could not be a divisive entity. For instance, as the aforementioned informant pointed out, Ethiopia is a country that has many nations and nationalities with diverse languages and cultures. In contrast, Somalia has only one language. Nonetheless, despite the presence of diverse languages and the promotion of the languages, Ethiopia is more united than Somalia. Besides, a key informant, a language and cultural value development director of the federal government culture and tourism bureau, said that:

The main thing is there is unity; there are also differences – there is unity through diversity. For instance, there are other countries. If we take countries like Nigeria ... as instance, they use many languages more than we do. (...) These countries use several languages, but their people live in unity. The other thing is there is a country that has one language, which lives in conflict and with several problems. ... Somalia, our neighbor, is a typical example. Therefore, the very big issue is, the languages were in their place even in the past. That is, the languages that we are using currently were in existence in Ethiopia. There are no new languages. However, the relevance of the languages should be increased. Presently, it is the stage of making the languages advantageous. We are saying their services should increase much better than that of the earlier governments. (KI16, 08/02/2013)

Thus, linguistic diversity and the language policy that promotes it could not divide the country. The reason is that there are a number of countries, including Ethiopia, which promote linguistic diversity but still exist in unity. On the contrary, there are societies that

speak the same language like the United States of America and England, and North Korea and South Korea but do not form one country. Hence, it could not be reasonable if people say multilingual language policy is divisive. Rather, it is suppressing ethnic or linguistic groups' linguistic and cultural rights, and the resultant frictions and ideological differences that can bring about national disintegration. This concurs with Fishman's (1968a) argument that says differences do not need to be divisive: "Divisiveness is an ideologized position and it can magnify minor differences; indeed it can manufacture differences in language as in other matters almost as easily as it can capitalize on more obvious differences" (p. 45).

Therefore, it can be argued that the belief that multilingual language policy, promoting linguistic diversity, would divide Ethiopia is improper, as real life experiences could not confirm it. It is unlikely that the country can be more united if one language is chosen from numerous languages and used to run every official affairs of the country. A relevant practice is creating a strategy to develop all languages and cultures, which is the peculiar feature of the present language policy, and thereby minimize the threats of national unity. As one of the key informants, an Alaba as a mother tongue speaker who has been active participant in the political, cultural, and social activities of his community, articulated:

Beyond giving political power to the people, the federal system is established based on regional structure. Regions are also established based on the settlement of the people in respective with linguistic and cultural similarities. This can bring unity through diversity. Diversity is the difference in our languages, religions, and cultures, and our unity is our living together by respecting the linguistic, religious,

and cultural differences. ... This is because diversity is our beauty and our unity is a power. Hence, as regions administer by themselves, they are developing their languages, developing their cultures ... it is a constitutionally confirmed right that should be respected; I think a strong unity based on diversity is being built. (KI3, 25/10/2011)

Generally, unity in diversity and therefore promoting all languages is being inculcated in the minds of lots of scholars as in the above informant's view for it is taken as a crucial option by the current government and hence repeatedly articulated in various occasions. Unity in diversity also seems a rational option as it satisfies the diverse language use interests of nations and nationalities and reversing it does directly mean denying the language rights of nations and nationalities who got the opportunities to use their languages as media of various purposes and thereby develop their languages, cultures, indigenous knowledge, and literatures.

5.2.1.2 Challenges of MLP and Practice for National Unity

Despite the opportunities discussed under 5.2.1.1 above, a considerable number of the respondents, 86 (39.4 per cent), replied that multilingual language policy has created various challenges for national unity, while 21 (9.6 per cent) responded that they did not have any views concerning the policy and its challenges. In addition, under an item that deals with opportunities of the current language policy for national unity, a substantial number of the respondents, 30 (13.8 per cent), responded that the policy did not create

any opportunities that strengthen national unity. Then, the respondents, who said the language policy has created challenges that impede the unity of the country, gave numerous reasons. The respondents' responses are thematically analyzed together with other related reasons given following the respondents' responses to other items and key informants' views as follows.

Since the implementation of the present language policy, people have been giving less emphasis to Amharic, which is the working language of the federal government. Giving much emphasis to local languages by itself discourages the use of one "national" language that helps to enhance national unity. Allowing nations and nationalities to use their languages as media of instruction and administration also creates national division. It discourages unity by making people to focus on their mother tongues. It also restricts people to their specific regions only. These social practices have brought about the sense of regionalism and ethnocentrism. The language policy provided all nations and nationalities with the chance of developing their languages that paves the way for developing a sense of locally bounded thoughts, which could be threats for the unity of the country. Hence, the use of a number of languages as media of mass communications, instruction, and administration impedes unity owing to nationalities' disproportionate focuses on their languages that make them to have poor proficiencies in the federal working language, which in turn discourages social integration and ultimately destroys the feeling of Ethiopianness.

On the one hand, students are learning in a better way in their own languages at the elementary level, which is a good practice. Nonetheless, students' learning through their mother tongues makes them have poor proficiencies in the Amharic language. This creates a problem in providing nations and nationalities with equitable job opportunities in federal institutions. For example, one of the key informants, who has been working his PhD dissertation on language use and development related subject, pointed out that Oromo speakers who graduated from universities are facing considerable problems when they want to be employed in other regions such as Tigray and Amhara because they do not know the languages (KI5, 11/04/2012). The informant added that this has resulted from students' carelessness and lack of interest in learning other languages, especially Amharic, which is a language that serves them as a medium of social integration. This in turn, hinders graduates of different regions from being equally competent in federal job opportunities.

In addition, as the abovementioned key informant expressed his observation, when Oromo students join universities or graduate from universities and engaged in various careers in areas where Oromo is not spoken, they become restricted linguistically and psychologically and become incapable of working their careers effectively (KI5, 11/04/2012). Such situations are big challenges for national unity because it creates inequitable job opportunities and poor social cohesion among various linguistic groups. This agrees with Cohen's (2006) argument that if students learn in local languages they "will be confined to opportunities in a small geographical and social area" and thus "will

never be able to take advantage of the wider opportunities that accrue at the level of the state” (p. 175).

Furthermore, one of the key informants, who has been an active participant in the social, cultural, and political activities of her community, spoke out that the present language policy and language practice has brought about some challenges owing to people’s level of understanding; for instance, everyone wants his/her language to be a superior one (KI4, 05/04/2012). The key informant further argued that:

Such perceptions are resulted from their thought that the previous regimes had made the Amharic language superior by suppressing other languages that made them remain in the lowest level of development. As a result, everyone wants to make his/her own language superior. ... Moreover, there have been weaknesses on the part of educated persons in creating awareness about language use. The educated classes of various linguistic groups have been attempting to worsen linguistic groups’ negative attitudes towards Amharic. Consequently, there are people who see Amharic as a language of others. Such a view results in the incapability of creating awareness and thereby bringing behavioral change on those who do not have awareness about the relevance of having a common language of integration. For instance, there have been times when students in Oromia region refused to learn the Amharic language as a subject. Changing such views is hence a big challenge that requires commitment of political leaders and those who are responsible for implementing the language policy. (KI4, 05/04/2012)

In general, encouraging linguistic diversity is viewed by some of the respondents and one of the key informants as divisive in that nations and nationalities are promoting ultra-nationalism that demolishes the feeling of Ethiopianness by giving excessive focus to their local languages and cultures. The current language policy made people to give more emphasis to their local issues than to national political, social, and economic affairs, which might ultimately result in disintegration. This finding concurs with Cohen's (2007) finding that says "the use of local languages in primary education has been seen by some as an aspect of an ethnically divisive policy that encourages the perception of differences and the development of regional nationalisms" (p. 64).

Furthermore, one of the key informants, a critic who wrote articles and a book on language use in the present regime said that employing different languages in the mass media, administration, and education is a big challenge for national unity because it leads to miscommunication and keeps people apart (KI11, 13/07/2012). The informant further argued that:

We, Ethiopians, need to live in unity. Living in unity does not mean one has to live by belittling the other and eliminating his/her language. People and languages are equal. However, this does not mean people should quarrel because of language. We should use the Amharic language to do all things, run all government activities – administration, education, and mass media at all levels, national and regional ...because Amharic has been used as a government language since ancient times. (KI11, 13/07/2012)

This text implies using local languages, other than Amharic, as media of administration, education, and mass communications is a threat to national unity. Similarly, the thematic analysis of the views of educated people respondents, who held negative attitudes towards the role of diverse languages as media of various purposes in national unity, revealed that the promotion of linguistic diversity, multilingual language policy creates social division among ethnic groups and encourages tribalism that might ultimately lead to national disintegration. In the past, Ethiopia was a unified state from one end to other – North to South, East to West. Presently, Ethiopia is divided into many segments based on languages that may eventually bring about disintegration.

The central idea of the argument is that using a language other than Amharic or promoting linguistic diversity is divisive. That is, promoting one language in all formal domains as it was being practiced in the previous political administrations strengthens unity. In other words, those who argued for the promotion of a single language perceived the current language policy and its practice as a curse because it encourages linguistic diversity and multiple identities. The idea of unity through diversity – through the accommodation of ethnic differences – is viewed as destructive of national unity. This concurs with Takkele's (1995 E. C.) view that ethnic difference is found at the center of divisiveness in that Professor Schlesinger, mentioning Ethiopia as an example, wrote "seen in all directions, ethnicity these days is dividing and destroying countries" (p. 36) (interpreted from Amharic by the researcher). These days, people with such ideology are described as "unionists" whose political objective is "*unity at all cost*" (Asfaw & Seyoum, 1997), or as "pan-Ethiopian nationalists" (Alem, 2003) that advocate the "past

governments' political centralization with language playing a cementing role" (Dereje, 2010, p. 32).

The unionists firmly denounce the use of any indigenous language in any formal settings except Amharic. In other words, they argue for the practices of the previous regimes' language policies that promote the Amharic language only in all formal domains. In so doing, they associate the current multilingual language policy with the Biblical Metaphor of the Tower of Babel that poses a challenge on bring the society together. For instance, the earlier mentioned key informant, the critic who wrote articles and a book on language use in the present regime, argued that the use of numerous languages in education and administration is problematic, for instance the use of different languages in a factor might lead to miscommunication like what happened in the Tower of Babel. He further argued, "The Babylon, which is indicated in the Bible, where God changed their language, is correct" (KI11, 13/07/2012) for the reason that the Babylonians were not in a position to communicate with each other and finalize building the tower. The informant described the current language use context metaphorically – the use of diverse languages as media of instruction and administration obstructs national unity as it obstructs the Babylonians from building the Tower of Babel. This coincides with Dereje's (2010) view that the present language policy is "perceived with an unfavorable attitude and response from some elites of the former dominant linguistic group (native Amharic-speaking elites)" (p. 38).

Therefore, those who argue for monolingualism perceive the accommodation of linguistic diversity as a curse, while the promotion of Amharic only is viewed as a blessing. They associate the current language policy's promotion of linguistic diversity with the linguistic variation that took place for the first time in the life history of humankind, which is stated in the Holy Bible as the Tower of Babel. As the Holy Bible dictates, "The whole earth was one language," in the meantime its speakers decided to build "a tower, whose top may reach unto the heaven," and the Lord said behold, the people is one and speaks one language and now nothing will be restrained from them, they have imagined to do (Genesis, Chapter 11, pp. 1-9). The Lord stopped the people building the tower by letting them speak different languages: "...they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance" (Acts 2, pp. 2-4). It is true that the existing linguistic ecology of the country mirrors the Biblical Story of the Tower of Babel, but predicting fragmentation owing to attempts to accommodate the languages as well as to create harmony in the linguistic ecology of the country could be a plain wish to see disintegration.

Loss of linguistic unity was the unresolved challenge for the Babylonians that forced them to stop doing what is impractical, but it did not force them to live together in Babylon. Therefore, the Babel is not a punishment; it is rather an imagery that connotes humans' consciousness about using their time effectively by ignoring imaginary thoughts that could not be proved practically. It is imagery for the dispersion of human beings across the earth. Even though in the widespread view, "Babel denotes confusion and discord, the image encompasses much more than this. ...The city is *par excellence* an

image of human community – an image of the universal human dream of unity with other people” (Ryken, Wilhoit, & Longman, 1998, pp. 261-262). The linguistic difference stated in the Bible is not hence a curse: “Loss of linguistic unity is prefigured in the biblical myth of the Tower of Babel with its movement from a universal language to a multiplicity of languages” (Bilik, 1981, p. 19).

In sum, promoting linguistic diversity is unlikely to be a curse. Rather, promoting linguistic diversity is a blessing that paves the way for the development of cultural values and indigenous knowledge embedded within each language. Accommodating linguistic diversity is also a blessing for it helps to cultivate the cultural values and indigenous knowledge. According to a key informant, an active participant in the political, social, and cultural affairs of his local community:

Unity and sovereignty of a country cannot be threatened because of the use of languages. Those who think it will be threatened were deceiving the people in the past. Now they have come with a different theory. There is no a disintegrated county because of respecting peoples’ languages, cultures, and identities. Thinking that respecting peoples’ languages, cultures, and identities will disintegrate the country is thus either ignorance or a trick. It springs from a trick. It is a wrong theory, a wrong concept, which they have used to eliminate others, to obstruct the development of peoples’ cultures. (KI7, 19/06/2012)

In any case, the present language policy does not create any new linguistic differences; instead, it attempts to manage the existing linguistic differences that have been causes for ethnic conflicts and confusion on the essence of national unity. Hence, the policy does not create a new tower of difference that makes it completely different from the Biblical story of the Tower of Babel because all the languages were in existence before the policy was formulated and put into practice.

In fact, during the last 60 years or so a number of nations that took language as a main parameter for nation formation were fragmented into various pieces. However, as time goes, people learnt that it is possible to live together and so independent state formation based on the ideology of cultural and linguistic homogeneity has become a myth of the past. Time has left the practice of independent state formation based on cultural and linguistic homogeneity behind, and consequently people have started to work on political unification through the accommodation of linguistic and cultural diversity. Therefore, currently, linguistic variation is perceived as a norm rather than an exception and as a means to maintain the unity of multilingual societies in many countries, including Ethiopia. Hence, allowing various linguistic groups to use their languages for whatever purpose they want, which is a trend completely different from the language policies of the previous governments, is seen as a seamless option to maintain the unity of the country. This agrees with Berhane's (1990) view that claims to "avoid the disintegration of Ethiopia we must clearly and unequivocally recognize that the old unity based on oppression and inequality must be completely dismantled and replaced by a new and fundamentally different unity" (p. 36).

This implies that promoting a single language, Amharic only, was engaging people in strife – propagating homogeneity to maintain unity was proved ineffective. As a result, confirming language rights is believed to be the way out for long-lasting solution for such problems. Conceivably, due to such reasons, two decades ago, a new language policy that promotes linguistic diversity was introduced. As an Amharic as a mother tongue speaker key informant, who is a language expert in the Amhara region culture and tourism bureau, expressed his view:

For me, the learning of all people through their mother tongues as well as the use of mother tongues for various purposes strengthens unity. Of course, some individuals say, “It erodes unity.” Especially, there are people who say, “It leads to disintegration.” Nevertheless, for me, it brings unity based on respect because each individual person loves languages they tighten their tongues through or languages they grew up with; they respect it more than they do for anything else. Hence, for this is a recognition given to identity, nations and nationalities are expected to bring unity through respecting each other. Mainly, in this age of globalization ... it is better to bring unity through respect than attempting to bring unity by directly suppressing and ordering people to speak and use a certain language for they could consider it as a coercive condition that might in turn lead to fragmentation. (KI14, 23/10/2012)

This text implies that promoting linguistic diversity strengthens national unity. In other words, promoting linguistic diversity has contributed a lot to the mitigation of the

nations' and nationalities' questions and struggles that were prevailing in the previous two regimes, which has in turn brought about promising commencements in strengthening the unity of the country. That is, the major language use related problems that were creating conflicts between nations and nationalities in the previous regimes such as linguistic and cultural assimilation projects of the imperialist and socialist governments are vanished. Consequently, there is no any major problem related with the management of linguistic diversity that could be sources of conflicts and threats for the unity of the country.

Contrary to what has been discussed earlier, in Ethiopia, there are controversies over the promotion of a single language as a federal working language that is regarded as an impediment to national unity. As the thematic analysis of the research participants' views revealed, in the past, only one dominant language was used as a medium for all services throughout the country. That trend is still influencing the present language policy. Most people are still following the suit. The government uses Amharic as a single federal working language, which has become a cause for many debates. In other words, the policy restricts the use of other languages to regional and local levels. Restricting the use of languages, especially the major languages that compete with Amharic, is a challenge for national unity as it creates language use dissatisfaction on competent ethnic groups that can in turn bring about language use conflicts. Competent ethnic groups are complaining about the supremacy of Amharic and want their languages to be federal working languages. Such a linguistic friction is brought about from lack of confirming equality of languages at federal level. Hence, the use of Amharic as a sole federal

working language is a threat for national unity as it has resulted in linguistic frictions. This agrees with research findings conducted in Philippines that argues the choice of national language has been divisive rather than unifying, mainly now in Cebu (Gonzalez, 1991), where the Cebuanos are challenging Tagalog as the basis of the national language in their demand for a multiethnic-based national language incorporating elements from all other languages used in the country (Gonzalez, 1993).

Altogether, despite the constitutional decree that all languages are equal, the regime is also facing with critics because the accommodation of diversity and confirming language equality is partial – it promotes multilingualism at regional and local levels, and monolingualism, Amharic only, at federal level. In such a circumstance, the current federal language policy, the promotion of Amharic only as a federal working language, is perceived as a policy that mirrors the language policies and practice profiles of the previous political regimes. Consequently, there is a perception that such a language promotion is a big challenge for national unity because it has brought about conflicts in language use interests. This concurs with Pool's (1991) argument that the choice of official languages is a controversial political issue in that when “governments, firms, associations, and international organizations designate the languages that they require or permit to be used in official business, interests come into conflict” (p. 495).

The regime believes that linguistic accommodation is a means to strengthen national unity, while practically discouraging the accommodation of linguistic diversity at federal level. For this reason, political parties as well as individual people are resisting the

federal language use of the government. Indeed, political language conflicts (linguistic controversies) are not as simple as people think of them to be. Political language conflicts might lead to national disintegration as it manifested in other countries unless they are taken with the utmost care. For example, Cooper (1989, p. 110) indicated that: “Linguistic conflict led to Bangladesh’s separation from Pakistan. ... Language served as an issue around which their grievances could be mobilized.” It is therefore invaluable to handle linguistic controversies with the utmost care in order to prevent such evil actions.

5.2.1.3 Opportunities of MLP and Practice for National Development

Majority of the respondents, 171 (78.4 per cent), responded that multilingual language policy and its practice have created various opportunities for enhancing national development, whereas 26 (11.9 per cent) replied that they did not have any awareness about the language policy and its opportunities for national development and one of the respondents did not respond. Besides, under an item that deals with challenges of the policy for economic development, majority of the respondents, 115 (52.8 per cent), responded that the language policy did not create any challenges that slow down national development. After that, the respondents, who said multilingual language policy and its practice have created various opportunities that promote national development, as well as those who replied it did not create any challenge, gave a number of reasons. In what follows, the respondents’ reasons are thematically analyzed along with other related reasons given following responses to other items and key informants’ views.

The present language policy confirmed the right of nations and nationalities by allowing them to use their languages for various purposes. This practice has in turn brought about peaceful coexistence among different linguistic groups. As a result, people are working for national development peacefully. There is no time, money, and property spent on war because, presently, the question of language rights, which was one of the main causes for conflicts, is answered. Economic development requires peaceful coexistence of nations and nationalities. When there is peace, national annual budget and other resources are allocated for development activities rather than for buying weapons. If there is peace, people devote their time to development activities than to fights for confirming rights. This implies that the language policy that resulted in peaceful coexistence of nations and nationalities has created lots of opportunities for the socioeconomic development of the country. In other words, peaceful coexistence of all linguistic groups leads to national unity. Unity in turn leads to national development as it promotes working together.

Mother tongue education is also the best means for effective learning in the early ages of children. As the thematic analysis showed, learning educational contents effectively through students' mother tongues enables them to understand pieces of information related to their daily lessons easily, which in turn makes them to be innovative and productive citizens. That is, the use of mother tongues as media of instruction assists students to understand concepts deeply and thereby become a creative workforces who can facilitate development by using their knowledge and creativity at work and by creating materials that simplify works. Learning through mother tongues that students are familiar with also makes them to be high achievers. High achiever students enhance

development after accomplishing their elementary education, secondary education, and university and college careers and engage in various occupations. Moreover, using mother tongues as media of instruction has attracted many children to stay at school and reduced dropouts as it makes them to learn without frustration that results from media of instruction barriers as it was happening in the previous administrative regimes. Thus, the enrolment rate of the country has been increasing ever since the introduction of mother tongue education. The increment in enrolment rate in turn brings about rapid economic development, as increment in primary school enrolment ratio is one of the indicators of economic development. This agrees with Kiani's (2008) finding that Gross Domestic Product growths are positively related to the primary school enrolment-labor force ratio in that primary education is an essential prerequisite for accelerating growth.

In addition, learning through mother tongues helps those who stop education as they finished grade six or eight to attain basic knowledge easily, which assists them to lead micro-economic and modern agricultural activities effectively. Multilingual language policy and its practice has hence brought about various opportunities for national development because it creates suitable environment for acquiring knowledge as well as for producing educated workforce which is the main factor in the socioeconomic development of Ethiopia. Hence, in order to make linguistic diversity the basis for development, each linguistic group of the Ethiopian society has to learn in their mother tongues. If students learn in their mother tongues, they grow up being conscious about their immediate environment that helps them to be critical thinkers and innovators. In brief, employing mother tongues as media of instruction helps to produce plenty of

educated workforces easily that can facilitate national development, without any medium barrier. That is, educated workforce is very productive. This agrees with the human capital theory, which, as Van de Werfhorst's (n.d.) argues, its central concept is that education provides skills and knowledge that have direct influences on the productivity of workers.

Consequently, it can be argued that learning through mother tongue helps to produce plenty of skilled workforces that facilitate national development. The reason, as the thematic analysis revealed, is that if students learn using their mother tongues, they come to school without any frustration. On the contrary, students who do not learn using their mother tongues do not want to go to school, as they dislike frustrations that are resulted from learning through a difficult language. Nevertheless, the present language policy has attracted many children to come to and stay at school, increased self-confidences of students, and thereby reduced dropouts and repetition. This finding agrees with Vawda's (1999) statement that "... mother tongue instruction results in improved learning achievements, low dropout rates, better adjustments to school, cultural preservation, and self-confidence in children" (p. 557), which enables a multilingual country to produce plenty of educated citizens that could facilitate national development.

Similarly, attracting many children to come to and stay at school and thereby reducing dropouts and repetition by employing appropriate medium of instruction enables to ensure healthy society and thereby to accelerate economic development. As the thematic analysis showed, using mother tongues as media of instruction helps students to come to

school with their own interest and learn happily in a simple language. As a result, presently, many children are spending their time in schooling. This helps them to know about how to protect themselves and their society from preventable diseases. It thus increases the overall health condition of the society. When children stay at school, they learn about protecting themselves and their community from preventable diseases such as HIV/AIDS and malaria. Such a practice in turn helps to facilitate development because healthy people are more productive. Healthy citizens learn well, become innovators, and work hard and thereby facilitate national development.

Moreover, if nations and nationalities use their mother tongues as media of instruction, administration, justice, and mass communications, the languages, cultures, music, and literatures develop. If nationalities' languages and cultures develop, the development of the country can be enhanced as the development of languages and cultures give the way for the citizenry to exploit the indigenous knowledge embedded within their respective cultures by integrating it with global technological innovations. The present language policy has enabled the country to produce plenty of educated persons, who know their cultural values and societal indigenous knowledge, hence helps to provoke economic development internally rather than to rely completely on imported innovations and modern thoughts. For instance, the use of mother tongues improves the integration of local cultures and indigenous knowledge into formal school curricula that can in turn help to accelerate development. This finding coincides with the literature that when local cultures and indigenous knowledge of a certain country integrated into the school curricula, students can learn how traditional economic activities can be done in modern

ways, and the indigenous knowledge can be developed which in turn can add a lot to the economic development of the country (Ilboudo, 2003).

The present multilingual language policy that has taken the language ecology of the country into account is bringing promising changes. The language policy has provided the chance for a number of students to learn in their mother tongues. Students' learning in their mother tongues is in turn helping them to understand their daily lessons easily and their environment and the indigenous knowledge embedded in it that has a great role in enabling them to be good professionals who can contribute their roles to national development activities. For example, China, the most swiftly developing country uses its own language as media of instruction, mass communications, administration, the court, and technological innovations. Hence, learning, communicating, and administering through local languages plays a great role in national development. In brief, as mother tongue is the basic thing for human beings' self-development, providing information, administering, and teaching through local languages helps to produce self-reliant citizens who can stimulate innovations and thereby realize economic development. This coincides with Batibo's (2007) argument that "...all the world's developed countries have reached their present positions on the basis of their own national languages; they have adopted and integrated technology within their own cultural and social values, thus making it possible for the developments to reach all citizens ..." (p. 24).

Besides, using numerous languages as media of administration and mass communications (newspapers, radio, and television) facilitates national development. As the thematic

analysis pinpointed, many nations and nationalities are using their languages as media of administration, instruction, radio, television, and newspapers, which helps them to access information and to acquire knowledge as well as to develop their cultures and indigenous knowledge. In addition, they are communicating with their languages and working without any medium barrier in their surroundings that brings cumulative development in the county. In brief, nations and nationalities have easy access to information through suitable media that facilitates development. Hence, using mother tongues in the mass media has been playing a pivotal role in enhancing economic development.

Likewise, one of the key informants, a language and cultural value development director of the federal government culture and tourism bureau articulated his view that, presently, if we see the mass communications of the country, there are local radio stations in every locality that helps to disseminate information (KI16, 08/02/2013). The director further articulated that people that are residing in villages and peripheries of Ethiopia are becoming familiar with science and technology through those radios: It helps to make government policies easily accessible because people are getting any government and local development activities through their mother tongues, through languages they understand easily. If citizens administer and get access to the mass media in their mother tongues, they would understand pieces of information related to their routine activities such as increasing agricultural productivity using fertilizers and pesticides, birth control, and protecting their health that enable them to be productive citizens who could contribute a lot to development. For one of the key informants, a language expert from the Amhara region culture and tourism bureau, using several languages, as a media of

mass communications, has a significant relevance on the economic development of the country (KI14, 23/10/2012). His reasons are for one thing, it helps to announce the oral knowledge of the nations and nationalities; for another, it serves the society to use its oral tradition for various purposes because there is knowledge behind every language (KI14, 23/10/2012).

Therefore, using several languages as media of mass communications, administration, and instruction helps to diffuse innovative techniques and exploit the indigenous knowledge, and thereby accelerate national development. As the thematic analysis showed, it allows people to use different expressions in their own languages to diffuse innovative techniques to their respective linguistic groups and let them understand easily and utilize them in development activities such as agricultural and health extensions. Besides, innovative techniques are best learnt whenever the techniques are expressed through mother tongues or translated into languages people know very well. Thus, promoting linguistic diversity is useful to diffuse innovative techniques because it helps people to understand the techniques very well and internalize them easily. The extension programs that are being practiced in Ethiopia are typical instances. Presently, since people are taught the usage of extension packages in their languages, they are utilizing them properly and becoming very productive. If nations and nationalities use their languages as media of instruction, mass communications, and administration, they can exploit the indigenous knowledge they have and thereby facilitate national development.

Furthermore, the present multilingual language policy has created opportunities for the development of different languages, cultures, and literatures. That is, the use of many mother tongues in the mass media, cultural activities, and schools paves the way for the development of different cultures, music, and indigenous knowledge. Languages carry the culture, wisdom, indigenous knowledge, and skills of their speakers. These days, since linguistic rights are confirmed, people are exploiting their indigenous knowledge, which in turn helps to enhance the socioeconomic development of the country. When people learn, communicate, and administer in languages they know very well, they become very knowledgeable. The language policy helps people to exploit cultural values, indigenous knowledge, and innovative techniques, by using their mother tongues as tools, effectively and thereby become knowledgeable who can facilitate economic development by utilizing their knowledge because development without knowledge is unthinkable. Likewise, a key informant, a language and cultural value development director of the federal government culture and tourism bureau, articulated that:

When we see the languages of Ethiopia, everyone has their own indigenous knowledge that is manifestations of their identity. For example, it could be knowledge of justice, herbal medicine, or land use. ... If we take Consso as a case in point, there is terracing. Each nation and nationality has its own indigenous knowledge like the Consso people. Such indigenous knowledge could face with the danger of elimination, as the existence of the languages become questionable. ... Thus, as languages develop, the indigenous knowledge of every nation and nationality that helps to bring economic development will develop. ... [Besides,]

as mother tongues are used for education, the languages develop, and science, technology, and other pieces of knowledge will easily be accessible to the society.

(KI16, 08/02/2013)

Hence, the use of mother tongues as media of instruction, mass communications, and administration has enabled people to understand government policies and other concepts easily and utilize them in development activities such as agriculture and industry. Owing to such reasons, multilingual language policy is perceived as the best policy to manage diversity as well as to exploit diverse cultures and indigenous knowledge by using several languages as media of multiple purposes. In linguistically heterogeneous countries like Ethiopia, such a practice in turn helps to accelerate economic development. This finding concurs with Bamgbose's (1994) observation that it "... seems inevitable in the situation of most developing countries ... that a multilingual policy is the only viable avenue for development" because African languages will have well-defined roles in education, administration, culture, and mass communications (p. 42).

In general, development requires educated manpower. Producing educated manpower in turn requires suitable media of administration, instruction, and mass communications in order to transfer knowledge. Development also requires information. Information helps to enhance economic development, if it is spread through familiar languages. Spreading pieces of information to different linguistic groups through their mother tongues thus facilitates national development. Consequently, in Ethiopia, in which about 85 languages are spoken, the current multilingual language policy is playing a great role in promoting

the socioeconomic development of the country by utilizing the languages for media of administration, mass communications, and instruction as well as by involving a number of labors in various development activities. Currently, a number of people are participating effectively and efficiently in different development activities without any media barriers, as their mother tongues are used as media to accomplish various activities. Therefore, the language policy has enabled most of the productive people to participate actively in regional and local development projects. It is known that economic activities that involve most of the productive people accelerate development. This coincides with Batibo's (2007) argument that it is worth mentioning "the fast-developing countries ... base their development strategies on their indigenous languages as this is the only way to involve the whole population in the development effort and to meaningfully bring technological advancement within the country's cultural framework" (p. 24).

In Ethiopia, the use of mother tongues as media of administration, instruction, and mass communications have created a number of opportunities for national development. For instance, education in mother tongues in primary schools is indispensable for learners' full development, without their innovative activities, the development of the country is unthinkable. This agrees with UNESCO's (1976) statement that the use of mother tongues as media of instruction is advantageous for better learning and transmission of cultural forms and knowledge of cultural values because it encourages greater motivation for learning as well as for making the course of instruction psychologically adequate as the concepts are already familiar (in Bamgbose, 1994). Furthermore, learning through mother tongue assists the cognitive, emotional, and psychomotor development of the

child, her/his “full-human” development, which in turn helps the child to become an innovative and productive citizen who enhances national development. The use of mother tongues as media of mass communications and administration also enhances cultural development and skilled human capital production that in turn facilitates economic development. This concurs with Article 10 of the third African-Caribbean-Pacific countries convention that cooperation shall be aimed at development on man himself and rooted in each people’s culture, where the policies and measures adopted by the states are used to enhance their human resources, increase their own creative capacities and promote their cultural identities (in Bamgbose, 1991).

Employing mother tongues as media of administration, mass communications, and instruction hence promotes the development of human beings, which is a very important input to economic development. Mother tongue is the right medium of instruction that facilitates the psychological, emotional, and psychomotor development of children more than any other language. Using mother tongues in administration, justice, and mass communications is also the right media to offer the required services and information. Hence, it is possible to make sustainable the rapidly growing economic development, if Ethiopia utilizes the huge human capital, which consists of different groups with diverse languages and cultures, effectively by expanding proper education and administration, and disseminating pieces of information about technological innovations, agricultural productivity, and health matters via suitable media.

Therefore, in Ethiopia, promoting linguistic diversity as well as linguistic diversity *per se* could not be the cause for low economic development. This disagrees with Banks' and Textor's (1965) finding that linguistically heterogeneous states, including Ethiopia, tend to have low or very low *per capita* gross national product and to be economically underdeveloped or very underdeveloped because of their linguistic diversity, while linguistically homogenous societies have a high or medium *per capita* gross national product, and are relatively economically well-developed. That is to mean that linguistic heterogeneity leads to underdevelopment. One of the reasons for the underdevelopment of the linguistically heterogeneous countries was the presence of non-assimilated minorities. Fishman (1968b), partly supporting Banks' and Textor's (1965) findings, also says that it would appear that exaggerated sectionalism and the presence of significant, politically non-assimilated minorities in extreme opposition come closer to being major correlates of linguistic heterogeneity and underdevelopment.

However, the present study, as can be seen from what has been discussed so far, came up with different findings. The presence of non-assimilated minorities might not come closer to be major correlates with lower *per capita* gross national product in that non-assimilated minorities could not be extreme opposition in situations, as in the present-day Ethiopia, where minority linguistic/ethnic groups are not forced to be assimilated. Instead, in Ethiopia, non-assimilated minorities are allowed to maintain their uniqueness, enjoy their political and language rights, and work independently in their localities. Thus, the present non-assimilationist language policy, which promotes the use of numerous languages as media of instruction, justice, administration, and mass communications has

brought about peaceful coexistence among linguistic groups that has become of due importance for enhancing national development because it avoids ethnic conflicts, civil wars, allocation of resources for buying weapons, and destruction of properties. Thus, in brief, multilingual language policy and its practice have brought about peaceful coexistence of nations and nationalities, which has in turn created many opportunities for accelerating the economic development of the country.

5.2.1.4 Challenges of MLP and Practice for National Development

Notwithstanding the opportunities discussed under 5.2.1.3, linguistic heterogeneity – societal multilingualism – is viewed as an obstacle for national development. For instance, a significant number of the respondents, 67 (30.7 per cent), replied that the present language policy has created numerous challenges for national development, while 34 (15.6 per cent) of them responded that they did not have any views concerning the policy and its challenges and two of the respondents did not give responses. Moreover, under an item that deals with opportunities of the current language policy for national development, a considerable number of the respondents, 20 (9.2 per cent), replied that the language policy did not create any opportunities that accelerate national development. Thereafter, the respondents gave several reasons to their responses. The responses are thematically analyzed together with other related reasons that were given following the respondents' responses to other items and key informants' views, in what follows.

Multilingual language policy has created various challenges that hamper the development of the country. The national budget that is allocated annually to various languages is an impediment for national development. Had it been allocated to economic activities, there would have been a major change, more than the current progress, on the economic development of Ethiopia. Hence, using numerous mother tongues as media of instruction impedes national development because preparing teaching materials and training teachers through them consumes a huge amount of money. Moreover, each nation and nationality wants to develop its languages and cultures, which takes a considerable percentage of the national annual budget that has to be allocated for the economic development of the country. Likewise, a key informant, a language expert in the culture and tourism bureau of the Amhara regional state, said that:

Employing several languages as media of instruction might create a challenge on economic development. Especially, in countries like Ethiopia, when we attempt to offer education through several languages, there is preparation of textbooks, supportive books, institutions, and training of teachers. These might pose some challenges, but such costs are so minor when we see them in terms of satisfying nationalities' interest. Hence, giving concern for bringing unity through respect should be on the premium. (KI14, 23/10/2012)

The key informant's view implies that despite preparing texts books and other resources is costly, satisfying nationalities' interest by employing their mother tongues should be given high priority since it is a crucial to strengthen unity, which in turn helps to bring national development. Likewise, a key informant, a history and culture expert in the

culture and tourism bureau of the Tigray regional state, who speaks Tigrinya as a mother tongue, argued that:

People say it [the use of several languages as media of multiple purposes] increases cost. If you realize it, publishing one chemistry book in education, say grade eight book, costs more than 300 000 Birr. At national level, if we publish one book its cost is affordable. Currently, there are more than 80 languages; at least there are more than 30 languages if we consider languages that are in use, which become causes for the increment of the cost. Hence, using numerous languages has its own challenges. However, the main thing is the matter of management. It is the matter of managing the existing languages. ... It is about managing the existing reality properly. It would be useful for unity if we manage it. (...) If people accept the use of several languages, it would be crucial for national unity and national development. (KI20, 19/09/2013)

Therefore, based on the abovementioned research participants' views, it can be argued that promoting linguistic diversity brings about challenges for national development because of the additional costs that the country allocates for the promotion of several languages. However, such challenges are insignificant when compared with confirming language rights, helping students to learn with suitable medium, and creating stability. Thus, the costs that the country has incurred by allocating budget for preparing teaching materials, training teachers, and paying salaries for teachers is insignificant when compared with satisfying peoples' language use interests and confirming linguistic

equality and linguistic human rights and thereby bringing peaceful coexistence and national development.

On the other hand, as the thematic analyses of the respondents' views revealed, most nations and nationalities are giving excessive focus to their mother tongues and insignificant focus to the federal working language that hinders them to participate in the socioeconomic activities of the country by means of communicating effectively with other languages speakers. When nations and nationalities give too much emphasis to their mother tongues and insignificant focus to or show disinterest in learning Amharic, they could not know Amharic and effectively communicate through it. Hence, giving little emphasis to the federal working language hinders national development as it creates communication problems in propagating development concepts through Amharic throughout the country. In addition, the use of mother tongues as media of mass communications at district, zonal, and regional levels blocks communication. It restricts workers movement from one region to another, including from one specific place to another within regions because it discourages the spread and use of a common language. In sum, it jeopardizes the flow of the labor force, goods, and ideas and thereby leads to underdevelopment. Similarly, one of the key informants, a critic who wrote articles and a book on language use in the present regime, perceived the use of several languages for various purposes as a challenge for national development that could not be resolved easily and so he said that:

We should work on one language. Otherwise, teaching through 80 languages means publishing books through 80 languages. ... The advantage of working through one language is that it helps all Ethiopians to communicate, as language is nothing but a means of communication. ... You could not communicate, if you do not know the language; there will be problems in communication. Hence, using one language helps to create fast communication among regions. For instance, having one common language helps people of different languages speakers who gather in one factory to work by communicating fast. ... Therefore, the use of one language is useful for communication, to work in factories and farmlands, and so forth for it facilitates work and creates understanding and intimacy. (KI11, 13/07/2012)

Therefore, it can be inferred from the research participants' views that the promotion of a number of languages is a challenge for national development because it discourages the spread and use of a common language that helps to enhance social integration. This could in turn create a challenge on the efforts being made to lift the country up from poverty, as it hinders the flow of scientific and technological information as well as labor forces from the center to various localities as well as from one region to other, and vice versa. This coincides with Pool's (1972) argument that linguistic heterogeneity continues to be perceived as a problem for national development because it slows down economic development by "breaking occupational mobility, reducing the number of people available for mobilization into the modern sector of the economy, decreasing efficiency and preventing the diffusion of innovative techniques" (p. 214).

Altogether, linguistic heterogeneity could not be the cause for less developed countries' low *per capita* gross national product if proper language management is made. If we take Ethiopia as a case in point, in the previous regimes the governments were encouraging homogeneity by promoting Amharic as a single national working language in all social affairs. However, in the then times, the development progress of the country was stagnant as the use of Amharic only as a medium of instruction, mass communications, and administration was unfamiliar for the majority of the Ethiopian society. This agrees with Mekuria's (1997) argument that in Ethiopia "the policy of 'one language one nation' when implemented became rather an obstacle to socio-economic development" because insistence "on the use of a single language prevented vital information from reaching the majority of the population" (p. 336).

The use Amharic only as a single national working language in all formal settings by suppressing other languages was also a source of conflict that engaged the country in civil wars for so long, which resulted in the destruction of material and human resources. Therefore, it can be argued that promoting linguistic heterogeneity – allowing nations and nationalities to use their mother tongues as media of administration, instruction, and mass communications – is the only means to realize peaceful coexistence among nations and nationalities. Realizing peaceful coexistence in turn brings about national development. Thus, the promotion of linguistic diversity that resulted in peaceful coexistence has been contributing a significant role, along with other factors, to the present-day rapid gross domestic product annual growth rate, which, as calculated based on the National Bank of Ethiopia's (2013) report, has been growing by 10.92 per cent on average for nine years

since 2005 (see Appendix L). In contrast, discouraging linguistic diversity in the Haile Selassie and Dergue periods was one of the causes for instability and poor economic development. Denying the rights of various linguistic groups to use their languages for various purposes brought about instability and underdevelopment as various ethnic groups were engaged in wars to confirm their rights, which destroyed properties and the productive citizens of the country. Hence, promoting linguistic heterogeneity is a means to mitigate such problems as well as to enhance national development.

5.2.1.5 Mother Tongue Education Discourses

Two decades ago, there was a language policy dissatisfaction which coupled with other problems resulted in opposition. The opposition forces overthrew the dictatorial regime and then made language policy changes. That is, in the early 1990s, the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) introduced mother tongue education that allows a substantial number of linguistic groups to use their mother tongues for instructional purposes. In so doing, the Federal Democratic Republic Government of Ethiopia (1994, p. 23) stated the aims of mother tongue education in the education and training policy document that:

Cognizant of the pedagogical advantage of the child in learning in mother tongue and the rights of nationalities to promote the use of their languages, primary education will be given in nationality languages.

Making the necessary preparation, nations and nationalities can either learn in their own language or can choose from among those selected on the basis of national and countrywide distribution.

Both of these policy statements are written language texts that announce the necessity of using nationality languages as media of instruction at the primary level. The first statement is expressed through deontic modality “will,” which is equivalent to “must” that denotes obligation because, as Fairclough (2003) points out, deontic modality is a modality of obligation. Thus, agents have the obligation to offer primary education in mother tongues. Nevertheless, the statement is expressed through agentless passive voice; hence, it is disguised grammatically by textualizing the discourse because it does not indicate the responsible agents in giving primary education in the nationality languages. Using the passive voice in the genres of governance, as Fairclough (2003) argues, “can obfuscate agency, and therefore responsibility, and social divisions” (p. 144). Hence, giving responsibility to a number of stakeholders can obscure who should give primary education in nationality languages and consequently can result in lack of commitment. For instance, two of the key informants, the Oromia culture and tourism bureau language expert (KI8, 05/07/2012) and the SNNPR education bureau language expert (KI1, 23/10/2011), said that to use their languages a media of instruction, the speakers of minority languages should show motivation and press for using their mother tongues. As can be understood from their views, both of the informants attempted to pass the responsibility of giving primary education in nationality languages to the speakers of the languages though they are also responsible to put the policy into practice. Related with

this problem, Cohen (2000), asserts that in the specific issue of language use in education in the SNNPR, "... there is often a great deal of confusion amongst the relevant actors in the process about which powers should be invoked by the woreda [district], zone or regional authorities, or different departments of the Ministry of Education (MOE)" (p. 104).

Besides, the second statement is expressed through deontic modality, namely "can," which shows the necessity of learning through mother tongues, if not through others mother tongues by choosing from among those selected on the basis of national and countrywide distribution. In fact, those who are "allowed" to choose or select are indirectly denied the right of using their mother tongues as media of instruction and therefore the choice is forcible. It is a choice "allowed" to those who could not learn through their own languages. Therefore, it is necessary for such people to choose from those languages that have national or regional and countrywide domination owing to the inabilities of their languages to serve them as media of instruction. This clearly shows that indigenous languages in Ethiopia are not equal: There are high and low statuses languages – languages that have national and countrywide distributions are high statuses languages, while languages that have limited distributions are low statuses languages. The reason is that the powerful languages that have national and countrywide distributions are of great services and so they can be used as media of instruction, while languages that have not such distributions and services are not viable options, and thus their speakers should select from among the high statuses languages.

Furthermore, regarding the lexical level textual analysis of the earlier mentioned two language policy statements, the terms “mother tongue,” “nationality language,” and “own language” are collocates that refer to indigenous language that is spoken as a first language. In addition, in the second language policy statement, the terms “national” and “countrywide” are collocates that denote the wide areal coverage of dominant languages. Such implication takes us to the sociocultural level textual analysis of the aforementioned language policy statements that dominated or minority languages have no distribution, and hence their speakers should be forced to learn through dominant languages. Because of the forcible choice, a number of minority languages have been learning through dominant languages and therefore they have not been in a situation to get proper education since the media of instruction were unfamiliar for them. Forcing minority languages to choose and use dominant languages is hence against the recontextualized nodal discourses of the government. That is, the government’s mother tongue education discourse is recontextualized from other international or nodal discourses. For instance, the essence of the education and training policy is in the vein of the Minority Treaties of 1931. The Minority Treaties argued that in towns and districts where a considerable proportion of nationals whose mother tongue is not the official language of the county are resident, in primary schools, “instruction shall be given to the children of such nationals through the medium of their own language ...” (Capotorti, 1991, p. 19).

Likewise, the essence of the Ethiopian government’s mother tongue education discourse is closer to the United Nation Declaration, Article 4(3), which claims: “States should take appropriate measures so that, wherever possible, persons belonging to minorities may

have instruction in their mother tongue” (The UN General Assembly, 1992). The Federal Government of Ethiopia has thus recontextualized its mother tongue education policy based on the nodal discourses of the Minority Treaties of 1931, the UN Declaration, and other related discourses. Such nodal discourses are recontextualized in the education and training policy document of Ethiopia that says primary education will be given in nationality languages in order to confirm the pedagogical advantage of the child in learning in mother tongue and the rights of nationalities to promote the use of their languages (FDRGE, 1994). In this statement, the purpose clauses “in order to confirm the pedagogical advantage of the child” and “to promote the use of their languages” imply that giving primary education in nationality languages is desirable. However, there are delays in introducing minority languages as media of instruction. Delaying minority languages speakers’ chance of learning in their mother tongues is violating the linguistic human rights. A number of minority linguistic groups are learning through unfamiliar languages and are therefore incapable of understanding their daily lessons effectively. Such a social practice clearly reveals the presence of linguistic inequalities in the larger social practice of the country and self-contradictions in the policy statements, especially in the discourse-internal structures of the policy statements because, it declares mother tongue education, on the one hand; it forces minority nationalities to choose other languages and learn through them, on the other.

Minority children, children of small size population, are forced to learn in languages that have wider distribution. That is, their languages are not liable options owing to their limited distribution. This contradicts the government officials’ discourses in that the

essence of the general discourse of mother tongue education is to use all languages. For instance, one of the key informants, a state minister of the Ministry of Education, argued that regardless of the size of their speakers, all languages have the chance to be used as media of instruction at the elementary level (KI19, 28/05/2013). To this effect, despite the presence of a significant number of linguistic groups that are still suffering from learning through unfamiliar languages, the Ethiopian government has provided the chance for about 30 linguistic groups to learn in their mother tongues. These linguistic groups include Afar, Anyiwak, Amhara, Agew-Awi, Agew-Hamyra, Dawro, Gamo, Gedeo, Goffa, Kambata, Kebena, Kaffa, Konta, Korotie, Hadiya, Harari, Magang, Mejenger, Nuwer, Oromo, Sidama, Silti, Somali, Tigraian, Wolaita, and so forth (MOE, 2002).

Of the earlier mentioned linguistic groups, the Tigrinya and Oromo speakers were the first groups who started learning in their own languages prior to mother tongue education policy rules and guidelines were officially announced to the society. As a result, the policy has been criticized for its political motives. In fact, such critics merely beg the question as one of the reasons that forced many of the opposition forces that formed the EPRDF to go to the bush was to confirm the right for learning through their languages. Therefore, employing mother tongues as media of instruction did not demand the government any public ratification. Rather, the government used its power to put its ideology into practice without making any needs assessment.

Radical political change and resultant political initiatives such as the introduction of lots of languages as media of instruction in Ethiopia, as the thematic analysis of the research participants' views indicated, brought about controversial discourses and ideologies following the declaration of multilingual language policy by the present government. There are people who argue that using several languages can divide the country and thus it should be discouraged. Similarly, one of the key informants, who has been working his PhD dissertation on language use and development related subject, expressed his view, saying that: "Those who say, 'It is divisive' argue, 'cultivating all languages, in a country where there are plenty of languages is divisive'" (KI5, 11/04/2012). In contrast, the informant added that "those who oppose the aforementioned view claim 'any person, at individual or community or group level could think ... about unity if his/her language rights are respected.'" Hence, in Ethiopia, mother tongue education has a political essence in that people are associating it with the country's unity. In line with this view, Lotherington (2004) says that multilingualism, using different languages for various purposes such as media of instruction, is rooted in a political ideology that rejects a singularity of cultural vision and works towards understanding across cultural and linguistic difference.

In addition, if we trace the present language policy's origin back to the declaration of mother tongue education, one of the motives of the linguistic groups that were fighting against the previous regimes was to use their languages for various purposes such as medium of instruction. For this reason, the Tigray Peoples' Liberation Front (TPLF) and Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) fighters used to teach their members using their

respective mother tongues in the caves and shades of trees in which they used to run various political activities. The use of the Oromo and Tigrinya languages as media of instruction had thus been in practice before the downfall of the military government. In Ethiopia, the issue of using languages or not as media of various purposes like mother tongue education has been a thorny issue, including in the previous political eras. As one of the informants, a Tigrinya as a mother tongue speaker, who has been an active participation in the social, cultural, and political activities of his local community, articulated:

Denying the rights of nations and nationalities of Ethiopia in the Haile Selassie and Dergue regimes had been a source of conflicts. It was one of the causes for the emergence of the then ethnic-based opposition fronts such as the Eritrean Peoples' Liberation Front, TPLF, and OLF. They went to the bushes and fought against the regimes that used to promote only the Amharic language and culture. ... These [phenomena] took place due to the closeness of language to cultural hegemony, economic opportunities, and ethnic identity, which make language issues to become a source of conflict and the center of nationalities' questions. (KI13, 18/09/2012)

The informant's view agrees with Kembo-Sure's (2002) argument that the link between language and society and job opportunity "makes language in education a potent area of conflicts and the success of a national language policy is assessed by how well it manages the conflicts" (p. 79). Therefore, the issue of mother tongue education is thus a thorny political issue, which might lead to national strife if not handled with the utmost

care. Conceivably, to manage language conflicts in education, the government introduced mother tongue education. It is not nonetheless without critics, especially because of its political motives. The political motives of mother tongue education was clearly observed in using the Oromo and Tigrinya languages as media of instruction immediately after the current government came to power, just before policy guidelines and rules were officially declared. In this context, the use of diverse languages before making enough preparation in education is found to be a cause for the emergence of divergent views.

Whatever views bound up with it, the current government's introduction of mother tongue education has become a source of pleasure for many nations and nationalities, which in turn appears to be a means to strengthen national unity. As the thematic analysis of the research participants' views revealed, it is also believed to be a means to strengthen national unity. Learning through mother tongues is the need and interest of many people in that it confirms the rights of a number of nations and nationalities to use and develop their languages. Learning through mother tongues also helps nations and nationalities to manifest their identities through their languages, be proud of their cultures, see all languages equally, and develop self-confidence to use them and thereby to be active participants in the social, political, cultural, and economic activities of the country, which in turn enhances national unity. Mother tongue is also an instrument to exploit one's surroundings and so to learn in a better way in classrooms. As one of the key informants, a language and cultural value development director of the federal government culture and tourism bureau, pointed out:

Mother tongue itself is a tool. People understand anything using their mother tongues easily and quickly. Learning alphabets through one's mother tongue, a language that students know, and then to commence education is certainly better than learning another new language and learning alphabets from the beginning and then other subjects through it. Children communicate effectively with their teachers and understand concepts easily if they learn through their own languages. The languages also develop and science, technology, and other pieces of knowledge will be easily accessible to the society, if mother tongues are used in education. (KI16, 08/02/2013)

Besides, the thematic analysis of the research participants' views indicated that Ethiopia is a democratic country and the education language policy is developed based on democratic principles, which makes the policy better than the previous regimes' language policies that were full of human rights violations. The present education language policy banned the use of Amharic only as a medium of instruction by all linguistic groups and introduced mother tongue education, which is believed to be a right measure because it has many advantages for students' effective learning. Similarly, one key informant, a curriculum expert in the education bureau of the Amhara regional state, who conducted researches in mother tongue education, said that:

The current Ethiopian language policy confirmed the rights of nations and nationalities to learn through their mother tongues. This practice has its own advantages. First, it has pedagogical advantage. Children learn in a better speed, when they learn through their mother tongues than through any other languages.

The other thing is that it has psych-social advantage. ...when children go to school for the first time or when children depart from their homes and interact with a new environment, they feel confident or relief if the medium of instruction is their mother tongue. (KI15, 23/10/2012)

Therefore, mother tongue is viewed as an appropriate medium of instruction as it is the easiest language for the child and hence learning through it helps him/her learn in a better way. To do otherwise is, to expose the child to two tasks simultaneously: To learning unfamiliar language as a school subject and to the struggle for learning the contents of other subjects through the unfamiliar language. In this regard, one of the key informants who has been an active participant in the social, cultural, and political activities of her community, argued that:

...learning through one's mother tongue reduces the burden of learning the medium of instruction, which is unknown for the child, and thus I believe it reduces the learner's hatred on learning. This is because there are two things when the learner learns using unfamiliar language: Learning the language and the struggle for learning through it. When the learner involves in two struggles, his/her being successful becomes questionable. Nevertheless, when the child learns with his/her mother tongue, he/she becomes successful; because it is a language he/she knows well and communicates with in his/her locality. (KI4, 05/04/2012)

Furthermore, the thematic analysis of the research participants' views stated that using mother tongues as media of instruction facilitates learning that in turn enhances the development of the languages. In other words, a number of students are learning in their mother tongues and thereby cultivating their languages and cultures. All languages are also declared equal and thus there is no language, which is subordinate to any other language. Any nation and nationality has the right to use their languages as media of instruction, justice, administration, and mass communications without any discrimination. In brief, employing mother tongues as media of instruction reduces learning burden and promotes the development of indigenous languages, cultures, and identities.

On the contrary, the introduction of mother tongue education is partly at its theoretical level because there are many linguistic groups that still did not get the chance to use their languages for instructional purposes. Yet, the right of learning through mother tongues is not fully confirmed in that many students are learning in languages that are not spoken in their immediate environments and thus they do not understand the languages and contents of educational lessons. Students who learn in others' mother tongues in primary education are often excluded from a number of learning opportunities and are generally disadvantaged in educational participation, achievement, and employment. In addition, there are nations and nationalities that started using their languages as media of instruction without fulfilling the necessary educational inputs. As one of the key informants, a language expert in the SNNPR education bureau, articulated:

The current language policy that the Ethiopian government is implementing is in a right way. That is, when a person is born, brought up, and taught about his/her surroundings, he/she has to learn through his/her mother tongue. For this reason, these days, the language policy has given the chance for many nations and nationalities to learn through their mother tongues. ... Thus, this policy, which has taken such issues into consideration, is proved proper in scientific methods. However ... the policy becomes important and sustainable, and proceeds in an effective manner when a certain language is used for mother tongue instruction after a number of materials are fulfilled. ...we are witnessing incompleteness. When we use a language as a medium of instruction, we should fulfill skilled teachers, books, and so forth in advance. (KI1, 23/10/2011)

The introduction of mother tongue education hence becomes relevant if the necessary materials and educated workforce are fulfilled timely. If not, it could result in poor quality of education because trying to put the policy into practice effectively without providing the necessary facilities is likely to be impossible. In brief, although the Ethiopian languages are recognized with legal implications, confirming the right of all minority linguistic groups to use their languages as media of instruction as well as fulfilling all nations and nationalities that commenced using their mother tongues as media of instruction with the necessary materials and skilled teachers becomes unanswerable.

This implies that there are possibilities that propagate ideological and political discourses against employing nationalities' languages as viable options of instructional media. Therefore, mother tongue education policy should avoid such uncertainties in order to maintain and empower minority nationalities' languages as well as to help minority students learn in their own mother tongues and get the opportunities from learning through it. Otherwise, talking about the existence of countrywide mother tongue education where a number of children are learning through unfamiliar medium of instruction could be considered as more of political initiative that could not realize its duties.

In the Oromia and Tigray regional states, employing minority languages as a media of instruction is not started yet. In fact, there are differences, between the two regions, in the number of minority languages and in the total population of the speakers of the languages as well as in the attentions being paid to use minority languages as media of instruction. For example, in the Tigray regional state, as a key informant, a curriculum development and implementation case manager of the region's education bureau claimed, the chance of using other languages for formal purposes is being broaden (KI12, 22/09/2012). The reason is that there are preparations to use the minority languages as media of instruction, especially Irob where textbooks upto grade five are prepared. The speakers of the two languages have been using the Tigrinya medium, which is a dominant language in the region, owing to various problems. For example, the small number of the speakers of the two languages, which is 30 517 Irobs and 2 976 Kunamas, is one of the reasons for the delay in introducing the languages as media of instruction. Nevertheless, the two

languages are given as school subjects to children who speak the languages as mother tongues, which might protect the languages from death. In the Amhara regional state, four languages – Amharic, Awigni, Hamta, and Oromo – that are spoken as mother tongues in the region are used as media of instruction. Thus, in this region, all languages that are spoken as mother tongues, except Argoba, are used as media of instruction. In the SNNPR, where 56 languages are spoken as mother tongues, a lot of languages are used as media of instruction. However, there are also more than 30 languages that are not used as media of instruction yet.

In the Oromia regional state, despite the presence of a number of minority ethnic groups such as Gedeo, Yem, and Mao that have 242 529, 84 086, and 24 202 total populations, respectively, the region still uses only two languages, Amharic and Oromo, as media of instruction at elementary level. The region uses the Amharic language owing to the presence of numerous Amharic speakers in the big towns of the region, while the minority languages that whose speakers mainly dwell in rural areas are not yet used. As a language expert in Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau, pointed out:

The delay in introducing minority languages as media of instruction is not a tendency to block the chance. ...the effort of minority nationalities is necessary. I believe that they have to say, “We should use our language and do other related things and make active involvement.” ...Whatsoever, I do absolutely believe that there is no any tendency to block the chance of learning through mother tongues for so doing does mean working against the constitution. The reason is blocking

the chance means to go against the constitution. ... Regions cannot go against the constitution because it is endorsed by them. ... Rather, it is a matter of capacity. I do have the belief that the government does not have the capacity to cover the cost of preparing materials and training teachers for each nation and nationality. (KI8, 05/07/2012)

This argument is found to be paradoxical, however. There are minority linguistic groups that started using their languages as media of instruction though their number is very smaller than those who did not start yet. Thus, how dare the government allocates the necessary budget for those who started learning in their mother tongues, but it faces with shortage of resources to use other languages as media of instruction? For example, in the Oromia regional state, Gedeo and Yem are spoken by 236 600 and 31 517 people as mother tongues, respectively. Moreover, in the SNNPR, Alaba, Ari, and Benchi are spoken by 195 606, 278 268, and 346 031 people as mother tongues, respectively. Despite the fact that their numbers are significant, the Alaba, Gedeo, and Yem people could not get the chance of using their mother tongues as media of instruction. In contrast, Harari and Mejenger that are spoken as mother tongues by 13 438 and 12 280 total populations, respectively, are used as media of instruction. That is, regardless of their small numbers, the speakers of the two languages are enjoying the opportunities that people could get from learning through their mother tongues (for the total population of the linguistic or ethnic groups used throughout this dissertation, see FDRE, 2008).

Therefore, the reason articulated by the earlier mentioned language expert of the Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau is found to be doubtful in that the region has not yet used any minority language as a medium of instruction. Based on the language use situation of the Oromia regional state, it can be inferred that the region does not give any attention to the use of minority languages as media of instruction. The language use practice of the region hence mirrors the previous governors' language policies that attempted to build a homogenous society by promoting Amharic and destroying other languages.

Similar to the views articulated, a bit earlier, by the language expert of the culture and tourism bureau of the Oromia regional state, another language expert from the education bureau of the SNNPR said that the reason for not employing Alaba and other minority languages as media of instruction is due to shortage of educated persons who speak the languages. This reason might be of a real phenomenon for the region uses lots of minority languages as media of instruction and for there are people who share the informant's view from those who did not start using their languages yet. For instance, a key informant from the Alaba linguistic group, who has been a mayor of Kulito town, said that:

Because of our own weaknesses, we are still learning in Amharic. ... It is not because of other external pressure that we could not exercise our right for using mother tongue as a medium. It is, instead, due to our shortage of preparation. It is because of the absence of preparations on the language of our ethnic group. We conducted this study before. There was no enough understanding within us. In fact, although we know [the problems students face when they learn using a

language they are not familiar with], we have not had the awareness that it has been harming us to that extent. (KI2, 25/10/2011)

In sum, it can be argued that the use of mother tongues as media of instruction lacks consistency. Some linguistic groups are suffering from learning in unfamiliar media of instruction owing to their own, including their local administrators as what is happening in Alaba, weak motivation to use their mother tongues. Some others are denied their right of learning in mother tongues owing to regional hegemonies, as in the Oromia and Tigray regional states. The mother tongue education discourse, which is stated by the federal government itself, also lacks consistency. On the one hand, the federal government aggressively propagates the relevance of mother tongue education. On the other, it does not make any follow-up about what is happening at the grassroots.

On the other hand, the introduction of mother tongue education in Ethiopia has brought about the germination of various critics and ideological conflicts. There are tough perspectives that criticize mother tongue education. As the thematic analysis of the views of the respondents who held negative attitudes towards the use of mother tongues as media of instruction indicated, employing several languages as media of instruction is divisive; it does not encourage students to learn the federal working language. In the previous regimes, there was a strong unity in Ethiopia, but that reality has been destroyed because of the use of many languages as media of instruction that discourages the promotion of the official language that serves as a symbol of national unity. The absence of an official language and eventually the absence of focus on enabling citizens to have

oral or written proficiency in that language hamper smooth flow of information from one locality to another, or from the federal government to regional administrative organs. This in turn hampers the unity and the overall development activities of the country – cultural, social, economic, and political development. In line with this, Teshome (1997) criticizing the current education language policy says that “... many informed Ethiopians have come to question, even to challenge, the government’s motives for enacting the present ethnic-driven education language policies” (pp. 399-400). His reason is that such a policy is not designed to advance the welfare and rights of the nationalities, but to undermine, weaken, and eventually to destroy the notion of Ethiopia as an independent political and cultural entity. Thus, for Teshome, the language policy related to education will not lead to national building or serve the educational and training needs of children; instead, the language policy is designed to promote artificial divisions among Ethiopians, even at the risk of creating divisiveness, which might lead to deep rancor and fights.

In the abovementioned views, while viewing Ethiopia as a “cultural entity,” the research participants and Teshome seem to advocate monolingualism, like Haile Selassie’s language policy and practice which was highly committed to the “one language, one nation” ideology. That language policy was an assimilationist policy, which used to propagate the use of Amharic only in all formal domains such as education and justice and perceive using other languages as media of any formal domain as a problem. Hence, those who advocate such a policy seem to consider the present language policy as a policy that encourages inequalities among nations and nationalities, and weakens and ultimately annihilates the unity of the country, which is the antithesis of multilingual

language policy. Nevertheless, such views, monolingual and mono-cultural ideologies and policies were proven unworkable as they were among the main causes for the germination of opposition fronts such as the Tigray People's Liberation Front and the Oromo Liberation Front during the imperialist and socialist regimes.

The imperial monolingual language policy was one of the causes that led to the social strife of the 1960s. Addis Ababa University, then Haile Selassie I University, students publicly argued against the monolingual policy of the regime. There were also secretly and openly formed linguistic groups that opposed the linguistic, cultural, and political hegemonies of the monarch to which the first *Woyane* Rebellion of the Tigraian and the *Macha Tulama* of the Oromo linguistic groups are typical instances. Promoting a single language by suppressing other languages is thus a destructive of national unity, whereas confirming linguistic equality, by allowing nations and nationalities to learn in their mother tongues, is a means to provide education through suitable media of instruction and to enhance stability and national unity. Hence, using various languages as media of instruction and administration appears to be a means for solving linguistic conflicts as well as for maintaining and strengthening the unity of the country because people are witnessing peaceful coexistence of different linguistic groups since the declaration of linguistic and cultural equalities and the commencement of mother tongue education.

Furthermore, as the thematic analysis of the views of one key informant as well as the views of the respondents, who held negative attitudes towards using mother tongues as media of instruction, showed, using Amharic only is seen as a means to provide education for all children. Most languages in Ethiopia have small number of speakers,

which makes giving education to their speakers very difficult. For this reason, using Amharic as a medium of instruction is useful for providing education for all Ethiopian children. This agrees with Takkele's (1995 E. C.) view that claims providing equal opportunity and education for all is necessary to enable citizens run their livelihood; this would be possible if multi-linguistic societies choose only one indigenous language by consensus for this purpose and to run other government activities with it (translated from Amharic by the researcher). This kind of progress, as Takkele goes on arguing, results ultimately in bringing opportunities that help all citizens to be in unity besides enabling them to exchange each other's ideas.

However, the aforementioned views were attempted in Ethiopia for about half a century, but it was found out to be unworkable. Had the promotion of a single imposed language been a means to provide the non-Amharic speakers of Ethiopia with education, the Haile Selassie's language policy that banned any sort of literature in all other languages of the empire, and restricted their use in schools (Mekuria, 1997), and the Dergue's language policy that followed suit would have been successful. Rather, the promotion of a single language had hampered the educational activities of the country. For example, Balsvik (1985) witnessed during the Dergue time that using Amharic only as medium of all instruction in the primary schools severely hampered the learning capacity of all those children whose first language was not Amharic. The "appalling number of primary school drop-outs, especially between the first and second grade, must to some extent be related to problems of communication" (Balsvik, 1985, p. 10).

Providing education for all through the promotion of only one indigenous language is therefore found to be unworkable in that as we are witnessing even currently that students who are learning through the Amharic medium are not getting education in a proper manner. For instance, one of the key informants, a mayor of Kulito town, indicated that there have been Alaba as first language speaker children who repeated a certain grade three times due their incapability to understand the Amharic medium (KI2, 25/10/2011). Consequently, as the informant added, the Alaba people have been asking that why their language has not been used as a medium of instruction, while in their surroundings students have started learning through Hadiya, Kembata, and Oromo. However, no response was given to the question of the Alaba people yet.

Worst, in addition to avoiding the Alaba people's question to use their mother tongue as a medium of instruction, there was an attempt to homogenize three different linguistic groups, including Alaba, in Alaba and its vicinity. As Alaba as a mother tongue speaker key informant, who participated in discussions and meetings of the then created language problems recalled, there was an attempt to mix Kembata, Alaba, and Tembaro in order to create a new language named KeA'Te, which was intended to serve as a medium of instruction for the three linguistic groups (KI3, 25/10/2011). Nevertheless, as the key informant further indicated, it was failed because of the resistance of the Alaba people and their decision to continue using the Amharic language as a medium of instruction than to mix their language with other languages. After that incidence, a considerable number of languages, for instance Tembaro that is spoken nearby the Alaba special *Woreda* (district), were introduced as media of instruction, whereas no attempt was made to use the Alaba language as a medium of instruction.

Hence, as one of the key informants, a mayor of Kulito town pointed out, despite public questions to use their language, Alaba children could not start learning through their mother tongue yet because of the shortage of Alaba speaker educated persons (KI2, 25/10/2011). Students are still learning through the unfamiliar medium. Learning through the Amharic medium, which is not spoken in the immediate environment of the Alaba and other minority ethnic groups' children, has brought about a problem on their learning and thus it is a hindrance to provide education for all. Hence, there are learners' failures to cope with the Amharic medium of instruction. This could thus be a typical example for the failure of the promotion of a single language as an instrument to provide education for all, where there are people who speak different languages. This situation agrees with Obanya's (1980) argument that African children's major learning problem is a linguistic one: "Instruction is given in a language that is not normally used in the immediate environment," a language that the learner does not understand well enough (p. 80).

Therefore, in Ethiopia, to provide education for all, it is advisable to equip the necessary educational materials for all those who started employing their languages as media of instruction and give the chance for those who did not start learning in their own mother tongues yet, and let them enjoy the opportunities they can get from learning through it. The linguistic human right of minorities, to use Biseth's (2009) expression, should be considered that a democratic society must not neglect. Education in Ethiopia where claims are made to support linguistic rights of minorities can become a means for affirming linguistic equality and confirming linguistic human rights if proper actions are taken to utilize minority languages as media of instruction. Indeed, realizing such views successfully requires political leaders' concern and commitment.

5.2.2 Federal Working Language Discourses

Ethiopia is a multilingual country wherein a number of competing languages exist. Despite the presence of competing languages, the government uses Amharic as a sole federal working language. At the same time, the government sees linguistic diversity as a resource. That is why considerable services have been paid to promote all languages since it came to power. In contrast, at federal level, promoting various languages is not the actual practice of the current government. It rather promotes only the Amharic language that implicitly discourages the use of other languages in federal formal domains. Nevertheless, this practice appears to be without the consent of other languages speakers – there are resistances. Therefore, in this section, research participants' discourses for and against using Amharic as a single federal working language as well as their discourses about linguistic hegemony, linguistic resistances, and the grounds for resistances are revealed and possible options that could mitigate linguistic conflicts are suggested.

5.2.2.1 Discourses about Federal Working Language Policy and Practice

After the downfall of the Dergue, multilingual language policy was accepted as a firm political agenda, officially declared, and implemented. However, the present government has not developed independent language policy document yet. In fact, there are overt statements about the language policy in the constitution, in the education and training policy, and other related documents. The 1995 Ethiopian constitution, in Article 5, for

instance says, “All Ethiopian languages shall enjoy equal state recognition.” This constitutional statement is a written language text that declares equality of languages. It is expressed by the use of a deontic modal, namely “shall,” which is equivalent to “must.” The constitutional statement hence implies that recognizing all languages equally is the responsibility of the state and of its citizens. In addition, the lexical level textual analysis of the policy statement, it is clear that the term “all Ethiopian languages” refers to all indigenous languages, whereas the term “enjoy equal state recognition” is ambiguous because a mere recognition of all languages by the state is hardly likely to be a source of enjoyment. Besides, a brief sociocultural analysis of the statement yields the discourses that there were language inequalities and linguistic conflicts before the contemporary government came to power. Declaring equality of all Ethiopian languages is thus used as a means to pacify the misguided inequalities and linguistic conflicts of the past.

Contrary to the earlier mentioned constitutional statement that talks about linguistic equality, the 1995 constitution, in Article 5, claims, “Amharic shall be the working language of the Federal Government.” A more related statement, which is stipulated in the 1994 education and training policy document, also says, “Amharic shall be taught as a language of wider communication.” The reason for making Amharic as the only federal working language as stated in the education and training policy and its implementation document is: “Due to certain historical circumstance, the language that, in content and distribution, can be of great service to the country as a common national language is Amharic” (MOE, 2002, p. 40). Three of the policy statements are written language texts that state the use of Amharic as a sole federal working language. Indeed, three of the

policy statements belong to the genre of language policies. Both the constitutional statement and the education and training policy statement are stipulated using a deontic modal “shall,” which is equivalent to “must.” The use of the deontic modal hence implies that government agents as well as the citizenry do have the obligation to accept the language policy statements as well as to put them into practice, especially the constitutional statement, because the constitution is the ultimate authoritative voice that governs the country and its people.

Moreover, the unique features of Amharic that enables it to be the sole federal working language, as stated above, is stipulated through a deontic modal, namely “can,” which is equivalent to “must.” Such a method of expression implies that Amharic is the language that must serve as a common language since it is of great service to the country because of its content and distribution. That is to mean other languages cannot be federal working languages, and thus it is necessary to restrict them to regional and local levels. Such language use practices clearly reveal the presence of linguistic inequalities in the larger social practice and self-contradictions in the policy statements, especially in the text-internal or discourse-internal structures of the constitution. This is because, on the one hand, it declares equality of all languages; on the other, it announces Amharic as the only federal working language. Accordingly, if the discourse practice is extended a bit further, it is possible to get language policy and practice discourses, which are related with this inconsistency, from the language policy discourses that were produced by research participants of this study. For instance, one of the key informants, a history and culture expert in the culture and tourism bureau of the Tigray regional state, who speaks Tigrinya

as a mother tongue, argued that “we say all languages are equal, while there is inequality practically” as the result of using Amharic only at federal level (KI20, 19/09/2013). Consequently, promoting Amharic only, which contradicts with the general language policy of the country, is regarded as a practice that undermines linguistic equality.

In addition, in the earlier indicated three language policy statements, the terms “working language,” “language of wider communication” and “common national language,” are collocates that refer to the genre of Amharic only federal working language. In addition, the terms “historical circumstance,” “content,” “distribution,” and “great service” are collocates that refer to the historical legacy of the Amharic language. From the view point of discursive practice, the terms belong to the interdiscursive mix of the use of Amharic as a sole federal working language discourses. These lexicons imply that other indigenous languages have no histories, contents, distributions, and great services and thus they are not equal to Amharic. Moreover, the term “national,” in the education and training policy document, as depicted in the above paragraph, reflects the ideology of the producer(s) of the text. The producer(s) seem(s) to have an interest in using Amharic as a national language, which might elevate the status of the language to the level of national symbols like the national emblem. Nevertheless, his/her interest is completely different from the federal language discourses of the government that circumvented as stated in the constitution of the country, the symbolic association of the Amharic language with the state by designating it as a federal working language, as a mere instrument.

As the current government came to power, the status of the Amharic language as a national language and its attachment with national symbols was eradicated. That is, the replacement of the term “national language” with “federal working language” is believed to avoid the symbolic value that used to be attached to the language and the value that could be resulted from using it in the constitution of the country. Related with this, Abraham (1990) says using the term “working language” rather than the term “national language” has important implications. The term national language, “especially when used in the very constitution of the nation, raises the language in question to the status of the national flag and the national anthem,” whereas “the term ‘working language’ emphasizes the practical aspect of the reasons for designating one or a few languages as common currency” (Abraham, 1990, pp. 73-74). Thus, designating Amharic as working language helps to downgrade the association of the language with national symbols such as national flag and national anthem as well as to emphasize its practical and contingent nature. Therefore, designating Amharic as a working language rather than as a national or official language is believed to avoid the symbolic value attached to it. Public federal language use questions and the instrumental values attached to it have become unavoidable, however. For instance, Amharic, the medium of recruitment at federal level, favors its first speakers at times of competition for jobs of federal institutions. This could be seen as a positive discrimination against the speakers of Amharic as a second language.

Moreover, presently, the formal domains, or the linguistic fields, of all indigenous languages except Amharic, the only federal working language, are restricted owing to

their limited distribution, content, and the inadequate services that they could offer. In other words, the power relations between the Amharic speaker linguistic group whose language is of great service and the other linguistic groups whose languages are of limited services is asymmetrical. The idea that Amharic is of great service than any of the other languages implies that the language is more powerful than other indigenous languages. Likewise, it may entail that the speakers of Amharic are more powerful than any other languages as mother tongue speakers because it gives them the power to dominate the “linguistic market.” This practice has become realistic by enabling them to produce saleable properties like music and films, move from one locality to another, and express their interests freely in the mass media and communicate easily with various linguistic groups who are less proficient in Amharic within the broad domains or linguistic fields of the language. In those social practices, the Amharic speakers possess the power to dominate the linguistic field rather than the language itself for, as Weiss and Wodak (2003) claim, “language is not powerful on its own – it gains power by the use powerful people make of it” (p. 14).

Besides, the promotion of Amharic only by the ruling party, which indirectly prohibits other languages use at federal level, signifies the presence of the weed metaphor in the “linguistic garden” in the manner that the historical coincidence of Amharic makes the language more valuable than any other indigenous language. In fact, opposition political parties that advocate the use of Amharic only as a federal working language also articulate related discourses. For instance, one of the key informants, the vice president of the All Ethiopia Unity and Democratic Party said that “there is no need to use any other

option where there is Amharic that serves to integrate all people, which is a language that has developed through education for more than 600 years” (KI18, 18/03/2013).

Whatsoever, the contemporary language use restriction has some connections with the language use history of the country. Prior to the downfall of the Dergue, indigenous languages except Amharic were considered as weeds, as “birds’ languages,” and banned from any formal domains. All indigenous languages were liable to be weeded out from the “linguistic garden” wherein only Amharic was allowed to flourish. While describing the then language dominance, a key informant, an active participant in the political, social, and cultural issues of his community, argued that:

In the past, there was a cursed view that says, “The languages broke radios when they were used as media of the radio.” When nations and nationalities asked why had not been their languages used as media of the radio, the reply was that “when your languages were tried to be used they broke the radio and consequently restricted to informal uses only.” The then governors were suppressing them by saying so. Nations and nationalities, which were living in that dark time, used to accept the reasons. ... The governors were deceiving them. (KI7, 19/06/2012)

However, as the informant further pointed out, these days, following the use of multiple languages as media of radio, television, and instruction, the people confirmed all the things the governors were saying are false. As the time of promoting Amharic only in all formal domains passed, as the contemporary government came to power, the trend was changed and all languages have been declared equal and valuable. Nevertheless, the

exclusive countrywide status of the Amharic language is allowed to perpetuate through the introduction of a normalization strategy called “historical circumstance.” Hence, there is no concrete ground to believe that all languages are equally value. As a result, it could be argued that there is no weed – all languages are plants and are allowed to exist in the linguistic garden – but there is a more valuable plant, the Amharic language, which needs better cultivation than other plants of the garden.

In general, the promotion of Amharic only as a federal working language by restricting the status of other languages to regional and local levels is intentional. The intention of the government is to have a common working language notwithstanding competent linguistic groups’ resistance that makes turning the policy into practice difficult. As indicated in the earlier mentioned education and training policy and other related documents, Amharic is spread throughout the country. Nonetheless, the countrywide diffusion of the Amharic language and its acceptance by all linguistic groups, especially by the competent ones, are questionable. The language is used in the routine activities of citizens who live in the Amhara regional state and in big cities such as Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa. It is not used in the routine activities of most of the nations and nationalities of the country.

Had Amharic been distributed throughout the country and accepted by all linguistic groups, it would have been a blessing in disguise. However, the Amharic language is spoken as a mother tongue by about 27 per cent (See Appendix I) and, as Alem (2003) pinpoints, by 10 per cent of the total population as a second language. Besides, it is not

accepted by all linguistic groups, especially by the competent ones. There are resistances. There is a divergence between citizens' language use interests and government's federal language use. There are individuals and political parties that resist the federal language use of the ruling party. For example, the federal language use views of Medrek, which is a coalition of six political parties, was voiced by one of the executive persons, that using Amharic only as a federal working language of the country is not without conflict (KI9, 06/07/2012) – there are people who resist it. It is thus in the presence of tough resistances that the government continues to use Amharic as the only federal working language. In such a case, avoidance of federal language use problems remains unjustified, but conceivably the intention seems to suppress the language use interests of competent linguistic groups. This agrees with Baldauf's (1994) recommendation that language policy makers have to control the government language policy activities, as members of competent linguistic groups can claim to have some expertise to put their ideology into practice and so resist the imposed language policy.

Besides, the Ethiopian government has disguised the federal language use issue through various mechanisms. For instance, as discussed earlier, despite the 1995 constitutional decree that all languages are equal, Amharic is used as a federal working language exclusively owing to its historical circumstance and wider distribution, while other languages are restricted to local and regional uses only. This discourse practice is triggered by the general social practice that the constitutional statement has remained on paper ever since the constitution came into existence. That is, despite the constitutional decree that all languages are equal, all the other indigenous except Amharic are restricted

to local and regional use only, which labels the federal level language policy of the government theoretically multilingual and practically monolingual. Therefore, there is inconsistency between the language policy and its practice.

In any case, despite the use of disguising strategies such as normalizing the choice of Amharic as a federal working language by using various strategies like the relative development of the language than other languages, there are contradicting language policy related statements in the constitution. The 1995 constitution declares linguistic equality, while simultaneously rewarding an exclusive status to the Amharic language. The historical circumstance, distribution, and content of the Amharic language are strategies that are used by the government to legitimize, if not to normalize, its political stand concerning federal language use. This practice concurs with Blackledge's (2005) view that a process of normalization occurs, in which it comes to appear natural that one language dominates others is more legitimate, and provides greater access to symbolic resources. In brief, Amharic is of great service, while other languages are not, and thus it is superior to other languages due to its historical legacy. Historical legacy has enabled the language to perpetuate its exclusive status that underpins the hegemony of the language over other languages and the government's intention to have a common single language that serves as an instrument in promoting social cohesion.

Furthermore, there is a partially implemented language policy statement, which is stated in the 1994 education and training policy of the government, that claims: "Students can choose and learn at least one nationality language ... for cultural ... relations." This

statement is a written language text that obliges all Ethiopian students to learn at least one indigenous language as a school subject in order to promote cultural relations among nations and nationalities. The statement is expressed through deontic modal, namely “can,” which is equivalent to “must.” It is hence a necessity for any linguistic group students to learn at least one local language other than their own. As a result, all linguistic groups except the Amhara linguistic group students are learning at least one indigenous language, that is, at least the Amharic language, other than their mother tongue as a school subject. Therefore, it can be argued that the Amharic linguistic group is the only group that does not abide by the obligation imposed through the policy statement, while other linguistic groups are obliged to learn at least Amharic, which is the mother tongue of the only linguistic group that refused to learn the mother tongue of any of the linguistic groups. This social practice, refusal to learn any local language, enables the Amharic as mother tongue speakers to minimize their language-learning burden, while others are required to learn more than two languages – their mother tongue, Amharic, and English – as school subjects.

In addition, pertaining to the lexical level textual analysis of the earlier mentioned language policy statement, the term “nationality language” refers to an indigenous language that is spoken by a given community in a specific geographic area of the country. Students’ learning an indigenous language other than their own is seen as a means to promote cultural relations among linguistic groups. The reason is that it is likely for them to know the languages they learn as well as the cultural values that are embedded in and reflected through those languages and thereby create cultural relations

with people that speak the languages as mother tongues. Besides, the term “at least one” refers to the intention of the text producer(s) to oblige students to learn more than one indigenous language. As can be understood from the language use practice of the country, there are students who learn two indigenous languages, other than their mother tongues, as school subjects. For example, besides their mother tongue, the Irob linguistic group students learn Tigrinya and Amharic as school subjects.

Concerning the sociocultural level textual analysis of the earlier mentioned policy statement, the social practice that all linguistic groups but the Amhara linguistic group students are learning at least one nationality language implies the Amharic speakers are the only linguistic group that resisted the implementation of the language policy statement. Such a resistance is believed by some as a means to promote national unity by using a single language, or by refusing to learn any additional local language. For instance, as a key informant, one of the executive persons of Medrek articulated, Amharic speakers say, “Learning other languages, especially such as Oromo, that have plenty of speakers could disintegrate the country and thus we do not want to learn them” (KI9, 06/07/2012). In the perspective of the theory of hegemony, such a practice is the typical characteristics of dominant language speakers as their intention is to assimilate other linguistic groups into their language and culture. This social practice is consistent with Bourdieu’s (1998) view that linguistic and cultural “unification is accompanied by the imposition of the dominant language and culture as legitimate and by the rejection of all other languages into indignity” (p. 46). Similarly, in the wider social practice of Ethiopia, Amharic speakers reject the learning of all other indigenous languages. This practice has

in turn become a source of resentment on the part of other dominant language speakers, especially the Oromos who say, as a key informant, one of the executive persons of Medrek, pointed out, “Why should we learn the riflemen’s language [the Amharic language], if they do not learn ours?” (KI9, 06/07/2012).

Altogether, at federal level, despite the presence of disguising strategies that target at promoting Amharic only like the imperial and socialist language policies, the contrasting textual features of the written language policy extracts discussed so far, showed a major historical shift in the objective of the present government. The objectives of the previous governments were promoting a single language and culture by suppressing other languages, while the present government’s objective is promoting the Amharic language by providing other languages with restricted statuses as well as by avoiding federal language use questions and propagating discourses of normalization. These changes in turn brought about a shift in discourse practice, in the process of using Amharic as a sole federal working language, of which the language use features discussed throughout this section are realizations.

Whatsoever, federal language use beliefs and the government’s policy statements have been implemented in the presence of firm resistances. It is true that the government of a certain country may declare a policy by avoiding the interests and beliefs of those who resist the language that the government sets out a policy. However, such a policy is unlikely to be implemented effectively for it contradicts with the people’s interests and beliefs. It is thus crucial to assess language interests and beliefs and judge its impacts

before a language policy is implemented if possible, if not after the language policy implementation during which language use resistances become clearly visible. In addition, a government may declare a language policy without paving the grounds to put the policy into practice mainly in order to calm down aggressive linguistic questions. For instance, in Ethiopia, declaring equality of all languages in all domains, despite the continuity of the old language use trend in federal offices resulted in linguistic harmony at least until the community becomes conscious about the situation and the number of persons who challenge the *status quo* increases. Nonetheless, as time goes, linguistic controversy is becoming a serious issue. Opposition parties and individuals from dominant linguistic groups, especially the Oromo linguistic group, are pressing for the federal working statuses of their languages.

Therefore, despite the constitutional decree that all languages are equal and the intended intention to settle linguistic conflicts, the regime is facing with the critics that giving equal state recognition for all languages and accommodation of diversity is partial – it promotes multilingualism at regional and local levels, and monolingualism, Amharic only, at federal level. Hence, at federal level, the current language policy mirrors the past regimes' language use profiles. Amharic, which was a national language during the imperial and military eras, was chosen to serve as the only working language of the federal government that has in turn brought about controversial discourses, that is, arguments for and arguments against Amharic only federal working language.

5.2.2.2 Discourses for Amharic Only Federal Working Language

There are discourses that argue firmly for the use of Amharic only as a single federal working language. As the thematic analysis of research participants who argue for using Amharic only as a federal language indicated, Amharic is chosen owing to its being a common language for all linguistic groups. All linguistic groups speak the Amharic language. Thus, Amharic helps to link all people that live in different parts of the country. Amharic has been serving as a government working language for decades, which makes it a pride of every nation and nationality. Amharic is once developed for it has been introduced in institutions and so all people understand and use it easily. Therefore, considering Amharic as one basic language because of its historical background is the ready choice at hand. Similarly, as a key informant, a language expert in the culture and tourism bureau of the SNNPR expressed her view:

The use of Amharic as a federal working language is taken as an option because of the wider distribution of the language that helps to provide equal service to all people of the country. It has plenty of reference materials; it has a developed literature. Because these features of the language create wider communication, it makes communication smooth. For me, the use of Amharic as a federal working language is a good practice. (KI6, 18/06/2012)

Likewise, the research participants who perceived the use of Amharic only as a federal working language as appropriate gave many reasons that are thematically analyzed, in what follows. Because using all languages is impossible, using Amharic, which is the

most widely spoken language all over Ethiopia with millions of speakers as a sole federal working language, is appropriate. Using Amharic only as a federal working language is an opportunity for better communication and thereby for creating cultural bond among various linguistic groups. Amharic, which is a language of wider communication, is creating social ties among nations and nationalities. It also facilitates communication in a smooth manner and thereby strengthens national unity. In other words, Amharic is serving as a unifying language since it is bringing all nations and nationalities of the country together. Had many languages been used as federal working languages, it would have been difficult to unite the county. Therefore, Amharic is the only language that can be used as a federal working language in order to create links among regions as well as among nations and nationalities; otherwise, the fate of the country might end. This view concurs with the literature that says language diversity is likely to cause less cohesiveness and less integration, and the ability of every citizen to communicate with the country's majority language is regarded as the common leveler (Baker, 1996). Such an argument agrees with the view that the majority language, for example Amharic, unifies the diversity. On the other hand, the thematically analyzed views contradict with the literature that reads it is possible to have national unity without uniformity (Baker, 1996).

Furthermore, as the thematic analysis showed, Amharic was considered as the only language that many people from different ethnic groups could understand. It is also the only developed language because of historical incidence. In a country that has more than 80 languages, it is necessary to use one medium of communication. The only language that can fulfill the requirements for federal working language status is Amharic – there is

no another indigenous language that can serve as a federal working language. Likewise, a key informant, the vice president of All Ethiopia Unity party, argued that:

There should be one “national” language. We should have one language, which serves all members of the society as a medium of integration. Amharic has strong features that can link our country with other countries. For example, as you know it, Amharic has borrowed from Ge’ez many unique things like the alphabet [Ge’ez characters] that are our own. How many countries do have such an alphabet? They are very few in number. English has the Latin alphabet. China has also its own alphabet. Likewise, we have the Fidel alphabet, which makes us unique from other African countries. This reality makes Amharic a very developed language. Amharic has its own writing style. Amharic has been used as medium of research, instruction, literature, art, and culture, and many people learnt through Amharic that makes it different from other languages. The present government also uses it as a medium to write policy documents as well as to administer the people. (KI18, 18/03/2013)

In addition, as the thematic analysis indicated, all languages are equal. For instance, both Amharic and Oromo are equal. The only difference is that the Amharic language is widely distributed, and thus has become a federal working language. Hence, using Amharic only as a federal working language is owing to its distribution and development. As there is an international language, there is a “national” language, which was chosen based on the number of its speakers and spread. Many Ethiopians are Amharic speakers. Accordingly, the selection of Amharic as a federal government working language is

perceived as appropriate. Similarly, a key informant, a language expert in the education bureau of the Oromia regional state, who speaks Oromo as a mother tongue, articulated that:

For me the use of Amharic as a federal working language is appropriate. The reason is that (...) for instance, it is possible to say Oromo has to be a federal working language. However, this could be possible only if all of the other regions [other than Oromia region] could speak the Oromo language. Presently, [people who live in] all regions know Amharic better than any other [second] language; hence, the use of Amharic as a federal working language is appropriate. (KI17, 07/03/2013)

Therefore, most of the respondents who held positive attitudes towards and many of the key informants who argued for using Amharic only as a federal working language emphasized that a single indigenous language that serves as a tool for countrywide social integration is necessary. Their reasons are thematically analyzed as follows. Ethiopians residing in the North, South, East and West may move from one locality to other parts of the country. For instance, they may move from the north to the east or to the central part of the country, for various reasons. Thus, in order to live in harmony or to habituate with a new community a common language is necessary. Obviously, Amharic is spread over a large area; it is spoken in many parts of the country. Consequently, Amharic is chosen to serve as a single federal working language because the society should have a single common language of communication to stick them together and maintain their social integration as the language contestations are likely to be solved through time. Many

ethnic groups who speak different languages as mother tongues accepted the use of Amharic as a federal working language. It has also spread through formal learning, which enabled it to be used as a *lingua franca* and federal working language. Likewise, one of the key informants, a curriculum development and implementation case manager of the Tigray regional state education bureau, argued that:

As Ethiopians, we are considering Amharic as a countrywide language, as a medium of communication with other nations and nationalities. The reason is that we need to have at least one “national” language, which serves as a medium of communication to integrate with individuals who live in the South, who learn and speak a local language, with individuals who live in Oromia and speak the local language. ... Amharic is an indigenous language; it is our language, our country’s language. Amharic helps us communicate easily with any nation and nationality. Therefore, we need to work to develop the Amharic language. (KI12, 22/09/2012)

Generally, as the thematic analysis of the research participants views pinpointed, there are people who claim that Oromo and other major languages have to be federal working languages; but it is baseless as their reasons are not substantial. Despite the presence of some people who argue against the use of the Amharic language, it is desirable to use Amharic as a single federal working language as it is important to promote social integration and disseminate information throughout the country. Amharic becomes the working language of the federal government because of its development – it is not to put the community whose language is Amharic at high social position; rather, it is because the language is spoken in many localities and thereby chosen as a better means of

integration. Likewise, a key informant, a curriculum development and implementation case manager of the Tigray regional state education bureau, articulated that:

There are people who consider the dominant number of the Oromo population size more than any other in the total population of Ethiopia and associate it with the federal language use without any logical justification. However, there is the reality that either because of the previous governments or other reasons Amharic has been used and developed. Hence, Amharic has already socially [informally] or through education in schools, in institutions as a system, spread throughout the country. — In Tigray, in the past administrative regimes, all subjects were being given in Amharic at elementary level. It was the same thing, in Oromia and other parts of the country. If we take the background of Amharic, when we see it as a language, it was developed in the past. It was a language used by all members of the Ethiopian society. (...) When we consider Oromo, let alone developing it through a countrywide use, no attempt was made to introduce it as a written language and develop it within Oromia itself. The same was true for Tigrinya. ... Hence, [it may not work], if we simply say Oromo has to be a second or third “national” language all of sudden. (KI12, 22/09/2012)

The spread of the Amharic language and its relative development as opposed to the other languages coupled with the government’s desire to use a single federal working language is thus being regarded as an appropriate practice. This is how the universality of the Amharic language is accepted. In other words, people’s questions concerning the use of other major languages as federal languages are seen as unreasonable and hence rejected.

This social phenomenon agrees with Bourdieu's (1998) view that says the universality of one dominant language or culture is affirmed by rejecting all other cultures and languages, which in turn force them to fall into particularity. A key informant, a language and cultural value development director of the federal government culture and tourism bureau, argued:

Of course, questions related with the federal working language are raised. There are questions but the big umbrella is the constitution. Your [the interviewer's] question might contradict with my stand. I believe that what is stated in the constitution is very strong. ... When we see it in terms of country level, different nations and nationalities integrate through Amharic. Amharic has reached its own developmental stage owing to historical coincidence. Hence, for me, when I see it in terms of resources and other related things, many activities, including our stage of development, will come into question. Currently, if we have to make three or four languages as federal working languages, we need to work different activities such as making them suitable for technological concepts. There should be translators, translation, and other related works. There should be very vast tasks. For me, these activities will be somehow problematic. ... Therefore, we declared Amharic [only] as a federal working language. (KI16, 08/02/2013)

Hence, from this text, it can be inferred that federal working language questions are ignored in order to minimize costs as well as to avoid various activities that will be at stake if other major languages are declared as federal working languages. Nevertheless, such additional activities and expenditures are too meager if we compare them with

fulfilling language-use interests of the speakers of the languages, if not with the resistances that the people who are denied their federal language use rights inflict.

Besides, a considerable number of the research participants who argue for using Amharic only perceived the federal language use questions of major languages speakers as though they were meant to make other major languages superior. For instance, a key informant, a curriculum development and implementation case manager of the Tigray regional state education bureau, argued that:

I do not believe that doing so [making Oromo a federal working language] will create the Oromo language supremacy. It will be a problem if we take it in this sense. If the reason is that the Oromo language is useful to communicate with others as well as to reflect our culture, it can be taken as an instrument. Therefore, attempting to make it a second language owing to the issue of dominance is problematic that should not be enacted. It is good if the presence of a number of persons who speak the language and their communication through it is taken as an advantage. Nonetheless, the idea that “Amharic is suppressing us and thus Oromo has to be the dominant language as the number of the Oromos is more than any other ethnic group” might be unacceptable. The reason is that the source of the issue is domination. It is good if the reason becomes about knowing a language as well as about creating an opportunity by using it as a tool for communication. (KI12, 22/09/2012)

Likewise, another key informant, an active participant in the social, cultural, and political activities of her local community, who speaks Oromo as a mother tongue, argued that, if the argument that “it should not be Amharic but another language” is found to be logical and convincing, it shall be changed by peoples’ agreement (KI4, 05/04/2012). However, the informant is of the view that if the claim is merely “my language should be superior,” the quest will not be successful. The informant further argued that:

At present, the contestation over the status of Amharic does not spring from thinking for the society or from thinking better practices for the country. Rather it springs from personal interest to make one’s own language superior. There are contestations being raised. Nevertheless, if examined, I am a speaker of the two languages, Amharic and Oromo, in this locality; I found it to be baseless, when I scrutinize both parts. Those who claim, “It should be” and those who claim, “It should not be,” have no national feeling. They are claiming so based on their personal interests. (KI4, 05/04/2012)

Based on the two key informants’ views cited above, federal language use questions of the Oromo speakers are understood as if they were meant to promote the supremacy of their language. Nevertheless, the Oromo speakers’ federal language use question, which is discussed in the following section in detail, is resistance against hegemony – against the hegemony of the Amharic language. In any case, the research participants who argue for using Amharic only as a federal working language believed that Amharic should continue for it has spread throughout the country as well as owing to its relative development than any other indigenous language. Predominantly, those who argue for

using Amharic only consider the language use practice of the country because it is ratified by the constitution. A key informant, a state minister of the Ministry of Education, firmly argued that:

Amharic was made federal working language because it is only one language that we can make a working language as 11 regions are expected to communicate through it. ...The Ethiopian people commented on the constitution of the country and endorsed the use of one language. Upon endorsement, one federal working language was required through which various actors can communicate. The one language that was agreed upon to be used by most of the people who ratified the constitution is Amharic. This question [the question of language use at federal level] must have been raised then to the people who decided to use it. Now, it is once decided. (KI19, 28/05/2013)

Therefore, for this key informant, the decision is irreversible because it is once and for all confirmed by most of the people who ratified the constitution. In contrast, another key informant, a language expert in the Oromia regional state culture and tourism, said that for the time being, the use of Amharic as a federal government is good, but it should not remain as the only federal working language since the constitution is open for modification (KI8, 05/07/2012). Thus, after a time, other major languages should be used as federal working languages. Likewise, a key informant, a culture and history expert in the Tigray regional state culture and tourism bureau argued that for the time being making Amharic a federal working language is reasonable (KI20, 19/09/2013). Nonetheless, as the informant further explained, as time goes, linguistic and ethnic group inequalities and

linguistic competitions are becoming apparent, and hence English, which is a neutral language, that could alleviate the inequalities and competitions between or among the indigenous languages should be used as a federal working language.

5.2.2.3 Discourses against (Resistances over) Federal Working Language

There are discourses that argue strongly against the use of Amharic as a sole federal working language. Research participants who perceived the use of Amharic only as a federal working language as inappropriate gave various reasons as thematically analyzed and presented below. In a country of more than 80 million population and different languages, the use of Amharic as the only federal working language is inappropriate. There are other nondiscriminatory alternatives. For instance, using Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and Somali takes all major languages and the language use interests of their speakers into account. In contrast, using Amharic only as a federal working language satisfies the interest of the Amharic speakers and a few politicians only. Besides, it reflects the culture and identity of one ethnic group only. What is more, it restricts the development of other languages, and so languages that have many speakers are suppressed. Consequently, there are conflicts of language use interests.

Moreover, as the thematic analysis revealed, the preamble reads that the aim of the constitution is to pacify past injustice, but the use of Amharic as the only federal working language in order to do so is tantamount to committing another injustice. The reason is that as the Amharic language is unlikely to be a culturally and socially neutral language since its use as the only federal working language aggravates the past language

inequalities. Thus, the past language use injustice can only be pacified by using other options. Other major languages should be used as federal working languages. If not, a neutral language has to be used. To do this, it is important to look into other countries' experiences. For instance, South Africa and Switzerland have more than one official language. On the other hand, India and Nigeria use English, which is neutral to all linguistic groups of the two countries. In sum, it is better if either a neutral language or all languages that have millions of speakers are used as federal working languages because such a practice may create smooth working environment.

Therefore, as the thematic analysis of the research participants' views signposted, there are resistances over using Amharic as a single federal working language. The use of Amharic as a single federal working language is not reasonable because there are other languages that are spoken by millions of Ethiopians. Consequently, the controversy over its use has continued since such a practice perpetuates the Amharic language hegemony. Employing Amharic only as a federal working language is also seen as a language use phenomenon that promotes the Amhara's cultural values only throughout the country. Hence, promoting Amharic only should be stopped to confirm major linguistic groups' quest for linguistic and cultural recognition at federal level.

Moreover, as the thematic analysis showed, forcing people such as the Somalis and the Anyiwaks as well as other nations and nationalities to use Amharic at federal level as opposed to their choices when they do not have any willingness is unfair, if not undemocratic practice. Allowing those who resist using the federal working language to

use their languages or provide them with other possible options such as using all major indigenous languages and English as a federal working language(s) are thus regarded as possible solutions for federal language use resistances. However, such options have not yet received the intention of the government and hence linguistic hegemony and the resultant problems of linguistic hegemony such as linguistic frictions are in place. In brief, there are resistances over the federal working language, and such linguistic resistances are attributed to linguistic hegemony. This concurs with Fairclough's (1992) argument that hegemony is domination across the linguistic, economic, cultural, and ideological domains of a society – hegemony is a focus of constant struggle around points of greatest instability between classes and blocs to construct, sustain, or fracture alliances and relations of domination and subordination, which takes linguistic, cultural, economic, political, and ideological forms.

Amharic hegemony is maintained mainly because the language has received the ruling party's favor. Amharic is chosen to serve as a federal working language and thereby people who speak Amharic fluently are chosen at the expense of those who do not speak the language fluently. The Amharic as mother tongue speakers, if not those who argue for maintaining its exclusive federal status, and the ruling party attempt to get the consent of the society and those who resist it or forward their counter ideology. Related with this, Wiley (2000) argues that linguistic hegemony and the struggle against it presuppose “a contest between languages in which only one language can prosper, and for that language to prosper, there is an assumption that it must conquer all others lest it be conquered” (pp.

67-68). For decades, this situation has been in practice between Amharic and other languages in Ethiopia.

Amharic hegemony is reflected and resisted in various domains such as administration, mass communications, and meetings. The use of Amharic as a federal working language has become a battleground, as it is associated with job opportunities, linguistic and cultural domination, and people's discrimination. As the thematic analysis of the participants' views pinpointed, in Ethiopia, the Amharic as mother tongue speakers propagate ideologies of cohesion and unity through a common language. The mother tongue speakers of Amharic also use their language to construct their own identity in the form of national cultural recognition as well as in the form of control of mass media discourses and job opportunities of the country. The Amharic speakers are hence the most advantaged group of the opportunities that could be gained from using Amharic as a sole federal working language. This agrees with the literature that in a multilingual country speakers of the dominant language are immediately placed at an advantage in both accessing and benefiting from the civic culture and state services for language has a number of crucial roles to play as groups realize its value for manipulation and for obtaining power (Shohamy, 2006). Consequently, the speakers of the dominant language use it as a tool in the battle for visibility, control, and representation.

Likewise, using Amharic only as working language in common social affairs such as the capital city and federal institutions helps to serve the first speakers of the language as a tool of control and cultural manifestation than any other linguistic groups. This practice

has in turn brought about the emergence of federal working language use resistances that attempt to alter unbalanced opportunities, cultural domination, and inequitable job opportunities among various linguistic groups. There are individuals and political parties that resist the use of Amharic as a sole federal working language. The Oromo takes the highest share due to various reasons, their constituting a significant percentage of the total population of the country more than any linguistic group being the main one. For instance, one of the key informants, a language expert in the culture and tourism bureau of the Amhara region, who speaks Amharic as a mother tongue, observed that:

...the previous governments were relying on one language. They did not give the chance for other languages. For instance, if we see the Haile Selassie regime, the central ideology was one nation, one language, one religion, and so forth. Other languages were suppressed directly or indirectly. For the nations and nationalities think that the then administration was suppressing them, at present, they consider Amharic as a hegemonic instrument that makes them to take a wrong stand not to learn the language. ... For instance, while we were in university, people were saying, "there were plenty of Oromo speakers, and Amharic was second to the Oromo language." Perhaps, it might be right, or it might not be. ... When we think of this, currently, some individuals question why the Oromo language could not be used as an official language. (KI14, 23/10/2012)

From this text, it can be inferred that the Oromo people, who constitute a substantial percentage of the total population, are arguing against the use of Amharic as a sole working language of the federal government. In fact, there are also other languages as

mother tongue speakers who oppose the use of Amharic as a single working language such as some of the key informants of Tigrinya and other languages as mother tongue speaker respondents, as discussed under the attitudes section. In brief, people are resisting the use of Amharic only due to asymmetrical benefits that its speakers obtain. Otherwise, people would not argue against social integration, if their cultural and linguistic identities are respected and get recognition in the national and world stage. Their resistance also resulted from the unbalanced economic benefits that the Amharic speakers are getting from using their language as recruitment medium for vacancies of federal institutions that makes them to be more competent to succeed in passing the examinations than others who speak Amharic as a second language do. This circumstance coheres with the literature that says such debates and tensions are marked in the representation and use of languages as these fall in the midst of the battles of those seeking to maintain the order of the national language versus those trying to change it towards local, regional, and global languages (Shohamy, 2006).

Because of the asymmetrical advantages that the mother tongue speakers of the federal working language obtain, there are political parties and individuals who resist the use of Amharic as a sole federal working language. Consequently, the use of two or more languages is suggested. For instance, a key informant, who is one of the executive persons of the Medrek political party, firmly argued that:

Language is the main stage where identity is manifested and the mirror through which the culture of its speakers is reflected and thereby recognized by others throughout the world. That is why our party [Medrek] is arguing against the use

of Amharic as a sole federal working language because it promotes the identity, cultural recognition, and dominance of one group. Consequently, we decided to use at least two [Amharic and Oromo] languages as working ones in federal offices and the capital city to prevent dominance and realize the presence of other linguistic and cultural groups. The reason is that we cannot think of identity in the absence of language. ... Language is the base for identity because it is through language that people express themselves, work, and communicate with other people. (KI9, 06/07/2012)

This text implies that the use of Amharic only as a federal working language promotes the Amhara's identity and culture and blurs the presence of other linguistic groups, if not keeps them far-off from the national arena and international recognition. In order to mitigate the cultural and linguistic hegemony of the Amharas and confirm the presence of other linguistic groups, other languages should be used as federal working ones. Amharic as mother tongue speakers also occupied more than 50 per cent of the federal government permanent employment (see 5.2.2.4 for more detailed data).

In general, the use of Amharic as the only federal working language makes the mother tongue speakers of the language more beneficiaries than any other linguistic group. This practice is similar with other multilingual countries that use one dominant language as a working language of their governments. For instance, as indicated in the review of literature, in Canada, the English speakers that have good command of the English language control the crucial authority in the areas of administration, politics, and the

economy. Consequently, a small number of French-speaking elite, whose original goal was political opposition to the dominant English, ultimately precipitated the outbreak of the socially motivated language conflict (Nelde, 1998). Likewise, in Ethiopia, political parties whose main goal is political resistance have started to use language as a means to get public support. Political parties and individuals have started to associate the language use in federal institutions, including in the capital city, with individual and group recognitions, social and cultural statuses, and job opportunities. Language conflicts might therefore get more complex than ever and thereby force the government to revise its language policy and practice as people who resist the federal working language have concrete grounds.

In addition, the arguments against Amharic hegemony reflect ideological conflicts and power relations between groups in the society. The arguments also suggest a way out, which usually focus on either the use of the major indigenous languages or a neutral foreign language, English, as federal working language(s), in order to solve the linguistic conflicts and mitigate linguistic hegemony. Whatever counter arguments are articulated, the Amharic hegemony has continued since the resistances are suppressed, if not sidestepped, by the government coupled with the consent of other languages, other than Amharic, as mother tongue speakers, such as the Tigrinya speaker respondents, as stated under 5.1.2, to use Amharic as a sole federal working language. This phenomenon agrees with the literature that hegemony could not be sustained over time without the consent of the society through ideological persuasion (Gramsci, 1971); as it is about constructing alliances, and integrating rather than merely dominating subordinate classes, by way of

concessions or ideological means, to win their consent (Fairclough, 1992). Such a phenomenon is thus clearly visible in normalizing the use of Amharic as a sole federal working language, though other major languages speakers' resistances remain tough.

5.2.2.4 Grounds for Resistances to Amharic Only Federal Working Language

There are a number of grounds for people's resistances over the use of Amharic as a sole federal working language. As the thematic analysis of the research participants' views signposted, people resist the use of Amharic only as a federal working language owing to the presence of other major languages that compete with Amharic as well as because of the resultant inequitable job opportunities of federal institutions. There are members of certain communities, politicians, and political parties that oppose the use of Amharic only as a federal working language because of various reasons such as the need to elevate the status of other languages and to use the issue as a tool to get public acceptance. Making Amharic as a single working language of the federal government where there are other major languages is discriminatory, and hence there has to be a federal language use change to pacify the situation.

On the contrary, the government promotes the Amharic language by offering it as a school subject in order to help nations and nationalities actively participate in federal affairs. As the thematic analysis of the research participants' views indicated, the Amharic language is given as a subject throughout the country in order to promote social cohesion. Amharic is a language of wider communication; that is why students are

learning it as a school subject throughout the country. This view concurs with Watts's (1967) view that opposing people who press for the use of more federal working languages, "centralists have generally stressed the importance of a single national [federal working] language not only to facilitate inter-regional communications and administration but also to provide a focus for unity" (p. 79). Furthermore, Amharic is given as a school subject throughout the country in order to promote the participation of nations and nationalities in the social, cultural, political, economic activities of the federal government. This concurs with Kembo-Sure's (2002) view that monolingualism holds the assumption that if speakers of the "little languages" learn the dominant language then they will have access to social and economic benefits. That is, minority languages speakers are not equal with speakers of the dominant language and remain disadvantaged, if they do not learn the dominant language.

Nevertheless, as the thematic analysis of the research participants' views revealed, the attempt of teaching the Amharic language and helping the nations and nationalities of the country actively participate in the social, economic, and political activities of federal institutions has not succeeded in Ethiopia. The reason is Amharic has been easier for those who speak it as a mother tongue and hence they have become more beneficiaries in the political, social, cultural, and economic activities of the country that makes the language to become a scarce commodity for other languages as mother tongue speakers. Therefore, in Ethiopia, offering Amharic as a school subject is viable to the question of whether it is a means for equitable job opportunities of the citizenry in federal institutions as it is unlikely for other languages as mother tongue speakers to become as proficient as

the Amharic as a mother tongue speakers. Hence, the Amharic language has become a discriminatory tool from most socioeconomic activities of the state for other languages as mother tongue speakers. Related with this, Tollefson (1991) claims that: “Whenever people must learn a new language to access to education or to understand classroom instruction, language is a factor in creating and sustaining social and economic divisions” (p. 8).

Therefore, it can be argued that the Amharic language serves as a means to maintain the previous hegemony of the Amhara linguistic group and the linguistic inequalities of the then times. The perpetuation of such inequalities is thus one of the grounds for people to resist the Amharic hegemony – There is power struggle. Inequality is an effect of power, as power discriminates a certain group against another one. Related with this, Bloomaert (2005) claims that: “The deepest effect of power everywhere is inequality, as power differentiates and selects, includes and excludes. ...language is an ingredient of power processes resulting in, and sustained by, forms of inequality...” (p. 2).

Linguistic inequality is also a source of treasure, a source of income and pride for the countrywide dominant language speakers and a burden for other linguistic groups. In Ethiopia, Amharic has continued its hegemony as it is the recruitment language for federal institutions’ vacancies that prefers its first speakers as well as the instrument of communications in business and the mass media that excludes other languages speakers from high economic, cultural, and social elevations. The Amharic language benefits its first speakers in that it has brought about inequitable job opportunities and individual and

group recognitions in the society. As a key informant, a history and culture expert in the Tigray regional state culture and tourism bureau, pointed out, using Amharic as a federal working language has created inequalities in federal institutions because more than 50 per cent of the permanent employees are Amharas (KI20, 19/09/2013). Likewise, a language expert in the Oromia regional state culture and tourism bureau articulated that:

At federal level or in relation with using Amharic as recruitment language, there might be a negative impact on others [non-Amharic speakers or Amharic as second language speakers]. We cannot deny this reality. ... Some impacts might take place until things are adjusted. For that matter, in Oromia region, sometimes, there are some impacts on other nations and nationalities [other than Oromo] when they compete for jobs. It is not only with Amharic, the federal working language. (KI8, 05/07/2012)

The aforementioned two experts of the Oromo and Tigray regional states culture and tourism bureaus views imply that using Amharic as a recruitment language at federal level benefits its first speakers. It is also because the Amharic as mother tongue speakers are using the language, the federal working language, as a medium of instruction, while most of the citizenry are learning in other languages. Hence, the inequitable federal job opportunities confirm Cohen's (2000) view that the use of local languages for a range of purposes may disadvantage those people who "are using their own languages since they will have less access to the state than those who are educated in Amharic, and will as a result become increasingly marginalized" (p. 112). This is clearly observed in the Federal Civil Service Agency's (2008) annual statistical report that, in 2007, the percentages of

permanent employees of federal institutions were 50.15 per cent Amharas, whereas Oromos, Tigrains, Guragies, and Wolaitas occupied 17.75 per cent, 8.70 per cent, 4.26 per cent, 1.37 per cent, respectively and the remaining groups were almost out of the competition. Hence, it can be argued the employment opportunity was inequitable if it is evaluated in terms of the share of the linguistic groups in the total population of the country.

In 2007, as reported by the National Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia (2008), the total population of the country was 73 750 932. Of this total population, 25 363 756 were Oromos, 19 878 199 Amharas, 4 586 876 Somalis, 4 486 513 Tigrains, 2 951 889 Sidamas, 1 859 831 Gurages, 1 676 128 Wolaitas, 1 276 867 Afars, 1 269 382 Hadiyas, 1 104 360 Gamos, and 9 297 131 the remaining 75 linguistic groups. Hence, had the shares of the federal permanent employments of the linguistic groups been symmetrical, their percentages would have been 34.39 Oromos, 26.95 Amharas, 6.22 Somalis, 6.08 Tigrains, 4.00 Sidamas, 2.52 Guragies, 2.27 Wolaitas, 1.73 Afars, 1.72 Hadiyas, 1.50 Gamos, and 12.61 the remaining linguistic groups. This implies that the Amharic as mother tongue speakers have taken 23.20 per cent more jobs of the total permanent employments of federal institutions out of their share, whereas the Gurage and Tigrinya as mother tongue speakers have occupied almost their share. In other words, the shares of other languages speakers are taken by Amharic as mother tongue speakers. This implies that the Amharic as mother tongue speakers have dominated the socioeconomic activities of the country, while the Gurage and Tigrinya as mother tongue speakers are participating in the socioeconomic activities of the country almost in a symmetrical manner.

These asymmetrical job opportunities of linguistic groups are resulted in because of federal language use problems and language inequalities. The Amharic speakers have dominated the job opportunities of the federal institutions because the recruitment medium is easier for them, as it is their mother tongue, than for any other linguistic group, despite their learning Amharic as a school subject for a number of years. The number of other linguistic groups employed in federal institutions is insignificant as compared to the Amharic as first language speakers. It is for instance, hard to see Somalis and Sidamas despite the fact that each of them constitutes a significant percentage in the total population of the country. The number of employees from other competent ethnic groups such as the Oromo and the Wolaita is also insignificant. The reason is, despite the attempts to make all citizens proficient in Amharic to promote their participation in the social, political, cultural, and economic activities of the federal government by offering it as a school subject, nations and nationalities who speak different languages as mother tongues could not compete equally with Amharic as mother tongue speakers. Therefore, it can be argued that linguistic inequalities and inequitable job opportunities are clearly visible at federal level that in turn reveals the existence of palpable Amharic hegemony. This concurs with Pool's (1991) opinion that those "whose languages are not official spend years learning others' languages and may still communicate with difficulty, compete unequally for employment and participation, and suffer from minority or peripheral status" (p. 495).

Yet, despite the presence of linguistic inequalities, linguistic conflicts, and asymmetrical job opportunities among linguistic groups because of the use of Amharic as a sole federal

working language, the government has continued using it. Choosing one language over others to serve as a federal working language unquestionably brings inequality in the statuses of languages as well as in creating job opportunities for the speakers of the languages. The chosen one assumes a superior status, high prestige, while the non-chosen ones are inferior to it, which in turn brings about inequitable job opportunities and bad feelings on the speakers of the low prestige languages. The high prestige language, the one and only federal working language has become a cause for inequitable social, cultural, economic, and political participations. This agrees with Patten's (2001) view that those who cannot access public services or participate meaningfully in the conduct of public business owing to their linguistic capabilities are vulnerable to having their rights and interests overlooked.

Therefore, as the thematic analysis as well as the analysis of the percentages of linguistic groups' permanent employees of federal institutions signposted, the Amharic as mother tongue speakers are the most advantaged group from the federal government employment opportunities than any other linguistic group. In other words, using Amharic as a single federal working language is the cause for the existing inequalities of employment opportunities in federal institutions. For this reason, other linguistic groups, especially the Oromo, insist on the use of their languages in federal institutions in order to mitigate the existing inequalities. Such a phenomenon is not distinctive to Ethiopia. In multilingual countries, the question whether there should be one or more official or working languages is pertinent. This agrees with Watts' (1967) argument that reads such a question has always arisen "... since linguistic minorities usually press for the recognition of their

languages as official federal languages because of anxiety that otherwise they would be handicapped in participating in federal affairs” (p. 79). Consequently, such conflicting points of view have frequently clashed sharply and because language can affect access to jobs and powers, the issue has invariably been an explosive one.

Furthermore, the domination of the federal mass media discourses by Amharic as mother tongue speaker journalists who discriminate other ethnic groups against their own ethnic group is another ground for resisting the exclusive status of the Amharic language. Who are praised? Who are deliberately disregarded? Whose stories are appreciated? Whose products are discouraged? The answers for these and other related questions are stated in one Tigrinya as a mother tongue speaker key informant’s views, an active participant in the social, cultural, and political activities of his local community, who argued that:

Amharic, the working language of the federal government and the capital city, helps its native speakers actively participate in the political, cultural, and economic activities of the country than any other linguistic groups do. Everything is under their control. ... The native speakers Amharic have dominated the media discourses. They discourage other linguistic groups’ cultural manifestations. They praise individuals if they are from the Amhara ethnic group, conversely they give deaf ears, if not defame, individuals if they are not from that ethnic group, even when their contributions to the social, political, and economic development of the country are magnificent. The Amhara journalists’ discriminatory discourses on the historical deeds of two magnificent Emperors – Yohannes IV and Menelik II – of modern Ethiopia is a case in point in that the journalists mention hardly ever

the historical deeds of the former one on the grounds of his ethnic affiliation to the Tigrayan people. In contrast, they do praise the latter one's accomplishments repeatedly. (KI13, 18/09/2012)

This implies that other languages speakers are discriminated against the speakers of Amharic in that linguistic inequality has brought about individual or group inequalities – the high status language speakers get recognition, while low status languages speakers are usually mistreated. Hence, the flows of the social discourses of the federal mass media have been diverted to the preferences of the “Amhara ethnic group.” In addition, as the earlier mentioned informant pointed out, the Amharic medium private newspaper journalists “use their language to strongly criticize the federal government even blindly, while others could not do so including in times when they have appropriate criticisms due to their poor command of the Amharic language” (KI13, 18/09/2012). This clearly shows the power relations between Amharic speakers and other languages as mother tongue speakers. That is, the Amharic as mother tongue speakers are more powerful than any linguistic groups in the mass media in that they put their own language ideologies into practice and in so doing include their own cultural and political beliefs and give recognition to individuals of their interest in their discourses and exclude those who are not. This approves Blackledge's (2005) observation that language ideologies are more than individual speakers' attitudes towards their language in that the speakers of the dominant language include “the values, practices and beliefs associated with language use by speakers and the discourse which constructs values and beliefs at state, institutional, national and global levels” (p. 32).

Moreover, the research respondents who held negative attitudes towards using Amharic as a federal working language gave a number of reasons for resisting the use of Amharic as a sole federal working language that are thematically analyzed in what follows. The use of Amharic as a single federal working language benefits the Amharic as mother tongue speakers in terms of reflecting their identities since it is the only language used to broadcast the national discourses, which degrades the values of other languages and the identities of the speakers of the languages. It reflects the culture and identity of the Amharic as mother tongue speakers only. Moreover, as the Amharic language is a medium of recruitment for federal employment vacancies it favors the mother tongue speakers of the language. It provides more opportunities to those who speak Amharic as a mother tongue than for others. People who do not know Amharic are discriminated against the first speakers of the language. As a result, most workers of federal institutions are Amharic as mother tongue speakers. Similarly, one of the key informants, an active participant in the social, cultural, and political issues of his local community, argued that:

Amharas, who are Amharic mass media experts, disregard social and cultural values and artistic products that are related to other ethnic groups. For instance, the discrimination of the Work of Birhane Nigusse, a Tigraian Amharic medium journalist, who produced a notable film on the heroic deeds of Muse Tekle – one of the leading figures of the TPLF is a manifestation of other ethnic groups' exclusion. This practice forced Birhane to argue, on one of his radio programs that “whether people like it or not the heroic deeds of the TPLF fighters are part of the country's history. It is therefore unethical to overlook the product deliberately.” Moreover, the work of an Amharic singer named Tsedenia

Gebremarcos, who produced an Amharic album in 2004, was discriminated against her ethnic origin. Her music was not heard as such, and the reason for one of the journalists who wrote an article in one private newspaper was her being a Tigraian. (...) He wrote, “Although Tsedenia’s album was modern and of good quality, it was discriminated because of her ethnic origin.” ... In fact, I am not sure whether she is *Tigraweiti* [a Tigraian] or not. (KI13, 18/09/2012)

Hence, as can be understood from the above text, non-Amhara individuals, who produce cassettes, films, etcetera in Amharic are discriminated against their ethnic origins. At least, in their most violent manifestation, any works related with other ethnic groups’ heroic deeds and cultural manifestations are discouraged. In addition, as can be inferred from the text, it is not only people, who base the themes of their artistic works on other linguistic groups, other than the Amhara linguistic group, and on political issues, that whose products are discriminated against their ethnic origin. There are individuals who are discriminated owing to their ethnic origin only, whatsoever the themes and qualities of their products are. There are arguments, odium discourses, against the producers and their products that are articulated in a subtle manner, which inevitably kick the producers out from the art industry and art product market of the country. There is hence power abuse, or to use Bourdieu’s (1991, 1998) term, symbolic violence in social and media discourses. Such a symbolic violence is the field where the symbolic power of the Amharic as mother tongue speakers – the instrumental power that they get from the use of Amharic in various fields – is manifested. If a certain group has preferential access to cultural, political, and social, educational or scholastic discourses than other, it can be

argued that there is power abuse. Related with this, Van Dijk (2000) says, "... we speak of discursive or communicative power abuse or domination," and this "power is subtly exercised in many forms of everyday social practices, and in text and talk in particular: non-dominant groups are excluded, marginalized ..." (p. 74-75).

Altogether, as indicated earlier, the linguistic field of federal institutions especially those associated with job opportunities, linguistic and cultural capitals, and social discourses are controlled by Amharic as mother tongue speakers. In those social practices, a conceptual metaphor of censorship is clearly visible. The Amharic as mother tongue speakers control the linguistic market and put sanctions on it through various mechanisms that condemn the selling of other linguistic groups' cultural capitals. Hence, the linguistic field is more accessible to the mother tongue speakers of the Amharic language, which makes them more powerful than any other linguistic group. This agrees with Bourdieu's (1993) observation that in the economic market, there are power relations and monopolies that indicate all the producers and their products do not start out equal, so too in the linguistic market there are power relations that denote all speakers are not start out equal.

In Ethiopia, different linguistic resources – cultural capitals such as linguistic knowledge and linguistic skills as well as symbolic capital such as accumulated prestige and honor of the Amharic language – wherein the first and second speakers of Amharic and their interrelations are determined by the distribution of the resources, are sold under the monopoly of the Amharic as mother tongue speakers. The dominant position of the

Amharic as mother tongue speakers in federal institutions, which has helped them to occupy more than 50 per cent of the permanent job opportunities, is also maintained owing to their knowledge and skills of Amharic, the linguistic capital, which they possess by virtue of their social background. This phenomenon is hence a metaphor of censorship in which the cultural and symbolic capitals are dominated by the mother tongue speakers of the Amharic language. This coincides with the metaphor of censorship that Bourdieu (1991) has described as the structure of the field itself, where the structural censorship is exercised through the medium of the sanctions of the linguistic field, functioning as a linguistic market on which the prices of different kinds of expression are formed. It is imposed on all producers of symbolic goods and it condemns the occupants of dominated positions either to silence or to shocking outspokenness.

Therefore, in the Ethiopian federal language use context, the linguistic field, the linguistic market of federal institutions, in which different social and cultural capitals are sold in relation with individuals of various linguistic groups and their habitus, the system of dispositions that predispose the individuals to act or react, wherein the field is governed by Amharic as mother tongue speakers. In so doing, Amharic, the medium of the field, is used to denounce others' products and silence their discourses as well as to sell social commodities that are of interest to the mother tongue speakers of the federal working language. In other words, non-native speakers of the federal working language, who have alternative systems of habitus other than the federal institutions, such as regions and zones, in which other languages are allowed to serve as media of various purposes, have little opportunity for public participations in the political, cultural, social, and economic

activities of the federal institutions. Thus, the power relations that exist in the Amharic linguistic market varies because some are likely to have a free access to it owing to their proficiencies or owing to certain favors that they could get from agents of the linguistic market while others are not. Such a phenomenon concurs with Bourdieu's (1991) expression that the power relations that obtain in the linguistic market "... are manifested and realized in the fact that certain agents are incapable of applying to the linguistic products offered, either by themselves or others, the criteria that are most favourable to their own products" (p. 69).

In general, a certain individual person's or any linguistic group's discrimination in the federal mass media and recruitment affairs, where the medium is Amharic only, against another one is a manifestation of Amharic hegemony. In fact, the linguistic hegemony of the Amharic language and the dominance of its speakers are maintained due to the unjustified consent of other languages speakers and the apathetic commitment of the government to settle the situation. For instance, as indicated under 5.1.2, the Tigrinya as mother tongue speakers who held positive attitudes towards the use of Amharic as a sole federal working language has shown their consent to use it as a sole federal working language. On the other hand, as indicated under 5.1.2, the Oromo as mother tongue speakers who held negative attitudes towards the use of Amharic as a sole federal language has indicated their disagreement to use it as a federal working language. In such a case, the government uses avoidance as a mechanism to ignore the voice of those who resist as well as to continue using Amharic as a single federal working language by sidestepping federal working language use related questions. This phenomenon coincides

with Tolle son's (1991) view that state hegemony may be attained in two ways "through its 'spontaneous consent' of people to the direction of social life imposed by dominant groups, and ... through apparatus of state coercive power which enforces discipline on members who do not consent to the dominant ideology" (p. 12).

Quite the reverse of the Tigrinya as mother tongue speakers' consent to use Amharic as a federal working language, other research participants, including Tigrinya as mother tongue speakers, who speak other languages, other than Amharic, as mother tongues argued against the use of Amharic as a single federal working language. Their reason is that the speakers of other languages are disadvantaged in the linguistic, social, cultural, and economic activities of the country because using the language prefers its mother tongue speakers. Owing to this reason and other related reasons mentioned earlier, it can be argued that there are controversies over the status of Amharic as a single federal working language. The regime believes that linguistic accommodation is a means to address diverse interests and thereby strengthen national unity, while practically discouraging the accommodation of linguistic diversity at federal level. For this reason, individuals and political parties are resisting the federal language use of the government.

Indeed, language use conflicts are not as simple as people think of them to be. They might result in unexpected incidents. For instance, the language use views of the Medrek political party was voiced by a key informant, one of the executive persons of Medrek or the Forum (a coalition of six political parties), that the Amharic speakers say "our language is more developed than any other language" with the intention of maintaining

their linguistic hegemony (KI9, 06/07/2012). The development of other languages would therefore create problems in the development and spread of the Amharic language. The key informant further contended that it might be seen as a simple issue notwithstanding the presence of a big problem, language use conflict, but his party has observed the problem as a serious issue that demands political decision:

If the Oromos, Oromo students, or children refuse to learn Amharic and Amharic speakers say, “Learning other languages, especially like Oromo that have plenty of speakers could disintegrate the country and thus we do not want to learn them,” what do you think would happen? In the near future, there will appear Ethiopians who could not communicate each other. ... There are Oromos who say, “We do not want to learn the *neftegna’s* (rifleman’s) language.” There are also situations where the educated Oromos, who know Amharic, refuse to communicate using the language. For instance, in America, an Oromo could not talk to you in Amharic. Thus, knowing Amharic does not benefit us. Rather, it keeps the people more apart. ... In sum, the language problem becomes complex as people associate it with politics. The Oromos say, “Why should we learn the *neftegna’s* language, if they do not learn ours? When all is said and done, we will secede from the country.” The ultimate objective of the Amharas, who say, “The development of other languages will disintegrate the country,” is also politics that aims at maintaining the dominance of their language, culture, and identity. (KI9, 06/07/2012)

As can be inferred from the above informant's view, there are political parties and linguistic groups that resist the federal language use of the ruling party that mainly base their views on social, political, and ideological affairs of language use. Oromo students' refusal to learn Amharic and accept it as a federal working language is because of the Amharas unwillingness to learn the Oromo language as a school subject. It is thus to solve such federal language use conflicts that, as the abovementioned key informant pointed out, Medrek announces to use both Amharic and Oromo as federal working languages. In fact, there are disagreements in determining federal working language(s) within the coalition political parties of the Forum. For instance, the vice president of All Ethiopia Unity Party, one of the coalition parties of the Forum, claimed that:

By the way, we have many political differences with Medrek, leaving other political differences aside; let me tell you about what they say in relation with language use at federal level. Why did they choose two languages [Amharic and Oromo] as "national" languages where there are more than 70 languages in Ethiopia? ... Number of population itself is not enough. Amharic has been spoken in many places for a long time. More than 50 per cent of the population of Addis Ababa does not speak Oromo. There are Oromos who do not speak the Oromo language. Why do we see language in terms of blood relationship? For me, saying, "I am an Oromo" does not mean, "I speak the Oromo language;" saying, "I speak Amharic" does not mean, "I am an Amhara." A language should be seen out of the structural arrangement of communities. Ethnicity is one thing, and language is another thing, an instrument. (KI18, 18/03/2013)

Therefore, as can be inferred from this text, there is federal language use conflict within Medrek itself. Generally, there are hostile political language use ideologies between the ruling party and other political parties, between the government and the speakers of competent languages as well as between opposition parties. Such political language conflicts might lead to national strife and fragmentation unless they are taken with the utmost care as it was observed in other multilingual countries. In line with this, Capotorti (1991) says, the designation of the language of a certain group as official language may become “a source of constant controversy since it may upset the political balance between various population groups, especially in cases where each group constitutes a significant percentage of the total population or is concentrated in specific areas” (p. 39).

Altogether, controversies over the promotion of one federal working language has become the source of conflicts in language use interests, especially where competing linguistic groups exist, which might lead to national contention, if it is not handled with the utmost care. For example, “Linguistic conflict led to Bangladesh’s separation from Pakistan” wherein language “served as an issue around which their grievances could be mobilized” (Cooper, 1989, p. 110). Linguistic controversies should hence be handled with the utmost care, in order to prevent such evil actions. In Ethiopia, there are linguistic conflicts at federal level, in which the proponents of Amharic are seeking to preserve the status of the language, whereas its opponents are pressing for changing the *status quo*. Hence, at federal level, there are language use controversies and divergent language use interests. To solve such conflicting language use interests, linguistic inequalities, and other resultant inequalities, as discussed in what follows, the research participants, who

perceived using Amharic as a sole federal working as inappropriate, suggested other viable language policy options.

5.2.2.5 Federal Working Language Policy Options

In the previous regimes, the use of a single language was overtly advocated and practiced throughout the country. On the contrary, currently, as the contemporary government has started promoting diversity at regional and other local levels and uniformity at federal level, the use of Amharic as a sole federal working language commenced to be disguised though its impacts have started to become apparent. The government disguises its use of Amharic only federal working language through political and ideological appropriations that propagate the essentiality of employing the Amharic language only, which indirectly discourages the employment of other languages in the offices and mass communications of federal institutions. As discussed under 5.2.2.4, such practices have brought about linguistic dominance, inequitable job opportunities, and asymmetrical linguistic and cultural recognition in the national and international arenas. As a result, politicians and other individuals who are conscious about the inequalities resulted from using Amharic only have started to resist the promotion of a single federal working language. What should be done then to prevent linguistic inequalities and thereby solve linguistic frictions? The research participants, who perceived using Amharic as a sole federal working as inappropriate, suggested two major federal working language options that could help to mitigate linguistic conflicts, prevent linguistic and cultural inequalities, and

confirm linguistic rights and equitable job opportunities: Foreign language (English) and major indigenous languages (see Figure 2).

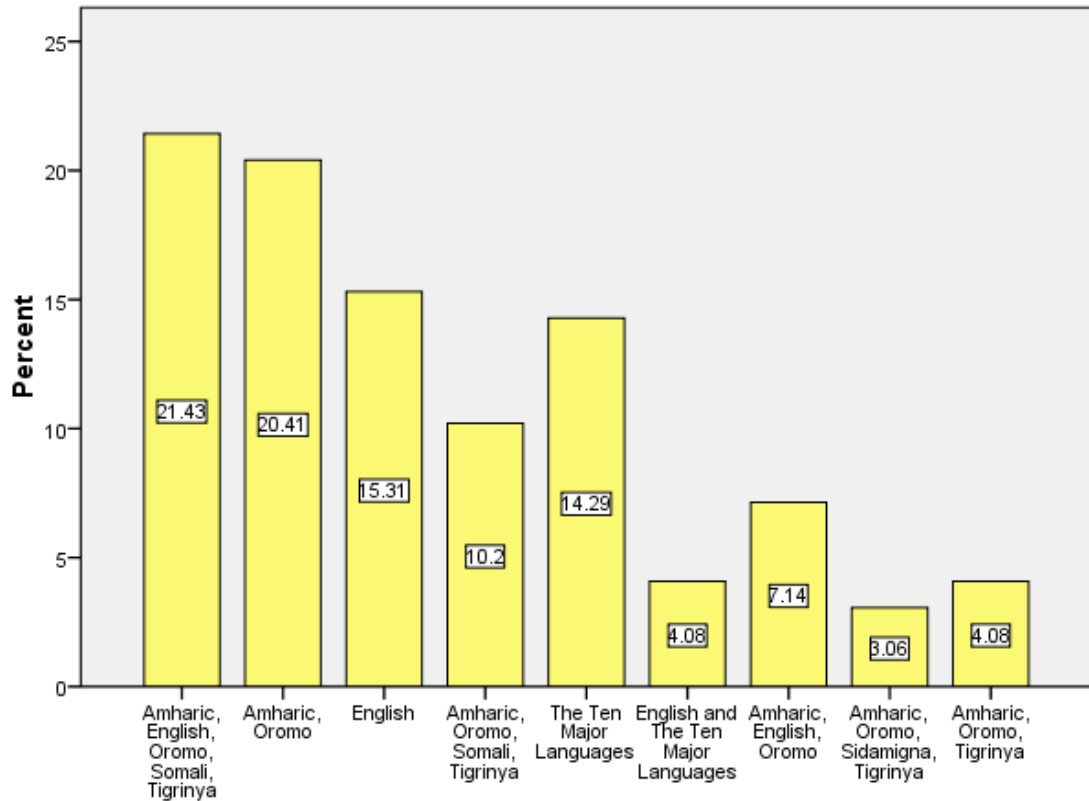


Figure 2: Respondents' Federal Working Language(s) Choices

5.2.2.5.1 Foreign Language

As depicted in Figure 2 above, 48 per cent of the participants, who perceived using Amharic only as a federal working language as inappropriate, suggested English, which is a neutral language, as a federal working language, either alone or together with major indigenous languages, namely Afar, Amharic, Gamo, Gurage, Hadiya, Oromo, Tigrinya, Sidama, Somali, and Wolaita. As the thematic analysis of the research participants' views indicated, employing English as a federal working language would solve linguistic

conflicts and prevent linguistic inequalities as it, unlike Amharic, is a socially, culturally, and politically neutral language to all linguistic groups. English also provides all nations and nationalities with equal job opportunities. It is because of such a reason English is chosen as official language in India, Nigeria, and South Africa where different languages are spoken. Besides, since Ethiopia is the seat for many international organizations, using English as a federal working language would create opportunities for people who can benefit from being employed in the organizations. Most importantly, it can serve as a language of compromise, if English is employed as a federal working language in Ethiopia. If we make Amharic, or Oromo, or both of them, other languages speakers such as Somali and Tigrinya will not accept the choice. In addition, there will not be any negative effect that could be brought about from using the English language in learning other subjects at high school and university levels because everyone is likely to give great emphasis to learning English, if everything runs through it. It would also serve as an important tool in borrowing, adapting, and introducing technological innovations from developed countries because it is an international language and a language of technologically advanced countries.

Furthermore, a key informant, an Amharic as a mother tongue speaker, who has been working his dissertation on language and communication related issues suggested English as a federal working language, saying that:

No no no, for the Oromo people, for the Tigray people, or for any other language speakers, since a language other than their own is an imposition, it is all the same.

It is unquestionable, whatever it is, either it is English or Amharic; it does not

make any difference. ... Whether we like it or not, English is a countrywide medium of instruction at higher institutions and other institutions. Therefore, to avoid complexity of nations and nationalities and to treat them equally, for sure English would be a possible option owing to its international role. English is also the language of commerce and international communication. (KI10, 06/07/2012)

This text implies that Amharic is an imposition for other linguistic groups as English is; but English unlike Amharic is a neutral language that does not belong to any linguistic groups in Ethiopia. For this reason, using English as a working language in the common domains that bring various linguistic groups into contact would solve linguistic conflicts among various individuals, linguistic groups, and political parties. Likewise, a key informant, a history and culture expert in the culture and tourism bureau of the Tigray regional state, who speaks Tigrinya as a mother tongue, argued that:

Federal countries use different language policies. If we take South Africa as an example, [11] languages are federal working languages. In Ethiopia, selecting one language from indigenous languages is the practice. Other countries use what we call neutral language by taking a foreign language that neutralizes all; for instance, Nigeria uses [English] as a working language. In Ethiopia, using one local language as a federal working language itself creates inequalities among languages. ... Hence, along with Amharic, another language, a foreign one, rather than an indigenous language that helps to neutralize the competition that has been created at federal level has to be solved slowly by using a language that neutralizes all of us, without being involved in competition. ... This is because

there are principles for choosing a language. As you know, there is no a nation that fulfills 50 plus one. All people are minorities; this country is a country of minorities. In a country of minorities, two options are considered in selecting a language. Making all languages federal working ... which is impossible. Creating a situation to make English a federal working language is thus the best option. (KI20, 19/09/2013)

Moreover, the thematic analysis of the research participants' views stated that English is an international language that serves as a medium of communication with other countries. People are proud of using English because it is an international language. In contrast, many people reject using Amharic as a federal working language. Using English is preferable as it is useful for communication in global development. At local level, all nations and nationalities have their own languages to be proud of using them. Besides, a key informant, an active participant in the social, cultural, and political activities of his regional community, articulated a relate view. He said that using English as a federal working language will help to solve linguistic conflicts as well as to bring peripheral linguistic groups such as the Somali and Nuwer that prefer to communicate with other Ethiopians in English closer to the federal system (KI13, 18/09/2012). He added that using English could also serve as a device to bring the Horn of African countries, where various linguistic groups that have similar complexion and shared culture are dwelling in, into one. Similarly, a key informant from the culture and tourism bureau of the Tigray regional state recalled that, in the near past, in the present government's administration, it was observed that:

The ethnicity of more than 50 per cent of the permanent employees of the federal government were Amharas, and one of the factors for this was found to be language use. There are people that we call the peripheries like Somalis that we usually push them out due to language. In other words, Amharic is pushing out people like the Somalis and Afars that do not have any close contact with other Ethiopians. Therefore, if we want to bring those people closer, the main task would be to bring national unity. If we bring peace, if we bring development and democracy, other people would join us; other Somalis, other than the Somalis who are living with us would join Ethiopia. If we are to unite and empower others, another language that empowers them has to be used. Presently, practically Amharic is not empowering other people. Rather, it is magnifying the previously prevailing inequitable advantages. The government should act if there is pressure. Another problem will be created, if another local language is to be chosen. Thus, there should be a foreign language to empower all Ethiopian people for it is capable of uniting, bringing all people to the federal system. ... When I see it from this perspective, I think using English is proper. (KI20, 19/09/2013)

Therefore, using English as a federal working language is believed to be a proper medium to bring linguistic, cultural, and social equalities. In contrast, if the government continues to use Amharic as a federal working language, the Amharic speakers would remain to be the only group who dominate the political, social, cultural, and economic activities of the country. Related with such a practice, Lagerspetz (1998) says that “giving the right to some and denying it to others may also means favoring some traditions and conceptions of human good at the expense of others” (1998, p. 197). Such

a practice is in turn likely to bring about linguistic conflicts. Hence, the government should employ a neutral working and recruitment language and the major indigenous languages as co-working ones or the major indigenous languages only in order to prevent linguistic conflicts, mitigate linguistic and cultural inequalities, and promote equitable job opportunities.

Otherwise, the existing explosive language use issues, the unsettled ones, specifically the use of Amharic as a sole federal working language, which put other groups in unequal position, are likely to create resentment that eventually might lead to social strife. The simple reason for the present government to use Amharic as a federal working language is the language has spread owing to its historical coincidence. This reason, the historical twist of fate, as one of the key informants, a PhD candidate who has been working his dissertation on language use and development related subject, contended is a reason that forces the nations and nationalities of the country to remember the grievances of the previous regimes' oppression and linguistic hegemony (KI5, 11/04/2012). The informant further contended it is not a good historical incidence; it should not be a reason for a democratic government; it should be reconsidered, therefore. Likewise, one of the key informants, an Amharic as a mother tongue speaker, who has been working his dissertation on language and communication related issues, said:

If Oromo becomes a working language, the Oromo language speakers will benefit more than any other nations and nationalities. If Amharic becomes a working language, Amharic speakers will get a better advantage. On the other hand, if English becomes a working language, in the context of Ethiopia, all nations and

nationalities cannot be advantaged or privileged owing to their ethnicity, but they can be advantaged because of their learning English. Hence, I think using English as a federal working language is a better option. (KI10, 06/07/2012)

English is hence seen as a neutral language that does not belong to any group in Ethiopia, which is believed to be a means to solve the existing language use problems of federal institutions. It would also alleviate the burden that students face from learning more languages: Their mother tongue, dominant regional languages such as Oromo and Tigrinya (for minority students such as Irobs and Kunamas), English, and Amharic. The idea is that students would learn only two languages, their own mother tongue and English, if English becomes a working language of the federal government. Most importantly, using English as a federal working language is suggested because of its being a culturally and politically neutral language. Related with this, Capotorti (1991) stresses that for a language to become a working language "... it should be politically neutral," if it is not "... it is too often regarded merely as a tool by which a particular language group seeks to extend its domination" (p 39).

For those who argue in favor of using English as a federal working language, as the thematic analysis showed, using Amharic and resistances against English contribute to the isolation of the Ethiopian people, being confined to a splendid island in the hinterland of Africa, from the rest of the world society. It is paradoxical that the capital city of Africa is found in Ethiopia wherein people who come from every part of the continent could not interact with people of the country easily as the people are incapable of

communicating in English with guests who come to the country. Had English been the working language of the federal government, people would have tried to use it in their daily lives and attempt to interact with people who speak other languages and become proficient in English. However, Amharic serves as a language of wider communication in the capital city and some other big cities that has in turn created an impediment to the improvement of people's English proficiencies. It is also affecting quality of education negatively because people are arguing that the quality of education is deteriorating owing to students' poor English proficiencies, which is the medium of instruction from grade seven or nine upwards. If students are poor at the medium of instruction, they could not understand the concepts of the subjects they learn effectively.

Altogether, it can be argued that English is a possible means to solve federal language use friction for two important reasons: (1) it is an international language that cannot be ignored, and (2) it is a neutral language. It benefits, if not disadvantages, all linguistic groups equally. On the other hand, Amharic benefits the mother tongue speakers. It is not also a politically, socially, and culturally neutral language. It favors the mother tongue speakers of the language and thus other competent languages' speakers would continue pressing for the equality of their languages. That is why the use of a neutral working language that does not belong to any ethnic group is in practice in linguistically heterogeneous countries like Ethiopia, especially if two or more rival languages exist. For instance, English is used as a language of compromise to prevent linguistic conflicts as well as to mitigate linguistic inequalities in other multilingual countries such as India, Malaysia, Nigeria, and Pakistan.

In India, English, which is a colonial language, is an official language of the country. In fact, English was supposed to be replaced by Hindi 15 years after independence; but the condition was suspended owing to the resistance of non-Hindi linguistic groups (Bamgbose, 1991). Other competent groups' resistance against Hindi and the difficulties of selecting one or more indigenous languages worked in favor of English despite resentment against it (Van Dyke, 1985). Likewise, English is the official language of Nigeria. According to Attah (1987), English has functioned as the official language of the country because it is a neutral language, no ethnic group in Nigeria can claim ownership of it, and so it will continue to belong equally to all Nigerians. Attah (1987), quoting Bamgbose (1971) and Kebby (1986), says, because of the past and present roles of English in the social life and administration of the country, some Nigerians nowadays think that the language is the greatest heritage bequeathed to them at the end of British colonialism.

In general, multilingual countries, particularly in Africa and Asia, use neutral languages to alleviate linguistic conflicts. In line with this, Fishman (1968a) says, most African countries utilize a single major European language like English and French and assign local languages to their respective areas equally; since using a neutral language "tends to minimize internal linguistic divisiveness since it does not place any indigenous language at an undue advantage as the language of nationhood" (p. 46). It is not thus uncommon to use English as a language of compromise where rival languages exist in a multilingual country. It is not nonetheless an easy task to put it into practice in Ethiopia. People might consider it as a modern colonization though Ethiopia was not colonized and thus there is

no any mode of colonization associated with utilizing the English language. Of course, there are people who see both Amharic and English as mere languages, equal to any linguistic groups except for the Amharic as mother tongue speakers. For instance, one of the key informants, who has been conducting his dissertation on language and communication related subject, argued that both Amharic and English are equal for other languages speakers, but English unlike Amharic is a neutral language that does not belong to any ethnic group, which has to be used as a federal working language:

When we choose Amharic as an official language we are enlightening Amharic speakers at the expense of others. Hence, if the intention is to benefit all nations and nationalities equally, perhaps using a language like English could create a better opportunity. All nations and nationalities could be exposed equally to the language and the opportunities that might be achieved by using it. However, if one domestic language is chosen, it is unquestionable that we are choosing the speakers of that language at the expense of others because the language is exposed to the community that speaks it in a better way than to other languages speakers. Thus, perhaps, in order to treat all nations and nationalities of Ethiopia, it is good to use English because it is a neutral language. (KI10, 06/07/2012)

Therefore, if English is used as a federal working language along with major indigenous languages as federal co-working languages and other languages that have small number of speakers as regional or local working languages, there will not be any inequitable job opportunities, linguistic and cultural conflicts, and linguistic and cultural assimilation.

Otherwise, if Amharic only federal working language continues, in the course of time, the weaker linguistic groups will be assimilated and the strongest groups will resist and struggle to maintain their languages, identities, and cultures, which might in turn bring about national controversies.

5.2.2.5.2 Major Indigenous Languages

As illustrated in Figure 2, 52 per cent of the respondents, who perceived the use of Amharic only as inappropriate, suggested major indigenous languages as federal working languages. Specifically, 20.41 per cent of them suggested both Amharic and Oromo as federal working languages. As the thematic analysis of the research participants' reasons for suggesting the two languages indicated, majority of the Ethiopian population know Amharic and Oromo. They are the major languages of the country. The Oromo language is the largest language spoken as a mother tongue by a number of people than any Ethiopian language. It is also spoken as a language of wider communication in the Oromia regional state and in some parts of the SNNPR. In addition, because the majority of Ethiopians speak Amharic as both first and second language, continuing to use it as a federal working language is unquestionable. It is therefore reasonable enough to use both Oromo and Amharic as federal working languages.

Moreover, the political program of the Medrek coalition party (2012), as stated under Article 3, declares that in addition to Amharic, another language that is spoken by a substantial percentage of the total population of the country will be made a working

language of the federal government. This clearly refers to the use of Oromo as a second federal working language, as Oromo is a language that has a number of speakers than any other language. While doing so, as one of the key informants, who is one of the executive persons of Medrek articulated, the intention is to offer the Oromo language as a subject throughout the country (KI9, 06/07/2012). Likewise, a language expert in the Oromia regional state Education Bureau, argued that if decision is made to use Oromo as a federal working language, the language should be taught as a subject and spread throughout the country before the action is taken (KI17, 07/03/2013). Nevertheless, introducing the language is regarded as impractical as it adds more burdens on students' learning. Regarding this, one of the key informants, a curriculum development and implementation case manager of the Tigray regional state education bureau, claimed that:

I believe that introducing a language that is spoken by a number of people in schools, as a second language, is good. There is no problem with introducing the language. The problem is with how to introduce it. For example, if we introduce Oromo as a subject besides Tigrinya, English, and Amharic, it is to introduce four or five languages to the school system, which will become a burden for the students and thus they could not learn the languages properly. For example, the big reason for introducing the Amharic language at grade three is such a burden as it is English and Tigrinya the students could learn at most, introducing Amharic before that could make the students to learn neither of the languages. ... However, I do not believe that introducing the [Oromo] language as a school subject in itself will have a side effect. (KI12, 22/09/2012).

Likewise, another key informant, a language expert in the Amhara region culture and tourism bureau, said, “If we make students learn many languages, there would be a situation where they spent all their times on language learning only, which is a burden for them” (KI14, 23/10/2012). Thus, introducing the Oromo language as a subject throughout the country would add more burdens on minority nationalities. Minority linguistic groups would be forced to learn about five languages as school subjects. For example, a student from the Irob linguistic group of the Tigray regional state will be forced to learn Irob, Tigrinya, Amharic, Oromo, and English. Such a policy would hence aggravate linguistic groups’ inequalities.

In addition, it is questionable to be the solution for the existing linguistic conflicts because other competent linguistic groups are likely to press for making their languages federal working languages. It is hence hardly likely to effectively implement such a policy in Ethiopia as it is highly likely to aggravate linguistic groups’ inequalities and unlikely to accommodate language use interests of other major ethnic groups. Of course, choice is inevitable in Ethiopia as there are a number of languages, but it should consider the major indigenous languages in order to include linguistic groups that constitute a significant percentage of the total population of the country. Indeed, the choice of any federal working language is always a debatable political issue where language use interests come into divergence. Concerning such a language choice issue, Pool (1991), argues that the choice of working languages is a natural political affair: “When governments, firms, associations, and international organizations designate the languages

that they require or permit to be used in official business, interests come into conflict” (p. 495).

Therefore, the use of Amharic or both Amharic and Oromo as federal working languages could not solve the existing linguistic inequalities and linguistic conflicts. For instance, using Amharic only as a federal working language – allowing it to be the tool for any federal administration, mass communications, and recruitment purposes – is a single linguistic group’s treasure. It discriminates other linguistic groups against the Amharic as first language speakers in the social, cultural, political, and economic activities of the country. Likewise, using both Amharic and Oromo would benefit the two groups only, while other linguistic groups would remain disadvantaged and pursue their resistance against the use of the two languages.

As a means to alleviate the linguistic frictions among languages, the research participants suggested the use of major indigenous languages as federal working languages. As depicted in Figure 2, 10.2 per cent of the respondents suggested four major indigenous languages, that is, Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and Somali as federal working languages as the majority of the Ethiopian people are highly likely to accept the selection since the speakers of the four languages constitute the substantial percentage of the total population of the country. Having similar reasons with those who selected the abovementioned four languages, 4.08 per cent of the respondents chose Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and 3.06 per cent of them selected Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and Sidama. Moreover, 14.29 per cent of the respondents, with more related reasons to the earlier mentioned 10.2 per cent,

4.08 per cent, and 3.06 per cent of the respondents, suggested 10 major languages, namely Afar, Amharic, Gamo, Gurage, Hadiya, Oromo, Sidama, Somali, Tigrinya, and Wolaita, each of which have at least one million and a quarter speakers, as federal working languages.

Relatively speaking, the abovementioned ten languages are spoken by numerous people. As the thematic analysis of the respondents' views pinpointed, the languages are spoken by millions of people. This option would thus include the majority of the Ethiopian people. The languages have also the fitness to be federal languages, if they are seen in terms of population size, economy, and politics. The speakers of the languages constitute the lion's share of the Ethiopian total population, as a result, many people are asking for the use of such languages as federal working languages. Therefore, using these languages as federal working languages may serve as a balancing effect in many respects of the language use related questions being raised in the country. In doing so, language use tolerance will be created among the Ethiopian people.

Moreover, each of the abovementioned 10 languages is numerically significant. In other words, this federal working language use option basis its argument on numerical size. As Capotorti (1991) proposes, one of the principles of language choice basis its grounds on the numerical importance of a particular linguistic communities that can be utilized as a guide in choosing languages. The speakers of the 10 major indigenous languages account more than 90 per cent of the total population. Using the 10 major languages as federal working languages is thus more inclusive than using four major indigenous languages –

Amharic, Oromo, Somali, and Tigrinya that cover about 74 per cent of the total population of the country. Similarly, a key informant, a researcher and curriculum expert in the education bureau of the Amhara regional state, who speaks Amharic as a mother tongue, said that:

In our country, there are many nations and nationalities, and the nations and nationalities are multi-linguals. There are several languages. When we see it in terms of this, using Amharic only as a federal working language may have a certain limitation. Perhaps, it might exclude other languages. ... There should be a common consensus to eliminate this. ... Others, other than Amharic speakers, at least the speakers of the major languages should be taken into account. There are very minority languages that are spoken in a limited area. It is impossible to include such languages. Nevertheless, the problem can be solved by using the languages that are spoken by majorities as federal working languages like Amharic. (KI15, 23/10/2012)

Each of the aforementioned ten indigenous languages constitutes more than one million speakers, while each of the remaining indigenous languages constitutes less than one million speakers. Therefore, it is reasonable enough to use the ten languages as federal working. In addition, there were research participants, as indicated under 5.2.2.5.1, who recommended using English as a federal working language, along with major indigenous languages. In fact, it is unlikely to avoid English from the federal government institutions because it is the only instrument that has been used to communicate with outsiders.

Therefore, if the ten major languages, along with English, are used as federal working languages, this option will be closer to the South African official languages use model. Nevertheless, a model that confirms equality of languages is usually referred to as the Swiss model as Switzerland is the first country that declared all major languages as official working (Phillipson & Skuttnab-Kangas, 1995). That is, the government of Switzerland has four national languages, namely German, French, Italian, and Romanche, which are spoken by 63.6 per cent, 19.2 per cent, 7.6 per cent, and 0.6 per cent of the barely over seven million total population of the country, respectively (Grin, 1998). In South Africa, as indicated by the 1996 Constitutional Assembly of the country, there are 11 official languages, wherein, as stated in Article 6(3), the national government and provincial governments may use any particular official languages for the purposes of government, taking into account usage, practicality, regional circumstances, and expense.

In sum, as English is a *de facto* government working language in Ethiopia, employing English, along with the 10 indigenous languages, as federal working languages would be similar to the countrywide language use practice of South Africa. There will be 11 federal working languages. In fact, minority languages speakers might raise the same question though it is by far less risky than ignoring the question of the 10 major languages' speakers that constitute the lion's share of the total population of the country. Using all indigenous languages at federal level would be a seamless solution to mitigate any language use questions, but it is hardly likely to deliver services through 85 languages – language choice is inevitable. It is owing to such reasons that languages that are spoken

by small number of population are neglected official status in countries such as South Africa that promote several working languages at countrywide levels.

Therefore, the 10 major languages that constitute more than 90 per cent of the total population of the country can be used as federal working languages. In such a case, English and the major languages will be used to run various federal activities without any restriction. If implemented effectively, this model will create plenty of job opportunities for many individuals and give the chance for languages development. Of course, the minority languages have to be provided with chances of development by way of using them as media of instruction and justice. It is however impractical to use minority languages as federal working languages as their speakers are small in number, but the number of the linguistic groups is too much.

Employing 11 federal working languages might seem impractical for many Ethiopians, especially for the unionists who usually seek to promote Amharic in all formal domains. Nonetheless, as experiences have shown, many federal governments, in the world, use a number of languages as working languages, including in big cities. For instance, Amharic along with other languages, which is immigrants' language in the United States, is a working language in the New York City. The time when the news was heard, many Ethiopians expressed their happiness. It was then that the researcher started to think about the language use situation and linguistic frictions in federal institutions, including in the offices of the Addis Ababa City. If Amharic becomes a working language in a foreign city and this state of affairs turned out to be a source of pleasure for its speakers, how

dare then using indigenous languages in their capital city and federal institutions is seen as implausible practice?

Generally, the major languages should be introduced as federal working languages, if the intention is to use indigenous languages as avoiding the question is likely to be a threat for peaceful coexistence because competing ethnic groups are likely to press for the development of their respective languages and cultures. Otherwise, as one of the key informants, who has been working his dissertation on language use and development related subject, pointed out, if Ethiopians insist to use a single federal working language, this demand still begs the question of “which language it should be” (KI5, 11/04/2012).

The informant further argued that:

Of course, it is known that Amharic has a long history in being the “national” language or federal working language of Ethiopia. When we examine this history, it has its own problems. Nonetheless, the current debate or dispute is, as there are other languages that have at least as much as Amharic speakers, making Amharic the country’s sole federal working language or language of wider communication is not fair. I know there are people who think this way. Hence, the existing debate or dispute is that there are people who raise the question that in relative of what parameter does Amharic has become a single federal working language, where there are other major languages. ... Therefore, I have the belief that it will be good, if it is reconsidered. ... When we see some countries, they use two or more federal working languages. Thus, for me, it could be a good solution if more languages are chosen to be the country’s media of integration. (KI5, 11/04/2012)

Hence, using the major languages as federal working languages is believed to be a solution for the existing federal language use controversies. Likewise, a key informant, a language expert in the Oromia regional state culture and tourism bureau, argued that:

I do not have the view that Amharic must remain as the only federal working language. If other languages develop, compete and fit the necessary requirements even better than Amharic using various criteria, they could be the federal working languages of the country. They could be additional federal working languages, or can be given priority over Amharic. Therefore, the policy is not restrictive. This leads to a better situation; it could not lead to a sluggish circumstance. Instead, suppressing and blocking other languages' development would have a bad effect. ... Besides, I have the view that as languages develop we could not be restricted to use only one language, through process, we can use three or four of the languages. (KI8, 05/07/2012)

Altogether, using a single indigenous language, Amharic, as a federal working language, which has become a source of contestations, is perceived as inappropriate. Other major languages speakers who are conscious about countrywide language use situations around the world are arguing against the federal level monolingual language policy of the present government. Therefore, in Ethiopia, where there are many competing languages, it is advisable either to use all the major indigenous languages or a neutral foreign language as federal working language(s) in order to mitigate linguistic inequalities and solve linguistic tensions.

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

In this chapter summarises the findings of the study are made. Therafter, conclusions and recommendations are made based on the findings of the study. Finally, further research areas are proposed.

6.1 Summary of Findings

The purpose of this study was to investigate educated people's attitudes and discourses about the present language policy and its practice. To this effect, the following research questions were set out and answered:

- What are educated people's attitudes towards using several languages as media of instruction, administration, and mass communications?
- Do educated mother tongue speakers of Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages differ in their attitudes towards the use of many languages as media of instruction, administration, and mass communications?
- What are educated people's attitudes towards employing Amharic as a single federal working language?
- Do educated mother tongue speakers of Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages differ in their attitudes towards the use of Amharic as a federal working language?

- What do educated people say about opportunities and challenges of multilingual language policy and its practice for national unity and national development?
- Does the current language policy confirm linguistic equalities?
- What do educated people say about the use of Amharic as a sole federal working language?

To begin with, to answer the first, second, third, and fourth questions, descriptive statistics, one way ANOVA, and the Tukey test were employed. In so doing, based on the analyses of variance, it was found out that educated people of Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother tongue speakers held positive attitudes towards the use of several languages as media of instruction, mass communications, and administration. In fact, there were mean differences, especially between the Amharic as mother tongue speakers and the other three linguistic groups – the mean of the Amharic as mother tongue speakers was less than the mean average, while the three groups' means were greater than it. It was also found out that there were statistically significance differences between the means of the Amharic and Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother tongue speaker educated people. Precisely, there were statistically significant differences between Amharic and the three linguistic groups' means only – there were no statistically significant differences among the means of Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother tongue speakers.

On the other hand, the analyses of variance showed that the educated people of the four linguistic groups held divergent attitudes towards using Amharic as a sole federal

working language. The Amhara and Tigraian linguistic groups held positive attitudes, whereas the Oromo linguistic group held negative attitudes. Besides, the other languages as mother tongue speakers remained neutral. It was also found out that there were statistically significance differences between the means of the four linguistic groups. Specifically, there were statistically significant differences between the means of Oromo as mother tongue speakers and the other three groups. Similarly, there were statistically significant differences between the means of other languages as mother tongue speakers and the other three linguistic groups. Moreover, there were statistically significant differences among Oromo, Tigrinya, and other linguistic groups' means as well as between Amharic, and Oromo and other linguistic groups' means.

Concerning the fifth question, the thematic analysis of most of the research participants' views revealed that multilingual language policy and its practice have created various opportunities for strengthening national unity by way of giving responses for ethnic groups' language questions and thereby minimizing linguistic conflicts which have in turn brought about peaceful coexistence among different nations and nationalities. The language policy confirmed the rights of about 30 linguistic groups to use their languages as media of instruction, justice, mass communications, and administration. Promoting multilingualism in Ethiopia has hence helped to safeguard diverse interests of various linguistic groups. Safeguarding diverse interests of various linguistic groups has in turn helped to confirm peoples' language rights as well as to develop tolerance among linguistic groups and thereby to strengthen national unity.

In contrast, the thematic analysis of some of the research participants' views pinpointed that the use of numerous languages as media of mass communications, instruction, and administration has created challenges for national unity. It has obstructed the unity of the country by weakening various linguistic groups' social integration. The use of a number of languages as media of various purposes has also impeded national unity because nations and nationalities have been giving unlimited focus to their local linguistic and cultural values and insignificant emphasis to the common national values that help to strengthen the sense of Ethiopianness.

Moreover, the thematic analysis indicated that multilingual language policy has created various opportunities for accelerating national development. It has minimized conflicts, brought about peaceful coexistence among different linguistic groups, and helped the productive citizens to devote their time to socioeconomic activities than to struggles to confirm the rights of using their mother tongues as media of mass communications, administration, justice, and instruction. Besides, the current language policy confirms the right of nations and nationalities to learn through their mother tongues in elementary schools and thereby attracts plenty of children to come to and stay at school as it helps them to understand educational contents easily and thereby reduce dropouts and repetition, which in turn enables the country to produce several educated citizens. Producing a number of educated citizens in turn facilitates the development of the country. On the contrary, the thematic analysis of some of the research participants' views indicated that the use of numerous languages as media of multiple purposes has created various challenges for national development. It slows down development by

restricting the movement of labors from one region to another because people's Amharic proficiencies are deteriorating because people have been giving limitless emphasis to the use of their mother tongues for various purposes and insignificant focus to Amharic.

Regarding the sixth research question, analysis of language policy texts through CDA along with the thematic analysis of research participants' views revealed that there are linguistic inequalities because minority groups are denied the right to use their languages as media of instruction. The critical analysis revealed that the mother tongue education policy of the government that claims to provide children with the chance of using their mother tongues is not fully implemented because a number of children are learning in languages that are not familiar with them. Thus, the languages are not equal with languages that are used as a media of instruction. In addition, the analysis of policy texts through CDA along with the thematic analysis of participants' views pinpointed that there is linguistic inequality in language use of the federal government. Of all the indigenous languages, it is only the Amharic that is officially allowed to serve as a medium of federal government activities. The Amharic language has achieved this status because of its relative development and distribution better than any other indigenous language, while other languages are restricted to the use of regional, zonal, and local levels. In other words, languages are not equal. Hence, using Amharic as a single federal working language by restricting the use of other languages in federal domains *per se* manifests the presence of linguistic inequalities.

Concerning the last research question, educated people reflected different views about using Amharic only as a federal working language. The thematic analysis of the views of the research participants, who argued for using Amharic only as a federal working language, revealed that it is a means to promote social cohesion. Using Amharic as a federal working language serves as an instrument to bring all nations and nationalities together. In contrast, the thematic analysis of the views of the participants, who argued against using Amharic only as a federal working language, pinpointed that it brings linguistic friction as using Amharic only has brought about linguistic inequalities and inequitable job opportunities. Indeed, it was found out that though the federal vacancies are posted for all Ethiopians who speak different languages, it is axiomatic that the recruitment language favors its first speakers and hence brings about inequitable job opportunities of the citizenry. This phenomenon is laid bare in the 2007 annual statistical report of the Federal Civil Service Agency (2008) that the Amharic as mother tongue speakers occupied more than 50 per cent of the permanent employment of federal institutions of the country.

6.2 Conclusions

The study was an exploration of educated people's attitudes and controversial discourses of language policy and practice. Having collected empirical data from educated people, it came up with conclusions that are stated afterwards. Educated people have positive attitudes towards the use of many languages as media of instruction, administration, and mass communications. Of course, the Amharic as mother tongue speakers have very low positive attitudes, which is too lower than the mean average, whereas the means of the

Oromo, Tigrinya, and other languages as mother tongue speakers are above the mean average. This implies that a considerable number of Amharic as mother tongue speakers have negative attitudes towards the use of diverse languages as media of multiple purposes. In other words, a considerable number of the Amharic as mother tongue speakers argue for the use of Amharic only in all formal domains. Therefore, there are somehow antagonistic attitudes. In generally terms however, four of the linguistic groups have positive attitudes towards the role of using several mother tongues as media of instruction, administration, and mass communications in national unity and development.

In Ethiopia, multilingual language policy and its practice – the use of diverse languages as media of instruction, mass communications, and administration – is generally perceived as a policy that strengthens national unity because it confirms linguistic rights of nations and nationalities and brings about peace and stability. Besides, it enhances development because it helps to exploit the indigenous knowledge embedded within every linguistic group's culture as well as to produce plenty of educated work forces through suitable media of instruction. In fact, the language policy has unsettled language use affairs. For one thing, there are linguistic groups who are still suffering from learning with unfamiliar medium at local levels. For another, there are linguistic groups who did not get equal participation in employment and cultural manifestation at federal level owing to the use of Amharic only as a medium of all formal affairs, which has in turn resulted in language conflicts.

The current language policy has generated two national unity related contesting views: (1) it is destructive of unity and thus should not be promoted, and (2) it is a good policy for it advances unity through tolerance and accommodation of diversity. The view that promoting a single language in a multilingual country would hence bring about linguistic conflicts and national destruction because using one language as a medium of various purposes satisfies a single linguistic group's interest only. People were struggling to confirm their language rights and therefore the current multilingual language policy has received wider acceptance by the society because it satisfies most peoples' language use interest. Hence, attempting to reverse it is thus impossible. Moreover, the use of various languages as media of instruction, administration, and mass communications is found to be invaluable to strengthen national unity because it accommodates various nationalities' language use interests and confirms their language rights. The promotion of various languages is thus a way out to accommodate various linguistic groups' interests and cultural values as well as a strategy for compromise that serves as an instrument to strengthen national unity by confirming different groups' linguistic rights as well as by creating peace and harmony.

Promoting linguistic diversity *per se* could not be destructive of national unity. National unity can be strengthened by promoting various languages at various levels such as federal, regional, district, and local levels. National unity is not necessarily a function of using one language in all formal domains. It can be realized through confirming human rights and flourishing democracy, good governance, and equitable access to resources. In other words, unity in Ethiopia is less likely to be strengthened or weakened due to the

absence of one federal working language for unity is not the product of using a single common language. Instead, it is usually associated with people's willingness to live together by maintaining their differences and shared values. National unity can be strengthened by confirming the language rights of nations and nationalities because it avoids conflicts and brings peaceful coexistence. Therefore, multilingual language policy is an opportunity for strengthening unity by using lots of languages, or confirming language rights of nations and nationalities.

In contrast, the avoidance of the language questions of federal working language status by major linguistic groups is a big challenge for national unity. Most of the undemocratic practices of the previous regimes have gone but hegemony in language use at federal level has remained intact. Consequently, it might be a loophole for linguistic and political contestations and so a threat for national unity. As it is indicated in the analysis and discussions chapter of this paper, the Amharic as mother tongue speakers occupy the lion's share of the federal government employment opportunities as the recruitment medium is Amharic. Moreover, Amharic speakers have dominated the mass media discourses; and Amhara or Tigray-Amhara culture has dominated the national cultural affairs. All social events of the country are also reflected through Amharic and the Amharic-language related cultural practices that veil other linguistic groups' identities, cultures, music, and literatures. Consequently, civilians and politicians of other linguistic groups are resisting the language practice. Who hate to manifest their culture in the national and global stage? Indeed, every nation and nationality wants to be treated equally with any other nations and nationalities. Nevertheless, such realities are not in the

language and language-related practices of federal institutions and thus it has resulted in linguistic frictions that have in turn made the processes of building a unified country very challenging.

In sum, multilingual language policy is an opportunity to strengthen national unity by promoting linguistic accommodation, confirming linguistic rights as well as by creating tolerance and political consciousness and cultivating the will to live together which are essential issues to maintain the unity of a linguistically and culturally diversified society. All differences can be managed peacefully, if members of the society develop tolerance to ethnic differences and give respect to each other's languages, cultures, and identities. To do otherwise is, to pave the way for disintegration by worsening ethnic differences as issues to mobilize grievances.

Pertaining the role of linguistic diversity in national development, the central grounds for the emergence of the inquiry were local critics that claim promoting linguistic diversity hinders development as well as Banks' and Textor's (1965) findings that linguistically heterogeneous countries, including Ethiopia, are least developed than homogenous countries because of their linguistic diversity – linguistic heterogeneity has brought about underdevelopment. As a result, the present enquiry that targeted at spelling out the role of linguistic heterogeneity in economic development verifies that linguistic heterogeneity could not be the reason for Ethiopia's underdevelopment. Therefore, while taking off from such runways, this inquiry concludes that Ethiopia is probably found to be least developed most likely because of its incapability to create political stability as well as to

allow its citizens to use their mother tongues as media of instruction, justice, administration, and mass communications and thereby properly exploit the human resources and indigenous knowledge.

Development germinates and grows within human beings' mind because, as Schumacher (1973) says, the key factor of economic development of a country comes out of the mind of man. It is thus if suitable media of instruction are employed and so the psychomotor and cognitive skills of the citizenry develop in appropriate way that national development can be realized. Human mind starts to develop, and critically think and thereby contribute a lot to the development of a certain country by means of understanding and exploiting its surroundings: The immediate environment and the indigenous knowledge where the day-to-day activities are run in mother tongues. Indeed, to encourage innovation and make use of development opportunities in Ethiopia and its citizenry, nations and nationalities ought to get information, learn, and administer effectively through their mother tongues and thereby properly exploit their indigenous knowledge. A language can be a key contributing force towards national development if properly managed; and indigenous languages can be vehicles of national development if put to proper use (Bamgbose, 2000).

Furthermore, development comes when children learn through their mother tongues at least until their cognitive skills become mature enough because it has a profound impact on their emotional, psychomotor, and cognitive development. Development also comes when administration, justice, and mass communications are run through various

languages that are familiar to each nation and nationality. For this reason, promoting linguistic heterogeneity – a number of mother tongues – cannot be an impediment for national development. Rather, the mismanagement of linguistic diversity, particularly denying the rights of nations and nationalities to use their languages as media of instruction, mass communications, justice, and administration leads to national strife and destruction of properties and human capital that ultimately lead to underdevelopment. In other words, promoting homogeneity by imposing a single language and forcing linguistic groups to be assimilated in the previous political regimes' that brought about linguistic conflicts and destruction of properties and the productive citizenry, in Ethiopia, could be the cause for the country's underdevelopment. Forcing students to learn through unfamiliar language that hindered them to understand educational contents in the then times could also be another cause for the country's underdevelopment. Otherwise, linguistic heterogeneity *per se* cannot be the cause for its underdevelopment.

Contrary to the promotion of several languages, there are linguistic inequalities in using mother tongues as media of instruction as well as in using Amharic only as a federal working language. There are linguistic inequalities because in one part Amharic has continued as the only dominant language, and on the other, minority languages speakers have continued to suffer from learning with unfamiliar media of instruction. Concerning language use in education, the current language policy overlooks numerous minority languages by giving different reasons like lack of educated persons who speak minority languages. However, such reasons are regarded as ideological and political possibilities against the success of minority languages as viable options of instructional media that

proliferate the hegemonies of the dominant languages – particularly, Amharic, Oromo, and Tigrinya – in that their hegemonies are inflicting poisons on the powerless linguistic groups. This practice of language in education unequivocally shows the presence of linguistic inequalities.

Twenty years ago, most Ethiopians who speak different languages were disadvantaged, whereas, these days, only the speakers of small languages, the powerless ones, are suppressed. At present, powerful linguistic groups are learning through their mother tongues, while the powerless groups are still suffering from learning in unfamiliar media of instruction. The domination over minority languages has continued – there is linguistic inequality. The difference between the past and the present regimes, concerning the denial of minority language rights, if we observe it from the oppressed viewpoint, is the creation of new hegemonic languages, besides Amharic. Amharic was a countrywide dominant language in the previous regimes, while, these days, other regional dominant languages such as Oromo and Tigrinya have emerged. The difference between the present and the past political regimes' language in education policies, when we see it from the oppressed spot, is hence increment in dominant languages. There are a number of small languages in Ethiopia that are swallowed by their nearby dominant languages rather than by Amharic – there are local and regional linguistic hegemonies. Their speakers are small in number and thus they are with insignificant power to fight against linguistic domination, as the newly emerged oppressors, for instance the Oromo and Tigrinya speakers, were doing against national oppression in the previous regimes. In the past regimes, minority students were learning using Amharic, which is spoken in far

localities; but presently they are using other languages that can be used in their day-to-day activities. This situation is more severe than the previous language use problems as it is easy for the students to be engulfed by. In such a case, the minority languages speakers' only option is waiting for assimilation, which makes this language practice an unequivocal linguistic genocide.

Furthermore, language policy is a political issue in Ethiopia; it is about determining language use in various social domains by the government. Mother tongue education is thus a political issue in Ethiopia as it is a government decision about language use in schools that currently brought about theoretical and practical inconsistencies. The government views language as a resource and as a right. Nonetheless, the government propagates its ideological views in a large extent – it does not confirm the rights of a number of ethnic groups, specifically those who have small population, to use their languages as media of instruction. Implementing the theoretical views has become impractical. Therefore, there is discrepancy between the language policy and its practice. The government advocates the use of all mother tongues as media of instruction, but at the grassroots level, the reality does not reflect the theoretically articulated views. Putting the policy into practice effectively and thereby confirming linguistic equality has hence become unattainable because of the lack of political commitment and continuous follow-up.

On the other hand, there are ideological controversies in the use of mother tongues for education. Mother tongue education is the antithesis of monolingualism because it

promotes several languages by means of using them as media of instruction. The critics of mother tongue education are therefore resistances against multilingualism. Thus, there is ideological divergence on employing mother tongues as media of instruction. The critics view the promotion of linguistic diversity as a problem – as an impediment – for national unity. That is, the use of mother tongues as media of instruction is antinational unity as using several languages encourages diversity that undermines the notion of Ethiopia as an independent political and cultural entity that promotes oneness by means of using Amharic only in education and other formal domains. Such people have the concern to promote the “one language, one nation” ideology. Their intention is to promote the Amharic language at any formal domains. For them, to do otherwise is, to weaken the notion of Ethiopia. Nevertheless, nowadays, such views are seen as irrational for they promote linguistic inequalities and violate the linguistic rights of a number of nations and nationalities.

However, such issues are not also completely eradicated from the language practice of the government, which makes linguistic inequality, particularly at federal level, clearly visible. At federal level, despite the constitutional decree that all languages are equal, all indigenous languages, except Amharic, are prohibited from the formal domains of the federal government. Therefore, at federal level, the policy is a disguised multilingual language policy: It claims that all languages are equal, while simultaneously declaring Amharic as a sole federal working language. This language practice manifests the theoretical multilingual and practical monolingual nature of the federal language use issue of the country. Consequently, it is concluded that the language policy is

multilingual, while the language practice is both multilingual and monolingual. Theoretically, all languages are declared equal. Practically, many languages are promoted at regional, zonal, and district levels, whereas, at federal level, a single language, Amharic only, is encouraged. This clearly shows the restriction of the use of other languages, other than Amharic, at federal formal domains, which in turn indicates the presence of linguistic inequality.

Moreover, as far as the use of Amharic as a sole federal working language is concerned, it is concluded that there are attitudinal differences and controversial discourses. The Amharic and Tigrinya as mother tongue speaker educated people have positive attitudes towards Amharic and support its promotion as a sole federal working language, whereas the Oromo as mother tongue speakers have negative attitudes towards the use of Amharic only and press for the use of other languages as federal working languages. People who resist the use of Amharic only as a federal working language thus make the continuity of the status of the language questionable. Of course, had the exclusive federal status of the Amharic language been accepted by all linguistic groups, it would have been a blessing in disguise. The reason is that, had Amharic been accepted and effectively learnt by all linguistic groups, it would have been a means to facilitate social integration. Amharic has spread more than any indigenous language because of its past and present statuses. Besides, the use of an indigenous language instead of an exogenous language, or two or more indigenous languages is very essential since it minimizes costs that could be incurred because of using numerous languages as well as because of allocating money to spread a naïve language.

Nonetheless, the use of Amharic as a single federal working language is allowed to perpetuate at the expense of tough resistances. Dominant languages speakers are resisting the existing linguistic inequalities of the federal institutions. Resistance over the dominant position of the Amharic language has become a common phenomenon. The question whether there should be one or more federal working languages has become a controversial policy issue. Let alone in the presence of major rival linguistic groups like the Oromo that account about 34 per cent of the total population of the country, there are people whose share of the total percentage of their country is smaller than this figure, but resist such a linguistic patronization. For instance, in India, albeit their small number, 15 per cent of the total population of the country, the Tamil resisted the use of Hindi as an official language and maintained the position of their mother tongue. Similarly, competent linguistic groups, especially the Oromo, have pressed for the equality of their languages. They do not want to see the perpetuation of the Amharic language hegemony. After all, who wants to be dominated? Indeed, nobody wants to be.

Using Amharic only advances linguistic inequalities and patronizes Amharic dominance that makes the language equality statement indicated in the constitution of the country unrealistic. In fact, making Amharic a federal working language, rather than national language, eradicated the attachment of the language with the country. It has also served as a means to embrace people, who reside in different parts of the country but do not speak Amharic, as true nationals. Or else, had the Amharic language been used as a national language, they would have been regarded as false citizens for being a true national is compulsory to any citizen to speak the national language. Nonetheless, making

Amharic a federal working language instead of national language does not bring any significant change in mitigating inequalities in employment and linguistic and cultural manifestations of the nations and nationalities of the country. Employing Amharic only as a federal working language helped the Amharas to get advantages of job opportunities of federal institutions as well as to consolidate their linguistic and cultural manifestation better than any other linguistic group that in turn advances linguistic inequalities.

Contrary to the promotion of several languages at regional and local levels, the current government encourages Amharic only at federal level. In all federal institutions, the government patronizes Amharic as a sole federal working language wherein superiority of the Amharic language is clearly observed and the beneficiaries of this linguistic patronization are the mother tongue speakers of the language. In other words, the present language policy is playing insignificant role in preventing linguistic inequalities and mitigating linguistic conflicts at federal level in that the dominated linguistic groups' rights are neglected and the hegemonic practices of the dominant linguistic group are overtly reflected and politically legitimized.

Albeit the considerable role of the language policy in mitigating linguistic inequalities at regional and local levels, its role of alleviating linguistic inequalities at federal level is too faint. At federal level, despite the constitutional decree that all languages are equal, the government uses only the Amharic language as a medium of commerce, mass communications, justice, administration, and recruitment. Thus, at federal level, there is inconsistency between the government's language policy and its practice. This linguistic

practice is in turn giving way to the previous two political regimes' language use phenomena that were by far favoring the Amharic as mother tongue speakers. Hence, this inequitable language use practice, as people are witnessing in all federal institutions, if remained unsolved, might worsen the existing linguistic frictions in view of the fact that language use is a volatile issue. The dominated linguistic groups and political parties of the country have started to resist the linguistic inequalities and domination of the Amharic language. In order to mitigate linguistic inequalities and thereby solve the linguistic frictions, it is therefore wise to provide a timely solution to the controversial language practice of the country.

Providing a solution for the linguistic friction of the country is not an easy task, however. The widely articulated belief of the government and the proponents of Amharic only is that the Amharic language is once spread and cannot be altered. It should hence be the only federal working language; to attempt to do otherwise is to be irrational. People are made to think this way. For instance, Getachew (1986, p. 473), arguing against linguistic groups' resistances over the Amharic language, says: "All national languages, and Amharic is no exception, have scored victories over others competing for that status. Questioning the position of Amharic today means either ignorance of its history or contempt for Ethiopian history, tradition, and state." It would have been a blessing in disguise, had the position of Amharic been free of question; but what should be done, if competent linguistic groups press for linguistic equality and recognition of their languages as federal working languages and so the danger of linguistic frictions hangs around? First, we need to see the issue rationally and then look for possible options. How

does Amharic develop? Is it not possible for other languages to develop if they get the chance and thereby share the status of the Amharic language? If not, would there be any transgression, if English becomes a federal working language and thereby serves as a language of compromise to prevent linguistic inequalities and linguistic conflicts, as well as to promote harmony among linguistic groups?

It is noticeable; the Amharic only hegemonic view is inculcated in the minds of many Ethiopians due to the influence of the past regimes' language ideologies. Whatever the case might be, these days, contradictory federal language use ideologies are emerging. Hence, the practice of using Amharic only as a federal working language may not hold constant. It might be distorted. Of course, the likely trajectory of the controversy over the federal working language – the way it is likely to develop – is difficult to predict. Nonetheless, what is clearly observed is, the affected are emerging via various ways and arguing against the *status quo*, attempting to upset the applecart of the existing linguistic hegemony. This is the real phenomenon, despite the avoidance of the language use problem remains unjustified and no attention is given to when there should be, prior to other consequential thoughts and tough linguistic controversies that might serve as a pretext for brutal conflicts of ethnic groups' interests emerge. It is hence indispensable to mitigate linguistic inequalities and solve conflicts timely by means of identifying and thereby formulating effective language policy because, as a commentator in the German Paper *Die Zeit* (in Phillipson, 2003, p. 13) recommended: "... language issues may, like medical problems, be well under control, or in a state of chronic or acute pathology.

Proper diagnosis, consultation with those affected, and the existence of well-trying remedies are essential for progress and linguistic health.”

In sum, giving an exclusive federal working status to Amharic has brought about an aggressive resistance. It is thus a *sine qua non* for the government to give an urgent solution to the resistance. It should be however by providing well-trying remedies that can solve linguistic conflicts and bring about linguistic health. For instance, using the Amharic and the Oromo languages only is likely to create two major centers that might lead to two separate camps and so such a policy will not bring sustainable solution. The responsible authorities will thus be forced to look for another option for other linguistic groups who constitute a considerable percentage of the total population may also press for making their mother tongues federal working languages. The language use conflicts may therefore be pacified by using all the major indigenous languages – Amharic, Afar, Gurage, Gamo, Hadiya, Oromo, Sidama, Somali, Tigrinya, and Wolaita – as federal working languages. Otherwise, if the interest of the government is to pacify competent groups’ linguistic friction by using a single language, the appropriate option is to use English as a federal working language. In fact, to repeat an argument mentioned earlier, people might consider it as a modern colonization though Ethiopia was not colonized and thus there is no any mode of colonization associated with utilizing the English language. Rather, the English people assisted Ethiopians a lot while they were fighting against an attempt for colonization. In any case, the English language is neutral in its political, cultural, and social aspects. Therefore, English could serve as a language of compromise.

6.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings and conclusions that are stated in this chapter and the preceding chapter, the following recommendations are made:

- The fair option for strengthening national unity is promoting linguistic diversity and thereby respecting the language rights of nations and nationalities – unity in diversity. However, this option is not without resistance. There are people who are doubtful about strengthening the unity of the country by promoting diversity, and thus they argue against it. The government should therefore create awareness about its appropriateness through radios, television, and other possible media and thereby eradicate the views that Ethiopia could not continue as a united country if one language is not used as a medium in all formal settings. The reason is that it is possible to be in unity whilst using multiple languages for multiple purposes such as mass communications and administration at federal, regional, and district levels.

- The government should aggressively use local languages to exploit indigenous knowledge in order to enhance the instigated rapid economic development of the country. It should also provide the citizenry to learn in their mother tongues at the primary level for doing so help them to stay at school and be critical observers of their surroundings that in turn help the country to produce plenty of educated people who could facilitate development. Thus, government ought to invest on mother tongue education in order to promote the entire development of human beings. It is definitely possible to make fruitful the rapidly growing economic

development, if the country utilizes the huge population, which has different groups with diverse languages and cultures, effectively through expanding proper education that promotes mother-tongue-medium in the elementary levels.

- The government should eradicate, if not minimize, inequalities of language use in education. It is obvious that about 30 mother tongues have been used as media of instruction since the current government came to power, but there are millions of minority languages speakers who are denied their rights of learning through mother tongues. The very reason for such odds is lack of budget and teachers who speak the minority languages. Nevertheless, such reasons are less likely to be rational. There are minority languages that are used as media of instruction despite the number of their speakers are very small as compared with many others who did not started yet. How dare thus the government allocated budget for those who started using their mother tongues, but came up with a shortage of budget for those who did not. Hence, the government should avoid such odds and allow minority linguistic groups to learn through their mother tongues.

- The government should solve the existing federal language use conflicts. At federal level, Amharic is found to be a hegemonic language that has become the sources of linguistic inequalities and language use conflicts. The government should hence alleviate the linguistic inequalities by implementing other possible options such as using the major indigenous languages. If not, Amharic will continue its being a source of linguistic frictions and political conflicts. At federal level, linguistic inequality has been regarded as sideline issue until now, though it

is with lots of controversies that might lead to precarious conflicts. The government should thus pay keen attention to the federal language use problems and take actions by making use of either of the viable options indicated under 5.2.2.5 of this dissertation.

6.4 Further Research Area

There are antagonistic attitudes and divergent discourses of educated people regarding the present language policy and practice, especially concerning the use of Amharic only as a federal working language. Likewise, there might be antagonistic attitudes and divergent discourses in other groups such as businesspersons and high school students of the society. Therefore, investigation into the language policy and practice attitudes and discourses of those sections of the society are gaps that require further researches because it is relevant to get the full picture of the society's language policy and language practice attitudes and discourses, which in turn helps the government in making language policy changes.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Language Policy and Practice Attitudes Questionnaire To Postgraduate University Students

Dear Postgraduate Student,

The aim of this questionnaire is to collect data for a research on “language policy and practice in Ethiopia.” Your responses are essential for the success of the research; thus, you are kindly requested to fill in the questionnaire. Your responses will be kept confidential.

The questionnaire has four sections. In the sections, please circle the letters and abbreviations that best describe your attitude (SA = Strongly Agree, A = Agree, U = Undecided, D = Disagree, SD = Strongly Disagree) and write your reasons and personal information in the blank spaces.

Note that throughout the questionnaire, the term development refers to the economic development of Ethiopia and the term national unity stands for the (political) union of the nations and nationalities.

Section I: Personal Information

1. Age: 2. Sex:
3. First language (mother tongue): 4. Ethnicity:
5. Department: 6. Educational level:

Section II: General Questions about Language Policy and Practice

1. Do you think that the current Ethiopian language policy and its practice have created opportunities for national unity? a. Yes b. No c. I do not know

Please write down the opportunities, if your response is “Yes:”
.....
.....
.....

2. Do you think that the current Ethiopian language policy and its practice have created challenges for national unity? a. Yes b. No c. I do not know

Please write down the opportunities, if your response is "Yes:"

.....
.....
.....

3. Do you believe that the current Ethiopian language policy and its practice have created opportunities for national development? a. Yes b. No c. I do not know

Please write down the opportunities, if your response is "Yes:"

.....
.....
.....

4. Do you think that the current Ethiopian language policy and its practice have created challenges for national development? a. Yes b. No c. I do not know

Please write down the opportunities, if your response is "Yes:"

.....
.....
.....

Section III: Questions about Attitudes towards Using Several Languages for Various Purposes

1. Introducing mother tongues as media of instruction at elementary level negatively affects quality of education: SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice:

.....
.....
.....

2. Employing mother tongues as media of instruction at elementary level should be given more attention than currently: SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice:

.....
.....
.....
3. Using mother tongues as media of instruction is useful to utilize local knowledge:

SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice:

.....
.....
.....

4. Mother tongues should be discouraged from being used as media of instruction:

SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice:

.....
.....
.....

5. Giving equal state recognition for all languages in Ethiopia is absolutely necessary to maintain national unity: SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice:

.....
.....
.....

6. Allowing nations and nationalities to use their languages as media of instruction strengthens national unity: SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice:

.....
.....
.....

7. Using mother tongues as zonal and regional working languages impedes national unity: SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice:

.....

.....

.....

8. Employing mother tongues as media of mass communications (radio, television and newspapers) at zonal and regional levels strengthens national unity: SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice:

.....

.....

.....

9. Linguistic diversity prevents the diffusion of innovative techniques in Ethiopia:

SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice:

.....

.....

.....

10. Employing mother tongues as media of instruction enhances national development:

SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice:

.....

.....

.....

11. Using mother tongues as zonal and regional working languages facilitates national development: SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice:

.....

.....

.....

12. The use of mother tongues as media of mass communications at zonal and regional levels slows down national development: SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice:
.....
.....

Section IV: Questions about Attitudes towards Using Amharic for Various Purposes

1. Using Amharic rather than English as a federal working language is a pride for all nations and nationalities in Ethiopia: SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice:
.....
.....

2. Employing Amharic only as a federal working language degrades the identities of other languages as mother tongue speakers: SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice:
.....
.....

3. The use of Amharic as a recruiting medium for federal vacancies has provided all nations and nationalities with equitable job opportunities of federal institutions:

SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice:
.....
.....

4. Employing Amharic as a single federal working language is a threat for national unity:

SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice:
.....
.....

5. Using Amharic only as a federal working language is absolutely appropriate:

SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice:

.....
.....
.....

6. If your response to number five is either “D” or “SD,” of the following, using which language(s) as federal working one(s) do you believe is appropriate? (You can choose more than one or all. You can also choose Amharic, but only if you are to choose more than one language.)

- a. Afar b. Amharic c. English d. Gamo e. Gurage
f. Hadiya g. Oromo h. Sidama i. Somali j. Tigrinya k. Wolaita
l. Others (specify).....

Please write the reason(s) for your choice(s):

.....
.....
.....
.....

Thank You for Filling in the Questionnaire!

Appendix B: Interview Guide for Key Informants

Dear _____,

The purpose of this interview is to gather data that will be used for conducting a research on language policy. Your responses are essential for the success of the study. Therefore, I thank you for your cooperation, in advance.

1. How do you explain the current Ethiopian language policy and its practice?
2. Do you think the language policy has created opportunities that could strengthen national unity?
3. Do you think the language policy has created challenges that could weaken national unity?
4. Do you think the language policy has created opportunities that could enhance national development?
5. Do you think the language policy has challenges that could hinder national development?
6. Would you express your view regarding the use of Amharic as a federal working language?

I Thank You for Your Cooperation!

Appendix C: መራሄ ቃለ-መጠይቅ ቅንዲ ሓበ ሬታ ወሃ ብቲ

ኸቡር/ባርቲ _____,

ናይዚ ቃለ-መጠይቅ እዙይ ዕላማ ንመመሪቂ ዝኸወን ናይ ምርምር ፅሑፍ ብፖሊሲ ቋንቋ ንምፅሓፍ ሓበ ሬታ ምእካብ እዩ፡፡ ዝቡኒ/ባኒ መልሲ ንዕወትነት እቲ ምርምር ዓብይ ኣስተዋፅኦ ኣለዎ፡፡ ስለዚ ንዝቡኒ/ባኒ መልሲ ኣቐዲመዩ መሰግን፡፡

1. ኣብዚ ሕዚ እዋን ብተግባር እናተተርጎመ ዘሎ ፖሊሲ ቋንቋ ኢትዮጵያ ከመይ ይገልፅዎ/ኦ?
2. እቲ ፖሊሲ ቋንቋ ሃገራዊ ሓድነት ከጠናኸሩ ዝኸእሉ ዕድላት ፈጠሩ ኢሎም/ለን ይሓስቡ/ባ'ዶ?
3. እቲ ፖሊሲ ቋንቋ ሃገራዊ ሓድነት ከዳኸሙዝኸእሉ ብድሆታት ወይ ዕንቅፋታት ፈጠሩ ኢሎም/ኢለን ይሓስቡ/ባ'ዶ?
4. እቲ ኣብዚ ሕዚ እዋን ብተግባር እናተተርጎመ ዘሎ ፖሊሲ ቋንቋ ኢትዮጵያ ሃገራዊ ልምዓት ንክሳለጥ ዝገብሩ ዕድላት ፈጠሩ ወይ ክፈጥር ይኸእል እዩ ኢሎም/ለን ይሓስቡ/ባ'ዶ?
5. እቲ ፖሊሲ ቋንቋ ሃገራዊ ልምዓት ዘተዓናቕፉ ብድሆታት ፈጠሩ ኢሎም/ኢለን ይሓስቡ/ባ'ዶ?
6. ብዛዕባ ኣምሓርኛ ቋንቋ ስራሕ መንግስቲ ፌደራል ገይርካ ኣብ ምጥቃም ዘለዎም ሓሳብ'ዶ ክገፁለይ ይኸእሉ?

የቐንየለይ፡፡

Appendix D: መራሄ ቃለ-መጠይቅ ቁልፍ መረጃ ሰጪዎች

የተከበሩ _____,

የዚህ ቃለ-መጠይቅ ዓላማ ለመመረቅ የሚሆን የምርምር ፅሁፍ በቋንቋ ፖሊሲ ላይ ለማካሄድ መረጃ መሰብሰብ ነው። የሚሰጡኝ ምላሽ ለምርምሩ ስኬት ከፍተኛ አስተዋፅኦ አለው። ስለዚህ ለሚሰጡኝ ምላሽ ከወዲሁ አመሰግናለሁ።

1. በአሁኑ ወቅት በተግባር እየተተረጎመ ያለው የኢትዮጵያ የቋንቋ ፖሊሲ እንዴት ይገልፀታል?
2. የቋንቋ ፖሊሲው የሃገሪቱን አንድነት የሚያጠናክሩ የተመቻቹ እድሎችን ፈጥሯል ብለው ያስባሉ?
3. ፖሊሲው የሃገሪቱን አንድነት የሚያዳክሙ ፈታኝ ሁኔታዎችን ወይም ተግዳሮቶችን ፈጥሯል ብለው ያስባሉ?
4. በአሁኑ ወቅት በተግባር እየተተረጎመ ያለው የኢትዮጵያ የቋንቋ ፖሊሲ የሃገሪቱን ልማት እንዲፋጠን የሚያስችሉ የተመቻቹ እድሎችን ፈጥሯል ብለው ያስባሉ?
5. የቋንቋ ፖሊሲው የሃገሪቱን ልማት የሚያደናቅፉ ፈታኝ ሁኔታዎችን ወይም ተግዳሮቶችን ፈጥሯል ብለው ያስባሉ?
6. አማርኛን የፌደራል መንግስት የስራ ቋንቋ አድርጎ መጠቀም ላይ ያሉት ሐሳብ ሊገልፅ ስኬታማ ይሆናል?

በጣም አመሰግናለሁ።

Appendix E: Summary of Qualitative Data Collected through Questionnaires

Multilingual language policy and practice opportunities for national unity

The current language policy and practice have created opportunities for national unity because:

- It gave equal recognition to all languages, which is necessary to strengthen national unity by promoting mutual respect that helps to create good outlook and feelings towards the country on nations and nationalities. In so doing, it brings national unity based on willingness of all Ethiopians who speak different languages. These practices should be the primary assignment of political leaders so that people feel respect and love each other, and then a strong national unity is realized.
- It has created a feeling of being the country's cultural, social, and political system on every nation and nationality. Presently, different ethnic groups feel respected since they are using their own languages and practicing their cultures. Besides, the language policy has created the feeling and awareness that Ethiopianness is not an imposed entity. This opportunity made them to work in union for a common national goal.
- It enabled every nation and nationality to use their languages with freedom and equality. All languages are equal – there is no language inferior to any other language. Everyone came to understand that all languages are equal and respect one another. This leads to nations, nationalities, and peoples peaceful coexistence as well as to unity in diversity.
- It confirmed the rights of nations, nationalities, and peoples to use their languages for education and administration. This helps to develop their affections towards the country. As a result, people are working for unity peacefully. To do otherwise is to force people involve in wars in quest of using their languages as media of education and mass communications.

- It was developed based on democratic principles that enhance tolerance and thereby national unity. The language policy ensured linguistic human rights, which strengthens harmony. It also creates people's awareness about the rights of each ethnic group to use their languages, which in turn creates fertile grounds for promoting tolerance. In brief, the language policy confirmed language rights, which in turn creates fertile grounds for strengthening national unity.
- The language policy satisfies the diverse language use interests of different ethnic groups, which leads to peaceful coexistence among the ethnic groups.
- Allowing nations and nationalities to use their languages as media of mass communications and instruction strengthens national unity by means of creating tolerance, love, and harmony among them. It also helps to create awareness about tolerance of linguistic and cultural differences in various ethnic groups.
- Using mother tongues as media of radio, television, and newspapers at zonal and regional levels helps to expose people to regional, national, and international news that focus on the relevance of togetherness that the grassroots can understand the messages easily through languages they know best.
- Recognizing all languages equally by the state make their respective speakers feel respected and included in the social, cultural, and economic activities of the country. It avoids conflicts that can result in from inequalities of languages as well as the sense of otherness, which is an indication of exclusion that leads to separation. It is also useful to avoid ethnic conflicts that might arise because of undermining languages of one another. Moreover, it helps to develop a sense of equality as well as to avoid inferiority and superiority complexes among ethnic groups. These circumstances avoid the act of undermining one another, which in turn leads to national unity.
- Employing mother tongues as zonal and regional working languages enhances national unity because it confirms the right of people to access information in their languages. Besides, people feel happy when they use their languages as media of mass communications, which creates unity as all people enjoy the right to use and develop their languages equality.

Multilingual language policy and practice challenges for national unity

The current language policy and its practice have created challenges for national unity because:

- The degree that the young generations of different linguistic groups communicate with the national language is severely undermined. Without a common language and common cultural values, the project of national unity is unattainable. In the current Ethiopian context, the language policy is driving the unity of the country apart. People are focusing on their local languages and cultures and forgetting the issues of the country that paves a way for division and disintegration.
- M Since the implementation of the present language policy, people have been giving less emphasis to Amharic, which is the working language of the federal government. Giving much emphasis to local languages by itself discourages the use of one national language that enhances national unity. Allowing nations and nationalities to use their languages as media of instruction and administration also creates national division. It discourages unity by making people to focus on their mother tongues. It also restricts people to their regions only. These practices in turn have brought about the sense of regionalism and ethnocentrism.
- National unity is strengthened with the cultivation of shared memories, languages, and cultures. If people are kept tied to their exclusive media, languages, and cultures, their emotional attachment with the rest of the people declines.
- In the past, only one dominant language was used as a medium for all services throughout the country. That trend is still influencing the present language policy. Most people still practice the same thing. The government uses Amharic as a single federal working language, which has become a cause for many debates. In other words, the policy restricts the use of other languages to regional and local levels. Restricting the use of languages, specifically the major ones that could compete with Amharic, is a challenge for national unity as it creates language use dissatisfaction on competent ethnic groups that can be a threat for national unity. Competent ethnic groups, for example the Oromos, are complaining about the supremacy of Amharic and want their language be federal working languages.

There are also children who did not start learning in their mother tongues yet. Children who are forced to learn in languages they and their parents do not know may develop negative attitudes towards the languages and their speakers as well as towards the country. There is thus violation of language rights that might result in conflicts. Therefore, if the policy does not confirm language rights and language equality, national unity is in danger.

Multilingual language policy and practice opportunities for national development

The current language policy and its practice have created opportunities for national development because:

- Employing mother tongues as media of instruction enhances economic development because it enables to produce plenty of educated manpower easily, without any medium barrier. Using mother tongues as media of instruction facilitates national development because it assists students to understand concepts deeply and thereby become creative who can facilitate development by using their knowledge and creativity at work and by creating materials that simplify works.
- Using mother tongues as media of instruction helps those who stop education as they finished grade eight to attain basic knowledge, which serve them to lead micro-economic and modern agricultural activities effectively, through their languages easily. It also helps people to exploit their indigenous knowledge in facilitating national development.
- Using mother tongues as media of instruction, mass communications, and administration has enabled people to understand government policies and other concepts easily and utilize them in development activities such as agriculture and industry. A number of people are participating effectively and efficiently in different development activities without any medium barrier, as their mother tongues are used as media to accomplish various activities. Therefore, the language policy has enabled most of the productive people to participate actively in their regional and local development projects. It is known that economic activities that involve most of the productive people enhance development.

- People are working for national development peacefully. There is no time, money, and property spent on war. The reason is that presently the question of language rights, which was one of the main causes for conflicts, is answered. Hence, ethnic groups have developed a sense of equality and respect towards each other. This, in turn, has brought about peaceful coexistence of all linguistic groups. Peaceful coexistence of all linguistic groups leads to national unity. Unity in turn leads to national development as it promotes working together.
- Many nations and nationalities are using their languages as media of administration, instruction, radio, television, and newspapers, which helps to develop their cultures, customs, and beliefs. Moreover, they are communicating with their languages and working without any medium barrier in their surroundings that brings cumulative development in the country. In brief, nations and nationalities have easy access to information through suitable media that facilitate development. Using mother tongues in the mass media has been thus playing a pivotal role in enhancing economic development.
- The policy has created an opportunity for the development of different languages, cultures, and literatures. That is, the use of many mother tongues in the mass media, cultural activities, and schools paves the way for the development of different cultures, music, and indigenous knowledge. Languages carry the culture, wisdom, indigenous knowledge, and skills of their speakers. These days, since linguistic rights are confirmed, people are exploiting their indigenous knowledge that helps to enhance the socio-economic development of the country. When people learn, communicate, and administer in languages they know very well, they become more knowledgeable. The knowledge gained through this inevitably brings national development. The policy helps to transfer cultural values, indigenous knowledge, and innovative techniques through mother tongues effectively and thereby facilitates economic development, as development without knowledge is unthinkable.
- Besides, using mother tongues as media of instruction imprints the local knowledge in students' mind in their early ages. Communities can learn effectively using their mother tongues and thereby utilize their local knowledge. It

helps them to utilize local knowledge and be innovative by deeply understanding concepts easily because it enables them to understand their environment, culture, and history. It also assists them to extract indigenous knowledge embedded in their mother tongues and cultures.

- It allows people to use different expressions in their own languages to diffuse innovative techniques to their respective linguistic groups and let them understand easily and utilize them in their daily activities such as agricultural and health extensions. Innovative techniques are best learnt whenever the techniques are expressed through mother tongues or translated into languages people know very well. The extension programs being practiced in Ethiopia are typical instances. Presently, since people are taught the usage of extension packages in their languages, they are utilizing them properly and becoming very productive. Promoting linguistic diversity is useful to diffuse innovative techniques because it helps people to understand the techniques very well and internalize them easily. ... If nations and nationalities use their languages as media of instruction, mass communications, and administration, they can exploit the indigenous knowledge they have and thereby facilitate national development.

Multilingual language policy and practice Challenges for national development

The current language policy and its practice have created challenges for national development because:

- Using numerous mother tongues as media of instruction impedes national development because preparing teaching materials and training teachers through them consumes a huge amount of money. Besides, each nation and nationality wants to develop its languages, which takes a considerable percentage of the national budget that has to be allocated for the economic development of the country.
- Employing mother tongues as media of mass communications at zonal and regional levels blocks communication. It restricts workers movement from one region to another, including from one specific place to another within regions,

because it discourages the spread and use of a common language. In sum, it jeopardizes the flow of people, goods, and ideas, and thereby leads to underdevelopment.

Arguments for mother tongue education

Mother tongue instruction at elementary level (is a good practice) improves quality of education (discouraged), because:

- Students face difficulties when they learn through languages other than their mother tongues because they are with limited experiences as they are unlikely to have exposures to other external environments. Mother tongue education is a remedy for such difficulties as it helps them learn easily. It helps them to understand their school subjects. It also enables them to understand and express concepts easily. In addition, mother tongue education promotes students' progresses and achievements. In so doing, mother tongue affects quality of education positively. It affects quality of education positively, as using mother tongues as media of instruction enables children to focus only on the contents of their subject matters without being confused with medium barrier as if it were happening in the previous regimes when many children used to learn through other languages. It should be thus encouraged because students understand concepts best when they learn in their mother tongues. It is invaluable in acquiring knowledge in the early ages of students. It has also increased self-confidences of students and decreases attrition rates, dropouts, and failure. In sum, it improves quality of education. Indeed, using mother tongues as media of instruction should be given more attention than currently as there are nations and nationalities that did not start learning in their own languages as well as owing to the absence of sufficient books and other resources such as highly educated teachers.

Arguments against mother tongue education

Mother tongue instruction at elementary level (is not a good practice) negatively affects quality of education (more attention and encouraged) because:

Mother tongue instruction at elementary level negatively affects quality of education. For example, the older student generation that was not learning through its mother tongues is far better than the present generation that is learning using mother tongues. Besides, it affects quality of education negatively at secondary and tertiary levels as students face difficulties in learning through English. Had English been introduced as a medium at elementary level, students would have been faced with problems when they learn in English at secondary and tertiary levels. Hence, using mother tongues as media of instruction at elementary level should be discouraged.

The Use of Amharic as a Sole Federal Working Language

Using Amharic as a federal working language rather than English is a pride for all nations and nationalities because:

- All ethnic groups have contributed to the development of Amharic. The Amhara ethnic group that speaks Amharic as a mother tongue is a mixture of many ethnic groups.
- Amharic serves all nations and nationalities as a common medium of communication.
- Amharic is closer to the nations and nationalities and hence it serves them to express their cultural practices better than English.
- Amharic is our country's language, but English is a foreign language.
- Amharic is the country's common language, a working language of all Ethiopian people, which makes it a pride of every nation and nationality.
- Amharic is spoken in all regions of Ethiopia.
- There is no need to be colonized.
- It is a shame to use a foreign language as a federal working language.
- Amharic is our own language.

- Lots of people are considering Amharic as their own language as it is spread throughout the country, but English is a language of the West.
- Amharic is not a language of the Amhara people now. It is neutral for all Ethiopians.
- All nations and nationalities use Amharic with pride in social gatherings.
- Using English as a federal working language is neo-colonialism, losing identity.
- Using Amharic as an official language is a national pride than using one of the colonialist languages unlike other African countries.
- Amharic unlike English is our language.
- Amharic is an indigenous language.

Using Amharic as a federal working language rather than English is not a pride for all nations and nationalities because:

- All nations and nationalities have their own languages to be proud of with.
- English is an international language.
- There are nations and nationalities that enjoy using English and so prefer English to Amharic.
- There are many people who reject using Amharic as a federal working language.
- Using Amharic as a federal working is a pride for its speakers only, but not for other nations and nationalities.
- People who do not speak Amharic fluently fear to speak it because Amharic speakers laugh at them.
- Using Amharic as a federal working language is creating conflicting interests between ethnic groups.
- Amharic was imposed by force, in the past regimes, as a national language of Ethiopia. In those times, Amharic was regarded as a colonial language and because of this idea many people do not consider it as a pride.
- If the aim of the constitution is to rectify historical injustice, Amharic must not be a federal working language since it undermines others and shows a continuity of the old structure.

- People are proud of using English as it is an international language.
- Using Amharic as a federal working language creates superiority and inferiority between ethnic groups.
- English is an international language that serves as a medium of communication with other countries.
- Using English is preferable as it is useful for communication in global development.

Employing Amharic only as a federal working language degrades the identity of other languages, other than Amharic, as mother tongues speakers as:

- Most speakers of other languages are discouraged to use their languages.
- As the Amharic language dominates other languages, the dominated languages may die or extinct.
- It does not give value to other languages.
- It is used at the expense of other languages.
- Amharic is used as a federal working language because it is a language of the dominant linguistic group – domination of one language degrades others identities.
- Using Amharic as a federal working language promotes Amharas identity at the expense of others.
- As Amharic is the federal working language, everything at national level reflects the identity of the Amharas.
- Other languages are restricted to regional level services only.
- Using Amharic only as a federal working language is a problem for the equality of languages and identity of their speakers.
- We identify people by their languages.
- Amharic suppresses other languages.

Employing Amharic only as a federal working language does not degrades the identity of other languages, other than Amharic, as mother tongues speakers as:

- It is a common language for all linguistic groups.

- It links all people who live in different regions.
- Other languages as mother tongues speakers are reflecting their identities through their languages.

Using Amharic as a recruiting medium for federal vacancies has provided all nations and nationalities with equitable job opportunities of federal institutions because:

- Amharic is understood by all linguistic groups.
- Amharic has been used for many years as a federal working language.
- All Ethiopians are expected to communicate through Amharic.
- Amharic is a common language that is offered as a subject at elementary and high schools.
- It is educated people who compete for federal employments, and all educated people know Amharic.

Using Amharic as a recruiting medium for federal vacancies does not provide all nations and nationalities with equitable job opportunities of federal institutions because:

- Most people who speak other languages as mother tongues are learning through their mother tongues and thus those who speak Amharic as a mother tongue and learn through it can have better access to federal employment opportunities.
- People who speak Amharic as mother tongue are advantaged.
- There are Ethiopians who do not speak Amharic. In this regard, Amharic entirely favors its speakers. For obvious reason therefore other languages speakers are victims.
- Most workers of federal institutions are Amharic as mother tongue speakers.
- It benefits the Amharic as mother tongue speakers.
- People who do not know Amharic are discriminated.
- Federal offices are dominated by Amharic as mother tongue speakers.
- There are a number of Ethiopian nations, nationalities, and peoples who do not speak, write in, and listen to Amharic. It would be better if culture free language becomes a federal working language.

- There are people who reside in different regions that can contribute a lot to the development of the country, but they are systematically excluded from federal job opportunities as they do not speak Amharic very well.
- Due to the problems of talking and working with Amharic have created difficulty in competing with people who speak the language as a mother tongue.
- It provides more opportunities to those who speak Amharic as a mother tongue than for others.

Employing Amharic as a single federal working language strengthens national unity, because:

- It is an opportunity for better communication and thereby for creating cultural bond among nations and nationalities.
- It would have been difficult to unite the county, if the country had used many languages as federal working languages.
- Amharic is serving as a unifying language since it is bringing all nations and nationalities of the country together.
- Amharic is creating social ties among nations and nationalities.
- Amharic is a language of social cohesion.
- Employing Amharic as a single federal working language has resulted in national unity.
- Amharic facilitates communication in a smooth manner and thereby strengthens national unity.
- Amharic is the only language that can be used as a federal working language; otherwise, the fate of the country will come to an end.

Employing Amharic as a single federal working language is not a threat for national unity because:

- Other languages speakers resist it for they want to use their languages as federal working languages.
- Because of Amharic domination over other languages, people who speak the dominated languages may feel a sense of resentment.

- Many Ethiopians who speak other languages as mother tongues disagree with using Amharic only.
- Employing Amharic as the only federal working language has been the main problem for Ethiopia's unity for ages.
- It promotes exclusion.
- It is considered by other linguistic groups as an imposed entity that in turn makes them to feel that they are dominated.
- Using Amharic as a federal working language is not supported by other major languages speakers.
- Using Amharic has created conflicting interests.
- There are some competing languages that deserve the status of federal working. So, such development creates discontent among some group of people which can be a threat for national unity.
- There is language competition.
- There are opposition groups who claim their languages be federal working languages.
- Using Amharic only as a federal working language may create conflicts between Amharic and non-Amharic speakers.

Using Amharic only as a federal working language is appropriate because:

- For employing all languages is impossible, using Amharic as a federal working language is absolutely appropriate.
- It is spoken by most Ethiopians.
- We have no another alternative.
- Using the most developed language as a working language is absolutely appropriate.
- Amharic has had the chance to expand and thus it is spoken all over Ethiopia.
- It helps to connect regions and the citizens of the country.
- It has many speakers than other languages in Ethiopia.
- It links all nations and nationalities of Ethiopia.

- There is no another Ethiopian language that can serve as a lingua franca.
- Amharic has millions of speakers in every corner of the country.
- Amharic is used as a federal working language because of its historical incidence.
- Amharic is the most widely spoken language in Ethiopia.
- In the current level of economic development, we cannot manage to have more than one federal working language.
- As there is an international language, there is a national language which was chosen on the basis of number of speakers and spread of the language.
- Amharic is the only language, which many people from different ethnic groups could understand. It is also the only developed language.
- Amharic is serving the country as a communicative device because of its past history.
- In a country that has more than 80 languages, it is an obligation to use one medium of communication.

Using Amharic only as a federal working language is inappropriate because:

- There are other alternatives that base their reasons on other major languages speakers and their language use interests.
- It restricts the development of other languages.
- Most Ethiopians are other languages speakers. So, they want to use their languages. We should use other countries' experiences.
- The use of Amharic as a government language has been the main problem for Ethiopia.
- In a country where more than 80 million people who speak different languages lives, using Amharic as the only federal working language is absolutely inappropriate.
- It is better if other languages which have a considerable number of speakers are also used as federal working languages because this practice may create smooth working environment.

- There are other options such as using Amharic, Oromo, and Tigrinya that can satisfy the needs of the majority. So, using one language as a federal working language has its own drawbacks.
- Using one language where there are other major languages is inappropriate.
- Using Amharic, English, Oromo, Somali, and Tigrinya as federal working languages is more appropriate as it helps to include most Ethiopians in the center.
- There are other major languages that should be used as federal working languages.
- English, a language which benefits the country shall be the federal working language.
- There are conflicts of language use interests.
- It would be appropriate if the government uses the major languages as federal working languages.
- Languages that have lots of speakers are excluded.
- If we see the experience of other countries, they have more than one official language.
- As the preamble reads, the aim of the constitution is to rectify past injustice, using Amharic as the only federal working language to do so is inappropriate.
- It is the decision of a few politicians.
- There are other languages with millions of speakers that should be used at federal level.
- It reflects the culture and identity of one ethnic group of the country only.
- Using English as a federal working language is appropriate.

Then, the respondents who said that using Amharic only is inappropriate listed the following as viable federal working language options and the reasons for their choices are summarized following each option.

English, alone or together with major indigenous languages, because:

- It is an international language.

- Since Ethiopia is the seat for many international organizations, using English as a federal working language would create opportunities for people who can benefit of the organizations.
- English has to be a federal working language for the reason that it is culture free to all, or that does not belong to any nations, nationalities, and peoples of Ethiopia. For example, in India, Nigeria, and South Africa where different languages are spoken, English is chosen as official language. If we make Amharic, or Oromo, or both of them, other languages speakers such as Somali and Tigrinya will not accept the choice.
- Helps to compromise.
- English gives equal opportunities for all nations and nationalities.
- English is a global language. It is a medium of technology. African countries such as Lagos and South Africa which use English as a government working language are more developed than other countries that do not use it.

Amharic and Oromo, because:

- Amharic is the current working language, while Oromo is the largest language spoken by a number of people than any Ethiopian language.
- Majority of Ethiopians know Amharic and Oromo.
- They are the major languages.
- Oromo has a considerable number of speakers as a mother tongue. But, since Amharic is spoken by all Ethiopians as a second language, continuing to use it as a federal working language is unquestionable.
- Number of mother tongue speakers should be considered.

Amharic, Oromo, Somali, and Tigrinya, because:

- Relatively speaking, these languages are spoken by numerous people.
- They have the fitness to be federal languages in terms of population, economy, and politics.

- It may serve as a balancing effect in many respects of the issue being raised in the country.
- These languages are spoken by millions of people compared to other languages.

Afar, Amharic, Gamo, Gurage, Hadiya, Oromo, Sidama, Somali, Tigrinya, and Wolaita, because:

- All of them are equal.
- It is useful to create tolerance among the Ethiopian people.
- All of them have many speakers.

Afar, Amharic, English, Gamo, Gurage, Hadiya, Oromo, Sidama, Somali, Tigrinya, and Wolaita because:

- This option would include majority of the Ethiopian people.
- The languages have lots of speakers.
- English is an international language and the other languages are spoken by millions of speakers.
- Most of the Ethiopian people use these languages, as a result, many people are asking for the use of such languages as federal working languages.

Appendix F: Interview Transcripts

Transcribed interview data of 20 key informants are depicted in what follows.

Key Informant (KI1): Language expert in the SNNPR Education Bureau (KI1, 23/10/2011)

Interviewer: How do you explain the current Ethiopian language policy?

KI1: ...The current language policy that the Ethiopian government is implementing is in a right way. That is, when a person is born, brought up, and taught about his/her surroundings, he/she has to learn through his/her mother tongue. His/her language should be respected. His/her culture should be respected. Thus, this policy, which has taken such issues in to consideration, is proved proper in scientific methods. However, I think we have to consider one point. The policy becomes important and sustainable, and proceeds in an effective manner when a certain language is used for mother tongue instruction after a number of materials are fulfilled. The policy as a policy is good; but we are witnessing incompleteness. When we use a language as a medium of instruction, we should fulfill skilled teachers, books, and so forth in advance. My stand is, claiming to put the policy into practice without providing educated workforce, books and so on may not be good.

Interviewer: Hence, how do you explain the gap between the language policy and its practice?

KI1: For me the difference is, the policy lacks effectiveness in its practical aspect. For example, here, in Sidama Zone, in the past after the policy was introduced, when nations and nationalities got the right to learn using their languages, students were allowed to learn up to grade six using Sidama immediately. I have told you that the policy is good. It is scientific. It is known; a person will come up with a better knowledge, if he/she learns using his/her mother tongue rather than his/her second language. Nonetheless, the Sidama language started to be used as a medium before the preconditions were fulfilled. At the beginning, there was no an educated workforce that can run the teaching and learning process. Books were not also prepared. In the absence of the necessary materials and

workforce, telling nations and nationalities to use their languages immediately for instructional and administrative purposes, for the sake of political advantage, is not appropriate.

Interviewer: So, do you mean it was started before the necessary preconditions were fulfilled?

KI1: They were not fulfilled. Yes, the necessary preconditions were fulfilled.

Interviewer: What opportunities do you think multilingual language policy does create in bringing national unity?

KI1: This issue is determined by people's awareness. All people feel happy, when their language, culture and dignity are respected. This fact cannot be denied. Even now, in order to strengthen unity, the language policy issue should consider the Ethiopian peoples' settlement condition. Everyone (...) for example let us consider one issue. (...) for example, if a certain school in Oromia region forces every individual to learn in Oromo or if Oromia region forces all students to learn in Oromo, we can say it does not take the Ethiopian peoples' settlement condition into consideration. This creates a problem in our unity. The reason is that communities are living in an intermingled manner. Therefore, if every nationality's interest is respected and their needs are accessed and allowed to learn based on their interest, it is likely to say there is a good concept and practice that can guard the unity of the country.

Interviewer: Do you believe that there is equity in language use for instructional and administrative purposes?

KI1: Before we explain unity, people's getting service through their language does not make them equal. We have a problem (...) a language; any language in the world cannot describe everything that exists in the world. A certain language cannot describe everything that exists in the world. Any language, in the world, is incapable of describing entirely everything that exists in the world. ...

Interviewer: Well, we can explain it later on. As you know, in the Southern region it is some of the languages that are employed as instructional and administrative languages. Thus, based on this situation, how do you see language equality?

KI1: I did not understand it. (...) equity in terms of what?

Interviewer: Let us consider the federal government or the SNNPRS government. Do these governments provide all nations and nationalities with equal opportunities to use their languages for instructional and administrative purposes? Do they provide them with materials and services equally?

KI1: ... Does the regional bureau see them equally? I can explain it. For example, it provides support if a certain nationality's language speakers urges to use their language for media of instruction. No one forces them to stop it. They have the mandate. The regional bureau supports them, if they are capable of preparing workforce, if they have experts. It sees them equally in this way, as far as equality in government level is concerned.

Interviewer: But, do you think training workforce is their mandate? Are they capable of doing it? Workforce and the like, how can they prepare them?

KI1: ...Such basic issues, we want to learn through our mother tongue; but we do not have an educated workforce that can prepare materials and offer the services for our community. As a result, they [the language speakers] ask [the regional or national government] to train the necessary workforce for them, in fact we did not come across with such request, but if they ask I am sure it will be solved. This question is a big issue. It is expected at these days. It is a basic issue. Rather (...) we have to say, it would be a big question, if they ask before the instruction. I mean, before the language is used as a medium of instruction, if they ask to train persons who can teach the language.

Interviewer: Do you think it is possible to bring equality in language use for instructional and administrative purposes?

KI1: I have said something earlier about equity.

Interviewer: From the point of view of the existing reality.

KI1: Yes, in relation to the existing reality.

Interviewer: Yes, we agreed about the theoretical aspect of the policy. Now, I am asking you about its practical aspect.

KI1: In practice, this [the language policy] issue has no a right or smooth circumstance. If we ask in relation to what, I think it is resulted in from lack of knowledge. Moreover, had there been educated persons in each language everywhere, it could have been possible to arrive at consensus. I do not have any doubt concerning the dangerous consequences of

people who urge to train their community with underdeveloped language, a language that has nothing. If it is a mere question of equality based on what politics dictates, it will create a problematic situation. I have told you that theoretically the government's language policy is good.

Key Informant 2 (KI2): Mayor of the Kulito Town, Active Participant in the Social, Political, and Cultural Affairs of the Alaba People (KI2, 25/10/2011)

Interviewer: Would you explain your views about the current Ethiopian language policy?

KI2: To begin with, language by itself is one of the symbols or features that are expressions of a particular community. (...) Well, language is an instrument through which nationalities or the speakers of the language communicate with each other and express their social, economic, and political activities. ... Currently, the federal government has allowed us to use our language in much better than ever before. We are allowed to use our language at the level we want. When I say at the level we want, I mean to use our language in administration, justice, education, and literature. We have unlimited right of promoting our language. Apart from this, in this federal order, the fact that mother tongues are used as media of instruction enables children to know their surroundings ... and to get them ready for science education. They can know their surrounding properly. They are not forced to learn two things at a time: Learning the language they are not familiar with and learning the science or contents create a pressure on them. ...

Interviewer: Good, but students in Alaba are learning in other language or in Amharic, so in view they are forced to learn two things at a time. Should they be?

KI2: ... There are pressures because of the things I told you earlier. Because children have not been learning in their mother tongues they have been made to know two unknown things at a time, problem is created practically upon them. They are confronting problems. They are being discouraged. They stay for more years than they really would be in one class, for example for about three years in one class, and they become a great

challenge for teachers. ... Because of our own weaknesses, we are still learning in Amharic.

Interviewer: You said that learning in mother tongues is people's right, but the right of the Alaba people for learning in their language have not been confirmed yet. Is there any external pressure?

KI2: There is no any external pressure. It is not because of other external pressure that we could not exercise our right for using mother tongue as a medium. It is, instead, due to our shortage of preparation. It is because of the absence of preparations on the language of our ethnic group. We conducted this study before. There was no enough understanding within us. In fact, although we know [the problems students face when they learn using a language they are not familiar with], we have not had the awareness that it has been harming us to that extent. ... By the way, this takes us back. It is a thing that asks for noticing the educational history of the Alaba ethnic group. The Alaba nationality did not give much concern for modern education due to various factors such as religion. ... I am telling you all these because of the fact that our educational history was not good and that there was no educated workforce. Believe or not, while EPRDF took power, ...we had only three first-degree graduates ...and about seven or eight diploma graduates, who were from the Alaba community.

Interviewer: What about know?

KI2: By now, we are in a very good stage. To begin with, there are many compatriots of the community, who completed first degree, diploma, and second degrees, and who are learning for their third degree. Hence, currently the Alaba people have been asking that why their language has not been used as a medium of instruction, while in their surroundings students have started learning through Hadiya, Kembata, and Oromo. They have been asking that why their language has not been used for radio education broadcast. When we clarify the problem to them, "they say those who are harming us are the people who are dwelling in towns." ...

Interviewer: Whatsoever, there are nations and nationalities who are using their mother tongues media of instruction and other purposes. Do you think that allowing them to use their languages for various purposes has created opportunities that could strengthen national unity?

KI2: It enables them to build confidence. They feel a sense of pride by their being Ethiopians. ... The one language, one religion, one nation, one flag practice of the past made people to see the nation and the flag doubtfully and think as if all of us were to assimilate to one religion, one language, and one ethnic group. In the grassroots, farmers used to feel this thing. Besides, those who get the chance of learning also used to feel as if they were made Ethiopians by force, unwillingly. However, currently, it is through providing people the advantages that they could get from Ethiopia, respecting their constitutional right, and allowing them to develop their languages and cultures and use their histories in a way they want. The policy possesses all these qualities that help to create the feeling of national unity. If I and you are equal, ... If people believe in equality and those who had the sense of superiority disappear, and people live anywhere their identity being respected, without making any effort to look like others, the policy becomes very crucial for national unity and citizens' freedom because it creates the confidence, in everyone, to live being themselves. ...

Interviewer: Do you think that the use of many mother tongues for various purposes has created challenges that impede national unity?

KI2: This (...) in our locality, I saw some problems at the beginning of the present political regime. There were problems in the early years of the federal government. This means there were people who feel as if Alaba were to be seceded and inhabited by the Alaba people only. ... However, such thoughts were disappeared soon. We thought people about the equality of all Ethiopians, about the right of any Ethiopian to live and work everywhere he/she want. ...

Key Informant 3 (KI3): Active Participant in the Social, Political, and Cultural Affairs of His Local Community, Kulito (KI3, 25/10/2011)

Interviewer: Would you explain your views about the current Ethiopian language policy?

KI3: ...In this region [SNNPR], there are languages that have been given legal recognition and used as media of instruction. For example, when we observe in our vicinity, Welaitas, Hadiyas, Kembatas, Sidamas, and many others are using their

languages in education. Therefore, ... in line with the constitutional language rights, they are using their languages in education and other services.

Interviewer: What about the Alaba language?

KI3: It is a very good question. ... Since I am a compatriot of this locality, this case was raised in the past when Kembata was part of the Alaba-Tembaro zone and requested the Kembata would be used as medium of instruction.

Interviewer: Of Alaba?

KI3: Yes, the use of Alaba as a medium of instruction, too. That is by creating a new language called Ke'ATe, by mixing the three languages [Kembata, Alaba, and Tembaro] together. They were one zone. In that zone, it was requested to use Ke'ATe as a medium. In fact, Alaba, Kembata, and Tembaro have various dialectal differences. ... The attempt to use of Ke'ATe as a medium was failed because of the resistance of the Alaba people and their decision to continue using the Amharic language as a medium of instruction than to mix their language with other languages.

Interviewer: Why was mixing them demanded? Why do not people use Tembaro alone or Alaba alone?

KI3: This is a good question. Previously, this was considered; this is the law of UNESCO. Children have to learn in their mother tongue, especially from grade one upto grade four. ... Nevertheless, it has remained impractical. To the future, there may be something thought over ... I am not sure. ...

Interviewer: Do the Alaba people or children who are dwelling in villages know Amharic?

KI3: It is a good question. They do not know it.

Interviewer: So, would not it be difficult for them to learn through it?

KI3: It is creating problems in the learning process. ... It is creating problems especially in grade one. I know it because I was working in the countryside before came to this place [Kulito town].

Interviewer: As you told me earlier, many nations and nationalities are using their mother tongues media of instruction and other purposes. Do you think that the use multiple languages as media of instruction and other activities has impact on national unity?

KI2: It is a very good question. There is self-determination and self-administration. ... Beyond giving political power to the people, the federal system is established based on regional structure. Regions are also established based on the settlement of the people in respective with linguistic and cultural similarities. This can bring unity through diversity. Diversity is the difference in our languages, religions, and cultures, and our unity is our living together by respecting the linguistic, religious, and cultural differences. ... This is because diversity is our beauty and our unity is a power. Hence, as regions administer by themselves, they are developing their languages, developing their cultures ... it is a constitutionally confirmed right that should be respected; I think a strong unity based on diversity is being built.

Interviewer: Do you think that the use of multiple languages as media of instruction and other activities has created challenges that weaken national unity?

KI2: Yes, there are challenges. Despite the fact that many people have accepted the use of multiple languages for various purposes, there are people who do not accept it. There are people who say it will disintegrate the country in various pieces. However, for me, to tell you my understanding, we passed a time when one superior language dominates other languages. Now, all languages are declared equal by the constitution. (...) All cultures are equal. ... In the future, I believe, Every Ethiopian would understand its relevance, if awareness-raising activities are created.

Key Informant 4 (KI4): Active Participant in the Social, Cultural, and Political Activities of Her Local Community, Mojo (KI4, 05/04/2012)

Interviewer: How do you explain the current Ethiopian language policy?

KI4: The current Ethiopian language policy ...is being practiced in relative to the existing nations and nationalities' needs. It is a good commencement. Besides, in the future, when all languages develop ... it will be better than the present situation. I explain it in this manner.

Interviewer: What do you know about multilingual language policy?

KI4: ...At national level, in the society, where there are many nations and nationalities multilingualism is important to create understanding and sympathy among the nations and nationalities.

Interviewer: How do you explain the educational language policy?

KI4: ...The policy says, "Every child should learn primary education through his/her mother tongue." The reason is that learning through ones mother tongue reduces the burden of learning the medium of instruction, which is unknown for the children, and thus I believe it reduces the learner's hatred on learning. This is because there are two things when the learner learns using unfamiliar language: Learning the language and the struggle for learning through it. When the learner involves in two struggles, his/her being successful becomes questionable. Nevertheless, when the child learns with his/her mother tongue, he/she becomes successful; as it is a language he/she knows well and communicates with in his/her locality. Thus, the language policy is good for me.

Interviewer: What opportunities do you think it has created to enhance national development?

KI4: The language policy, this language policy has created a great opportunity for the development of the country ... the main thing in national development is educated workforce. If a student learns using his/her mother tongue, he/she will come to school without any frustration. The number of students that come to school without any frustration also increases. For instance, a student who does not learn using his/her mother tongue does not want to go to school, as he/she dislikes frustration. The number of days he/she becomes absent in school will increase. Nonetheless, the language policy that

claims mother tongue education makes many students to come to school. Therefore, since the presence of an educated workforce is important to bring significance contribution in the development of the country. The policy that enables to produce plenty of educated persons has a great role in national development.

Interviewer: What about on the unity of the country?

KI4: Linguistic diversity does not bring havoc on national unity; or it will not have any disuniting effect on the country. Because Ethiopia was one before now, it is also one at present. All Ethiopian languages were in existence as they do currently. It is a matter of using or not using them with freedom; and this does not mean the languages were not in existence. Thus, giving official recognition for their presence and using them for various purposes will have a significant importance on the unity of the country. The reason is that the languages are seen as different vegetables that are presented in one dining table. The beauty that exists when one variety of vegetables is presented in a dining table is different from presenting diverse varieties of vegetables. I see the languages from this vantage point. They are beauty. They had been in existence; there is no language that is created now. The country had unity; it is also in unity and will remain in unity forever. I say there will not be any change.

Interviewer: What challenges do you think it has created on the unity of the country?

KI4: When the policy was put into practice ... in relative to our communities' level of maturity ... it had some challenges. For instance, everyone wants his/her language to be a super one. Such perceptions resulted from their thought that the previous regimes had made the Amharic language superior by suppressing other languages that made them remain in the lowest level of development. As a result, everyone wants to make his/her own language superior. ... Moreover, there have been weaknesses on the part of the educated persons in creating awareness about language use. The educated classes of various linguistic groups have been attempting to worsen linguistic groups' negative attitudes towards Amharic. Consequently, there are people who see Amharic as a language of others. Such a view results in from the incapability of creating awareness and thereby bringing behavioral change on those who do not have awareness about the relevance of having a common language of integration. For instance, there have been times when students in Oromia region refused to learn the Amharic language as a subject.

Changing such views is hence a big challenge that requires commitment of political leaders and those who are responsible for implementing the language policy.

Interviewer: Do you think promoting linguistic diversity or all Ethiopian languages is divisive?

KI4: I do not believe... Because the policy has come as a policy ... a policy is established based on the real world situation. In the past, there was linguistic diversity in Ethiopia. The policy makes everyone to use the diverse languages with freedom – there is no a new language that came into being following the policy; and thus it will not bring disunity. This might bring disunity because of leaders' political stand. If the leaders' stand is to divide the community, they will use multilingualism as a divisive tool. If the leaders want to unite the community, multilingualism will bring unity. To take as an example, Ethiopia is a country that has many nations and nationalities and multilingual language policy. On the other hand, Somalia has only one language. If we ask which country has unity, it is Ethiopia. Thus, multilingual language policy will not divide the community.

Interviewer: What do you know about political contestation on multilingual language policy?

KI4: The political contestation ... they use multilingualism as an instrument ... that political contestation, if those opposition political forces take the place, I do not believe that they will change the current language policy situation. It is to use multilingualism as an instrument in struggling to win the political position. But, it will be impossible, if an attempt is made to replace the multilingual language policy with monolingualism. The reason is that the people's awareness about their languages is related with their existence. Therefore, accepting or rejecting multilingual language policy is not a matter of being sympathetic towards the community and thereby to seek unity. Rather, it is a position to seek out a political power.

Interviewer: Hence, when we see it in relative terms, which one do you think is a suitable to strengthen or create national unity?

KI4: ... for national unity ... today, in Ethiopia all languages are in the process of development. They are in their initial stage. Due to the historical incidence, it is the Amharic language that has developed to some extent. There should be also a room for other languages to develop in their own speed and span. After that ... the question of

“which language should be the ‘national’ language of the country” will be determined by referendum. Otherwise, if we say, “it should be this language;” it would definitely lead to a havoc of national unity and peoples’ strife. After now, if we try the community that have started to use their languages as media of instruction and for various purposes to come back to what had been being practiced, it would mean “go into the forest and struggle for your right.” ... I understand it as a matter of existence rather than a matter of politics.

Interviewer: What do you know about the contestations on the use of Amharic only as a working language, at federal level?

KI4: Currently, there are contestations on the use of Amharic as a federal language. There are people who claim that Oromo and other languages have to be the federal working languages; but it is baseless. The reason is that their reason is not logical. Amharic becomes the working language of the federal government because of its development. For me, there is no another reason. In other words, it is not to put the community whose language is Amharic in high position; rather it is because it is spoken in all localities and thereby chosen as a better means of integration. If the argument that “it should not be Amharic but another language” is found to be logical and convincing, it shall be changed by peoples’ agreement. However, if the claim is merely “my language should be superior,” the quest will not be successful. At present, the contestation over the status of Amharic does not spring from thinking for the society or from thinking better practices for the country. Rather it springs from personal interest to make one’s own language superior. There are contestations being raised. Nevertheless, if examined, I am a speaker of the two languages, Amharic and Oromo, in this locality; I found it to be baseless, when I scrutinize both parts. Those who claim, “It should be” and those who claim, “It should not be,” have no national feeling. They are claiming so based on their personal interests.

Interviewer: What do you expect about contestations that might result from language use, in the future?

KI4: I do not think there will be contestations in the future. As I told you earlier, the reason is that the strength of the leadership can soften or worsen the situation. The big thing is that educated persons and the leaders who are in the position should indicate the theme of the policy in a very clear manner. The language policy themes that had been

indicated theoretically and implemented practically were not as such inculcated in the community and changed its attitudes. These days, people are in a process of civilization. The world is coming to use a single language and thus I do not think people will come into contestation or engage into strife because of language. Nevertheless, the very big thing is the strength of the person, the leader, in setting the base concerning the language policy issue.

Key Informant 5 (KI5): PhD Candidate Who Has Been Working His Dissertation on Language Use and Development Related Subject, Addis Ababa University (KI5, 11/04/2012)

Interviewer: How do you explain the current Ethiopian language policy?

KI5: The Ethiopian language policy, (...) as many persons say, has not its own independent, clear language policy document. (...) Something is stated about it. Therefore, in general, for me, the Ethiopian language policy, which is currently being practiced is good. I have the belief that it has participated many in language, in using languages for various purposes.

Interviewer: How do you explain the current educational language policy?

KI5: The educational language policy is good. At least, these days, the educational language policy has given the chance for many people or nations and nationalities to learn in their mother tongues. As we see from the books that we sometimes read, the Ethiopian educational language policy is better than other African countries' policy. Thus, it is good, if it continues in this manner. Most people are participated. Different sources indicate that plenty of children are learning through their own languages.

Interviewer: What opportunities do you think the policy does create in strengthening national unity?

KI5: Well then, this policy, a single person ... if we see it logically, a single person can think about one thing, about one country, about national unity, if his/her right is respected. Therefore, if we see it in relative with language, I believe that allowing nations nationalities and peoples to learn effectively through their languages makes them to love their country. Besides, when we see it in relative with science and the existing practices,

as the chance of learning through mother tongue is provided for almost all nations and nationalities, it will be beneficial for the country's unity.

Interviewer: Your children or other languages speaking students are learning through their mother tongue. What do you feel?

KI5: I feel good. We should not see the language only, when a person learns through his/her language. We should see the things that exist behind the language. For instance, when a person learns through his/her language ... it enables him/her to preserve his/her culture. It can be seen via many angles. If we see it from pedagogical point of view, in addition to enabling students, right from the beginning, to imbibe through their language with any confusion ... it answers the question of identity, on the other way round. Moreover, because of my belief that learning through their language enables them to preserve their ancestors' culture, my children's or other Oromia region students' learning through their language is a good thing. I believe that it is good when we see it in relative with pedagogy, culture, politics and other views.

Interviewer: What opportunities do you think allowing students to use their mother tongue for instructional purpose does have to strengthen national unity?

KI5: Of course, even though learning through their languages only ... cannot be a guarantee for all their human rights, language is something more than anything else is. As it makes a person to think about himself/herself and his/her country, the present learning situation is different in many ways, if we compare it with the previous regimes. In the past, I can talk based on my own experience that language had been the hindrance for children's effective learning. Thus, if we compare them there is a great difference. The present language policy in education enables students to stay at school and to learn effectively as well as to strengthen their relationship with their teachers and with their community. These in turn, if we go up, I think, will strengthen their relationships with the country.

Interviewer: What challenges do you think allowing students to use their mother tongue for instructional purpose does have in strengthening the national unity?

KI5: Is it in relation with the education policy?

Interviewer: Yes, in relation with the policy. For instance, at present, students are learning in their mother tongue. Thus, there might not be a common language ... or a

number of languages will develop. In addition, there are a number of administrative languages. Therefore, in relation with these, what challenges do you think it could have in the unity of the country?

KI5: I witness, in one part, students learn in a better way in their own language up to grade eight and graduate [after some years]; but, sometimes, it creates a problem in employment. Students who are graduated from Oromia region are facing considerable problems when they want to be employed in other areas, for example, in Tigray or Amhara region because they do not know the languages. This is resulted from the students' carelessness in learning other languages and lack of interest in learning other languages, especially Amharic, which is a language that serves them as a medium of social integration. This in turn, hinders graduates of different regions from being equally competent in federal job opportunities. My justification is based on Oromia region students. When they join universities or graduated from universities and engaged in work in areas where Oromo is not spoken, they become restricted linguistically and psychologically and are incapable of working their careers effectively; and even, I think, there are some burdens in their interest or moral to go and work there. Perhaps, if we see it in relative to the language policy, it creates such a feeling. Thus, I observe this situation as a gap or a challenge in strengthening the unity of the country.

Interviewer: Okay ... observed from this angle or from the general policy, do you think multilingual language policy or promoting linguistic diversity is divisive political instrument and antinational unity?

KI5: Basically, I do not believe in this view. The reason is if we say multilingual language policy or promoting linguistic diversity is divisive... there are many countries that are residences for a number of nations and nationalities like Ethiopia. I do not believe that the country will be united by choosing and developing a solitary language from numerous languages. What is possible is creating a procedure or strategy to develop all languages; there has to be also a search for creating a common language to integrate all nations, nationalities and peoples. However, normally, I do not have the belief or thought that multilingual language policy or linguistic diversity would divide the country. Besides, science does not support it.

Interviewer: What do you know about controversies over multilingual language policy?

KI5: Here, there are people with justifications that they present in both sides – the opposing and advocating sides of multilingual language policy. For instance, one main justification presented from both sides is about the issue of unity. Those who say, “It is divisive” argue “cultivating all languages, in a country where there are plenty of languages is divisive.” Because from those languages which would be selected to serve as "national" language? Which one could be used as a common language of integration? Thus, as this is a difficult task ... multilingual language policy or promoting linguistic diversity is not justifiable – it could divide the country.

In contrast, those who oppose the aforementioned view claim, “any person, at individual or community or group level could think about unity if his/her rights are respected.” One of these is respecting language right. Therefore, these persons argue that a person thinks about a country, about unity if his/her language rights: To speak his/her own language, to develop his/her language, to learn in his/her language, and use his/her language to develop his/her culture. Thus, one main ... debate or dispute presented in relation with language is ... the presence of many languages divides a country. In addition, the other main view is a multilingual country will have strong unity when people acknowledge the presence of many languages.

Interviewer: Therefore, when we see it in relative terms, which one do you think enables to strengthen national unity?

KI5: In this, in the 21st century ... we are in a century where almost all countries have accepted the concept of linguistic diversity. Thus, being in this time ... I do not think it is applicable if we claim that one language is beneficiary for a country to respect or maintain its unity. Now, we are not in a time to do such practices. Besides, other developed countries are already changing this view [one language, one nation], though it is limited. Therefore, these days, I believe, the relevant thing for the unity of the country is advocating and implementing a policy that respects linguistic diversity and give rights for any person to speak their languages, allow their children to learn through it and help them develop their cultures.

Interviewer: What do you know about disagreements over the use of Amharic as a sole federal working language?

KI5: ... there is awareness. Of course, it is known that Amharic has a long history in being the “national” language or federal working language of Ethiopia. When we examine this history, it has its own problems. Nonetheless, the current debate or dispute is, as there are other languages that have at least as much as Amharic speakers, making Amharic the country’s sole federal working language or language of wider communication is not fair. I know there are people who think this way. Hence, the existing debate or dispute is that there are people who raise the question that in relative of what parameter does Amharic became a single federal working language, where there are other big languages.

Interviewer: Do you think the use of Amharic as a sole federal working language could create a problem in the unity of the country?

KI5: ... In fact, predicting what would happen in the future is a bit difficult. When we see some other countries’ experiences and become aware about the possibility ... and we are in a position where the community is cable of finding information from different sources ... it seems for me that it would create a considerable problem if it continues in this manner [if Amharic continues to be the solitary working language of the federal government]. The reason is, as I said it earlier, there are other major languages. Therefore, I have the belief that it will be good, if it is reconsidered. ... Moreover, if it continues in this manner, it would create a problem ... looking for other options seems good.

Interviewer: Therefore, what do you suggest to be done in order to solve the problems or misunderstandings that might come as a result of choosing a federal working language?

KI5: In my view ... in fact, I have mentioned it earlier that there are other possibilities. When we see some countries, they use two or more federal working languages. Thus, for me, it would be a good solution if more languages are chosen to be the country’s media of integration.

Interviewer: Are you happy with the solitary status of Amharic as a federal working language?

KI5: Do you mean personally?

Interviewer: Yes, personally?

KI5: On the basis of the present situation, I believe, it is reasonable; on the basis of the present situation. Before, the present condition, the country was governed by the policy of “one language one nation.” If we advance to the general argument that Amharic should not be the “national” language immediately after the situation was changed, it seems for me to walk again into another problem or havoc. Therefore, for me, perpetuating to use the de jure language as a language of integration is reasonable ... at least, it should not be hasty. Other languages have to do other services, but at federal level, it seems for me that allowing Amharic to serve as a language of integration at the present situation is reasonable. Nonetheless, for the future, we have mentioned earlier what has to be done.

Interviewer: Do you agree with the reason that the Amharic language shall be the federal working language of the country because of its historical incidence?

KI5: I do not agree with this view. (...) It is a reason that forces the nations and nationalities of the country to remember the grievances of the previous regimes’ oppression and linguistic hegemony. It is not a good historical incidence; it should not be a reason for a democratic government; therefore, as I said it earlier, it should be reconsidered.

Interviewer: Do you believe having a common single language that the society to some extent knows or that it has to know through learning to serves as an instrument in order to bring Ethiopians together or to unite them is necessary?

KI5: Do you mean as the country’s ...?

Interviewer: Yes, there is a view that if the federal working languages become more than one or two, there might follow divisions into different camps and thus, a common language would be necessary to solve such problems? Do you have such a view?

KI5: In fact, this question is difficult ... I have tried to mention it earlier. If we arrive at the conclusion that it should be one, I think, it is still likely to beg the question “which one it should be.” Thus, I do think that using more than one language, as a language of integration could be the solution. When we see other countries experience, there are countries that employ such practices but remain stable. Therefore, I would be happy if the discourse that claims “It should be one” is terminated.

Interviewer: Therefore, you mean it is possible to strengthen unity by using more than one or two languages instead of one.

KI5: It is possible. Yes, it is possible. As I know it ... it is possible to correctly maintain unity by using more than one language.

Key Informant 6 (KI6): Language Expert in the SNNPR Region Culture and Tourism Bureau

Interviewer: How do you explain the current Ethiopian language policy and its practice?

KI6: Well, because the SNNPR is a mosaic of numerous languages, the profile has diverse features. There are endangered languages, developed languages, and neither endangered and developed languages. The government policy promotes all the languages, to use and develop them. Therefore, I see this as a good practice.

Interviewer: Well, how do you see the language practice?

KI6: When we see its practice (...) language policy has its own problems. The problems are resulted in because of lack of awareness. ... The people do not have awareness or understanding about the use of languages or have limited awareness or they are not taught about it. The reason is that parents are the decision makers about their children's language use in education. (...) Since the choice of medium of instruction is not at the hand of the child, it is the parents that should get awareness. Thus, there is lack of awareness.

Interviewer: Do you think that the language practice is in consistency with the language policy or with what the government or the constitution says?

KI6: Though it is difficult to say there is complete consistency, the policy has given the chance for all. ... For example, if one language is developed, if its orthography is developed, if its sounds are studied, and if reference materials are fulfilled and used as a medium (...), for the child learning through a language that is spoken at his/her home, in his/her locality is a great happiness. The reason is that he/she will learn in a very easy manner. When a language the child knows at home, a language his/her parents and friends speak, he/she will learn with confidence if hi/her teacher uses it in the classroom. He/she will be attracted. ... If not, he/she will always think about his/her home.

Interviewer: Do you think that the use of many languages as media of instruction, administration, newspapers, radio, and television has an impact on national unity?

KI6: ... Learning through many languages helps to create knowledgeable people. For example, if a child whose mother tongue is Amharic joins a school that uses Amharic as a medium of instruction, he/she will not face a problem while learning. He/she will learn without being faced with sociological, psychological, and pedagogical problems. This is an identity, a psychological identity. ... His/her language is a tool to express his/her inner feeling. ... Therefore, he/she will not develop any crises when he/she learns in his/her language. Young people who do not have any crisis will not think about anything except national unity.

Interviewer: What challenges do you think could have the use of many languages as media of multiple purposes, I mean for national unity?

KI6: For me, multilingualism is a norm for Ethiopia as well as for Africa. Multilingualism is a reality. ... Therefore, the question is how to use the existing reality. ... There is knowledge in every language. That knowledge is indigenous knowledge. It is not an exogenous knowledge. ... We have to use it. It is useful for development because it contains countless knowledge. ...

Interviewer: Well, do you have awareness about the presence of people who say Amharic should not be used as the only federal working language?

KI6: I do not.

Interviewer: For example, the Oromo Movement Party argues, “we should use Oromo as a federal working language along with Amharic.” How do you see it?

The use of Amharic as a federal working language is taken as an option because of the wider distribution of the language that helps to provide equal service to all people of the country. It has plenty of reference materials; it has a developed literature. Because these features of the language create wider communication, it makes communication smooth. For me, the use of Amharic as a federal working language is a good practice.

Key Informant 4 (KI7): Active Participant in the Social, Cultural, and Political Activities of His Local Community, Lecturer at Hawassa Teacher Training College (KI7, 19/06/2012)

Interviewer: How do you explain the current Ethiopian language policy and its practice?

KI7: Well, I regard that nations and nationalities of Ethiopia getting the chance to use their languages as a big issue. The reason is that, in the previous regimes' policies their children were suffering from learn in Amharic the first day they went to school. It is true that speaking in one's own language has a great place in international law and by virtue of being human being. The nations and nationalities of Ethiopia were denied their right because of the past one culture, one language, and one country policy. Most children were their right for education and those who started learning used to stop learning because they were learning through a naïve language without making any preparation. However, currently, as we see it, nations and nationalities are using their using languages as they wish and reviving their culture that were at the verge of death. It is true that culture embeds irreplaceable accumulated good norms of human beings. Such norms were vanishing in the past. Now they are reviving and playing an immense role in national unity, peoples' unity, and equality of citizenship. ... Nations and nationalities are using their languages in courts and in education. I believe that for the Ethiopian people, for nations and nationalities, getting these chances make them to be true citizens. ... In the past, they were seen as second or third citizens, suppressed in their homeland, humiliated because of their cultures and languages. These times, they are proud of using their languages and reflecting cultures. ... Therefore, I believe the government has confirmed the human rights of the nations and nationalities. ... On the other hand, there are some challenges. (...) when the nations and nationalities use their languages, there are no enough literatures because, in the past, the languages suppressed. ... However, in general terms, nations and nationalities have confirmed the equality of their languages. They have confirmed that their languages can be used as media of television and radio. In the past, there was a cursed view that the languages break radios when they were used as a media. When nations and nationalities asked why had not been their languages used as media of the radio, the reply was "when your languages were tried to be used they broke

the radio and consequently restricted to informal uses only." The governors were suppressing them by saying so. The people, who were living in that dark time, used to accept their reasons. ... They were deceiving the people. These days, the people confirmed all the things they were say are false. ...

Interviewer: There are people who doubt that the use of multiple languages as media of various purposes discourage the attempt to have one common language of integration. What do you thing the challenges when you see it in terms of this view?

KI7: Yes, there is a false propaganda, which says, "If there is no one language, there will not be integration, there will not be a country." Had it been true, the present use of more than 30 languages, especially those with plenty of speakers, would have resulted in disintegration. However, despite the constitutional right, there is no a nation or nationality that asked for secession. ... Unity and sovereignty cannot be threatened because of the use of languages. Those who think it will be threatened are were deceiving the people in the past. Now they have come with a different theory. There is a disintegrated county because of respecting peoples' languages, cultures, and identities. Thinking that respecting peoples' languages, cultures, and identities will disintegrate the country is thus either ignorance or trick. It springs from trick. It is a wrong theory, a concept, which they use to eliminate others, to become a hindrance to the development of peoples' cultures. ... The other thing is that the Amharic language has developed because of historical incidence. Using Amharic and developing their language in a parallel is beneficial for nations and nationalities because we are not in a time when people live in a restricted area. Let alone Amharic it is beneficial to learn English. If need be people have to learn Amharic because we are in the time of globalization where language plays as a great instrument. Since we are in a time the world people are connected, people should show the willingness to learn other languages after confirming the right of using their languages. This is their democratic right. Having one national language is important. In the future, there shall be two or national languages. People will benefit if they learn other developed languages. ... It will also strengthen national unity. However, it does not mean the use of numerous languages disintegrate the country. Those who say it does disunite have an evil mission; it is not because they do not understand the reality. ... In the past,

they used to say, "It breaks the radio." On the other hand, presently they say, "It disintegrates the country."

Key Informant 8 (KI8): Language Expert in the Oromia Region Culture and Tourism Bureau (KI8, 05/07/2012)

Interviewer: How do you explain the current Ethiopian language policy?

KI8: Well, when I see the language policy, it is quite different when compared to the previous policy. ... In the light of respecting nationalities' languages, it has helped us to begin a new journey. This is because, first, it confirms the right of nations and nationalities to learn in their mother tongues. Second, regions are using their languages as official languages and media of mass communications and courtrooms. When we look at these, there are good beginnings. ...

Interviewer: I think, in the Oromia regional state, despite the presence of a number of languages, it is only Oromo and Amharic that are used as media of instruction, for instance, there about 80 000 Yems, but they did not start their language as a medium, why do you think is the reason?

KI8: It is a good question. I have mentioned earlier that there are numerous languages in our country. ... The delay in introducing minority languages as media of instruction is not a tendency to block the chance. In one part, the effort of minority nationalities is necessary. I believe that they have to say, "We should use our language and do other related things and make active involvement." ... The other thing is, as I mentioned it earlier, all people might have an awareness about implementing the language policy. Perhaps, I believe these problems will be solved gradually. Whatsoever, I do absolutely believe that there is no any tendency to block the chance of learning through mother tongues for so doing does mean working against the constitution. The reason is blocking the chance means to go against the constitution. ... Regions cannot go against the constitution because it is endorsed by them. ... Rather, it is a matter of capacity. I do have the belief that the government does not have the capacity to cover the cost of preparing materials and training teachers for each nation and nationality.

Interviewer: Whatsoever, about 29 nations and nationalities are using their languages as media of instruction, justice, newspapers, television, and administration; do you think that this practice has impacts on national unity?

KI8: ... Since Ethiopia is a country of many nations and nationalities that speak a number of languages, respecting their rights, confirming equal rights for all in order to help them develop their languages cannot erode national unity; it rather strengthens unity. Misunderstanding and disintegration happen, when one nation tries to suppress the rights of others. Thus, providing a suitable circumstance for different nations and nationalities to learn in their languages, develop their languages equally and participate in such issues strengthens unity and develops togetherness; it could not bring any fragmentation and controversies among them. Hence, in my view, when we see from the past regimes' situation, questions that say the right of nations and nationalities should be respected equally were raised as one big issue in the struggle of Ethiopian nations and nationalities. Language was raised as one factor. Therefore, I believe respecting the rights of nations and nationalities, the absence of suppressing one by any other nation leads to a better situation.

Interviewer: It is true, but there are also views that say, "The use of several languages might result in the lack of a common language because nations and nationalities are giving insignificant focus to learning Amharic; as a result, it might ultimately disintegrate the country." What about when we see it in terms of this perspective?

KI8: For me, this a wrong view. For example, if we consider other countries, there is the practice of using more than one working language. The countries use two or three languages. Doing so does not brought about integration. The use of three languages did not disintegrate them. The use of many languages is not a peculiar to our country. South Africa and some European countries use more than one language. Therefore ...allowing free competition among languages, which might resulted in developing more effective languages that could be suitable for science and technology, does not create any thing that leads to conflict and disintegration. ...

Interviewer: would you please tell me view regarding the use of Amharic as a sole federal working language?

KI8: Based on the then objective reality and many people were communicating through Amharic. For me, the use of Amharic as federal working language of Ethiopia until other nations and nationalities develop their languages and reach a better stage is not bad. However, I do not have the view that Amharic must remain as the only federal working language. If other languages develop, compete and fit the necessary requirements even better than Amharic using various criteria, they could be the federal working languages of the country. They could be additional federal working languages, or can be given priority over Amharic. Therefore, the policy is not restrictive. This leads to a better situation; it could not lead to a sluggish circumstance. Instead, suppressing and blocking other languages' development would have a bad effect. ... Besides, I have the view that as languages develop we could not be restricted to use only one language, through process, we can use three or four of the languages.

Interviewer: Do you think that other languages as mother tongue speakers compete equally in federal job opportunities where the medium of recruitment is Amharic with the first speakers of the Amharic language?

KI8: At federal level or in relation with using Amharic as recruitment language there might be a negative impact on others [non-Amharic speakers or Amharic as second language speakers]. We cannot deny this reality. ... Some impacts might take place until things are adjusted. For that matter, in Oromia region, sometimes, there are some impacts on other nations and nationalities [other than Oromo] when they compete for jobs. It is not only with Amharic, the federal working language. ...

Key Informant 9 (KI9): One of the Executive Persons of the Medrek Coalition Party, Addis Ababa (KI9, 06/07/2012)

Interviewer: How do you explain the current Ethiopian language policy and its practice?

KI9: Theoretically, it is good. Nevertheless, I believe there are problems with the implementation of the policy. The political mission of the government affects its implementation. For example, the self-governing regions are not using their languages as they want. ... There are federal government interferences. (...) Because of federal government agents' interferences, in Oromia, many people are unhappy with the language use. Because the government agents are implementing the policy in a way that suits the political interest of the government, people says, "We are suppressing our language, we could not use and develop our language, as we want." For instance, they could not use their language as medium of instruction in Addis Ababa.

Interviewer: Do you mean the Oromo language?

KI9: Yes, they say so. Moreover, it has an effect in the use of a language in recruiting people.

Interviewer: Do you mean In Addis Ababa?

KI9: Yes, in recruiting people in Addis Ababa and in other federal government institutions, the use of the federal working language is decided at the expense of peoples' disagreement. The government uses only one language [Amharic only]. In contrast, the Oromos are pressing for the use of their language because they are residing in the surroundings of Addis Ababa. ... They say, "The Oromo language has many speakers than Amharic; making Amharic only as a federal working language has disadvantaged us. Thus, Oromo should be the second federal working language." For instance, we agreed with Medrek to do so. Since Oromo is spoken by many people next to Amharic, we agreed to make it a federal working language.

Interviewer: When you say medrek, do you mean the Oromo Federalist Movement Party and ...?

KI9: No, I mean the six political parties namely Arena, Andinet, and two parties from the SNNPR, and so on. In general, the six parties that formed the party, in fact they were eight. We agreed to make Oromo the second federal working language because it is

important to create social integration and for the unity of Ethiopia by offering it as a school subject. That is, it is important for a person if he/she know the two languages [Amharic and Oromo] to move from one region to another and work.

Interviewer: In fact, there are also people who say, “The use of more languages will disintegrate the country?”

KI9: The Amharic speakers say, “Our language is more developed than other languages” with the intention of maintaining their linguistic hegemony. The development of other languages would therefore create problems in the development and spread of the Amharic language. It might be seen as a simple issue notwithstanding the presence of a big problem, language use conflict, but his party has observed the problem as a serious issue that demands political decision. ... If the Oromos, Oromo students, or children refuse to learn Amharic and Amharic speakers say, “Learning other languages, especially like Oromo that have plenty of speakers could disintegrate the country and thus we do not want to learn them,” what do you think would happen? In the near future, there will appear Ethiopians who could not communicate each other. ... There are Oromos who say, “We do not want to learn the *neftegna’s* (rifleman’s) language.” There are also situations where the educated Oromos, who know Amharic, refuse to communicate using the language. For instance, in America, an Oromo could not talk to you in Amharic. Thus, knowing Amharic does not benefit us. Rather, it keeps the people more apart. This problem has resulted in because of the imposition of a language through a policy. ... In sum, the language problem becomes complex as people associate it with politics. The Oromos say, “Why should we learn the *neftegna’s* language, if they do not learn ours? When all is said and done, we will secede from the country.” The ultimate objective of the Amharas, who say, “The development of other languages will disintegrate the country,” is also politics that aims at maintaining the dominance of their language, culture, and identity.

Interviewer: Would explain the idea that you relate language with identity?

KI9: Language is the main stage where identity is manifested and the mirror through which the culture of its speakers is reflected and thereby recognized by others throughout the world. That is why our party is arguing against the use of Amharic as a sole federal working language because it promotes the identity, cultural recognition, and dominance

of one group. Consequently, we decided to use at least two [Amharic and Oromo] languages as working ones in federal offices and the capital city to prevent dominance and realize the presence of other linguistic and cultural groups. The reason is that we cannot think of identity in the absence of language. ... Language is the base for identity because it is through language that people express themselves, work, and communicate with other people.

Interviewer: What about when we see it in terms of economic development? There are views that say, the use of two or more languages as federal working language slows down national development. What do you say in relation with this view?

KI9: the very thing is that it is through English that we communicate with the world and technological transfer is made through it. For instance, France and China most of the time borrow from English. Thus, it cannot be as such a barrier. The very issue that is relevant for development and investment is to create a massive Ethiopian population, to create peace in and outside the country. ... It is to create more united Ethiopia and better political atmosphere that promotes working together that we decided to use at least two languages as federal working languages.

Key Informant 10 (KI10): PhD Candidate Who Has Been Working His Dissertation on Language Use and Communication Related Subject, Addis Ababa University (KI10, 06/07/2012)

Interviewer: How do you explain the current Ethiopian language policy?

KI10: I did not have any in-depth reading regarding this. ...

Interviewer: Well, let us talk about language equality?

KI10: ... Theoretically, all languages are because all people are equal all the languages they speak are equal — human beings are also described by their culture and language and thus, I believe, languages are equal.

Interviewer: Theoretically, we accept that all languages are equal, and the constitution says so.

KI10: No, though the constitution says so, there is one thing when we observe it practically. That is a person who speaks English and another person who speaks

Portuguese could not get equal benefit. Owing to historical incidence, English has accumulated a power that makes its speakers advantageous. Likewise, in Ethiopia, due to historical incidence, there were incidences that make some languages disadvantaged.

Interviewer: Do you believe that the use of Amharic as a federal and capital city working language is benefiting all citizens equally?

KI10: ... This is a binary opposition. We enlighten one over the other. In one way or another, it is clear that when we choose Amharic better than other languages; we are choosing people who speak Amharic better than those who do not.

Interviewer: Therefore, What do you think is the solution to solve such problems?

KI10: That is the difficult thing. Perhaps, as I told you earlier, we are saying when we choose Amharic as an official language we are enlightening Amharic speakers at the expense of others. Hence, if the intention is to benefit all nations and nationalities equally, perhaps using a language like English could create a better opportunity. All nations and nationalities could be exposed equally to the language and the opportunities that might be achieved by using it. However, if one domestic language is chosen, it is unquestionable that we are choosing the speakers of that language at the expense of others because the language is exposed to the community that speaks it in a better way than to other languages speakers. Thus, perhaps, in order to treat all nations and nationalities of Ethiopia, it is good to use English since because it is a neutral language.

Interviewer: There are people who consider it as exposing oneself to colonization. They call it modern or language colonization. What about when we see it in this perspective?

No no no, for the Oromo people, for the Tigray people, or for any other language speakers, since a language other than their own is an imposition, it is all the same. It is unquestionable, whatever it is, either it is English or Amharic; it does not make any difference. ... Whether we like it or not, English is a countrywide medium of instruction at higher institutions and other institutions. Therefore, to avoid complexity of nations and nationalities and to treat them equally, for sure English would be a possible option owing to its international role. English is also the language of commerce and international communication. Perhaps, it is better if English becomes a federal working language because nations and nationalities will not have a better English proficiency due to their ethnicity. For example, If Oromo becomes a working language, the Oromo language

speakers will benefit more than any other nations and nationalities. If Amharic becomes a working language, Amharic speakers will get a better advantage. On the other hand, if English becomes a working language, in the context of Ethiopia, all nations and nationalities cannot be advantaged or privileged owing to their ethnicity, but they can be advantaged because of their learning English. Hence, I think using English as a federal working language is a better option.

Key Informant 11 (KI11): Critic Who Wrote Articles and a Book on Language Use in the Present Regime, Addis Ababa (KI11, 13/07/2012)

Interviewer: To commence with a general idea, how do you explain the current Ethiopian language policy?

KI11: The current language policy is bad because it has divided the people by ethnicity. ... We Ethiopians need to live in unity. Living in unity does not mean one has to live by belittling the other and eliminating his/her language. People and languages are equal. However, this does not mean people should quarrel because of language. We should use the Amharic language to do all things, run all government activities – administration, education, and mass media at all levels, national and regional ... because Amharic was used as a government language since ancient times. ... In the previous regimes, if an Amharic speaker judge, for example in Tigrai or Oromia, went to work, he/she uses Amharic at the work place, but after work, he/she speaks in Oromo if the work place is in Oromia and Tigrinya if the work place is in Tigrai. Thus, it was use for office work only. The judge can be from any language speakers; he/she can be from Tigrinya speakers, from Oromo speakers, from Wolaita speakers. He/she communicates in Amharic in the courtroom, and later in the local language. There was such practice in the previous times, and I feel it was not bad that I suggest it and we focus in developing the spirit of Ethiopianness to minimize our problems, to eradicate poverty, and eliminate diseases. ...

Interviewer: So what do you think are the main challenges that impede national unity?

KI11: You know that there is a word called *kilil* (region). What we know about region in Amharic is a place that is preserved and kept away from cattle for the grass to grow and make hay for later use. But why is region important for human beings? Human beings

should not be confined. ... What is the need to say so as long as we have accepted Ethiopia as one country? Besides, regions should be demarked based on geographical features, as the previous governors did, rather than based on races. If the term region is used, any person who lives out of a certain region is not allowed to enter. This practice keeps people apart. Ultimately, every region might write a letter to the United Nations in need of membership. On top of this, this idea is supported by the constitution, Article 39, which allows secession. Are we going to use force to let it stay with us, if a region demands for secession? Instead of this, why do not we say what should. Secession is not allowed because Ethiopia is one country that is a member of the United Nations. ...

Interviewer: What about when we see it in terms of national development, do you think the language policy has created challenges that slow down economic development?

KI11: Yes, there are challenges. The use of one language as a medium of instruction means, publishing books in one language and distributing them to all Ethiopians. We should work on one language. Otherwise, teaching through 80 languages means publishing books through 80 languages. ... The advantage of working through one language is that it helps all Ethiopians to communicate, as language is nothing but a means of communication. ... You could not communicate, if you do not know the language; there will be problems in communication. Hence, using one language helps to create fast communication among regions. For instance, having one common language helps people of different languages speakers who gather in one factory to work by communicating fast. However, they cannot communicate if each of them speaks their languages. It can be like the tower of babel. The Babylon, which is indicated in the Bible, where God changed their language, is correct. Thus, the use of one language is useful for communication, to work in factories and farmlands, and so forth for it facilitates work and creates understanding and intimacy.

**Key Informant 12 (KI12): Curriculum Development and Implementation Case
Manager of the Tigray Region Education Bureau (KI12, 22/09/2012)**

Interviewer: To commence with a general idea, how do you explain the current Ethiopian language policy?

KI12: When we see the language policy in terms of language use in education, nations and nationalities are provided with the chance of learning in their mother tongues. This is being practice in other localities ... the chance of using other languages for formal purposes is being broaden in Tigray. In Tigray, learning in one's own language, writing in one's own language, and using one's own language as media of mass communications and the court is in practice. As a result, I believe that the [Tigrinya] language is in a good stage of development. ...

Interviewer: Would you please explain your views regarding the impact of using numerous languages as media of instruction, administration, newspapers, radio, and television on national unity?

KI12: There are views that deal with people's languages use as media of instruction, administration, newspapers, radio, and television and their impact on national unity. I know that there are individuals who believe that learning in one's own language, speaking in one's own language hinder national unity. I have also read it in some written materials. This is a wrong thought. Speaking in one's language is a manifestation of identity. Developing one's culture is a manifestation of identity. ... Therefore, for me, speaking in my own language and using my own language to run various activities do not weaken the unity of Ethiopia it strengthens national unity rather. ...

Interviewer: What do you know about the impact of using numerous languages as media of mass communications, instruction, and other purposes on national development?

KI12: Well, if we take education as a case in point, a child becomes advantageous when he/she learns in his/her own language. As he/she does not have another barrier, learning in a language he/she knows enables him/her to understand the scientific contents included in the education. Thus, it enables him/her to build his/her skills. If the child builds his/her skills, he/she will contribute to the development of and technological activities of the

country for he/she does not have any medium barrier. Learning in his/her own language enables him/her to easily understand them, and understand what is happening in his/her surroundings. Therefore, he/she will know what is expected from him/her and thereby contribute his/her role in the economic development of the country.

Interviewer: What do you know about the controversies over the use of Amharic as a federal working language?

KI12: Now, if we see at a country level ... we say at least there is multiculturalism. Therefore, the issue becomes related diversity. Though our focus is on language, diversity has many features such as age and gender. When we come to language ... it is possible to mention lots of evidences that witness diversity in our country is respected. Let us take one example. Students are learning up to grade eight in their mother tongues. Amharic — other language is not imposed upon them. They are learning in a language they are familiar with and understand their lessons. On the other hand, when we consider a “national” language, they are learning Amharic as it is a “national” language. Starting from grade three — they are learning Amharic starting from grade three. When they join grade 11 and 12 it becomes elective – those who want to learn Tigrinya choose Tigrinya and those who want to learn Amharic choose Amharic. Thus, the chance is given for everyone to learn in their language and conduct their activities in their language. There is no any restriction. In so doing, we consider that our language [Tigrinya] and other languages are developing. For example, if we take Oromia, students are learning through the Oromo language starting from grade one up to grade eight just like the Tigray regional government. Hence, this means that the Oromo language is developing. If we take the Amhara regional state, despite of changes made in grade seven and eight in the near past it was similar; now students are leaning from grade one up to six in the Amharic. If we take the SNNPR, it uses different languages such as Amharic and English as there is diversity there is a situation that they could not use one language. Therefore, everywhere we go, there are people who respect and use their languages. If we consider such cases, there is no a locality that uses Amharic for the advantage of the language. However, there is one thing; we do not have any hatred towards the Amharic language. Amharic is our country’s language. — As Ethiopians, we are considering Amharic as a countrywide language, as a medium of communication with other nations and nationalities. Thus, we

need to have at least one “national” language that serves as a medium of communication to integrate with individuals who live in the south, learn and speak a local language, with individuals who live in Oromia and speak the local language. For example, if I, a person who lives in Tigrai, go to Oromia and a person who lives in Oromia come to Tigrai. ... English is one language of integration, another working language. However, one could not expect that everyone is educated and capable to communicate through English. Amharic is an indigenous language; it is our language, our country’s language. Hence, Amharic can help us to communicate easily with any nation and nationality. Therefore, we need to work to develop the Amharic language. Hence, whenever nations and nationalities respect their respective languages and work to develop them, it is not so as to weaken the Amharic language. The Amharic language cannot be considered as others language and ignored; it is our country’s language; it is our medium of communication, and thus we should work to develop it. — That is why students in the Tigrai regional state are learning Amharic starting from grade three up to grade 12. They also learn the Tigrinya language as a subject; they learn the two languages at the same time.

Interviewer: It is very good. What about when we see it in the view of those who resist it?

KI12: It is good. There are people who consider the dominant number of the Oromo population size more than any other in the total population of Ethiopia and associate it with the federal language use without any logical justification. However, there is the reality that either because of the previous governments or other reasons Amharic has been used and developed. Hence, Amharic has already socially [informally] or through education in schools, in institutions as a system, spread throughout the country. — In Tigrai, in the past administrative regimes, all subjects were being given in Amharic at elementary level. It was the same thing, in Oromia and other parts of the country. If we take the background of Amharic, when we see it as a language, it was developed in the past. It was a language used by all members of the Ethiopian society. ... When we consider Oromo, let alone developing it through a countrywide use, no attempt was made to introduce it as a written language and develop it within Oromia itself. The same was true for Tigrinya. ... Hence, [it may not work], if we simply say Oromo has to be a second or third “national” language all of sudden. (...) I believe that it needs time. As an individual I do not have any resistance to learn the language... because I will be

advantaged, if I know languages. If I go to Oromia, I can communicate with anybody, with all members of the community who do not speak Amharic, through Oromo. The same is true with using other languages. Nonetheless, I do not have the view that our making Amharic as a “national” language, as a countrywide language, dominates the Oromo language. The reason is that currently Amharic is a “national” language, but the Tigrinya language is developing; Oromo is developing. Using Amharic as medium of all [school subjects] is terminated and thus it is used as a single school subject only. In Tigray, using Amharic as medium of instruction is terminated; students are taking it as a school subject only. Thus, nations and nationalities have made their respective languages as media of instructions. Therefore, if we see medium of instruction at school level, there is no Amharic dominance. ... Nonetheless, as I mentioned it earlier, Amharic is once developed for it was introduced in institutions and thus all people understand and use it easily. Therefore, considering Amharic as one basic language because of its background is the solution we have at hand. — Moreover, I believe that introducing a language that is spoken by a number of people in schools, as a second language, is good. There is no problem with introducing the language. The problem is with how to introduce it. For example, if we introduce Oromo as a subject besides Tigrinya, English, and Amharic, it is to introduce four or five languages to the school system, which will become a burden for the students and thus they could not learn the languages properly. For example, the big reason for introducing the Amharic language at grade three is such a burden as it is English and Tigrinya the students could learn at most, introducing Amharic before that could make the students to learn neither of the languages. ... However, I do not believe that introducing the [Oromo] language as a school subject in itself will have a side effect. I do not believe that doing so [making Oromo a federal working language] will create the Oromo language supremacy. It will be a problem if we take it in this sense. If the reason is that the Oromo language is useful to communicate with others as well as to reflect our culture, it can be taken as an instrument. Therefore, attempting to make it a second language owing to the issue of dominance is problematic that should not be enacted. It is good if the presence of a number of persons who speak the language and their communication through it is taken as an advantage. Nonetheless, the idea that “Amharic is suppressing us and thus Oromo has to be the dominant language as the

number of the Oromos is more than any other ethnic group” might be unacceptable. The reason is that the source of the issue is domination. It is good if the reason becomes about knowing a language as well as about creating an opportunity by using it as a tool for communication.

Key Informant 13 (KI13): Active Participant in the Social, Cultural, and Political Activities of His Local Community (KI13, 18/09/2012)

Interviewer: To commence with a general idea, how do you explain the current Ethiopian language policy?

KI12: The current language policy has confirmed language rights. Multiple languages are used in education and administration.

Interviewer: Do you think that the current language policy has created opportunities that could strengthen national unity?

KI13: The current language policy has created peace and stability. You know, denying the rights of nations and nationalities of Ethiopia in the Haile Selassie and Dergue regimes had been a source of conflicts. It was one of the causes for the emergence of the then ethnic-based opposition fronts such as the Eritrean Peoples’ Liberation Front, TPLF, and OLF. They went to the bushes and fought against the regimes that used to promote only the Amharic language and Amhara culture. (...) These [phenomena] took place due to the closeness of language to cultural hegemony, economic opportunities, and ethnic identity, which make language issues to become a source of conflict and the center of nationalities’ questions. ... Nevertheless, currently, there is stability and unity because almost all the earlier mentioned problems are solved.

Interviewer: Do you think that the current language policy has created challenges that could impede national unity?

KI13: The language policy confirmed the equality of nations and nationalities and their languages. Therefore, I do not believe that confirming language rights weakens national unity.

Interviewer: Do you think that the current language policy has impacts on national development?

KI13: Yes, the use of languages that are simple for all people has an impact on national development. For instance, if nations and nations get access to the mass media in their mother tongues, they would understand pieces of information related to agricultural inputs such as fertilizers and pesticides and increase their production. ... However, more than anything else, the use of languages without any difference is very important to encourage people to work for their country.

Interviewer: Do you think that language equality is confirmed?

KI13: In what respect?

Interviewer: For instance, in the use of languages in Education at elementary level as well as in administration, it could be at federal or regional level.

KI13: I mentioned some points regarding the equality of languages in education earlier. In fact, it is impossible to say the language policy is perfect. For example, there is language inequality at federal level. Amharic, the working language of the federal government and the capital city, helps its native speakers actively participate in the political, cultural, and economic activities of the country than any other linguistic groups do. Everything is under their control. ... The native speakers Amharic have dominated the media discourses. They discourage other linguistic groups' cultural manifestations. They praise individuals if they are from the Amharic ethnic group, conversely they give deaf ears, if not defame, individuals if they are not from that ethnic group, even when their contributions to the social, political, and economic development of the country are magnificent. The Amhara journalists' discriminatory discourses on the historical deeds of two magnificent Emperors – Yohannes IV and Menelik II – of modern Ethiopia is a case in point in that the journalists mention hardly ever the historical deeds of the former one on the grounds of his ethnic affiliation to the Tigraian people. On the contrary, they do praise the latter one's accomplishments repeatedly. Had there been equality, the two emperors would have been appreciated equally. Moreover, the Amharic medium private newspaper journalists use their language to strongly criticize the federal government even blindly, while others could not do so including in times when they have appropriate criticisms due to their poor command of the Amharic language. ... The other thing is that

the Amharic mass media experts disregard social and cultural values and artistic products that are related to other ethnic groups. For instance, the discrimination of the Work of Birhane Nigusse, a Tigraian Amharic medium journalist, who produced a notable film on the heroic deeds of Muse Tekle – one of the leading figures of the TPLF is a manifestation of other ethnic groups' exclusion. This practice forced Birhane to argue on one of his radio programs “whether people like it or not the heroic deeds of the TPLF fighters are part of the country's history. It is therefore unethical to overlook the product deliberately.” ... Besides, the work of an Amharic singer named Tsedenia Gebremarcos, who produced an Amharic album in 2004, was discriminated against her ethnic origin. Her music was not heard as such, and the reason for one of the journalists who wrote an article in one private newspaper was her being a Tigraian. (...) He wrote, “Although Tsedenia's album was modern and of good quality, it was discriminated because of her ethnic origin.”

Interviewer: Is she a Tigrai?

KI13: In fact, I am not sure whether she is *Tigraweiti* [a Tigraian] or not.

Interviewer: So what do you suggest to solve the problems mentioned earlier?

KI13: Perhaps, using English as a federal working language can be a solution. It will not only solve linguistic inequalities and conflicts but also helps bring peripheral linguistic groups such as the Somali and Nuwer, who usually prefer to communicate with other Ethiopians in English than in Amharic, closer to the center. Using English may also serve as a device to bring the Horn of African countries, where various linguistic groups that have similar complexion and shared culture are dwelling in, into one. I also believe that the use of Amharic has contributed to the isolation of the Ethiopian people, being confined to a splendid island in the hinterland of Africa, from the rest of the world society. It is paradoxical that the capital city of Africa is found in Ethiopia wherein people who come from every part of the continent could not interact with people of the country easily as the people are incapable of communicating in English with people who come to the country. Had English been the working language of the federal government, people would have tried to interact with people who speak other languages and become proficient in the English language.

Key Informant 14 (KI14): Language Expert in the Amhara Region Culture and Tourism Bureau (KI14, 23/10/2012)

Interviewer: How do you explain the current Ethiopian language policy and its practice?

KI14: ... The language policy of our country is a very good beginning. When we see the constitution, a chance is given to the nations and nationalities to learn in their mother tongues at elementary level and to speak in their mother tongue. This is a good beginning. ... Language is a tool to express identity. We all know the importance of learning in one's own language. ...

Interviewer: Do you think that the language policy or the use of multiple languages as media of various purposes has an impact on national unity?

KI14: Well, different people have different views concerning the impact of using several languages as media of multiple purposes. For me, the learning of all people through their mother tongues as well as the use of mother tongues for various purposes strengthens unity. Of course, some individuals say, "It erodes unity." Especially, there are people who say, "It leads to disintegration." Nevertheless, for me, it brings unity based on respect because each individual person loves languages they tighten their tongues through or languages they grew up with; they respect it more than they do for anything else. Hence, for this is a recognition given to identity, nations and nationalities are expected to bring unity through respecting each other. Mainly, in this age of globalization it is better to bring unity through respect than attempting to bring unity by directly suppressing and ordering people to speak and use a certain language for they could consider it as a coercive condition that might in turn lead to fragmentation. ...

Interviewer: Do you think that students at elementary and high schools, in other localities outside the Amhara region, are learning the Amharic language as a school subject?

KI14: There might be students, who do not want to learn the language, but I believe this problem is brought about; first, it is because of lack of awareness; second, it is because the previous governments were relying on one language. They did not give the chance for other languages. For instance, if we see the Haile Selassie regime, the central ideology was one nation, one language, one religion, and so forth. Other languages were suppressed directly or indirectly. For the nations and nationalities think that the then administration was suppressing them, at present, they consider Amharic as a hegemonic

instrument that makes them to take a wrong stand not to learn the language. ... For instance, while we were in university, people were saying, “there were plenty of Oromo speakers, and Amharic was second to the Oromo language.” Perhaps, it might be right, or it might not be. ... When we think of this, currently, some individuals question why the Oromo language could not be used as an official language. ...

Interviewer: What kind of roles do you think that the use of multiple languages as media of instruction and mass communications has on national development?

KI14: Well, the use of several languages, as a media of mass communications, has a significant relevance on the economic development of the country. For one thing, we announce the oral knowledge of the nations and nationalities. For another, it serves us to use their oral tradition for various purposes because there is knowledge behind every language. Hence, using several languages as media of mass communications helps to better exploit, announce the knowledge. On the other hand ... Employing several languages as media of instruction might create a challenge on economic development. Especially, in countries like Ethiopia, when we attempt to offer education through several languages, there is preparation of textbooks, supportive books, institutions, and training of teachers. These might pose some challenges, but such costs are so minor when we see them in terms of satisfying nationalities’ interest. Hence, giving concern for bringing unity through respect should be on the premium.

Interviewer: You mentioned some points about federal language use controversies, especially about Oromos who resist it. In fact, there are also political parties like Medrek that argue for the use of the Oromo language as a federal working language along with Amharic. Would you express your view concerning this?

KI14: ... Perhaps, the Oromo language is an official language and a language of integration in Oromia region. Letters are written in Latin characters. To expand such practices to other regions, the language should be given as a school subject at lower levels; otherwise, it would remain in a restricted area. On the other hand, we cannot reject the status of the Amharic language because many people speak it as a first and second language. ...

Interviewer: Would it be possible if we request people to learn many languages, that is, Amharic, Oromo, and other local languages as school subjects?

KI14: If we make students learn many languages, there would be a situation where they spent all their times on language learning only, which is a burden for them. Nonetheless, regional, zonal, and another additional language, if there is, can be taught that, nonetheless, should be based on willingness. If it is based on interest, learning the language will be fruitful, whereas if by force, I believe, it would be problematic.

Key Informant 15 (KI15): Curriculum Expert and Researcher in the Amhara Region Education Bureau (KI15, 23/10/2012)

Interviewer: To commence with a general idea, how do you explain the current Ethiopian language policy?

KI15: The current Ethiopian language policy confirmed the rights of nations and nationalities to learn through their mother tongues. This practice has its own advantages. First, it has pedagogical advantage. Children learn in a better speed, when they learn through their mother tongues than through any other languages. The other thing is that it has psych-social advantage.

Interviewer: What do you mean by Psych-social advantage?

KI15: Psych-social advantage means, when children go to school for the first time or when children depart from their homes and interact with a new environment, they feel confident or relief if the medium of instruction is their mother tongue. It has this advantage. Besides, it has political advantage. How can I explain political advantage? (...) They become more interactive.

Interviewer: When we see the language policy in terms of politics, you know it encourages the use of several languages as media of various purposes. This might have impacts on national unity. What is your view regarding this?

KI15: Different nations and nationalities have their own languages. (...) Allowing them to use their languages helps them to appreciate the languages and live together.

Interviewer: Do you think that the use of many languages creates various challenges that obstruct national unity?

KI15: For me using various languages as media of instruction and mass communications cannot create any problem on national unity because there are many languages even within one *kebele*. Such *kebeles* are living through integration. Therefore, I do not believe that it could create a challenge on national unity.

Interviewer: What about on national development?

KI15: I do not believe that it could create a challenge on national unity as well as on national development.

Interviewer: Do you have any idea about federal language use controversies, about using Amharic as a federal working language?

KI15: Yes, there are people who say we should not use Amharic only.

Interviewer: Well, let us talk about it.

KI15: In our country, there are many nations and nationalities, and the nations and nationalities are multi-linguals. There are several languages. When we see it in terms of this, using Amharic only as a federal working language may have a certain limitation. Perhaps, it might exclude other languages.

Interviewer: Do you think that it will create any sort of problems?

KI15: Yes, it might have its own problems.

Interviewer: So what do you suggest as a solution to solve it?

KI15: There should be a common consensus to eliminate this. ... Others, other than Amharic speakers, at least the speakers of the major languages should be taken into account. There are very minority languages that are spoken in a limited area. It is impossible to include such languages. Nevertheless, the problem can be solved by using the languages that are spoken by majorities as federal working languages like Amharic.

(KI15, 23/10/2012)

Key Informant 16 (KI16): Language and Cultural Value Development Director of the Federal Government Culture and Tourism Bureau (KI16, 08/02/2013)

Interviewer: To commence with a general idea, how do you explain the current Ethiopian language policy?

KI16: ... There is no a written language policy. However, it does not mean there is no language policy at all. The big umbrella is the constitution that has indicated something about it. Under Article 5, it says that nations, nationalities, and peoples can develop their own languages, which is a big umbrella for developing their languages. ... Based on the constitutional right, nations, nationalities, and peoples are using their languages for education and work; even there are regions that have made their languages official languages. Thus, having developed their own policies, the regions are working independently to develop their languages. ...

Interviewer: Do you think the language policy or the use of many languages for multiple purposes has created opportunities that strengthen national unity?

KI16: In our country, more than 25 languages are nowadays used as media of instruction. There are also languages such as Tigrinya and Oromo that become working languages. ... The language policy makes people to speak their languages with confidence and develop them. This by itself is important to strengthen unity. ... People are using their languages and respecting them. Besides, when people who speak different languages come into contact, they use the common working language [Amharic]. The main thing for nations and nationalities is to respect their languages and other people's languages.

Interviewer: There is a view that says the use of many languages for multiple purposes might disintegrate. Do not you think that it has created various challenges that impede national unity?

KI16: It is difficult to think how a country can face disintegration. The main thing is there is unity; there are also differences – there is unity through diversity. For instance, there are other countries. If we take countries like Nigeria ... as instance, they use lots of languages more than us. (...) These countries use several languages, but their people live in unity. The other thing is there is a country that has one language, which lives in conflict and with several problems. We do not to go far in search of an example; Somalia,

our neighbor, is a peculiar example. Therefore, the very big issue is, the languages were in their place even in the past. Meaning, the languages that we are using currently were existing in Ethiopia. There are no new languages. However, the relevance of the languages should be increased. Presently, it is the stage of making the languages advantageous. We are saying their services should increase better than that of the earlier governments. However, it does not mean that the speakers of the languages should remain in disunity, live separately without any integration. ... There was a different situation before change: All nations and nationalities were suppressed and forced to use one language that in turn brought about different questions. The current use of languages for various purposes is a reply to one of the then questions. Language right was one of the big questions. ...

Interviewer: You have been raising some economic development related issues. Would you please explain the impact of using numerous languages as media of multiple purposes on national development?

KI16: It enhances development. The main thing is there is indigenous knowledge, our own. For instance, when we see the languages of Ethiopia, everyone has their own indigenous knowledge that are manifestations of their identities. For example, it could be knowledge of justice, herbal medicine, or land use. ... If we take Conso as a case in point, there is terracing. Each nation and nationality has its own indigenous knowledge like the Conso people. Such indigenous knowledge could face with the danger of elimination, as the existence of the languages become questionable. ... Thus, as languages develop, the indigenous knowledge of every nation and nationality that helps to bring economic development will develop. ... The other thing is ... Mother tongue itself is a tool. People understand anything using their mother tongues easily and quickly. Learning alphabets through ones mother tongue a language that students know and then to commence education is certainly better than learning another new language and learning alphabet from the beginning and then other subjects through it. Children communicate effectively with their teachers and understand the knowledge easily if they learn through their own languages. The languages also develop and science, technology, and other pieces of knowledge will be easily accessible to the society, if mother tongues are used in education. ... Besides, if we take the mass communications of our country,

there are local radio stations in every locality. People that are residing in villages and peripheries are becoming familiar with science and technology through those radios. It helps to make government policies easily accessible. Therefore, people are getting any governmental and local developmental activities through their mother tongues, through languages they understand easily. ...

Interviewer: Do you have any information about federal working language question?

KI16: Of course, questions related with the federal working language are raised. There are questions but the big umbrella is the constitution. Your [the interviewer's] question might contradict with my stand. I believe that what is stated in the constitution is very strong. ... When we see it in terms of country level, different nations and nationalities integrate through Amharic. Amharic has reached its own developmental stage owing to historical coincidence. Hence, for me, when I see it in terms of resources and other related things, many activities, including our stage of development, will come into question. Currently, if we have to make three or four languages as federal working languages, we need to work different activities such as making them suitable for technological concepts. There should be translators, translation, and other related works. There should be very vast tasks. For me, these activities will be somehow problematic. ... Therefore, we declared Amharic [only] as a federal working language. Nevertheless, since people are working on it practically, many of the Ethiopian languages are at a good stage. As other languages develop in regions, they will have the same value. Therefore, what the constitution says sounds good for me.

Key Informant 17 (KI17): Language Expert in the Oromia Region Education Bureau (KI17, 07/03/2013)

Interviewer: How do you explain the current Ethiopian language policy?

KI17: The language policy allows nations and nationalities to use their languages in administration and education. For example, in Oromia, people are using the Oromo language as a working language.

Interviewer: Do you think that allowing nations and nationalities to use their languages as working languages and as media of instruction, radio, and television has created opportunities that strengthen national unity?

KI17: ... The language policy confirmed the equality of all languages. It also confirmed the equality of nations and nationalities. ... These practices are important to strengthen nation unity.

Interviewer: Do you think that the use of several languages as media of various purposes has created challenges that impede national unity?

KI17: In this regard, (...) I do not think the use of many languages as media of various purposes can impede national unity. Rather, it facilitates national development. It could not be a hindrance for the social activities of the country.

Interviewer: Let us talk about the use of Amharic as a sole federal language. What is your view regarding this? Do you think it is appropriate?

KI17: Yes... For me, the use of Amharic as a federal working language is appropriate. The reason is that (...) for instance, it is possible to say Oromo has to be a federal working language. However, this could be possible only if all of the other regions [other than Oromia region] could speak the Oromo language. Presently, [people who live in] all regions know Amharic better than any other [second] language; hence, the use of Amharic as a federal working language is appropriate.

Interviewer: What about when we see it in the views of those who resist it? For, example, the Medrek political party says that the government should not use Amharic only. What is your view regarding this?

KI17: when we see it in the views they are saying so based on total population. ... Currently, out of the total population of Ethiopia, Oromo might be more than half of the

total population; opposition parties say, “Oromo should be a federal working language.” It could be possible through time, but presently Oromo could not be a federal working language. To Make Oromo a federal working language, first it should be offered as a subject in all regions. Currently, it is not given. This language is offered at school level in Oromia region only. Therefore, if we say it has to be a federal working language ... South or Benshangul, Afar, and so forth could not write, read, and speak Oromo, it is impossible to say, “It has to be a federal working language.” Nonetheless, for the future, if Oromo has to be a federal working language through time, first we should expand teaching the language at regional levels. It could be used after that; nonetheless, right now, it is completely impossible.

Key Informant 18 (KI18): Vice President of All Ethiopia Unity Party, All Ethiopia Unity Party (KI18, 18/03/2013)

Interviewer: To commence with a general question, how do you explain the current Ethiopian language policy?

KI18: Well, the language policy lacks transparency and concreteness. For instance, there are many languages in our country. ... However, a language policy cannot be a political instrument. It is a political instrument. If you force people to learn in a language that is not written, in a language that is not used for science and technology, that does not have vast cultural practices even though it is spoken. It is good if people use it for spoken purpose. ... Nonetheless, I believe, making a language a big political instrument is unnecessary.

Interviewer: As you mentioned it earlier, there are many languages in Ethiopia. The ruling party is using them as media of instruction, administration, and mass communications. Do you think the use of the languages for multiple purposes has created challenges for national unity?

KI18: The use of languages to run multiple purposes could create a big problem on national unity. However, the way we use the languages creates problems in education and knowledge. For instance, if we use one language as a medium of instruction where there are no books. ... Nonetheless, I believe that the use of languages [to run various activities] could not bring about a problem on national unity. We have to use them.

Interviewer: You are arguing for the language policy, can we say the language policy stand of All Ethiopia Unity Party is similar to the ruling party?

KI18: No, we have a different stand. The ruling party sees people that speak similar language as one community. ... Language is not a source of the general structures by which nations and nationalities are organized. ... We have a divergent view in this respect. For instance, there is a Sidama person who is one of the executive persons of All Ethiopia Unity Party. He speaks Sidama fluently, but he speaks Amharic with difficulties. There is another person who speaks Oromo. There is also a person with a very high political position who speaks Goffa, which is related with Wolaita, but does not speak

Amharic fluently. In respect of our program, our program says, “people’s language difference has no any problem.” They can use any language they want, whatever their mother tongues are. However, their languages should not be the end results around which everything revolves as the present government does. For example, regarding education, an Amharic speaker, who lives in Oromia, has to learn through the Amharic medium. ...

Interviewer: You said that there has to be one “national language.” Nevertheless, there are other political parties, for instance, Medrek says, read its manifesto, “We have to use more than one federal working language.” Hence, could not it create conflicts that can pose a problem on the unity of the country, if we say so?

KI18: I want to limit our contradiction with Medrek to language use only because our reasons regarding this issue are completely different. As I told you earlier, language is a means of communication. ... If we consider Amharic, it is spoken everywhere you go. If you go to Somali region, Amharic is spoken in the region. Somali is also spoken. In Oromia region, both Oromo and Amharic are spoken. There is no need to use any other option where there is Amharic that serves to integrate all people, which is a language that has developed through education for more than 600 years. By the way, we have many political differences with Medrek, leaving other political differences aside; let me tell you about what they say in relation with language use at federal level. Why did they choose two languages [Amharic and Oromo] as “national” languages where there are more than 70 languages in Ethiopia? ... Number of population itself is not enough. Amharic has been spoken in many places for a long time. More than 50 per cent of the population of Addis Ababa does not speak Oromo. There are Oromos who do not speak the Oromo language. Why do we see language in terms of blood relationship? For me, saying, “I am an Oromo” does not mean, “I speak the Oromo language;” saying, “I speak Amharic” does not mean, “I am an Amhara.” A language should be seen out of the structural arrangement of communities. Ethnicity is one thing, and language is another thing, an instrument. ... There should be one “national” language. We should have one language, which serves all members of the society as a medium of integration. Amharic has strong features that can link our country with other countries. For example, as you know it, Amharic has borrowed from Ge’ez many unique things like the alphabet [Ge’ez

characters] that are our own. How many countries do have such an alphabet? They are very few in number. English has the Latin alphabet. China has also its own alphabet. Likewise, we have the Fidel alphabet, which makes us unique from other African countries. This reality makes Amharic a very developed language. Amharic has its own writing style. Amharic has been used as medium of research, instruction, literature, art, and culture, and many people learnt through Amharic that makes it different from other languages. The present government also uses it as a medium to write policy documents as well as to administer the people. In so doing, the government calls it a “government language.” There is no a national language. ... Of course, I do not understand what a government language means because there is a national language everywhere you go. Otherwise (...) if people say there should not be a national language, it is forcing people not to speak Amharic while most of them know the language. Besides, resisting the existing reality would be regarded as mathematics of politics.

Key Informant 19 (KI19): State Minister of the Ministry of Education (KI19, 28/05/2013)

Interviewer: To commence with a general idea, how do you explain the current Ethiopian language policy?

KI19: The language policy in education is clearly stated. One of the nine (...) language and education is, one among the central points of the policy [constitution]. Therefore language (...) is identified as mother tongue and foreign languages. Therefore, as the policy clearly indicated, elementary level (...) elementary level, in our country elementary level is grades 1 to 8, children will learn in their mother tongues. Such a decision is made by regional governments. However, the policy clearly says the medium of instruction at secondary level, grades 9 to 12, should be English. ...

Interviewer: Do you think that all students who are dwelling in different parts of the country are provided with the same chance to learn in their mother tongues?

KI19: Well, it is stated in the constitution that all children should learn in their own language. In the constitution the use of language and culture is stated as human right. Thus, any person is allowed to use and develop his/her language, culture, and identity. ... Regardless of the size of their speakers, all languages have the chance to be used as media of instruction at the elementary level. ...

Interviewer: Do you think confirming the right of nations and nationalities to use their languages as media of instruction and other purposes has created opportunities that strengthen national unity?

KI19: ... Ethiopia is built by nations and nationalities. So, in Ethiopia, in a country built by nations and nationalities, the basic thing is respecting, respecting without transgressing the rules of the constitution, the question of rights. ... The struggle for disintegration in the previous regimes disappeared and people who work for disintegration are vanishing. People who believe that Ethiopia is a country where each individual lives with their rights respected are emerging. In these years, national love, living together, development, growth, and living in peace have come and continued. In contrast, 20 years ago, we were in times of war. We were in a process of fragmentation during the time when we were forced to assimilate to one language, to learn in one

language, culture. The country was returned from the peak of break up, managed to come out of the danger of disintegration, owing to the introduction of respecting human rights and the creation of national allegiance. ... The feeling of national love has been increasing. People started to understand Ethiopianness with reliance on each other, with trust among nations and nationalities, rather than with force. ...

Interviewer: What about when we see it in the perspectives of those who say, “The use of many languages will disintegrate the country?”

KI19: I have been talking about this. It has brought unity rather than disintegration. The reality is what I am talking about; it is not because some people say it disintegrates the country. What the reality shows us is that when you go to Somali region, people talk about Ethiopianness in the manner that those in central Ethiopia describes it. ... The policy encourages equal participation.

There is equal participation in administration. Religions are respected. ... What we see practically is not doubt or disintegration, but agreement, solidarity, development, working peacefully, and getting equal benefit in every corner of the country.

Interviewer: Do you know think that the use of mother tongues as media of instruction has created opportunities for national development?

KI12: Definitely it does. It takes time for a child to learn through a language that he/she does not know. Firstly, he/she has to learn the language. Secondly, he/she has to understand the language, but he/she cannot do this without learning the language. Therefore, we create two problems to the child. When the child learns through his/her mother tongue, language of his/her family, he/she needs to learn its science only when he/she comes to school. Therefore, he/she has passed through one thing. Hence, when he/she learns in an environment he/she is familiar with, he/she adds knowledge to his/her prior knowledge. ... Pedagogically, it also sounds good. Knowledge of language transfers from one to the other. These all have clearly an advantage.

Interviewer: The government of Ethiopia is using Amharic as a sole federal working language. Do you think all people accept it?

KI19: We do not use of only Amharic; we are using many languages.

Interviewer: I mean at federal level.

KI19: I understand your question. Every region is using its language.

Amharic is made federal working language because it is only one language that we can make a working language as 11 regions are expected to communicate through it. ... The Ethiopian people commented on the constitution of the country and endorsed the use of one language. Upon endorsement, one federal working language was required through which various actors can communicate. The one language that was agreed upon to be used by most of the people who ratified the constitution is Amharic. This question [the question of language use at federal level] must have been raised then to the people who decided to use it. Now, it is once decided. Therefore, everyone communicates in one language, in Amharic.

Key Informant 20 (KI20): History and Culture Expert in the Tigray Region Culture and Tourism Bureau (KI20, 19/09/2013)

Interviewer: Would you express your views regarding language choice in Ethiopia?

KI20: It is good. Language choice has positive and negative impacts. ... There will not be social cohesion; there will not be national unity, if several languages are used as media of multiple purposes. People say it [the use of several languages as media of multiple purposes] increases cost. If you realize it, publishing one chemistry book in education, say grade eight book, costs more than 300 000 Birr. At national level, if we publish one book its cost is affordable. Currently, there are more than 80 languages; at least there are more than 30 languages if we consider languages that are in use, which become causes for the increment of the cost. Hence, using numerous languages has its own challenges. However, the main thing is the matter of management. It is the matter of managing the existing languages. ... It is about managing the existing reality properly. It would be useful for unity if we manage it. (...) If people accept the use of several languages, it would be crucial for national unity and national development.

On the contrary, federal countries use different language policies. If we take South Africa as an example, [11] languages are federal working languages. In Ethiopia, selecting one language from indigenous languages is the practice. Other countries use what we call neutral language by taking a foreign language that neutralizes all; for instance, Nigeria uses [English] as a working language. In Ethiopia, using one local language as a federal working language itself creates inequalities among languages. We say all languages are equal, while there is inequality practically. For the time being making Amharic a federal working language is reasonable. However, as time goes, linguistic and ethnic group inequalities and linguistic competitions are becoming apparent, and hence English, which is a neutral language, that could alleviate the inequalities and competitions between or among the indigenous languages should be used as a federal working language. Hence, along with Amharic, another language, a foreign one, rather than an indigenous language that helps to neutralize the competition that has been created at federal level has to be solved slowly by using a language that neutralizes all of us, without being involved in competition. ... This is because there are principles for choosing a language. As you

know, there is no a nation that fulfills 50 plus one. All people are minorities; this country is a country of minorities. In a country of minorities, two options are considered in selecting a language. Making all languages federal working ...which is impossible. Creating a situation to make English a federal working language is thus the best option. ... In Ethiopia, English is the medium of instruction. Therefore, I believe that creating a situation to make English a federal working language, for the time being along with Amharic, is the best method. ...

The use of Amharic as a federal working language has created inequalities in federal institutions because more than 50 per cent of the permanent employees are Amharas. ... In the near past, in the present government's administration, it was observed that the ethnicity of more than 50 per cent of the permanent employees of the federal government were Amharas, and one of the factors for this was found to be language use. There are people that we call the peripheries like Somalis that we usually push them out due to language. In other words, Amharic is pushing out people like the Somalis and Afars that do not have any close contact with other Ethiopians. Therefore, if we want to bring those people closer, the main task would be to bring national unity. If we bring peace, if we bring development and democracy, other people would join us; other Somalis, other than the Somalis who are living with us would join Ethiopia. If we are to unite and empower others, another language that empowers them has to be used. Presently, practically Amharic is not empowering other people. Rather, it is magnifying the previously prevailing inequitable advantages. The government should act if there is pressure. Another problem will be created, if another local language is to be chosen. Thus, there should be a foreign language to empower all Ethiopian people for it is capable of uniting, bringing all people to the federal system. ... When I see it from this perspective, I think using English is proper.

Appendix G: Extracted Written Language Policy Texts

The following language policy statements were extracted from the 1995 constitution (the first two policy statements), the 1994 education and training policy (3, 4, 5, and 6), and the 2002 education and training policy and its implementation (the last language policy statement):

1. All Ethiopian languages shall enjoy equal state recognition.
2. Amharic shall be the working language of the Federal Government.

3. Cognizant of the pedagogical advantage of the child in learning in mother tongue and the rights of nationalities to promote the use of their languages, primary education will be given in nationality languages.
4. Making the necessary preparation, nations and nationalities can either learn in their own language or can choose from among those selected on the basis of national and countrywide distribution.
5. Amharic shall be taught as a language of wider communication.
6. Students can choose and learn at least one nationality language ...

7. Due to certain historical circumstance, the language that, in content and distribution, can be of great service to the country as a common national language is Amharic.

Appendix H: Ethnic-Group Populations in Ethiopia

Ethnic Group	Population	Ethnic Group	Population	Ethnic Group	Population
Afar	1 276 867	Gedicho	5 491	Mossiye	19 628
Agew-Awi	636 415	Gidole	41 107	Mursi	7 483
Agew-Hamyra	268 172	Goffa	362 241	Murle	1 453
Amhara	19 878 199	Gumuz	181 541	Nao	9 796
Anyiwak	89 051	Gurage	1 859 831	Nuwer	147 759
Argoba	140 820	Hadiya	1 269 382	Nyangatom	25 238
Ari	289 835	Alabba	232 620	Oromo	25 363 756
Arborie	7 283	Hamer	46 534	Oida	45 120
Bacha	2 630	Hareri	31 722	Qebena	52 736
Basketo	78 265	Irob	33 407	Qechem	2 586
Bench	352 194	Kefficho	865 131	Qewama	289
Berta	208 759	Kembata	627 565	Shekecho	77 561
Bodi	6 984	Konta	83 626	Sheko	37 576
Brayle	5 002	Komo	9 096	Shinasha	62 298
Burji	71 758	Konso	250 535	Sidama	2,951 889
Bena	27 018	Kore	156 884	Silte	934 891
Chara	13 214	Koyego	1 938	Somali	4 586 876
Dasenech	48 072	Kunama	4 864	Surma	27 886
Dawuro	537 954	Karo	1 488	She	319
Debase	68 598	Kusumie	9 213	Tigraian	4 486 513
Derashe	30 123	Malie	97 925	Tembaro	98 589
Dime	873	Mao	46 026	Tsemay	20 045
Dizi	34 680	Mareko	64 272	Upo	1 586
Donga	35 193	Mashola	10 410	Wolaita	1 676 128
Fedashe	4 050	Mere	14 200	Werji	12 847
Gamo	1 104 360	Me'enite	150 221	Yem	159 923
Gebato	1 497	Messengo	10 871	Zeyese	17 889
Gedeo	975 506	Mejenger	21 951	Zelmam	2 703

Source: The 2007 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia, pp. 73-74

Appendix I: Ethnic-Group Populations (100 000 +) by Government Employees

Ethnic Group	Population	Percent	Federal Government Permanent Employees	Percent	Addis Ababa City Permanent Employees	Percent
Oromo	25 363 756	34.39	10 103	17.75	5 695	16.78
Amhara	19 878 199	26.95	28 539	50.15	15 643	46.10
Somali	4 586 876	6.22	54	.09	2	.01
Tigraian	4 486 513	6.08	4 951	8.70	3 410	10.05
Sidama	2 951 889	4.00	223	0.39	43	.13
Gurage	1 859 831	2.52	2 425	4.26	2 043	6.02
Wolaita	1 676 128	2.27	779	1.37	264	0.78
Afar	1 276 867	1.73	54	.09	1	.00
Hadya	1 269 382	1.72	243	0.43	155	0.46
Gamo	1 104 360	1.50	382	0.67	91	0.27
Gedeo	975 506	1.32	69	.12	2	.01
Silte	934 891	1.27	120	0.21	213	0.68
Agew	904 587	1.23	67	.09	30	.10
Keffa	865 131	1.17	141	0.25	75	0.22
Kembata	627 565	0.85	310	0.54	141	0.42
Dawuro	537 954	0.73	137	0.24	4	.01
Goffa	362 241	0.49	28	.05	0	.00
Bench	352 194	0.48	4	.01	0	.00
Arri	289 835	0.39	9	.02	0	.00
Konso	250 535	0.34	8	.01	1	.00
Alabba	232 620	0.32	15	.03	0	.00
Berta	208 759	0.28	0	0	3	.01
Gumuz	181 541	0.25	6	.01	0	.00
Yem	159 923	0.22	78	.14	1	.00
Kore	156 884	0.21	3	.01	0	.00
Me'enic	150 221	0.20	0	.00	0	.00
Nuwer	147 759	0.20	1	.00	0	.00
Argoba	140 820	.19	15	.03	0	.00
Others	1 818 165	2.47	455	0.80	119	0.35
Not Stated	----	----	7 692	13.52	5 997	17.67
Total	73 750 932	100.00	56 911	100	33 933	100.00

Sources: The 2007 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia, pp.73-74; FCSA (2008, pp. 38 and 110)

Appendix J: Ethiopic/Geez Characters

TABLE 1. *The Amharic characters (Fidel)*

Basic character	Order							Labialized				
	1st ε	2nd u	3rd i	4th a	5th e	6th i	7th o	-we	-wi	-wa	-we	-wi
h	ሀ	ሁ	ሂ	ሃ	ሄ	ህ	ሆ					
l	ለ	ሉ	ሊ	ላ	ሌ	ል	ሎ			ሊ		
h	ሐ	ሑ	ሒ	ሓ	ሔ	ሕ	ሖ					
m	መ	ሙ	ሚ	ማ	ሜ	ሞ	ሟ			ሚ		
s	ሠ	ሡ	ሢ	ሣ	ሤ	ሥ	ሦ			ሢ		
r	ረ	ሩ	ሪ	ራ	ራ	ሮ	ሮ			ሪ		
s	ሰ	ሱ	ሲ	ሳ	ሴ	ሶ	ሰ			ሲ		
š	ሸ	ሹ	ሺ	ሻ	ሼ	ሽ	ሾ			ሺ		
k'	ቀ	ቁ	ቂ	ቃ	ቄ	ቅ	ቆ	ቁ	ቁ	ቁ	ቁ	ቁ
b	በ	ቡ	ቢ	ባ	ቤ	ብ	ቦ			ቢ		
t	ተ	ቱ	ቲ	ታ	ቴ	ት	ቶ			ቲ		
c	ቸ	ቹ	ቺ	ቻ	ቼ	ች	ቸ			ቺ		
h	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ
n	ነ	ነ	ነ	ነ	ነ	ነ	ነ			ነ		
h	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ			ከ		
w	ወ	ወ	ወ	ወ	ወ	ወ	ወ					
(a)	ዐ	ዐ	ዐ	ዐ	ዐ	ዐ	ዐ			ዐ		
z	ዘ	ዘ	ዘ	ዘ	ዘ	ዘ	ዘ			ዘ		
ž	ዠ	ዠ	ዠ	ዠ	ዠ	ዠ	ዠ			ዠ		
y	የ	የ	የ	የ	የ	የ	የ			የ		
d	ደ	ደ	ደ	ደ	ደ	ደ	ደ			ደ		
j	ገ	ገ	ገ	ገ	ገ	ገ	ገ	ገ	ገ	ገ	ገ	ገ
g	ገ	ገ	ገ	ገ	ገ	ገ	ገ			ገ		
t'	ጠ	ጠ	ጠ	ጠ	ጠ	ጠ	ጠ			ጠ		
c'	ጨ	ጨ	ጨ	ጨ	ጨ	ጨ	ጨ			ጨ		
p'	ጰ	ጰ	ጰ	ጰ	ጰ	ጰ	ጰ			ጰ		
s'	ጸ	ጸ	ጸ	ጸ	ጸ	ጸ	ጸ			ጸ		
s'	ፀ	ፀ	ፀ	ፀ	ፀ	ፀ	ፀ			ፀ		
f	ፈ	ፈ	ፈ	ፈ	ፈ	ፈ	ፈ			ፈ		
p	ፐ	ፐ	ፐ	ፐ	ፐ	ፐ	ፐ			ፐ		

Punctuation marks				Numerals						
:	word/divider	?	question mark (?)	1	፩	6	፮	20	፳	:
÷	comma (,)	!	exclamation point (!)	2	፪	7	፫	30	፺	:
;	semi-colon (;)	“ ”	quotes (“ ”)	3	፬	8	፬	40	፼	:
::	end of a sentence	()	parentheses ()	4	፭	9	፭	50	፽	:
!	old form of question mark, rare (?)			5	፮	10	፯	60	፿	1,0

Source: Bender et al. (1976)

Appendix K: Afaan Oromo/Oromo Alphabet/Qube Afaan Oromo

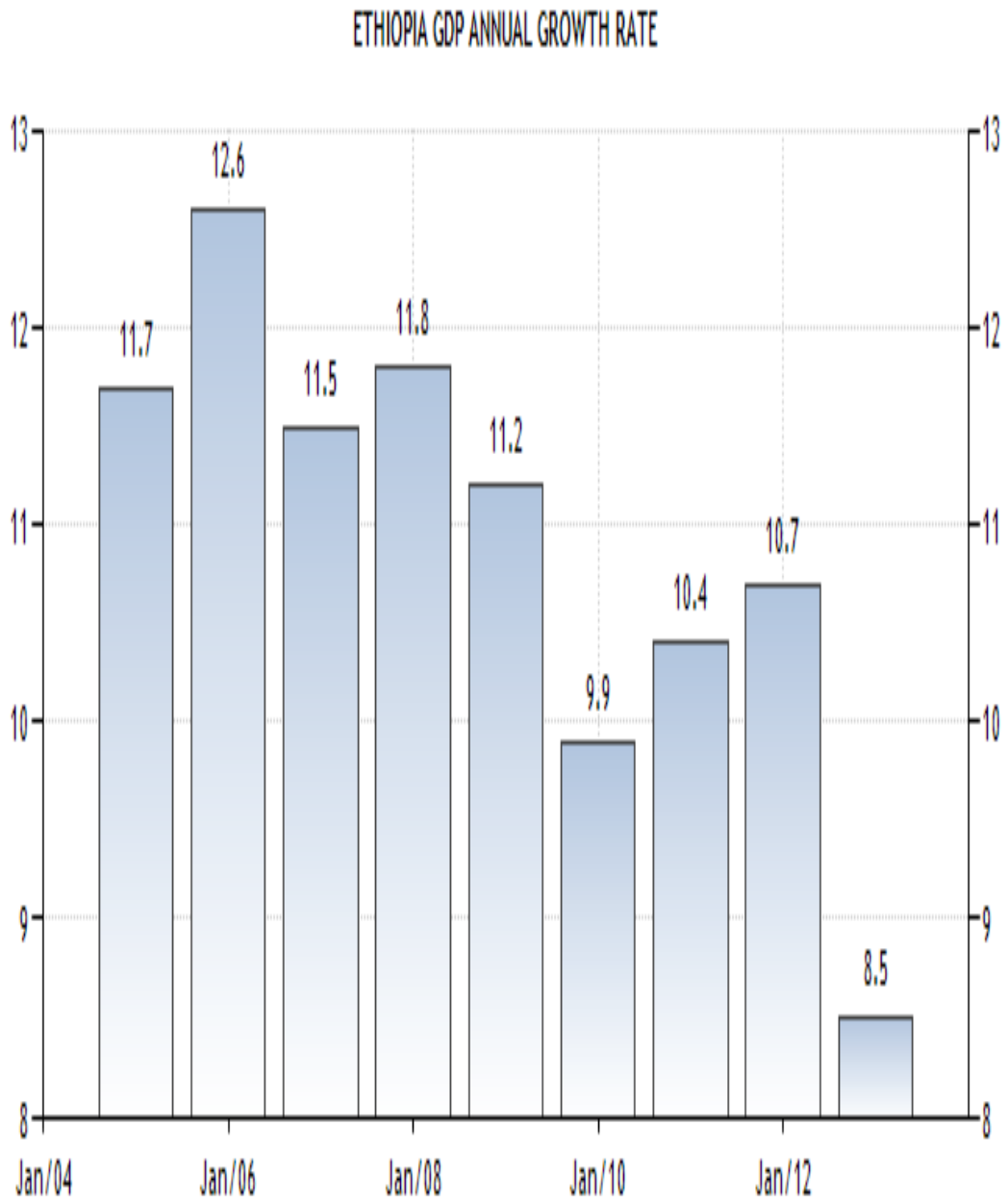
Afaan Oromo alphabet (Qube Afaan Oromo)

A a	B b	C c	CH ch	D d	DH dh	E e	F f	G g	H h	I i
[a]	[b]	[c]	[ç]	[d]	[ð]	[e]	[f]	[g]	[h]	[i]
J j	K k	L l	M m	N n	NY ny	O o	P p	PH ph	Q q	R r
[dʒ]	[k]	[l]	[m]	[n]	[ɲ]	[o]	[p]	[pʰ]	[kʰ]	[r]
S s	SH sh	T t	U u	V v	W w	X x	Y y	Z z		
[s]	[ʃ]	[t]	[u]	[v]	[w]	[x]	[j]	[z]		

Source: www.sas.upenn.edu/African_Studies/Hornet/Afaan_Oromo_19777.html

(in Dereje, 2010, p.263)

Appendix L: Gross Domestic Product Annual Growth Rate of Ethiopia (2005-2013)



SOURCE: WWW.TRADINGECONOMICS.COM | NATIONAL BANK OF ETHIOPIA

Source: National Bank of Ethiopia (2013, <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/ethiopia/gdp-growth-annual>)