Language Policy and Identity in a Diverse Society:

The Impact of Language of Instruction on Social Group Identity.
A Comparative Case Study from Ethiopia

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Master of Philosophy in
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Abstract

This study addresses the impacts of the Ethiopian policy on educational language of instruction on social identity processes of two ethnic groups in Ethiopia. The aim of the study is to identify the interplay between socio-political changes in a diverse society, language planning and group identity formation.

The study is placed within the conflict perspective of society and uses Bourdieu's concepts of power relations and social reproduction in education. Furthermore, language planning is not only seen as a communicative and pedagogical matter but also as a political affair, which is apparent in the concept of 'identity planning'. As a basis for the operationalisation of group identity, Tajfel's Social Identity Theory and researchers using his initial theory have been employed.

The design used is a comparative case study. Within one national language policy two ethnic groups have been studied and compared. The two groups are the Gumuz and the Shinasha from Benishangul Gumuz Regional State. These two groups were chosen because they, on the one hand, live in the same area and share certain historical similarities, but on the other hand, their social conditions differ. The Shinasha, although having experienced displacement and assimilation by other ethnic groups, have a quite strong position in society, whereas the Gumuz, despite being much more numerous, remain marginalised after centuries of domination by other ethnic groups.

The results from the study shows the differences in impact of the policy on the social identity of these two groups, although both report an increased value and pride in their language and see the policy as a means to achieve more desirable characteristics of their own group. The Shinasha want to use the policy to bring back their traditional culture and language which is on the brink of being lost. They therefore aim at becoming more distinct from other groups. The Gumuz see the policy as a means to become more similar and thus more equal to other groups by changing some of the group characteristics that are perceived as negative or inferior.

These micro-level processes are linked to the emergence of the language policy and the strong political drive behind its rationales, aims and also its implementation. The study finally concludes that it is not only the changed socio-political environment in Ethiopia that has led to this specific language policy which has influenced social identity, but the changes in different ethnic group's identity are likely to have an impact on the socio-political environment, which again might lead to changes in language planning. Thus, the relationship between these factors is assumed to be circular.

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Abbreviations

ADEA	Association for the Development of Education in Africa
BGRS	Benishangul Gumuz Regional State
BPLM	Benishangul People's Liberation Movement
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
L1	Language 1 / first language
LOI	Language of instruction
MOE	Ministry of Education
MT	Mother tongue
MTI	Mother tongue instruction
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
RGBG	Regional Government of Benishangul Gumuz
SNNPR	Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's Region
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics
TG	Transitional Government
TPLF	Tigray People's Liberation Front

1- INTRODUCTION

The world today is becoming increasingly multicultural and multilingual and rapid changes are taking place. There are different ways to handle this social change of ethnic and linguistic diversity, and education is a domain that often is used for dealing with these issues in a given country. Educational language of instruction (LOI) thus becomes a crucial factor closely related to the chosen model for diversity management (Ferguson, 2006; Garcia, 2012; Inglis, 2008). Therefore, LOI is not only a pedagogical choice, as many educationalists and also politicians want to represent it, but more so it is a political choice (Cooper, 1989; Garcia, 2012; Inglis, 2008).

Among the factors that make this choice political is the issue of identity that lies latent within language, and the power relations that exist between different groups and their languages (Alidou, 2009; Brock-Utne, 2001; Cummins, 1996, 2009; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995). Language planning can thus equally serve as 'identity planning' (Pool, 1979). In order to create a certain group identity, different ethnic and linguistic groups engage in processes of social identity formation where language can be an important factor. Identity here is understood as emotional implications of being a member of a certain social *group*, i.e. identity is seen as a collective phenomenon, not individual (Tajfel, 1974).

This study will be concerned with how social and political change in the incredibly diverse country of Ethiopia has formed a certain policy on LOI and how this affects social identity of two ethnic groups in comparison: the Gumuz and the Shinasha. These two ethnic groups live side by side in the same municipalities and towns in Metekkel Zone in Benishangul Gumuz Regional State (BGRS). They share some historical features and their languages were developed and introduced in school at the same time, with the same implementation strategies, under the same local and regional authorities. However, there are significant differences, especially considering the integration of the two groups into society, their social status and level of marginalisation.

This makes it possible to look at the interrelated issues of socio-political changes in a diverse society, language policy and group identity formation in one country with two contrasting examples. The thesis will therefore be able to provide an overview over macro political movements as well as an in-depth investigation about social identity processes on the local level.

1.1. Background

There are 6800 languages spoken in the world today. More than 50% of these are at risk for becoming extinct over the next 100 years and 95% of them are spoken by only 5% of the world's population (Hornberger, 2008). A huge body of recent international research shows the advantages for children to learn in their mother tongue (MT) (Association for the Development of Education in Africa [ADEA], 2001; Alidou, Boly, Brock-Utne, Diallo, Heugh, & Wolff, 2006; Brock-Utne, 2001; Echeverria, 2003; Jiménez, 2000; Marsh, Hau & Kong, 2002; Mekonnen, 2009; Mohanty, Mishra, Reddy & Ramesh, 2009; UNESCO, 2010; Wright & Taylor, 1995). The main rationale here is that students learn better, faster and more actively when they understand the language in which the content is being presented. In addition, mother tongue instruction (MTI) has been found to be related to positive ethnic identity. Despite this evidence, over 50% of the world's countries are officially monolingual and not even 500 languages are used in education (Hornberger, 2008).

Acknowledging diversity in society and education may be necessary in order to create national unity and social cohesion (Adeno, 2001; Inglis, 2008; Parekh, 2006). Therefore, to acknowledge different people's languages by introducing these in education will help in achieving a fairer and more inclusive society (Brock-Utne, 2001; Cummins, 1996; Inglis, 2008; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009; Watson, 2007; Wolff, 2006). Power difference between the elite and the mass, or the majority and the minority, in a society are diminished by acknowledging minority languages (ibid). Furthermore, schools play a significant role when it comes to language revival and revitalisation (Benton, 1986; Hornberger, 2008; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). In contrast, several researchers (Adeno, 2001; Baker, 1998; Edwards, 2010; Inglis, 2008) also acknowledge that the introduction of vernacular languages can act as a source for divisions and inequality.

Ethiopia has over 80 different ethnic groups and languages (Lewis, Simons & Fennig, 2013). It is one of the poorest countries in the world and struggles with expanding access to education and educational quality. Between 50 and 70 % of the population is illiterate and almost half of all Ethiopian children do not attend school (Lasonen, Kemppainen & Raheem, 2005). However, after the change of government in 1991, the country has experienced considerable progress in the field of education. Before this, only Amharic was the LOI in school and the official language of the country. The dominance of Amharic has its roots in the state-building process and was imposed on the multiethnic state in an attempt to achieve national cohesion (Alem, 2004; Cooper, 1989; Yonatan, 2010). However, the education and training policy from 1994 has encouraged the implementation of minority languages as LOI, and so far over 20 languages have achieved this. This shows that "even

under resource-poor conditions, [...] it is possible to provide bilingual and multilingual education in Africa" (Heugh, 2009, p. 166).

Ethnicity and language are historically very central in the Ethiopian context. The country today works with a federal system of governance that divides Ethiopia into eleven regional states which boundaries run along ethno-linguistic lines (see map in appendix 1). These regions in some cases even bear the name of the majority ethnic group. There are three *official* multi-ethnic regions and two city states. The country is highly decentralised, not only to the regional level, but even further down to the sub-divisions called zone, woreda and kebele that also have a say in the choice of LOI.

Therefore, language and identity are important issues when discussing decentralisation, especially in education. Nevertheless, the issues are quite complex as the terms ethnicity, language and identity do not always appear to overlap (Abbink, 1997; Cohen, 2000b; Paul, 2000; Yonatan, 2010). Although this system of governance is designed to grant more local autonomy and ethnic self-determination (FDRE, 1994a), some people fear that the "ethnicization" (Abbink, 1997, p. 174) together with the high degree of decentralisation, could endanger national cohesion and unity (Aalen, 2002; Abbink, 1997; Berhanu, 2007; Teshome, 1999).

Benishangul Gumuz Regional State (BGRS), one of these multiethnic regions, is a quite small region (slightly more than 50,000 km^2) located in the west, on the border to Sudan. It is considered one of the weakest and less developed regions (Abbink, 2012a; Young, 1999). At present, five ethnic groups count as being indigenous in this region: Gumuz, Shinasha, Berta, Komo and Mao. Five years ago the first three languages were introduced as LOI in school. The regional administration and the language communities had managed to develop orthography and school materials and train teacher in these languages. Today there are 21 pilot schools out of 385 primary schools in the region that teach in MT from grade 1 to 4, i.e. primary education first cycle. Most other schools use Amharic. In the second cycle (grades 5-8) all schools use English as LOI, the MTI schools included. Education within the region can be characterised by low achievement but comparatively high enrolment (Heugh, Benson, Berhanu & Mekonnen, 2007; Heugh, 2009; Ministry of Education [MOE], 2002a). Evaluations of the language policy have mostly shown better student achievement both for the country as a whole (Heugh et al., 2007) and regarding BGRS in particular (Summer Institute of Linguistics [SIL], 2011).

In 2009, when I first arrived in Ethiopia, its incredible diversity fascinated me. As I always have been interested in language, and especially LOI, I started wondering how so diverse a country could

handle this issue. After some time it appeared that the more interesting issue might not be the educational benefits of MTI, as MT mostly seems to be favourable beyond any other language, but rather the political, societal and psychological aspects of the issue. The notion of identity therefore became a starting point for approaching the dynamics within the Ethiopian language policy.

1.2. Purpose and Justification

The purpose of this study is to investigate the impact of the dramatic socio-political changes that have taken place in Ethiopia - and have led to a new policy on LOI - on social identity for two ethnic groups. The central goal of this study is therefore to understand the dynamics between an ethnically diverse and changing society, language policy, and processes of social identity formation. Thus, there are two specific purposes:

- To investigate how the socio-political changes in Ethiopia have led to the current policy on language of instruction

- To investigate how the policy on language of instruction impacts on processes of social identity formation of two different ethnic groups

To sketch out general developments in the Ethiopian society and how the language policy emerged is a precondition for understanding local developments concerning how people in this diverse society cope with the language policy. In order to provide an example on how *one* policy on LOI can be related to different outcomes, two ethnic groups have been selected; the Gumuz and the Shinasha. The Gumuz are an ethnic group that has experienced displacement, assimilation and slavery mainly by ethnic groups from the highlands for the last couple of centuries. The Shinasha are today a very small group that once was part of a big kingdom broken apart by assimilation and war. The two groups are interesting in a comparison because of their historical similarities, as well as their striking differences. Today the 'remaining' Shinasha seem to have a quite strong position in society, comparable to bigger, 'superior' groups, whereas the Gumuz largely have remained marginalised. Consequently it is expected that the two groups will vary in how they use the policy for purposes of social identity. To present two contrasting cases within the same social context will provide a platform to examine how a policy can be used as means for different ends.

Finally, the national and local processes from this study will inform the general investigation on the relationship between a diverse and changing society, language planning and identity. It is expected that the results from the Ethiopian case will provide a possibility to draw some wider conclusions that allows the thesis to discuss these issues in general.

1.3. Research Questions

Overarching research question:

What is the impact of policy on language of instruction on a diverse society?

This overarching research question provides opportunity to look beyond local and national circumstances and speak to general issues concerning language and identity. The answer to this question will form the conclusion of the thesis, based on the investigation of the two main research questions.

Research question 1:

What has been the impact of socio-political changes on policy formation regarding language of instruction?

   a. *How did the current policy on language of instruction emerge out of the context of the Ethiopian political situation?*

   b. *What are the rationales and aims of the policy and how is it being implemented in Beni-shangul Gumuz Regional State?*

This research question represents the backdrop of the policy and will receive somewhat less focus. It will act as a basis for understanding the dynamics in Ethiopian politics and language planning before going in depth into two ethnic groups. With regards to the implementation, the interest will be mainly on the processes behind it rather than technical details.

Research question 2:

What is the impact of the policy on language of instruction for the changes in the Gumuz and Shinasha social group identity?

The investigation of this question will be the main part of the study and represent the local dynamics, especially concerning social group identity within a changing society. It is also here that there will be a comparison between the two ethnic groups in order to see similarities or differences in their response and use of language policy for various ends.

1.4. Methodology

This is a qualitative study that has four schools in three woredas in Metekkel Zone of BGRS as research sites. Interviews with 8 national policy makers/ regional and woreda education officers were done, and further interviews with 22 teachers / principals and 27 parents and community members/ elders. In total this thesis uses data from 59 informants assigned to 29 interviews and 7 focus groups. In addition there were two school observations and several informal conversations. Sampling methods used were purposive and, to some extent, convenience sampling. The data was transcribed and

coded inductively. National education policy documents were also reviewed and the research data was supplemented with the analysis of primary and secondary literature.

1.5. Significance of the Study

This study is an example of how language policy can affect a diverse society. It shows how one single policy within one region and within the same local communities can be interpreted differently, and how people with varying ethnic background and cultural history use the policy to achieve different ends. It is an investigation into a geographical area which has received very little attention in international and even national research and it thus discovers issues not previously recorded. Nevertheless, the primary aim of this study is not to give policy recommendations for the Ethiopian government, although some suggestions may be given. Rather, it will contribute to the understanding on how people perceive the policy on LOI and how this is linked to socio-political changes and social group identity processes. Therefore, its aims are rather scientific and theoretical.

1.6. Study Scope and Limitations

This study will look at the policy on LOI in Ethiopia, and where relevant, consider the wider political background. Therefore, it does not claim to give a full picture of the details within Ethiopian politics. Also, it is mainly focussed on BGRS and here only the two groups Gumuz and Shinasha. I do also not claim to give a thorough description of the respective languages and cultures as well as all the social processes that happen within these two groups. The scope of the study is limited to LOI in school, and where necessary it will include some cultural, societal and ethnic issues.

1.7. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. *Chapter 1* presents some background information about the issues under investigation as well as the purpose of the study along with its research questions. *Chapter 2* is a synopsis of literature that is concerned with central topics in this thesis and *chapter 3* gives some key theoretical concepts which form a framework in order to understand the emerging data. *Chapter 4* outlines the strategy, design and methods used to obtain and make sense of the data, along with its justifications. *Chapter 5* serves the purpose of introducing Ethiopia and its history and politics in addition to giving results concerning research question 1a. *Chapter 6* will then go on with presenting the remaining results collected in the field and in documents. *Chapter 7* will finally summarise the thesis by answering the research questions and discussing some central themes that emerged from the study as well as presenting the conclusion of the thesis.

2- LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will review literature on various topics related to the study in order to give the reader an idea about the issues to be discussed in the thesis. Furthermore it will show which issues have been researched and where there is need for more investigation. The chapter aims at showing empirical studies as well as theoretical literature. Thus, as the study touches upon a very broad number of issues, it was not possible to review all literature available on the topics. Rather, the sources which were most relevant for this particular study were chosen.

The chapter starts out with 'big' issues concerning how to handle multilingualism in a diverse society. As these issues are closely related to language and identity, this represents the next topic, showing how language planning is more than a technical task, but rather related to politics, power struggles and so-called 'identity planning'. Lastly, language in education will be discussed by first reviewing different bilingual models and then going on to discuss the effects of LOI for identity and empowerment. Finally, empirical studies concerning this relationship will be reviewed.

2.1. Multilingualism and Diversity

Many authors who write on diversity agree that there is an inherent tension between unity and diversity. Adeno (2001) for example asks the question "how should the state go about simultaneously cultivating linguistic diversity and interethnic solidarity?" (Adeno, 2001, p. 723; cp. Inglis, 2008). National unity is often presented as an argument for not recognising other languages than one single official language, particularly in newly established countries with fragile national bonds (Baker, 1998; Heugh, 2009; Inglis, 2008). This tension between the local and the national forces seem to be especially visible in federal and highly decentralised countries (Bakke & Wibbels, 2006; Bird, Vaillancourt & Roy-César, 2009). Furthermore, some centralists use the argument of economic growth to advocate monolingualism because this would improve efficiency (Adeno, 2001). However, to advocate monolingualism in a diverse country is not considered a reasonable option by most scholars (Adeno, 2001; Baker, 1998; Edwards, 2010; Inglis; 2008; Parekh, 2006).

There are different ways a country can respond to diversity. Most theorists prefer practices of multiculturalism, pluralism and recognition over models of assimilation or segregation (Adeno, 2001; Inglis, 2008; Parekh, 2006; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995). However, there does not seem to be one single answer to the question on how to achieve appreciation of different identities (multiculturalism) without sacrificing too much social cohesion. Education is crucial within a country's plan-

ning for diversity as it is linked to the chosen model of diversity management. Education *can* play a positive role, but this is not a straight forward matter (Green, Preston & Sabates, 2003; Inglis, 2008).

Parekh (2006) expresses the fear that the 'millet model' (pluralism) could erode society into different self-governed communities without mutual interaction, unity and cohesion. Literature from the USA suggests that diversity and social cohesion have a negative correlation, so more diversity within a society will lead to less social cohesion (Hooghe, Reeskens & Stolle, 2007). However, in their studies on Europe, Hooghe et al. (2007) did not find similar evidence, but rather the opposite. Policy responses to diversity, such as voting rights for immigrants, had a considerable effect on social cohesion, measured in mutual trust, and "it was not confirmed that rising ethnic diversity [...] had any significant detrimental effect on social cohesion. On the contrary, the higher the share of foreigners, the less ethnocentrism and the more trust we find in European societies, although not significantly" (Hooghe, et al., 2007, p. 17).

In his paper, Adeno (2001) concludes that it is not linguistic diversity that leads to conflict, but rather the dominance over certain linguistic groups that leads to disunity.

> The choice, therefore, is not between national unity on the one hand and the acknowledgment and affirmation of linguistic differences on the other hand. Rather, the issue is what institutional structures would enable us to strengthen national unity while affirming and cultivating linguistic diversity". (Adeno, 2001, p. 725-726)

Similarly, Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1995) also come to the conclusion that not giving people their linguistic rights, and to deny diversity leads to more conflict than diversity itself. This view is supported by Bamgbose (1994, in Ferguson, 2006 p. 4) who asserts that the belief in one language as a unifying and force leading to social cohesion within a multiethnic and multilingual society is flawed. It has advantages to give minorities their language instead of trying to build national unity around one language because this would undermine minority group's trust to the government and would lead to loss of their language and culture. This brings the discussion over to the issue of identity related to language.

2.2. Language and Identity in Society

Throughout the reviewed literature, language is mostly not only seen as a tool for communication, but much more a carrier of meanings in society, such as social class or ethnicity (Ager, 2001; Fishman, 1989). Also Heller (2006) asserts that language is much more than a neutral utensil, but languages have different connotations for different people, and it is closely related to identity: "It is through language that a person negotiates a sense of self within and across different sites at different

points in time" (Heller, 1987, in Norton Peirce, 1995, p. 13). So the notion of language cannot be overlooked by today's diverse and multiethnic countries as well as the international society because of the identity issue (Adeno, 2001; Edwards, 2010; Watson, 2007, among others).

There is however a discussion on whether language and identity really are so intertwined that the former needs to be promoted in order to preserve the latter. In a study from the Philippines, Smolicz and Nical (1997) found that although English and Filipino dominated in school and vernacular languages were not taught, students showed trilingual usage and felt attached to their MT. Also Mohanty (1995, in Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009) found that culture and identity of the Konds in India survive without maintaining the language. In addition there is the argument that most people are bi- or multilingual without this affecting their identity (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009).

Edwards (2010) actually critically asks whether there are good arguments for maintaining linguistic diversity just for the sake of it, and he comes to the conclusion that there indeed are, but…

> … This is not because [these matters] focus most directly or exclusively upon language, [but] because they touch essentially upon *identity* – who we think we are, who others think we are, who we wish to be, and so on. And when we consider language in this way, as a marker of identity and a guide to its understanding, we immediately realise the special attention that ought to be given to 'small' or minority settings. (Edwards, 2010, p. 14)

Similarly to Edwards (2010) who advocates support for marginalised languages because of identity, Skutnabb-Kangas (2009) provides numerous counterarguments to these so-called 'myth-makers' who claim that indigenous people don't want or need their language for identity reasons.

2.2.1. Language Planning

The term 'language engineering' first appeared in 1950 and was later called 'language planning' by Cooper (1989). Since that time vast research has been done on this issue. According to Cooper (1989) language planning is mostly done by the national government, but one should not exclude language planning from the grassroots level. The outcome of language planning is often a specific language policy. Most literature on this topic agrees that the main concern of language planning and policy is not enhanced communication, i.e. linguistic rationales. Instead, political, economical and social rationales are more central (Cooper, 1989; cp. Ager, 2001; Ferguson, 2006; Fishman, 2006; Garcia, 2012; Inglis, 2008). Further, language planning is also related to power, as dominant groups can use language policy to strengthen their social position (Garcia, 2012; Heller, 2006; Watson, 2007). Education is often seen as the site for implementation of language planning and achievement of its goals (Ferguson, 2006; Garcia, 2012; Inglis, 2008). This is because education often is con-

trolled by the government and because it has such a huge impact on language use in society as a whole.

Language planning in Africa is especially interesting because of its multilingual situation. According to Heugh (2009) it is important to see language policies in Africa in the historical context of European dominance, borders dividing language communities and global influence (cp. Alidou, et al., 2006). Globally, language planning itself started to become a big issue after African decolonisation and independence (Ferguson, 2006). Language planning in Africa can be characterised by favouring international languages, especially English, or national languages over vernacular languages, which are neglected and marginalised. This has partly been done because of national unity rationales (Heugh, 2009).

2.2.2. Identity Planning

Already in 1979 Pool noticed that language planning is closely related to what he calls 'identity planning'. So when a country plans to make any changes in the language policy, they do, intended or accidently, manipulate identity. He therefore recommends that "language planners should study identity planning as a means of accomplishing their goals" (Pool, 1979, p. 5). He presents a complicated diagram on how people can change their affiliations and identities by learning different languages. In essence, learning a language alters peoples' identification with a certain linguistic group such as liking, resembling and interacting with them. Therefore, by planning which languages people should learn, one also plans which groups they should identify with. Eastman (1981) gives the Kenyan and Tanzanian example of Kiswahili replacing English in order to foster a national identity as a conscious act of identity planning. However, both Pool (1979) and Eastman (1981) assert that the effect on identity does not necessarily hold true for minority language speakers who want to learn the majority language out of instrumental reasons.

The connection between language planning and identity planning has been made in several more recent papers. Freeman (1994) studied Oyster Bilingual School, a primary school in the USA where Spanish-speaking students receive both English and Spanish instruction. She uses a framework for inter-group relations[1] to show how the Oyster identity planning model aims at making the students reject their inferior social status by increasing the value of Spanish and thus making the students able to redefine their negative characteristics and create new, more positive dimensions for comparison (Freeman, 1994, p. 14). Garcia (2012) also looks at how language planning is related to identity

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[1] This is the same as the process named 'psychological distinctiveness' explained in section 3.3.1. of this thesis.

and especially ethnolinguistic identity. In her framework it appears that the stronger a group's ethno-linguistic identity is, coupled with other identity factors as well as public use of the language both by own and other groups, the more successful are the language policy efforts. If the group scores high on all measures, it leads to language maintenance and development, whereas low score leads to language shift, also referred to as language death or genocide (cp. Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

There are several examples where governments have overlooked the effects of language planning on identity, which has had negative consequences for the policy. When Hong Kong gained independence from Britain in 1997 and was re-annexed with China, the government decided that Mandarin (Putonghua) should be used as LOI in school instead of English. The emotional response among teachers, students and parents was enormous, and they strongly opposed the policy (Lai & Byram, 2006). They felt that their identity as different from the mainland Chinese was closely connected to the use of English as LOI. Chan (2002) asserts that the mistake of the government was their underestimation of the emotional function of language.

This was also the case in Ethiopia in 1999 when the government attempted to introduce the language Wogagoda, a mix of the languages Wolaitta, Gamo, Gofa and Dawuro, in schools in North Omo zone of Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's Region (SNNPR) (Hirut, 2007; Smith, 2008). Its speakers protested in violent demonstrations, so the experiment had to be cancelled. The reason for this was "the importance of Wolaitta *identity* as the object of preservation, more than perceptions of economic, political or even educational benefits" (Smith (2008, p. 208, original emphasis). The strength of identity should therefore not be misjudged in relation to language planning.

2.3. Bilingualism and Multilingualism in Education

Already in 1953 the UNESCO Report on the Use of Vernacular Languages in Education stated the importance for children to learn in their MT, out of pedagogical, psychological and sociological reasons (UNESCO, 1953). During the course of the years, more and more researchers have joined this position, so that the importance of MT nowadays seems almost as common sense knowledge. For example the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) is among those advocating this in the specific context of Africa (ADEA 2001; ADEA 2005; Alidou, et. al, 2006; see also Alidou, 2009; Brock-Utne & Hopson, 2005; Wolff, 2006).

In 1989, Cummins and Swain introduced the Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP) model in bilingual education. In this model languages are only different channels for the same knowledge in contrast to the Separate Underlying Proficiency (SUP) model where content learned in one language

cannot be transferred to another language. The CUP model is supported by findings from Cummins and Swain (1989) as well as a range of contemporary researchers (cp. Heugh, 2006; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009). Building on this, Benson (2009) asserts that children have to develop an 'adult language' in their MT (language 1 [L1]), and thus need at least 6-8 years of MTI (cp. Heugh, 2006). If L1 cannot be used all the way through the system, a familiar language or a Creole, could be a substitute, and better a national than an international language (Benson, 2009).

There are two main categories for bilingual models: transitional/ assimilationist models on the one hand, and programmes that promote true bi- or multilingualism on the other hand. Another distinction is between weak subtractive (early exit) models where L1 should disappear after a while and strong, additive models that build on L1. The former models are more likely to lead to limited literacy, marginalisation of minorities and violation of rights whereas the latter is more likely to lead to high language knowledge and inclusion (Benson, 2009; Heugh, 2006; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009).

2.3.1. Language of Instruction, Identity and Empowerment

Some researchers on LOI focus on utility of the language and extrinsic benefits such as school achievement (e.g. Mekonnen, 2009; Patrinos & Velez, 2009), whereas others focus more on intrinsic and psychological issues such as identity, pride, emancipation and self-respect. Instead of arousing negative emotions like guilt and blame, MTI can lead to positive feelings as students do not have to deny their own background (Brock-Utne, 2001; Martin, 2009; Mohanty et al., 2009; Inglis, 2008; Prah, 2003; Watson, 2007). This issue will be explored in the following paragraphs.

Because of the connection between language and identity, language can easily become a means for oppressing people, especially minorities, but it can equally become a means for emancipation (Cummins, 1996; Hornberger, 2008). In the reviewed literature it is shown how Africa, a continent that has been colonised and whose indigenous languages have been neglected and suppressed, now feel a strong wish to find their way back to their own identity. This is reflected in meetings and conferences all over the continent, such as for example the 2003 biannual meeting of ADEA where "[p]articipants concluded that African languages were a necessary choice for the new century: 'Let us return to our African identities! Let us not persist in our colonial past!' pleaded one of the ministers" (Alidou, et al., 2006, p. 6). Also at the Conference of Ministers of Language Policies in Africa in 1997 the issues of "respect for the integrity of African identity" were discussed (Brock-Utne, 2001, p. 116). Brock-Utne and Garbo (2009), Cummins (2009) and Prah (2003) state that empowerment of African students and especially minorities can be achieved through MTI.

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In his book *Negotiating Identities: Education for Empowerment in a Diverse Society*, Jim Cummins (1996) maps out how education through acknowledging student's identities, i.e. their MT, can empower them. Empowerment here means to change "the power relations that are embedded in more typical modes of school-community interactions" (Cummins, 1996, p. 8). These patterns are disguised as 'normal' in society so that they are difficult to discover, and groups that tend to perform low in school are often groups that have been discriminated against for generations.[2] An example of such a hidden pattern is when parental involvement and care in the USA is equated with teaching English language and raising the children within the North-American culture. Through different models of education, Cummins shows how students can end up being empowered or compliant depending on use of language.

2.3.2. Language of Instruction and Identity: Some Empirical Findings

Much has been written on how LOI affects academic achievement, and somewhat less on identity. Furthermore, identity has often been researched in relation to second language learning, such as the immigrant women learning English in Norton Peirce's (1995) study, but not so much in relation to MTI in primary education. There are many who theoretically argue the relationship between LOI and a positive identity (be it personal, ethnic, linguistic, national or otherwise) (e.g. Baker, 1998; Brock-Utne, 2001; Cummins, 2009; Inglis, 2008; Watson, 2007), but fewer have evidence on this relationship in empirical studies. Some empirical studies will be presented here to show which kind of research mostly has been carried out. The notion of 'identity' has been interpreted very broadly so that the review also contains studies about self-esteem and self-concept.

Echeverria (2003) and Jiménez (2000) explore the relationship between language and national/ ethnic identity. In her qualitative study on Basque students Echeverria (2003) reports that the reason for minority students claiming their identity to be Basque and not Spanish is the use of their MT in school. Students taught in Spanish are more ambiguous about their identity. Speaking Basque was for Basque instruction students enough to define a person's identity, regardless of where they were born. In contrast, those who did not attend Basque instruction class rather related their identity to birth place. Jiménez (2000) did a qualitative study among Latin American students in the USA about their ethnic identity and English learning. He found that the students express "fear of Spanish language loss and the gaping hole left behind in terms of their identity" (Jiménez, 2000, p.995). The

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[2] An interesting fact is that people from the Burakumin minority in Japan have academic difficulties in Japanese schools, but perform well in the USA because they receive the same status as other Japanese immigrants (Cummins, 1996).

students therefore felt much easier when using Spanish because this was in line with their identification as being Latinos. According to Jiménez it is important that education supports their bilingual background and sees this as an advantage rather than a shortcoming.

Many studies are concerned with immigrants and their 'heritage language' (HL). Research from the USA has found that the higher identity the informants report, the better is their HL proficiency and the more do they feel attached to their heritage culture and values (Chinen & Tucker, 2005; Cho, 2000). Furthermore, Cho (2000) concludes that "having developed one's HL, in addition to English, is an "'additive' form of bilingualism" (p.383).

However, although the relationship between well-adjusted minority youth and strong ethnic identity has been found to be strong (Vedder & Virta, 2005), not all findings agree in this matter, and it seems to depend on the context, i.e. the model for handling diversity in a given country. Vedder and Virta (2005) found that Turkish immigrants valued high proficiency in MT as a sign for their ethnic identity in the Swedish and not the Dutch case in their quantitative comparative study. This is assumingly because the immigrant policy here is different than in the Netherlands, which means more support for MT in Swedish schools.

Several researchers have looked at students' self-image related to the language use. Wright and Taylor (1995) tested Inuit, White, and mixed-heritage (Inuit-White) kindergarten children's self-esteem compared to LOI by showing them photographs of ingroup and outgroup children and see if they related them to positive of negative attributes. This longitudinal quantitative research found that MTI proved to be positive for both personal and collective self-esteem in contrast to instruction in another language. Children who were educated in their MT did not show decreased personal self-esteem during the school year, whereas those educated in another language showed this tendency. The non-MT group showed bias towards the outgroup (White) whereas children taught in their MT had a more healthy self-esteem, i.e. a moderate ingroup bias.

Furthermore, Kimizi (2012) found a considerable tendency of better self-confidence among Tanzanian students when using MT instead of English in his qualitative study. Marsh, Hau and Kong (2002) made a longitudinal study on academic self-concept and achievement among a representative sample of Chinese high school students with English and Chinese as languages of instruction. They found that "instruction in a second language (English) across all classes other than Chinese, had substantial negative effects on both academic achievement and academic self-concept" (Marsh et al., 2002, p. 743), but mostly so because the students had low achievement, especially in the first

years. They also relate their findings to Cummins' models that suggest negative self-identity in submersion programmes.

Nevertheless, in spite of these advantages, studies have documented much reluctance against vernacular languages among both citizens and politicians in Africa and elsewhere (cp. Baker, 1998; Brock-Utne, 2001; Heugh, 2009; Pattanayak, 2003; Qorro, 2009; Tembe & Norton, 2008). This has also been documented in Ethiopia (Hirut, 2007). For example Tembe and Norton (2008) found that although people were in favour of MTI because it is a marker of identity, many were still reluctant because using international languages would increase the possibility for good future chances and upward mobility in society. This is similar to Hirut's (2007) findings from Ethiopia where parents "believe children should learn in languages that are more valuable for acquiring jobs and accessing higher education" (ibid, p. 222). In their study on minorities in the Philippines, Smolicz and Nical (1997) found that English by some groups was highly favoured above the other languages and was also more used that the others. Furthermore, they recorded the opinion that MT could not be used in school because of its immatureness and inadequacy.

To sum up, although research has been done on language and identity, surprisingly little is from Africa. Furthermore, the studies use a variety of understandings of the concept of identity, but many look at individual identity and not group identity. Norton Peirce (1995), however, asserts that it is important to see the social side of identity in addition to social power relations instead of only the individual. This means that social identity must be related to the larger structures in society.

2.3.3. Language of Instruction and Identity: Two studies from Ethiopia

There seems to be a very limited number of empirical studies from Ethiopia that look at LOI within a political and cultural context particularly concerning identity. Two studies will be presented here.

Laura Smith (2008) found a very strong link between language and identity in her qualitative study. She writes that "[t]here are at least three types of reasons that language is so connected to ethnic and citizenship identities in Ethiopia: historical, pedagogical and political" (p. 209). According to her, language itself is political in Ethiopia because of its history of political power linked to the ability of speaking Amharic. When the current government took over, language policy became one of the most visible areas where minorities could demonstrate the level of self-determination that had been given in the constitution. Among her major findings is the relatively low knowledge about and participation in the language policy among parents and teachers. Furthermore, she found that the major-

ity of her informants strongly advocated the use of vernacular languages, and that they did not see the policy as something which would split the country. Concerning the choice of second language, some parents preferred Amharic, others, especially Oromo, preferred English.

Another interesting study is Cohen's (2000a) dissertation on identity and the use of local languages in education in Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's Region (SNNPR). He found that "local pride and self-identity are clearly increasing in response to the reform" (Cohen, 2000a, p. 122). Ethnic and language boundaries are not always overlapping according to Cohen (2000b). Indeed, he shows that the understanding of ethnicity can be fluid and subjective, and thus not always rigidly linked to one language. Further he reports fear among parents that the language policy could split the country (Cohen, 2000a). People's opinions on whether or not to favour the use of MT was related to their feeling of ethnic identity and also whether they lived in a heterogeneous area or had migrated to other regions. And so, although some people were very suspicious towards formal education from the highlanders, many saw Amharic as the gateway to social opportunities.

2.4. Summary

This review has first examined literature concerning tensions between unity/ social cohesion and diversity in society and concluded that the best choice for multilingual countries is to advocate pluralist models. Secondly, the close connection between language and identity has been shown. Language planning is not only about the technical use of languages, but much more related to politics, power and identity, as apparent in the term 'identity planning'. Thirdly, in regards to education it is clear that strong, additive bi- and multilingual models are to be preferred. This has to do with the relationship between MT and identity and empowerment. Empirical studies on MTI have shown that MT is positively related to ethnic identity and a strong self-image among students. Still, it meets hesitation among many parents. Also in Ethiopia, language is strongly related to ethnic identity, but the studies also show some contrasting findings.

Although a lot of research has been done on these issues, there are certain gaps. Obviously, there is need for more research on the effect of language planning on diverse societies because there is no consensus on a variety of issues. Further, although much literature states that LOI is important for identity formation, it is often done so theoretically and not empirically. Lastly, very few studies have been done on LOI and identity in Ethiopia, and none were found in the area of interest, i.e. Benishangul Gumuz Regional State (BGRS). Therefore, this study might contribute to shed some light on some of these issues.

3- ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter presents the analytical framework that has been constructed for the purpose of this thesis. It contains some of the theories that were reviewed before the fieldwork, but the final framework did not emerge until after the analysis of the data. The chapter is structured around the three major concepts that correspond to the purpose of the study: socio-political change, language/ identity planning and social group identity.

3.1. Socio-Political Change

When talking about language policy and language planning, one automatically talks about social change according to Cooper (1989). "To plan language is to plan society. A satisfactory theory of language planning, therefore, awaits a satisfactory theory of social change" (Cooper, 1989, p. 182). This section will consequently first introduce a meta-theory of social change, which is the conflict theory and then go on to show different political models for diversity management which imply changes in the social and political structures of a country.

3.1.1. The Conflict Perspective: Bourdieu

Conflict theory, in contrast to structural functionalism, is a body of theories on inequalities and distribution of power in a changing rather than static society (Kubow & Fossum, 2007). It states that those who start with a 'better' position, e.g. higher class, wealthier, male, etc. are those who will be privileged in education and in society. This is done through socialisation and indirect signalling to the students about what is valued in society, with much emphasis being on appropriate language or behaviour. The reason why this meta-theory was chosen is because it opens the possibility to look at underlying power structures and the way these are exercised through education.

The French thinker Pierre Bourdieu is one of the most famous conflict theorists in the world. In his time, structural functionalism was prevalent, but Bourdieu did not attribute the problems with the education system to technical malfunction (Grenfell, 2007, p. 95). He saw education as part of culture and society, and found that structures of dominance and hierarchy were the same in both places and that this was being reproduced through schooling.

Central in his works is the view on society as reproductive which means that the powerful groups are able to define 'truth' and then extend this view to the whole society so that it is transmitted to the new generation (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). This reproduction is shaped by 'symbolic violence',

which is "every power which manages to impose meanings and to impose them as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its force" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 4). Pedagogic actions and education in itself is symbolic violence as it is operated by an "arbitrary power" (ibid, p. 6) upon a weaker group. Initially children have a practical habitus[3] from the family which among others contains proficiency in their MT, but in school they are confronted with the secondary habitus. The more different the primary habitus is from the secondary, the less efficient is pedagogic work. Thus, those who are born into the school language more easily succeed in school because the teacher values their habitus. 'Pedagogic action' always follows the needs of the dominant group. The educational system reproduces itself and its 'arbitrariness' together with the general reproduction of culture (ibid). However, Bourdieu does not see this reproduction as purely deterministic, but rather as a dynamic force that adapts to the context (Grenfell, 2007).

3.1.2. Models for Diversity Management

There are different ways a country can respond to ethnic and linguistic diversity, or it can refuse to respond (called 'ostrich response' by Adeno, 2001). Inglis (2008) presents three models for handling cultural diversity in society, and Vedder & Virta (2005) review three models for how immigrant/ minority youth best can be integrated into the larger society with emphasis on language learning and preservation.

Inglis' (2008) first model is the *assimilationist model* which aims at forcing the minority to absorb the majority group's culture and language. According to Vedder and Virta (2005) this model means that there is much emphasis on enhancing minority language user's proficiency in the majority language as soon as possible. Secondly, the *differentialist model* separates and segregates different groups in society so that they have as little interaction as possible (Inglis, 2008). A very pure or exaggerated adaption of Vedder and Virta's (2005) ethnic model could, in my opinion, be characterised as a differentialist model. This model actually aims at acknowledging the minority group's heritage and language. However, it is also is related to "distinguishing between in-group and out-group" (Vedder & Virta, 2005, p. 320) so that it in a very pure form could likely lead to segregation. Finally, the *multiculturalist model* recognises differences within society and encourages diversity. According to Inglis (2008), this model combines the two previous models by accepting minorities' background as a part of society, including their specific characteristics and so it is the most favour-

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[3] Habitus is what defines a person and his or her position in society. It is especially influenced by the "cultural arbitrary" which is the dominant power in society and school, and the dominant habitus is being imposed through pedagogical action (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 31).

able of the three. Correspondingly, the language integration model of Vedder and Virta (2005) aims at producing bilingual students who are proficient in both their own language as well as the majority language, which is assumed to result in better adaptation and less marginalisation.

3.1.3. Diversity and social cohesion

The concept of social cohesion has already been introduced in chapter 2. According to Parekh (2006) and Inglis (2008) the relationship between diversity and social cohesion is not easy. The paradox seems to be that a diverse society actually requires even more social cohesion although diversity is known to have the opposite tendency:

> A multicultural society faces two conflicting demands and needs to devise a political structure that enables it to reconcile them in a just and collectively acceptable manner. It should foster a strong sense of unity and common belonging among its citizens. […] Paradoxical as it may seem, the greater and deeper the diversity in a society, the greater the unity and cohesion it requires to hold itself together and nurture its diversity (Parekh, 2006, p. 196).

This component is included in the framework because it might give an indication on whether the chosen model for diversity management is successful or not for social cohesion.

To sum up, the concept of social change will in this thesis be understood as the transformation of power structures in society. These changes are political in the sense that how a society chooses to deal with diversity is a political decision where different groups may benefit as society and education moves from one model to another. Further, it may also have an impact on social cohesion. This component acts as a general background for the other two components, language/ identity planning and social group identity, which are more particular, and so these two are placed *within* the context of socio-political change (see analytical framework in section 3.4.)

3.2. Planning for language and identity

The second component of the framework is that of language and identity planning looking at political and societal intentions of language planning in contrast to merely linguistic or pedagogical ones. As many of the relevant issues here have already been introduced in the literature review chapter, they will only be pointed at in order to place them within the constructed analytical framework.

3.2.1. Identity Planning

As already mentioned, language planning does not only influence which languages are being used, but also which language groups people are supposed to identify with (Pool, 1979). According to Eastman (1981) who builds her arguments on Pool's work, identity planning can be defined as a

language planning practice that results in "the development of an associated identity" of that particular language (Eastman, 1981, p. 45). The hypothesis here is that people start identifying with the linguistic group of the language they are learning. Therefore, LOI should have a great influence on identity, i.e. a strong affiliation with the community of the language that is being used in education. Thus, this component will help understand the relationship between the chosen model for diversity management and identity processes in society.

3.2.2. Pedagogic vs. Political Factors

As already discussed in detail in the previous chapter, language planning is often not only, and even not mainly, concerned with linguistic and communicative factors, but more so with political rationales and aims. According to Cooper (1989), reasons and rationales for language planning can include "national integration, political control, economic development, the creation of new elites or the maintenance of old ones, the pacification or cooption of minority groups, and mass mobilization of national or political movements" (ibid, p. 35). It can consequently be assumed that policies of LOI have dual aims regarding linguistic (and pedagogic) versus political intentions.

3.2.3. Ethnolinguistic Vitality

'Ethnolinguistic vitality" is a part of Giles and Johnson's (1987) Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory. This concept analyses different factors that can give a group high perceived vitality which means that they "thrive and remain distinct" (Giles & Johnson, 1987, p. 71). The concept pays particular attention to how vitality is *perceived* by the group's members and less so in an objective sense. Ethnolinguistic vitality consists of these three factors:

> Status factors (such as economic, political, and linguistic prestige); demographic factors (such as absolute numbers, birth rate, geographical concentration); and institutional support (such as recognition of the group and its language in the media, education, government). (Giles & Johnson, 1987, p.71)

This concept has been chosen from this theory because the vitality of a group depends on the chosen language and identity planning in a given society. Language planning has the power to affect all the three factors within ethnolinguistic vitality, both objectively as well as subjectively.

To sum up, planning of LOI is related to planning of identity and furthermore, it is connected to the conflicting dynamics of pedagogical vs. political factors. Language planning can directly or indirectly affect a group's ethnolinguistic vitality by influencing status, demographic and institutional factors – all of them not concerned with linguistic and communicative, but identity and political issues. In the framework in section 4.3., this component is being influenced by the socio-political change within a country, and it further influences the next component, social group identity.

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3.3. Social Group Identity

Identity it is often not seen as a single dimensional term, but rather a concept that implies multiple understandings and relationships according to Anthony Smith (1991). Gender, space or territory, socio-economic or social class, language, religion and ethnicity are all different categories of identity that overlap in many cases (ibid). Social identity therefore refers to the shared affiliation of people into certain social groups (linguistic, ethnic or otherwise) and their collective formation of identity processes. These processes are influenced by language planning, and therefore the third component of the framework will constitute of social identity theory in addition to the concept of ethnicity as a certain social group.

3.3.1. Social Identity Processes

Social identity theory is originally based on the research done by Tajfel (1974) and although it is an old theory, it is widely used and developed further even today (Brown, 2000). Social identity is defined as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1974, p. 69). Individuals place themselves within the context of the society and the various groups, and they strive to optimise their social identity and thus try to make their group appear as favourable as possible.

There are several reasons for choosing this theory. First of all it is a very explicit but comprehensive theory on intergroup relations which makes it possible to explain differences between the identity formation in the two *groups* that are the focus of this study. It is also compatible with the conflict theory on social change as changed relationships between groups and status differences between them are at the core of the theory. McNamara (1997) summarises social identity theory into four processes that cover the main ideas of the original theory:

A) Social Categorisation

The first process refers to categorisation of people into ingroups and outgroups which enables people to act and orient themselves as starting-point for their social behaviour (Tajfel & Turner, 2001). "In order for the members of an ingroup to be able to hate or dislike an outgroup, or to discriminate against it, they must first have acquired a sense of belonging to a group which is clearly distinct from the [other group]" (Tajfel, 1974, p. 66). It is even so that the presence of contrasting social groups ('outgroups') strengthen the cohesion within the 'ingroup'.

B) The Formation of an Awareness of Social Identity

In order to enable social comparison (below) to happen, individuals must identify with the group they are a member of, and there must be certain attributes that are used as means to distinguish between groups. "The characteristics of one's group as a whole (such as its status, its richness or poverty, its skin colour or its ability to reach its aims) achieve most of their significance in relation to perceived differences from other groups and the value connotation of these differences" (Tajfel, 1974, p. 71).Which attributes are relevant depend on the context and the situation. Through the process of attaching values to seemingly neutral bodies such as language, they receive an emotional importance that has the ability to split or to unify.

C) Social Comparison

"These identifications [into ingroup and outgroup] are to a very large extent relational and comparative: They define the individual as similar to or different from, as "better" or "worse" than, members of other groups" (Tajfel & Turner, 2001, p. 101). However, it is not only individuals who compare themselves to other individuals within the groups (including the pressure for conformity this shapes), but also the groups as such are units of comparison (Tajfel, 1974). Tajfel and Turner (2001) identify three general assumptions about social groups and theoretical principles related to this. Firstly, people will always try to have a positive view of themselves and thus have a positive social identity. Secondly, social groups can be evaluated either positively or negatively, and this affects people's understanding of their identity. Thirdly, the evaluation of the own group is related to social comparisons with other groups, and the outcomes of this can be between high or low prestige. But the relationship between groups is not only based on comparison, but also conflict or competition.

D) A Search for Psychological Distinctiveness

Social identity is not static, but according to Tajfel (1974) inherently linked to social change which is driven by social comparison with other groups. This leads to psychological distinctiveness which is the perceived differences between the social groups.[4] For consensually superior groups (groups A and B), insecure intergroup comparisons arise when they feel that their superiority is in danger or when they feel that it is based on unfair conditions such as suppression. For consensually inferior groups: When there is room for social mobility in society (group C), an individual can leave a group in order to enter another, more superior group. As for group D it represents a situation where the members are unable to move out of the group because it would conflict with their values and/ or lead to severe social sanctions.

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[4] The whole matrix on insecure group comparisons with groups A-D can be found in Tajfel (1974, p. 79).

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There can be different solutions to situation D according to Tajfel (1974, p. 82). The members of the group can a) strive to make the characteristics of their group more like the superior group(s), and/ or they can b) try to make their existing group characteristics appear more positively, and/ or they can c) engage in creating new, more positively valued characteristics. According to McNamara (1997), some groups have proud strategies where they emphasise the group's positive sides (more like strategy b), and some groups have protecting strategies (more like strategy a) where they attempt to become more like the superior group. So the phenomenon of being unable to leave the group forces the members to collaborate in order to be established as an accepted group.

To sum up, four social identity processes can be identified. Change in LOI can lead to decreased or increased sense of outgroup vs. ingroup; to more or less strength in awareness of social identity; to negative or positive social comparisons; and lead to protecting or proud strategies in the group's search for psychological distinctiveness. Alternatively, language planning can of course lead to neutral responses in any of the four processes.

3.3.2. The Concept of Ethnicity

This study is concerned with certain social groups, more specifically with ethnic groups. Ethnicity is by Fishman (1989) defined as "a self-and-other aggregative definitional dimension […] that deals with 'us' vs. 'them' and with 'them' vs. 'them'" (p. 5). Further, Barth (1996) asserts although there are social systems where different ethnic groups rely on each other in a symbiotic relationship it is still important to maintain group boundaries. Fishman (1989) argues that one of the most important characteristics of an ethnic group is their distinct language. Eriksen (1996) also includes the term 'race', and although it is not a valid scientific label, "concepts of race can nevertheless be important to the extent that they inform people's actions; at this level, race exists as a cultural construct" (ibid, p. 29; cp. Fishman, 1989). Barth (1996) however argues that ethnicity does not mainly rely on objective factors such as food, clothing, or even language, but much more on factors identified as important by the members of the groups. This could mean that a subjective rather than an objective understanding of language differences decides ethnicity.

As it will be outlined in chapter 5, there are two possible types of group affiliations in Ethiopia. One is the identification with one of the 'nations, nationalities and peoples', and the other one is the affiliation with the Pan-Ethiopian identity named Habesha[5]. These identities naturally do not have to

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[5] The term originates from the word Habesh eyalit referring to the Ottoman province in Northern Ethiopia and goes back to the Arabic word designating black people (Voigt, 2012). Today the term is often used to refer to the Ethio-Semitic groups of Christian highland Ethiopia.

be mutually exclusive, but their relationship is not necessarily coherent. The concept of ethnic identity will therefore be included in the framework together with other identity processes in order to get a thorough understanding of the third component of the framework which is assumed to be influenced by the language planning of the government.

3.4. The Analytical Framework

Socio-Political Change
- Power structures and reproduction
- Models for diversity management:
  - Assimilationist
  - Differentialist
  - Multiculturalist
- Diversity and social cohesion

Language Planning
- Identity planning
- Political vs. pedagogical factors
- Ethnolinguistic vitality:
  - Status factors
  - Demographic factors
  - Institutional factors

Social Group Identity
- Social identity processes
  - Social categorisation
  - Awareness of social identity
  - Social comparison
  - Psychological distinctiveness
- Ethnicity and 'race'
  - Single ethnic identity and overarching identity (Habesha)

Figure 4.1. Analytical framework

This analytical framework has been constructed by myself for the purpose of this thesis and consists of the three components identified in this chapter: Socio-political change, language planning and social identity. The first component represents at the same time the background for the two next components because both language planning and social identity processes act within the context of socio-political change. The relationship between the three components is linear; socio-political change influences language planning which again affects social identity. However, it is also assumed to be circular as social identity can be believed to feed back to the first component and initiate new socio-political changes, e.g. through political upheavals, which in turn again will lead to a change in language planning. It thus creates a circle that can go on and on. Furthermore, there is also a dashed line from social identity to language planning, indicating there might be a direct response from changed social identity processes to a new language planning approach, although this is more likely to happen through new socio-political changes.

4- METHODOLOGY

It is important to be explicit about decisions concerning methodology in social research in order to be able to take informed choices about procedures as well as to justify these. Furthermore, choices on research paradigm, strategy, design and methods for data collection and analysis need to be logical and form a coherent piece of research (Bryman, 2008). This chapter will go from the more general discussion on philosophical assumptions to the more practical methodological choices taken in the study. Lastly it will also discuss issues of reliability, validity and ethics.

4.1. Philosophical Assumptions and Research Paradigm

In social science there are, unlike in natural sciences, heated philosophical discussions about the nature of research, what it should try to reveal and how it should be conducted (Bryman, 2008; Rosenberg, 2008). On the one hand, some social researchers assert that social science must adopt a strategy as close as possible to the natural sciences in order to produce legitimate knowledge. On the other hand there are those who say that the social world is far too complicated and changing to be reduced to measures and simple generalisations (Rosenberg, 2008). These are the two research strategies named quantitative and qualitative respectively. They define how to look at the social world and which designs and methods are appropriate to use (Bryman, 2008).

According to Burrell and Morgan (1979), there are two major intellectual traditions within social science; objectivist and subjectivist. This research is based within the subjectivist strand that assumes that there is no social reality as such and that the social world is rather "made up of nothing more than names, concepts and labels" (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 4). This is the discussion on ontology. When it comes to epistemology, i.e. assumptions on knowledge and 'truth', subjectivism sees knowledge as relative and only true from the point of view of individuals.

Further, in social research one can distinguish between those working within a regulative view on society, and those working within the sociology of radical change. As this research is interested in social change, it is placed within the radical humanist paradigm where radical change is combined with subjectivism. Here it is central to see how the status quo that binds people to their society has to be broken through conflict and emancipation. "The major concern for theorists approaching the human predicament in these terms is with *release* from the constraints which existing social arrangements place upon human development" (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 32). This is in order to reach the full potential of human beings.

4.2. Research Strategy and Design

This research paradigm corresponds with the qualitative research strategy. Qualitative research has an inductive approach towards the relationship between theory and observations (Bryman, 2008). This means that the researcher should not be dictated too much by theory before the investigation, but should have an open mind in order to be able to grasp the meanings the infornamts create. Therefore, qualitative researchers in the beginning often only use "sensitising concepts" (Bryman, 2008, p. 373), which refers to some ideas from theories or literature that only very generally indicate a direction. This study used a fairly inductive approach. I tried to remain as flexible as possible although I had research questions and theories in mind before the fieldwork. These were only used as general guidelines/ 'sensitising concepts'. Afterwards, the questions were adjusted, and when doing the coding and analysis, some theories proved useful, others not.

A research design is a framework that guides how to approach the research substance (Bryman, 2008). This study used the design of case study where one policy was exemplified in two comparative cases represented by two contrasting ethnic groups. It can therefore be regarded as a comparative case study. As required for a case study, I went into depth in the two cases in order to get a thorough understanding of the particular context. The cases were selected because it gave the opportunity to look at the same policy in two contrasting immediate contexts as well as the current actuality of the issue as the policy had been introduced very recently for these two ethnic groups.

4.3. Data Collection Methods

In order to answer the different research questions, different research methods were employed. For answering the first question about the impact of policy of LOI on a diverse society, qualitative document analysis and semi-structured interviews were used. The document analysis was done by reviewing different policy documents according to a pre-defined checklist of issues to look specifically for (see appendix 4). The reason for using these methods was in order to understand the precise officially stated concerns of the policy, as well as how different sources of information interpret the policy. Since there might be issues that are concealed in official documents, it was necessary to ask policy makers and regional education officers about the emergence of this policy and the forces behind it. The reason for choosing semi-structured interviews was to be able to adjust to the informant and be flexible when there was a particularly interesting issue.

The main method for answering the second question in regards to the impact of the policy on social identity was semi-structured interviews. I had a list of tentative questions which were slightly

changed during the course of the research (see appendices 6-7). The flexibility of being able to moderately change the order of the questions or the wording was the main reason for choosing this method. Some of the interviews were couple interviews, such as two Gumuz elders or two teachers who were teaching at the same school and who preferred to be interviewed together (only people of same gender). I believe that this did not influence the data negatively, but it rather gave the informants the opportunity to discuss.

Another method used was focus group discussions. The advantage with focus group discussions is that one is able to see how people discuss a certain topic and together make up their opinions about it. The discussions were guided by some broad questions and some bullet points (prompts) below each question (see appendix 7). The informants were however very free to decide what they wanted to discuss about. The initial plan was to have four members in all groups, but for three groups it was impossible; at two schools there were no more than three teachers who were teaching MT, and for the Gumuz fathers it turned out to be almost impossible to meet with more than three together. The other four groups all had four members.

Two school observations (one for each case) were done in addition to the interviews. The observations followed a pre-set check list, but there was also possibility for recording other striking events (see appendix 8). Observation time was limited and consisted of observing different MT classes and break times during one day. It was used to triangulate findings recorded through other methods. I also had some informal conversations at the schools and at the market and I called several informants to ask follow-up questions after the fieldwork.

Most interviews with policy makers and education officers were conducted in English. The interviews with the teachers and parents were conducted in Amharic or for those who preferred it, in MT (Gumuz or Shinasha) by using an interpreter, and simultaneously translated from and to English. Most interviews were recorded and then transcribed, but for those who preferred not to use a voice recorder, notes were taken. The focus group discussions were conducted either in Amharic or in MT. They were recorded and only later transcribed directly into English. During the course of the discussion only key words or important passages were translated in order make me able to guide the discussion. Observation was also done in cooperation with an interpreter.

I had to use two different interpreters. One travelled with me all the time and did most interviews and all the observations with me whereas the other one only interpreted interviews conducted in Shinasha. By doing some follow-up interviews in Amharic with some of the Shinasha informants

using the first interpreter, I made sure that the data collected was not biased by the choice of interpreter. Both interpreters had good command of English and previous experience with social research. The purpose and aims of the research were discussed thoroughly in advance, together with the interview and observation guides. My main interpreter was an especially great help when interviewing and observing, as well as when discussing different preliminary findings.

4.4. Research Sites

The research was conducted entirely in Ethiopia. Some interviews with policy makers were conducted in the capital, Addis Ababa. The other interviews were conducted in BGRS, either at the regional education bureau in Assosa, or at the main research sites which were four schools in three woredas around the capital of Metekkel Zone, Gilgel Beles (see appendix 1 for maps).[6] The four schools were purposefully selected. All of them were pilot schools; two had introduced Gumuz as LOI for a portion of their students, and two had introduced Shinasha. However, one of the schools teaching in Gumuz also offered Shinasha as a subject for the students who had Amharic as LOI. One school offering Gumuz and one offering Shinasha as LOI acted as main sites for the research. Here I stayed longer than at the other two schools – in total four weeks, and here I did more extensive interviewing and observations. The two other schools served as a possibility triangulate and to verify/ falsify certain issues. All the schools were in comparable surroundings, i.e. quite rural but along the main road and the areas around were inhabited by both Gumuz as well as Shinasha.

4.5. Sampling

A sample refers to "the segment of the population that is selected for investigation" (Bryman, 2008, p. 168). Sampling therefore refers to how the units (documents, people, etc.) were selected. The 'population' in this research refers to the pool of documents on education and all people who are members of the two ethnic groups Gumuz and Shinasha.

The selection the official documents was based on the following criteria: that they were concerned solely with education (except the constitutions), that they were official papers issued and developed by the Ministry of Education or the Government of Ethiopia and that they were published after 1994. It was not possible to get hold of any regional documents. It seemed there was no existence of any official policy documents from this level except for the regional constitution and the school curriculum, and the staff were not able to provide unpublished materials. In total 8 documents were se-

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[6] Out of reasons of anonymity it is not possible to mention the specific name of the Woredas as this could lead to the identification of the schools and thus the principals and teachers.

lected; the education and training policy (FDRE, 1994), the Education for All Country Report (MOE, 2000), an official booklet on the education and training policy and its implementation (MOE 2002a) and three Education Sector Development Programmes (ESDP) from 2002, 2005 and 2010, the federal constitution (FDRE, 1994) and the regional constitution for Benishangul Gumuz (Regional Government of Benishangul Gumuz, [RGBG] 2002).

Sampling of policy makers and regional/ local education officers was also purposive. In total, two national policy makers and four regional and two woreda officers were selected. The woreda officers worked in the two woredas that hosted the main sites for Shinasha and Gumuz instruction schools respectively. These people were selected because of their specific knowledge about the education policy. The two national policy makers had been involved since the formulation of the policy prior to 1994, and the regional and woreda officials were specifically engaged in the implementation of the language policy.

The teachers and the parents were also purposefully selected. At each school I started with interviewing the principal and then most or all teachers who were teaching in MT at the two main sites, and the responsible for the MT teaching at the two other schools. The criteria used for the sampling of the parents were that their children were enrolled in the MTI track, and that they were of the ethnicity corresponding to the language. I also tried to get parents with different levels of education. Mothers and fathers were interviewed in separate groups because a mix might have led to silence among the women. It was not possible to overcome a certain bias being that the particularly interested parents showed up, and not those who were less involved in the education of their children. Therefore I tried to go to the village/ market and organise group discussions there instead of at the school. In addition I interviewed parents who deliberately did *not* send their children to MTI class, and I also interviewed an Amhara mother who chose to educate her child in Shinasha. The latter did not seem to exist in the Gumuz case. Furthermore, I interviewed community members who had a particular position as opinion makers in the local society, such as old people or (church) elders. In total I interviewed 4 principals, 9 Shinasha and 6 Gumuz teachers, 10 Shinasha and 12 Gumuz parents, 2 Shinasha and 3 Gumuz community members/ elders.

In order to get some more insight into the implementation of the policy I also visited a teacher training college in the region where I interviewed three people who were involved in the introduction of MT into the curriculum of the college. I also interviewed an Amhara mother whose son had to take Shinasha as a compulsory subject. Additionally I interviewed an old man from another ethnic group (Agaw) in order to triangulate some findings with an outsider to both cultures.

In total 65 people were interviewed, but only data from 59 people were used in the thesis as some interviews were not relevant to any of the research questions. There were 24 single interviews, 5 couple interviews and 7 focus groups; one for teachers, one for mothers and one for fathers for each of the cases. Also there was one group with Shinasha teachers teaching their language as a subject in a school where Gumuz was LOI for the other students.

4.6. Pilot Interviews

Prior to the trip to Metekkel I tried out my interview schedules in a Gumuz community in Kamashi zone. I did one interview with a woreda officer and two people at the local pilot school where Gumuz is LOI. The questions worked reasonably well and were revised after the interviews. The interviews revealed the relevance of the issue of culture and identity in relation to language policy. It also made it clear how politically charged the issue of identity is. The data from these interviews were not used in the results chapter of this thesis because the Kamashi and Metekkel areas are so different that I felt it would be inappropriate to treat them as if they were one community.

4.7. Methods for Data Analysis

When transcribing, everything the informants said was written down. Then all the data was coded into categories that emerged from the data and given a label of its own. The categories from all the informants in each group (Shinasha and Gumuz) were put together in order to be able to do the comparative analysis. I tried to keep the process as inductive as possible, as I transcribed and coded without linking it to existing theories. After this I started looking at how the different categories were connected to certain concepts and thus possibly creating an emerging theory.

4.8. Reliability and Validity

When social research is being evaluated, one mostly looks at whether the study fulfils the criteria of reliability and validity (Bryman, 2008). This is in order to ensure the quality of the research and the authority of the findings. Research that score low on reliability and validity will not be trusted the same way as research using reliable and valid procedures. The criteria have mainly been developed for quantitative research, but there are ways to adapt them to fit better with qualitative research.

4.8.1. Reliability

Reliability is about the "consistency of measures" (Bryman, 2008, p. 149). This means that a measure should be stable over time, and that the different measures of a concept should be internally re-

lated. *Replicability* means that if the study would be repeated with similar informants under similar circumstances, the researcher would get the same findings. Even if these criteria were not developed to evaluate qualitative research, it is important to be explicit about the procedures in order to make transparent assessments. In this research I tried to be as explicit as possible about the decisions taken in order to ensure a maximum of reliability. Even if there were no explicit parameters, I was careful to keep the 'measurements' of the variables, e.g. 'identity', uniform by asking the questions as similar as possible to all the informants.

4.8.2. Validity

Even if a measurement is high on reliability, it does not mean that the measurement actually reflects the concept it is supposed to measure. *Measurement validity* refers to whether the tools measure the right concept and if all parts of a complex concept are measured. As with reliability, qualitative research often does not have so strict criteria for validity. In my case it was important that my instruments at least had "face validity" (Bryman, 2008, p. 152) which means that they seemed to measure the right concept, e.g. 'identity', by consulting theories and my supervisor.

Internal validity refers to the causal relationship between variables and the formulation of general laws. However, in-depth explanation and intelligibility of a phenomenon is often more important in qualitative research. Another way of seeing internal validity is what Guba and Lincoln (1994, in Bryman, 2008, p. 377) call *credibility* and refers to whether the results correspond to the informant's own understanding. There are two techniques to enhance credibility: 'Respondent validation', which in this study was done to a certain extent by asking questions back to the informant, such as "Is it correct that you do think that...?" and 'triangulation' which is to cross-check the findings by using another method, different informants, etc. This study used some different methods (interviews, focus group discussions and observations) to get a possibility for triangulation.

External validity refers to the degree of possible generalisation of the findings.[7] However, many qualitative researchers prefer to give a rich understanding of a specific case rather than generalising. Guba and Lincoln's corresponding criterion is *transferability*, and a thick description can act as a "database for making judgement about the possible transferability of finding other milieux" (Bryman, 2008, p. 378). The data from this study is 'thick' as it comes from long in-depth interviews that were transcribed inductively. I also tried to select schools and informants in such ways that some of the 'typicality' of the groups and the region was covered (not urban, not remote, different levels of

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[7] This means that if the sample of respondents is random, the findings can be generalised to the whole population the sample was selected from.

education, etc.), and therefore one can – with caution – estimate that what was found also may be applicable to similar settings involving the same ethnic groups.

Finally, *ecological validity* addresses the question of naturalness of the setting within the research. Qualitative research is often considered to score higher than quantitative on this criterion. Interviews and focus groups are considered by far more natural methods than for example questionnaires or experiments. This research has rather high ecological validity because I tried to keep the setting as natural as possible. Where feasible I interviewed parents at home or in the market and principals and teachers in their offices and classrooms. When doing observations, I tried to keep the setting as casual as possible although I was not able to avoid drawing some attention to myself, especially in the beginning. After all, ecological validity cannot be fully assured if the researcher works overt because there is a chance that the participants will behave differently when observed (a.k.a. reactivity).

All in all this research scores quite low on reliability and most forms of traditional (quantitative) validity which is not particularly uncommon for qualitative research. Still, when using criteria that were adapted to qualitative research, this study reaches average internal validity because respondent validation and triangulation were only done to a certain degree, but quite high external and ecological validity because of thick descriptions and natural settings.

4.9. Ethical Considerations

All social research, especially qualitative, involves interaction with people who will reveal something personal about themselves. Especially in this research, concerning topics like identity and ethnicity, it was important to consider some ethical issues. Most of all it was important that all participation occurred voluntarily and that the research and the main objectives of the study were clear for the informants. In order to ensure that all informants knew about their right to withdraw or refuse to answer questions, as well as the procedures ensuring anonymity and confidentiality, informants were asked to sign a consent form which was available in English and Amharic (see appendix 10 and 11). Those who were illiterate gave their oral acceptance. The voice recorder was only switched on with explicit agreement.

However, even if these ethical issues are considered, there is still potential risk for the informants in terms of exposing themselves. Thus if an informant was uneasy about the topic, we left it and started to talk about something else. I consulted people in advance who knew the culture about how to ask questions about sensitive issues. Also, most of the interviews were conducted with an interpreter who knew the culture. Furthermore, I always tried to stay friendly and not react in a judging way.

5- DEVELOPMENTS IN ETHIOPIA

This chapter will first present a historical background of Ethiopia with emphasis on the political development. The discourse around the present system of governance and different views on this will be examined, as well as the relation between ethnicity and politics in Ethiopia. Further, the chapter will seek to answer the first part of the first research question on how the policy emerged out of the Ethiopian political situation. In addition, the policy will be presented in greater detail with emphasis on implications publicised in research. Lastly, there will be a presentation of the historical and cultural background and the current condition of the two ethnic groups Gumuz and Shinasha.

5.1. Ethiopian Historical and Political Background

Based on the history of the kingdom of Aksum and the successive central politics, the state history of Ethiopia is often dated back 2000 years. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this thesis Ethiopian history will start with the making of modern Ethiopia in the early 20th century. It was Emperor Menelik II who led the enormous expansion beyond the central and southern highlands (Shoa) creating today's international borders (Getatchew, 1986; Yonatan, 2010). Amharic as the court language became a lingua franca and Orthodox Christianity was the state religion in all the conquered areas. The land in the newly conquered territories was often given to Amharic land lords for control and extraction of tributes (Alem, 2004; Cooper, 1989; Yonatan, 2010). This development is referred to as 'Amharisation'. Amharisation was also seen as a key to modernisation during the successive reign of Haile Selassie (1928-74).

Increasingly after WWII and the brief Italian occupation, the state was centralised and without regional autonomy, the process of Amharisation even reached the former Italian colony Eritrea where LOI was Amharic after its forceful annexation in 1952. Schoolmasters could demand that all new students were already literate in Amharic. The Amharisation project ended in various regional uprisings, most importantly in Eritrea, and a student movement demanding "land reform, representative government, and ethnic self-determination" (Cooper, 1989, p. 25).

Emperor Haile Selassie was overthrown in 1974 by a pseudo-socialist military junta, the Derg (Amharic for 'committee') which had hijacked the student movement. The Derg declared the right to self-determination for all nationalities and the right to the use of different languages (Cooper, 1989; Yonatan, 2010). More than 50 000 teachers and students were sent to the countryside in a multilingual literacy campaign known as 'zemecha' to teach people to read and write in their own language.

Despite the announcements on equality, the power was in the hand of the military, the state was centralised, and it adopted a laissez-faire position towards ethnic differences (Yonatan, 2010). Like the imperial government, the Derg also saw language as a means of "social control" (Cooper, 1989, p. 24), and one reason for the literacy campaigns was to extend the power basis of the government. However, the campaign was badly prepared, and it mainly acted as a gesture only (Cooper, 1989). Regional resistance towards the government grew, as the war over Eritrea intensified. Among the strongest ethnic movements were the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) and the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) in addition to the Eritrean Liberation Movement.

In 1991 these ethnic movements toppled the Derg regime. More precisely, the TPLF spearheaded a number of regional liberation fronts that would later be labelled the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) (Alem, 2004; Yonatan, 2010). In July the same year they convened a conference where the Transitional Government (TG) was established. The transitional charter recognised the right for all ethnic groups to administrate their own territory and participate in the government on an equal basis. The charter also provided for the right to use their own language, and the right to secession in the case of a just cause (Alem, 2004; Yonatan, 2010). However the TG soon experienced conflict as the OLF and other nationality movements refused further participation under the EPDRF that consisted of a majority of Tigray (Aalen, 2002). Despite the boycott of the major opponents however, the EPDRF won by 96.6% in 1992 elections.

Today, each federal state has its own constitution that decides the structure of the regional government. Although not stated directly in the constitution, all regional states have divided their power structures into zone, woreda and kebele. According to the federal constitution (FDRE, 1994a) all languages in Ethiopia shall enjoy the same recognition. Amharic has been chosen as the working language of the Federal Government, but the states are free to choose any other language. Five regional states have decided to promote one of the state languages, but the city states - Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa, in addition to SNNPR, Gambella and BGRS, have decided to continue to use Amharic as working language because they are multilingual (Alem, 2004).

The so-called 'emerging regions' Afar, Somali, Gambella and especially BGRS are considered inferior when it comes to economy (including the socio-economic level of the citizens), infrastructure, conflict level and lack of political independence (Alem, 2004; Asnake, 2009; Tsega, 2006; Young, 1999). On the other hand, these regions are receiving the highest share of government subsidies (Aalen, 2002). BGRS has often been ignored in history, (Young, 1999) and is characterised by a so-called "double periphery" (Asnake, 2009, p. 112) because the ethnic groups living on each side of

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the Ethiopian/ Sudanese border constitute a fringe in both countries. There were liberation movements during the Derg also in Gambella and BGRS, but weaker than in the rest of the country (Young, 1999)[8]. Currently there is a formula for power sharing within the region, based on ethnicity. Gumuz and Berta hold the majority of the seats in the regional council, then comes Shinasha, and Amhara / Oromo hold seats for the EPRDF. There are also Mao and Komo representatives.

5.1.1. Divergent Opinions on the Ethiopian System of Governance

There are divergent opinions about the federal system among today's theorists. Those in favour say that it finally has recognised the different ethnic identities and therefore unifies and prevents conflicts (this is essentially the reading of the government, cp. also Alem, 2004). Others are in favour of the system, but critique the government for not living up to its promises of ethnic autonomy because the political situation is strongly controlled by the TPLF-EPRDF (Aalen, 2002; Abbink, 2006, 2009; Berhanu, 2007; Paul, 2000). On the one hand Abbink (1997) shows examples of how the Surma people in the south now have received political voice through this system. On the other hand he elsewhere (Abbink, 2009, p. 24) asserts that "[h]ierarchy, obedience and forceful authority […] are still dominant. The pluralism of ethno-cultural groups is not well-integrated into the national system either". Furthermore, there are also those who believe that the system of governance and the language policy in particular will lead to serious polarisation. Teshome (1999) argues that "the policies are exacerbating, possibly even designed to promote, ethnic divisions among Ethiopians. The current language policy has the potential for far-reaching consequences, and at worst it could engender hatred and divisiveness to a point that might lead to war" (ibid, p. 86; cp. Aalen, 2002).

5.1.2. Ethnicity and Identity in Ethiopian Politics

> The phenomenon of ethnicity is being declared by many to be the cause of all the problems of Africa, especially those of violent conflict. [...] In the political system and the laws of an African country, however, ethnicity seldom received official recognition. Ethiopia is an exception (Abbink, 1997, p. 159).

Ethnicity has become the parameter for political division in Ethiopia, and the reason for this lies largely in history and the way ethnic groups have struggled for self determination. Furthermore, according to Abbink (2006, p. 178) the TPLF-EPRDF did not complete their agenda on "neutralization of interest groups based on […] 'narrow nationalist' regional identities". The decentralisation has rather led to increased awareness of ethnic identity. According to Hirut (2007) the linguistic right of mother tongue education caused North Omo zone in SNNPRS to split into three new zones

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[8] The Benishangul People's Liberation Movement (BPLM) tried to ally themselves with the OLF, but broke when they realised that they would have to identify themselves as "black Oromos" (Young, 1999, p. 327).

around ethno-linguistic lines. This was done in spite of the fact that the languages can be considered different dialect varieties.

What makes identity even more complicated is that most people in Ethiopia seem to have a variety of different identities. As already introduced in chapter 3, there is the term 'Habesha', the "core polity" (Paul, 2000, p. 177), as a unifying pan-Ethiopian identity in addition to the ethnic identities. But also the particular ethnic identities are not as simple as they may seem. Abbink (1997) questions whether the original ethnic identities are indeed being captured through the current system or if peoples' ethnic identities are of more recent origin. Also Yonatan (2010) asserts that although the Amhara ruled for a long time, this did not mean that they had the feeling of belonging to one group. They rather identified with their respective regions (Gojjam, Shoa, etc.). Also Cohen (2000b) argues that neither the Oromo nor the Amhara necessarily have to be regarded as one ethnic group, and that assumptions of identity based on language is not always appropriate.

However, according to Smith (2008) today "minority ethnic groups see their political rights best preserved through their membership in ethnic groups, most commonly understood in linguistic terms" (p. 235). In other words, language is one of the most important characteristics for identity (cp. Seidel & Moritz, 2009; Sutuma, 2009). For example, citizens of North Omo zone in SNNPRS refused the introduction of Wogagoda language because they felt that it violated their ethnic identity (see section 2.2.2. in this thesis) (Hirut, 2007; Smith, 2008).

5.2. The Policy on Language of Instruction

As stated in the federal as well as the regional constitution (FDRE, 1994a; RGBG, 2002), students have the right to get primary education in their MT or another language of their choice, if the region and the language communities develop sufficient materials and train teachers, in addition to learning Amharic and English. English is being taught from grade 1 and Amharic from grade 3 as subjects. Primary school consists of four years of first cycle and four years of second cycle. The decentralised system of governance leaves the decision on the appropriate LOI in school to the regions, together with its sub-divisions the zones, woredas and kebeles. This has made it possible that some regions have 4, some 6 and some 8 years of MTI, the latter being Tigray, Amhara, Oromia and Somali (Heugh, 2009). After this, English is LOI in all regions.

Since the Amharisation policy, and even before, Amharic has been the most widely used language in Ethiopia (Getatchew, 1986). Nowadays, 30 % of the population are Amharic native speakers, and

10 % have Amharic as a second language (Alem, 2004). Therefore, even if vernacular languages are encouraged, it is no alternative to abandon Amharic (Cohen, 2005; Getatchew, 1986; Teshome, 1999). Some, however, argue for increased use of Oromo (Tekeste, 2006). So although the goal of the education sector is MTI for all children, a lingua franca (Amharic) will still have to be taught in school. As a result, the policy actually fosters multilingual education (Seidel & Moritz, 2009; Heugh, 2009), yet the term multilingual education does not appear in official policy documents.

5.2.1. The Emergence of the Language Policy (Research Question 1a)

From the above presentation of the political developments in Ethiopia it appears that the policy grew out of the ideology of a political movement. Research question 1a will be addressed here: *How did the current policy on language of instruction emerge out of the context of the Ethiopian political situation?* In order to answer this, information from the literature will be used along with primary data collected in the fieldwork; data obtained through interviews from National Policy Makers (NPM) and Regional (Education) Officers (RO) in BGRS; 6 informants in total. The key questions asked were: where the policy came from, who initiated it in the first place and what the driving force behind it is now (see appendix 5 for the full interview schedule).

The policy was formulated at a conference by the TG, and afterwards the education and training policy was developed where the linguistic rights for all ethnic groups stated in the federal constitution was endorsed, according to a national policy maker (NPM-1). The process of making the policy is described by the MOE (2002a) and claimed to have been "transparent, participatory and democratic" (ibid p. 4). There was a task force under the prime minister's office and several discussion forums throughout 1993, some of which included regional education staff and teachers. The new policy was based on a study that showed the weaknesses of the previous education system, and "contrary to what certain people and groups allege, the process of formulating the education and training policy was not shrouded in secrecy" as it took "ideas and opinions of the society" into consideration as well as the voices of the professionals (MOE, 2002a, p. 6).

However, according to Daniel and Abebayehu (2006) the policy process was not fair because all the major decisions already had been taken at the top level of the EPRDF before it went down to the next levels. As the political agenda had been set from 1991 and some languages already had started to be introduced into education, the 1994 policy from the Ministry of Education only stated what actually was already happening (cp. also Tekeste, 1996). Daniel and Abebayehu (2006) state:

> As it is often the case, the intermediaries could not avoid implementing the policy. The important issue remains whether they participated in the development of the policy or not. [There was] exclusion of grass-

roots-level professionals, the implication of which is obvious, what tends also to be a grave omission is that of parents... (Daniel & Abebayehu, 2006, p. 154)

They further argue that this policy actually came out of a political movement instead of being initiated by education stakeholders. This is agreed on by a national policy maker who states that the policy came because of inequalities that led to nationalist movements whose aim was to address these inequalities. He further acknowledges that everything went a little too fast because the political movements were so eager to push it through:

> [It is] political expediency. So there was an urgency, a political urgency. Not a pedagogical urgency. And in that kind of situation, then it's possible that students may suffer because of lack of materials: teaching materials, lack of trained teachers in the various languages. (NPM-1)

It therefore appears that political pressure can undermine the educational advantages. This is also mentioned by - among others - Teshome (1999), who states that the policies "do not provide for budgetary, human, or physical resources [or] financial implications" (p. 84). Also Hirut (2007) recorded lack of training and materials. Daniel and Abebayehu (2006) additionally argue that the decision that all the 'new' languages should use the Latin alphabet was not necessarily because the users of the languages favoured this script, but because of political rationales (cp. Bloor and Wondwosen, 1996; Tekeste, 1996). One national and one regional informant confirmed this:

> The rationale is that the Geez system doesn't show certain features that Cushitic languages or Omotic languages have, *which is not true, as far as I know* [my emphasis]. And the Ethiopic writing system can, as far as I know […] be used for any of the languages of the country. The shift from Geez to Latin is just a political shift. (NPM-1)

The same reason is stated by a regional officer on why English is being introduced as subject in grade 1 (before Amharic) and LOI in grade 5 in BGRS, and not Amharic. It is the political issue of resistance against Amharic and not primarily a pedagogical issue.

On the other hand, several of the informants also acknowledged the massive pressure for this policy on the grassroots level. Two regional officers both refer to the struggle of providing enough schools with MT education because "there is a huge political pressure to start all over the place […]. It comes from parents" (RO-1).

So all in all it seems as if there was indeed a grassroots movement that brought up the issue in the first place, which then led to the nationalist movements. However, at the same time the grassroots people were not included in the real making of the policy. The formulation of the policy also did not primarily include education stakeholders, but rather politically powerful groups that aimed at finding power balance between the nationalist movements and their agendas.

5.2.2. Implications of the Language Policy

When looking at educational implications, most studies on MTI in Ethiopia show that children score better if they are educated in their MT rather than another language. Heugh (2009) shows that regions with 8 years of MTI show overall good or similar achievement compared to other regions, even in English, except for the states Addis Ababa and Harar that show higher English competence (cp. Mekonnen, 2009; Seidel & Moritz, 2009; Teshome, 2005). Furthermore, MT has a considerable effect on educational quality as it leads to "motivation and active participation in the teaching-learning process" according to the Ethiopian National Agency for UNESCO (ENAU, 2001, p. 24; cp. Heugh et al. 2007). Also, there are indications that it contributes to increased access and enrolment, and decreased dropout (ENAU, 2001; Seidel & Moritz, 2009).

However, a drawback of this policy seems to be the fact that English as LOI starts in grade 9 in some regions and as early as grade 5 in other regions, BGRS included (Heugh, 2009). This has resulted in a 'backwash' effect meaning that the increased pressure on English in early grades undermines the focus on MT (Heugh et al, 2007; Heugh, 2009). Furthermore, Heugh (2010) asserts that although there is some degree of local decision-making in the policy, the overemphasis on Western models and especially English, undermines this. According to Tekeste (2006) this means westernisation "without the necessary financial and economic resources" (p. 38).

Apart from the pedagogical aspect, the policy also has societal implications. According to Seidel, Moritz and Tadesse (2009; cp. Heugh et al. 2007) the policy is consistent with the diversity of the country as it recognises the heterogeneity of language and culture. On the contrary, Cohen (2005) and Teshome (1999) are critical towards the promotion of vernacular languages because languages in Ethiopia cannot be considered equal. Some are standardised, have materials and trained teachers, others not. The official use of minority languages therefore "runs the risk of further underlining their subordinate role if their use appears artificial and ungainly" (Cohen, 2005, p. 66), and therefore it might make things worse for smaller languages. Still, not surprisingly, the arguments from the MOE speak pro equalisation, however mainly in terms of equal access (MOE, 2002a). So there does not seem to be an agreement on the societal effects of the policy.

There are also economic implications of the policy. Although the policy requires initial costs, it will actually have a cost-saving effect according to Heugh et al. (2007). This is because better student outcomes will make the school system more effective and therefore return the investment within a few years. There is a tendency towards increased education budgets, especially for primary educa-

tion (MOE, 2002a). However, Smith (2008) asserts that the economic cost of multilingual education is considerable, and that the cheapest solution is not always possible, such as merging four languages into 'Wogagoda' (see above). This issue is also mentioned by Daniel and Abebayehu (2006) who argue that it would have required less cost to use the Ethiopic alphabet for Cushitic languages instead of Latin script. And so, again, there is no agreement on the issue.

The implications of the policy differ for bigger and smaller states. Although decentralisation has the advantage that the 'monolingual' states can produce cheap MT materials in their languages, it also has disadvantages for smaller and multilingual regions. This is because the economic burden is bigger for smaller multilingual states (Smith 2008) at the same time as there is lack of financial and human resources (Heugh, 2009). The policy therefore also leads to various challenges at the local level, for the woreda and the schools/ teachers, especially for the smaller states. For example, there is a serious problem of teacher's qualifications and materials, and especially students' text books (Lasonen et al., 2005; Hirut, 2007).

So from a pedagogical angle the policy is often described as a success, although some argue that there are problems with resources and manpower. However, language policy is also linked to developments and processes outside education, e.g. concerning society and identity. For this reason the main focus of the remainder of this thesis will examine the effects of LOI on social identity for two groups. Before this, however, it is necessary to give a brief overview of these two ethnic groups.

5.3. Two Ethnic Groups in Focus: Gumuz and Shinasha

The Ethiopian constitution starts with the following words: "We, the Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia..." (FDRE, 1994a), which refers to the over 80 different ethnic groups living within the borders of the country, although the actual terminology of 'nations, nationalities and peoples' is unclear (Yonatan, 2010). It refers to a group of people who share the same culture, language, identity, psychological make-up and territory (FDRE, 1994a). Two of these ethnic groups are the Gumuz and Shinasha from Metekkel zone in BGRS (RGBG, 2002).

5.3.1. The Gumuz

The Gumuz of Ethiopia are estimated to number around 122,000 people (Abbink, 2012a) who mainly live in what today is BGRS. In 1898 they were included into the Ethiopian Empire together with the neighbouring ethnicities (Abbink, 2012a). According to James (1986) the Gumuz had already experienced slave raids and colonisation by highland settlers, and began to move from Gojjam

into lower areas from the 18th and beginning of the 19th century. Population pressure and margin-alisation continued into the 20th century with resettlement of highland population causing further displacement and increased poverty among the Gumuz (Yntiso, 2003).

The Gumuz' relationship with other ethnic groups has consequently not always been easy. Arabs, Amhara, Oromo and Agaw were engaged in slavery and "regarded the Gumuz with contempt" (Abbink, 2012a, p. 916). The Gumuz and other groups of the west were labelled with the term 'Shanqilla' which is a degenerative term for people with dark skin colour (ibid). They then adopted this negative view of themselves from the 'superior' groups (Abdussamad, 1999). Although ethnic differences did not always play a big role in imperial and Derg Ethiopia, for the 'Shanqilla' "ethnic consciousness seems to have been more developed" as they were not allowed to enter the Amhara community (Donham, 1986, p. 35). Although slave trade officially was abolished in 1942, unofficial slavery still continued (James, 1980). Even up to end-Derg times the Gumuz were still called 'Shanqilla', and this area continued to be regarded as periphery (Abbink, 2012a; Donham, 1986).

The Gumuz language has been classified as Nilo-Saharan, but it might be an isolated language not belonging to any known family (Bender, 2012). The Gumuz culture is distinct and traditionally practised among the Gumuz of different clans only (James, 1986). Gumuz people mostly practice agriculture and husbandry and they traditionally have their own religion, although many nowadays are Christians and Muslims. One special cultural feature is the system of sister-exchange marriages which means that a man has to give his sister to his wife's family as exchange (James, 1986).[9] Mixed marriages between highlanders and Gumuz, however, were not commonly accepted according to Donham (1986), and descendants from their children were traced back for generations.

Recently, the Gumuz language has been made a written language and introduced as LOI in school. There are several challenges that immediately occur in this regard. For example, the education level among the Gumuz in general is very low, as recorded by Young (1999) and also confirmed in this study, representing a challenge when the group now is dependent on its own resources to develop the language. Moreover, women's education level is still lower, and there are very few girls going to school. Also, as the Gumuz largely live in rural areas with limited educational access, the expansion of education itself is a challenge. However, when looking at their history, it is understandable if they now see the new language policy as an opportunity to come out of their marginalised position.

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9 This practice started because poverty was preventing them to pay bride price, and a sister was given instead. It is based on mutual trust and balance. If one woman runs away, the other can also do so. If a man doesn't have a sister he must promise his daughter to his wife's family. Exchange can go on for generations (James, 1986).

5.3.2. The Shinasha

The Shinasha are an ethnic group very little studied (Abbink, 2012a). They were the only group that had a good relationship with the Gumuz (ibid), and their history is also marked by raids and assimilation. The Shinasha were originally part of a kingdom called Gonga that stretched from the former province Kafa and up to where the Shinasha currently live (Abbink, 2012b; Abebe, 2012b). Before the 16th century, the kingdom prospered, but during the last 200 years the population decreased rapidly, mainly because of assimilation by Oromo, but also war and epidemics. North of the Abbay River (Blue Nile), the only remnants of the Gonga are "the light-skinned Šinaša" (Lange, 1982, p. 1). Oral tradition has it that the Gonga originate from the Middle East, but this is not based on evidence (Lange, 1982; see also Abebe, 2012b who puts more faith into this story).

Today, the Shinasha (Northern Gonga) are estimated to number slightly more than 60,000 people, most of them living in Metekkel Zone of BGRS. For a long time they have had extensive relations with the Gumuz, Oromo, Agaw and later Amhara, and as already mentioned, particularly the Oromo have assimilated many Shinasha (Abebe, 2012a; Tsega, 2006). Although the Shinasha generally are poor, there are few recordings of Shinasha slavery apart from the attacks by the highlanders referred to in Lange (1982). Their culture is distinguished from the others by their folklore, dance and music, as well as traditions for healing and magic (Abbink, 2012b).

The North-Omotic Shinasha language, which they call 'Borna' or 'Borinono' is spoken by around 20,000 people only (Wedekind, 2012), which means that only one third of those who call themselves Shinasha actually speak the language. When one looks at a language map such as the one in Bender, Bowen, Cooper, and Ferguson (1976), one can see the Omotic languages as small islands within the Cushitic and Nilo-Saharan-speaking areas from the border of Kenya in the south to Metekkel in the north as an evidence of the previous spread of the language family. Nowadays most Shinasha live in multilingual surroundings and are multilingual themselves.

Shinasha is now being introduced as LOI in school. This group has the advantage of a high percentage of educated people, and they are well represented in different positions in society (e.g. regional and woreda administration, education, etc.). However, as only a third of the Shinasha speak the language, the language community is very small in number and thus there are few places where it is natural to start with MTI. Yet during the last 15 years there has been a movement among the Shinasha of Bullen to find back to their original roots (Abbink, 2012b; Tsega, 2006), so the language policy could be an important step in this direction.

6- RESULTS

This chapter will present the bulk of the data collected during the fieldwork in Ethiopia in September and October 2012. Firstly, it will present analysis from eight official documents from the Ethiopian Government (FDRE) and the Ministry of Education (MOE); Federal and regional constitutions, the 1994 Education and Training policy, two reports from the Ministry as well as three ESDPs (see appendix 4). Secondly, data collected through semi-structured interviews from national policy makers and regional and woreda officers in BGRS will be presented and analysed (8 informants). Thirdly, the chapter will contain data gathered from teachers and principals, parents and community members/ elders from four schools, two with Shinasha instruction and two with Gumuz instruction, located in three woredas in Metekkel Zone, BGRS (46 informants). Further, there is data from three informants at the local teacher training college. See appendix 13 for statistics of the informants. Data collection methods were semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. Fourthly, it will also present some of my own observations and personal notes during the fieldwork.

6.1. Research Question 1b

This section will concentrate on the second part of the first research question: *What are the rationales and aims of the policy and how is it being implemented in BGRS?* This question will be answered by looking at 8 official policy documents as well as semi-structured interviews that were made with policy makers and regional officers during the fieldwork (6 informants), supplemented by teacher's voices. Key questions asked were about what the informants thought were the rationales and aims of the policy, about its decentralisation and implementation (obstacles and challenges) and the role of identity within the policy. I also asked about the potential unifying or splitting effect of the policy (see appendices 4 and 5).

In the data presentation, codes will be used to refer to the different informants. NPM refers to National Policy Maker, RO and WO to Regional and Woreda Officer respectively. TS and TG stand for Shinasha and Gumuz Teachers respectively and TTC means informant at the teacher training college. For the whole list of informants and how to understand the codes used, see appendix 12.

6.1.1. Rationales of the Policy

It is stated in the national constitution (FDRE, 1994a), article 5, that "1. All Ethiopian languages shall enjoy equal state recognition. 2. Amharic shall be the working language of the Federal Government. 3. Members of the Federation may by law determine their respective working languages."

In BGRS this is Amharic, but also here, the different local languages shall have equal protection (RGBG, 2002). The rationale behind this is shown in the federal constitution, article 39 which is the right of all citizens to use and develop their own language. According to the Education and Training Policy (FDRE, 1994b), the explicit rationale for the language policy is the "pedagogical advantage of the child in learning in mother tongue" and the "rights of nationalities to promote the use of their languages" (p. 23). However, throughout the document there is a general implicit rationale that is promotion of democracy and peace, equality and justice. All in all the document has more focus on problem-solving, civic values and conflict prevention than on tangible knowledge.

The four Education Sector Development Program documents (ESDP), in which international donor agencies have been participating, do not state any rationale at all as they are more interested in setting priorities for the next five years. In fact, the language issue is not very much dealt with in any of the ESDP's.

In the MOE (2002a) document on the education and training policy and its implementation, however, there are explicit rationales which are the efficiency of MTI and its potential to improve access equitably. Furthermore, the connection between language and identity is very clearly stated as a reason for advocating MTI. Since MTI makes students proud and self-confident, this "makes produce capable and productive citizens possible [sic]" (p. 36). It is also stated that "[t]he reason for [priority on primary education] is not only because primary education is the right of every citizen, but also because it is the chief instrument for social and economic growth" (MOE, 2002a, p. 77). In other words, there is evidence of an underlying instrumental thinking behind the value of recognising the students' identities. Another reason for MTI is that many students will stay in the local communities where there is need for the use of MT, although learning Amharic and English is also strongly advocated. It is also mentioned that the policy was formulated because people broke free from oppression and made something new.

In the interviews with the two national policy makers, the pedagogical rationale was the most prevalent. Both informants started with citing the 1994 policy. However, one of them, NPM-2, denied there was a political rationale, but only the rationale of pedagogical advantage with MTI. Later in the interview, however, he agreed that there also were some political rationales behind the policy such as the wish for unity and search for identity. In contrast, in the interview with the other policy maker (NPM-1), the rationale for the change of policy in general, and that of language in particular, was much more clearly linked to the political history. He clearly expressed the issue of identity and the need for unification. He went on to assert that there is no clear pedagogical rationale for the pol-

icy because the only important thing is that the students *understand* the LOI. Therefore, "you don't need to use all the 80 languages in the school system. You can take […] probably *three to five* languages for the entire [...] country" (NPM-1). Thus, he claims that the policy actually only uses the pedagogical rationale to get through the political agenda outlined in the previous chapter on the emergence of the policy.

Also among the regional officers, the pedagogical rationale was the most frequently mentioned. Two of the informants explicitly said that *all* language groups who have enough resources should develop their language as LOI because of pedagogical reasons. One also particularly denied that the policy had anything to do with identity, and several times said that there is "no need for identity" (RO-2). Another regional officer said that the only underlying rationale is the pedagogical because he could see no other reason why people would develop their language if they wouldn't use it. Still, all of them expressed that they felt there were some political rationales, for example the wish for freedom from Amharic hegemony and more local autonomy. Further, two officers talked about the need for creating national unity through acknowledging different groups, and one officer expressed the need for peace. The identity and equity rationale was mentioned by all except one.

The rationale behind the policy therefore seems to be both political as well as pedagogical. The former is related to the historical developments, identity and the need to keep a power balance between the ethnic groups and their nationalist movements. This stance is to a very little degree expressed in any official document except MOE (2002a), although is strongly expressed by one national policy maker supported by some regional officers. There seems to be a disagreement between people working at the same level as to whether or not the political rationale is important. The other rationale is the pedagogical one which by MOE (2002a) is also linked to productivity and economy. This is mentioned in the other official documents as well as by all the informants regardless of level.

6.1.2. Aims and Objectives of the Policy

The education policy document from 1994 has some general objectives for the education and training policy where there is more focus on so-called 'soft' values than tangible knowledge or economic development.[10] There is no specific objective for the language policy except "to recognize the rights of nations/ nationalities to learn in their language" (FDRE, 1994b, p. 10, 11). In *Education and*

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[10] Objectives that correspond with the former are: problem-solving; reaching the potential of citizens; educate students to support human rights; well-being of people; equality; justice; peace and democracy; educate students who stand for truth; aesthetics. Those corresponding with the latter are: resource utilisation; teaching various skills; supporting useful instead of harmful practices; development and spread of science and technology; and addressing environmental and societal needs.

Training Policy and Its Implementation (MOE, 2002a), the specific aims for the policy are all educational and not political or social,[11] but the overall goal of education is to educate citizens who are "capable of playing conscious and active role in the economic, social, and political life of the country" (p. 15), so it can be assumed that choice of language should also play a role in achieving this.

The other policy documents, all of them which are developed in cooperation with international donor agencies, state very little about specific objectives related to the LOI. All aims stated in *Education for All. Ethiopia Country Report* (MOE, 2000) for example, are purely educational and do not mention LOI in particular. In the ESDP's (MOE, 2002b, 2005, 2010) it seems that the goals for education in general become more and more linked to economic and tangible development instead of civic or intrinsic values. In 2002 the first of the four major goals is linked to human rights, democracy and citizenship, and goal three is linked to trained manpower (economic goal). In 2005 the first of the general goals is "to produce responsible and competent citizens" (MOE, 2005, p. 34) and poverty reduction and productivity are elsewhere also stated as very important goals. The same can be noted in the 2010 ESDP: access to quality education should enable the students to participate in the social, economic and political development of the country. These may appear as social and civic goals - which they also are - but they clearly focus on economy and productivity as education in the end shall serve "the demand of the economy" (MOE, 2010, p. 6).

Neither of the national policy makers mentioned economic aims, but rather pedagogical as well as political aims. The pedagogical aim is simply that "students will achieve good results […] at the end of their primary education" (NPM-2). The political aims consist of 'identity aims', 'equality', and 'peace-making', and especially the latter refers to the political processes of reconciliation outlined in the first part of the research question. Another objective mentioned was to "come up with equality and equity" (NPM-2). However, there was a disagreement between the two as the other policy maker (NPM-1) emphasised the political urge for peace-making between the different nationalist movements as the most important aim of the policy, whereas this was excluded totally by the one cited above as he kept emphasising the pedagogical aims.

The regional officers mainly discussed the pedagogical aims and objectives of the policy, although, one also stated that the other aim apart from pedagogy was identity as it is "difficult to express or demonstrate the culture without ones language" (RO-4). Equalisation and empowerment of smaller groups was also mentioned as an important aim of the policy by two officers. There was only one who mentioned the economic aim of making the students more competitive.

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[11] Access, motivation, students expressing their views and grasp concepts, teaching-learning process... etc.

So all things considered there are pedagogical, political and economical aims for this policy. Which goals are dominant seem partly to be connected to who expresses it. The documents that the Federal Government or Ministry itself have produced seem to put more emphasis on peace, civic knowledge and participation, i.e. more intrinsic and social values of education and language. Documents where international donor agencies have been participating focused more on economic and other instrumental goals in addition to the pedagogical intentions. Additionally, political aims were not explicitly visible in any of the documents. In the interviews with the national policy makers and regional officers, however, some political goals were visible although they did not agree with each other as some of them emphasised pedagogical achievement as the main or only aim. However, those who took the Ethiopian history into account could not avoid talking about important political aims.

6.1.3. Implementation

The policy has been implemented since 1994, but with very big variation among the regions. Now instruction is given in 23 or 24 languages throughout the country, reaching up to different grades. The federal level is responsible for the general guidelines and the syllabus, and the region then produces the curriculum together with the woreda and school staff (MOE, 2002a). As primary education is in the control of the region, it is also the region together with the woreda who decide about which and how far the language(s) should be used as instruction or subject. The presentation of results about implementation will from now on be more concerned with underlying factors that drive the implementation rather than technical details.

The decision on which languages to develop and introduce as LOI, depends fully on the internal capacity of the language communities. This means that if a language community (i.e. an ethnic group) has resources and personnel to develop the language and curriculum they can do so. Still, the issues on resources and personnel don't seem to be taken enough into consideration. A national policy maker expressed this concern:

> So if you want in simple terms, the policy is pedagogically sound, the implementation is not pedagogically sound, it is *politically* sound. So that's why I said there is a political expediency, a political priority, more than pedagogical concern. And this has led to some difficulties in the actual implementation. […] Qualified instructors are available in one language, but not in another language. […] Some of the languages don't have primers, they don't have manuals, they don't have dictionaries [...]. And these guys are going to sit for the national examination... (NPM-1)

This means there are inequalities not easily overcome with help of the language policy – indeed they might be increased because of lack of preparedness. This speaks for the whole country, but the same problems were identified in BGRS in particular.

Five years ago, Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) started pilot programmes at 21 schools from 1st to 4th grade for the three languages Shinasha, Gumuz and Berta. In these schools MTI is offered for indigenous children and Amharic for children who have another MT. In addition, 80 or more government schools implemented the languages without being pilot schools, and several other schools offer the languages as a subject. One regional officer sarcastically said that the Regional Education Bureau several times has decided to add another 100 MTI schools without calculating how many more trained teachers this will need for four years in a row. The issue of the shortness of trained teachers was actually mentioned by all policy informants as well as most teachers and some parents. Generally, teachers have only a few days or weeks training because they originally were trained in English/ Amharic in another department, e.g. history or biology. A frustrated teacher said the following:

> 15 days training cannot change anyone. Can a person take training for 15 days and then teach the students? We are teaching the next generation! Why do they give us training for only15 days, and then say: "Go and teach!" It is not good, all of this does not work, it is a joke! That's it is. It is not enough education for myself. (F-TG-c-(1))

This teacher actually had 15 days of training of varying quality, but the largest share of teachers who were informants in the study actually had only had a few days of in-service training. The teacher training college is now increasing the credits for MT courses, but there is still not enough training, as was also was admitted by an informant at the college.

Another major problem often mentioned is lack of supervision and support because the woredas also suffer from lack of training and materials such as text books, dictionaries, etc. The teachers make dictionaries themselves and correct the text books, but as the languages are written in Latin script, the teachers cannot use the school typewriter which only has the Amharic alphabet. Lastly, the orthography of both Gumuz and Shinasha is still undergoing changes, which further hinders the teachers' work. Besides this, two regional officers expressed that a major obstacle for the implementation is that teachers are not using the advantage of the MT because of inappropriate teaching methods. They use the rote method which means repetition and memorisation.

It is also acknowledged by the MOE (2002a) that there is shortage of trained education professionals, that some languages are better developed than others and that the stages of textbook preparation vary between the language groups. Shortage of materials and teacher training are also mentioned in all the ESDP documents.

In the observation made at the schools, however, it seemed like the teaching and learning process was enhanced through the use of MT. Teachers and students seemed to have a good relationship and

frequent exchanges. They mostly used their MT consistently, seeming confident in the oral and written use. Although some classes used repetition, there were times when the children took initiative to ask questions and also pointed at mistakes the teacher did. One teacher said that when teaching in MT the teachers and students "are acting like the same family, fathers and children, mothers and children. And children, when there is something that is not clear for them, they are not afraid to ask questions" (TS-a-2). One can assume that this has a positive effect on the teaching and learning process. Furthermore, teachers and parents referred to the huge pedagogical advantages of using MT for achievement, motivation and self-confidence in school.

Although most of the regional officers said they do the expansion of the MTI because of pressure from society, they also expressed they had problems with "awareness" which means that some people don't want MTI for their children because they don't believe in its advantages. A woreda officer referred to the belief that Amharic is a better LOI as "bad assumptions" (WO-1). According to him, it is mostly illiterate parents who "think wrongly". A national policy maker expressed it this way:

> You know, if you think of the identity issue, everybody says: "Fine, it's good! My language should be written. […]" But when it comes to the pedagogical issue, some may say: "Oh, I don't think my child will get a good knowledge in my language because this language has never been a language of education, a language of science, a language of innovation. […] Because my language is my language within my community only. […]" (NPM-2)

In my observations I also came across this belief as I talked with two parents who preferred to send their children to Amharic track because of the societal benefits of being fluent in this language. However, most of the officers, parents and teachers expressed anger towards parents thinking like this because it undermines the implementation. So there seem to be two different forces: those who demand MTI in spite of limited resources, and those who oppose it. The region tries to fight this by "awareness raising" and expansion of the policy, but they obviously reach their limits in terms of manpower and materials.

Another issue discussed at length was the level of Amharic and English knowledge of the students. Amharic is introduced as a subject from grade 3, and English as a subject from grade 1and as LOI from grade 5. Some informants (officers, teachers and parents) said the MT students learn enough or even better Amharic and English than other students. However, the majority of informants on all levels expressed fear that the change would be sudden and difficult. Although the teaching should be in English from grade 5, all explanations are in Amharic because the students' and teachers' level of English knowledge is insufficient. From my observations, some teachers who are supposed to teach in English are not able to have even a simple conversation in English and therefore, the teach-

ing in grade 5 naturally is Amharic, giving those who have had four years of Amharic instruction an advantage over those who only have had the language as a subject for two years.

Despite the shortcomings, the implementation of the policy in BGRS is impressive. Three language groups, where one is very low in number (Shinasha) and one has a major problem of few educated people (Gumuz), have been able to develop their languages as LOI. Although this happens in cooperation with SIL it needs a lot of effort and preparation from local forces. In the teacher training college and at the schools, the Gumuz and Shinasha teachers make school dictionaries, readings for small children, corrections of text books, etc., and they teach in their language and use it consequently, according to observations and information from the teachers.

To sum up, there are major challenges in the implementation which are mainly due to the lack of preparedness in terms of trained personnel, materials and routines. Nonetheless, the number of schools using MT increases, the teacher training expands, and the development of materials slowly improves. However, the question one still can ask is whether the urgent implementation, despite lack of preparedness, could actually have a negative effect on educational quality, and especially teaching and learning. This did not appear in the observations and there were also frequent assurances from informants that the policy increases achievements. Still, it was also apparent that the nature of the change was very sudden. Therefore, if the language groups were well-prepared, the implementation would probably work better and the advantages of MTI would be more visible.

6.2. Research Question 2

The second research question, and at the same time also the main focus of this thesis, is about the relationship between LOI and changes in people's social identity where there will be a comparison between the ethnic groups Gumuz and Shinasha. Results from interviews and focus group discussions with teachers, principals, parents and members of the local communities – data from a total of 46 informants – as well as observation notes will be presented in this section. In addition, information gathered from regional and woreda education officers and staff at the teacher training college (interviewed for the purpose of research question 1) will supplement the findings.

Two pilot schools in Metekkel Zone in BGRS were main sites for the research (one for each language) and two pilot schools were used to follow up some initial hypothesis and do further interviewing. Key questions asked were about the benefits and disadvantages of the policy and also about its uniting or splitting effect. I also asked about the implementation and people's experiences

with working with the policy. The main focus was on identity, ethnicity and language in addition to culture. Finally, there were questions on where they think the policy comes from. (See appendices 6-7.) This section is organised around the major categories identified from the data and will be given for each group separately.

The informants have been given codes for recognition (see also appendix 12). HS/ TS and HG/ TG refer to Shinasha and Gumuz headmasters/ teachers respectively. MS and FS/ MG and FG refer to Shinasha/ Gumuz mothers and fathers. CS/ CG means Shinasha/ Gumuz community members or elders. An F- before the code means a focus group member, and in that case the number in brackets refers to the speaker (each focus group had 3 or 4 members). The lower case letter refers to the school: Schools -a- and -b- are Shinasha schools, schools -c- and -d- are Gumuz schools.

6.2.1. Results Shinasha

This section entails data from informants who identified themselves as Shinasha regardless if they spoke the language or not. As mentioned above, a total of 9 teachers and 12 parents and community members/ elders were interviewed, in addition to the principals at the two schools visited and two education officers in the two woredas where the schools were located. As already introduced in section 5.3.2., the Shinasha are on the one hand a small group but on the other hand they are widely represented in society in different higher positions. During the last two centuries this ethnic group has experienced assimilation and therefore separation from southern Ethiopian groups who were part of the same big kingdom. Therefore, the Shinasha group characteristics have partly disappeared, such as the language, which in some Shinasha woredas is almost not spoken anymore.

A) Pride and confidence, but "awareness problem"

In the data gathered at the Shinasha instruction schools there was a clear tendency towards favouring the MT intrinsically and just for the sake of it. Parents and teachers expressed that both they and the students felt happy just because their language is used. For example, a mother said that "when [my children] come home and read in Shinasha language, we feel happy" (F-MS-a-(4)). Several teachers and parents stated that they were proud of their language and two fathers from the focus group discussion said they pity Shinasha children learning in Amharic because it makes them suffer not to know their own language properly.

Moreover, the language is also valued among non-speakers. One Amhara mother chose to send her son to Shinasha instruction because his dead father had been Shinasha and she wanted him to learn the language, although she did not speak it herself. A regional officer told that there is one school in

Assosa that teaches Shinasha for Shinasha children who wish to learn their language. But adults also wish to learn the language, primarily because it is the language of their ethnic group. Two mothers in the focus group discussion agreed that their relatives from Wombera woreda (where few speak the language) always ask them to teach them their language.

Besides this intrinsic value, informants also expressed a pedagogical advantage of MTI. Among the issues mentioned was improved reading ability, better understanding in class, the students describe, express and elaborate, they become more creative and they get better grades. But also later in life, teachers and parents expect their language to give the students an advantage, such as in local jobs where knowledge of the community language is needed. One father said that if Shinasha became the official language of the region, all children who were not educated in MT would have to leave for another region. Maybe more realistically, one mother compares her two daughters Tesfanesh, who learns in Amharic because she started school before the policy change, and Rediet, who learns in Shinasha. Rediet will have an advantage if knowledge of Shinasha language is a criterion for a job, for example. She goes on to say:

> If in case my daughter Rediet went to somewhere and then when someone is asking her about Shinasha, she can explain about Shinasha, about the history of Shinasha, culture, and language because she learned the language in detail. But Tesfanesh, if someone asks her to explain about Shinasha, she will [...] have to ask other people in order to respond. (F-MS-a-(1))

So language and culture is valued as something important for the future, may it be in employment, or only in order to be able to answer about one's own background. Lastly, another item identified was confidence in wanting to show language and culture to other people. A teacher said that he wished all posters and signs to be in Shinasha to show everyone the language and another was proud to tell that he had used the language on the streets of Addis Ababa for "demonstrating and explaining our ethnic group and our language" (TS-a-2). A mother and an elder mentioned they now would be able to use their language in public meetings, and several informants were very eager to show their language to people from other groups.

Despite these findings, not all members of the community seem to see the state of things this way. What most informants referred to as a "problem of awareness" is that some parents don't seem to appreciate their MT and prefer to educate their children in Amharic. I spoke with a Shinasha father who chose to send his children to Amharic instruction because he believes the children will get double advantages as he can teach them Shinasha at home and they learn Amharic in school. This "awareness problem" is discussed by two fathers in a focus group discussion (F-FS-a):

Father 3: A great problem in my opinion is [parents] deliberately sending their children to Amharic class. It is limiting the number of the Shinasha learning students, so it has a negative influence on the Shinasha community. For us as Shinasha it is not good.

Father 2: The reason why some communities are doing this is because of an awareness problem. [...] And also not only the teachers, but also the Shinasha communities should be aware of the advantage of learning in our own language.

Still more disturbing for both teachers and parents was that there are some people in higher positions in the Shinasha community (an example given was woreda employee) prefer to educate their children in Amharic, and this makes the rest of the community doubt the advantage of MTI.

Surprisingly, the obvious advantage of Amharic knowledge for all future activities in the public sphere was not mentioned among the parents except for the father who chose to send his children to Amharic instruction. Two teachers did mention the issue of parents choosing Amharic because of future employment chances and they both said this comes from the fact that the parents don't know the advantage of their language yet ('awareness problem'). A female teacher interviewed in a single interview expressed that she did not favour the example of Oromia Region where children largely don't learn Amharic and then have serious problems when looking for employment. However, the rather relaxed attitude towards learning Amharic among the Shinasha parents may come from the fact that they all speak Amharic fluently and the whole society is bilingual, so they expect the children will learn Amharic from general exposure.

Although the Shinasha seem to have a very positive view on their language and ethnic group, it has not always been like that, according to the informants. One teacher said the language was considered a dirty language before the change in LOI and people would ask "What kind of language do you speak? Is this a language? It is a language of birds" (F-TS-c-(2)). Previously people could not use Shinasha in public offices, etc., but this has changed now. An old Shinasha elder explained much about the inequalities they had to face during imperial and communist times, and he compared the development of Shinasha as a written language to being "born again" (CS-a-1). According to one father, the language was on the brink of being forgotten when the change of government took place. A woreda officer stated that the Shinasha previously "were trying to be another tribe, but now we can use our language. We were assimilated" (WO-2).

The way the Shinasha see their own language nowadays is not as it was before. The change of LOI has brought a boost to the value of the language, making the Shinasha more visible in society. This proud and confident language use was also something I observed at Shinasha schools. Both teachers and students spoke Shinasha with each other in the break times. Parents seemed involved in the

school. Concerning culture, the school took pride in their ownership of some traditional Shinasha artefacts. Still, there were no signs or posters in Shinasha language outside the pedagogical centre, where the cultural artefacts were locked up. An obvious status factor for the Shinasha is they have many more educated people than, for example, the Gumuz. This was pointed out by several regional officers. Most of the regional and the woreda staff interviewed, as well as two out of four principals, were Shinasha.

B) Wish to be unique and not Habesha

In the data collected, there is no reference of similarities of the Shinasha with other ethnic groups, and many made mention of the division between Shinasha and 'others'. Several times in interviews and focus group discussions with parents it was mentioned that Shinasha language and culture is unique and different from other groups, such as Amhara or Gumuz.

This uniqueness is further strengthened by the recent change of LOI as the children are divided into groups according to language. A woreda officer said MT would help the children "think as a Shinasha. Every place where they go, they can reflect as a Shinasha" (WO-1). This clearly shows the informants considered Shinasha as being something very different from any other ethnic group. Two mothers explicitly mentioned the LOI had actually divided the students and made differences between the groups more visible (F-MS-a):

> *Mother 2:* It makes more visible which ethnicity someone belongs to.
> *Mother 1:* I agree. When this language is developed, other ethnic groups will say about us: "This is Shinasha language, culture and history". But this all is after it has been developed.
> *Researcher:* So is it a good thing that the differences become more visible?
> [All of them agree that it's a good thing.]

This categorisation is also done with self-confidence. A mother in the focus group discussion, when asked what she would think other groups, such as Amhara or Agaw thought about MTI for Shinasha children, she replied that she didn't care what other groups thought about this. MTI in Shinasha was considered 'Shinasha business' and not the concern of other groups, clearly showing there is a distinction between who is inside and who is outside.

Most informants also clearly stated that Shinasha cannot be considered Habesha[12], the Pan-Ethiopian designation, although they all clearly expressed that they belonged to Ethiopia: "I am Shinasha, not Habesha, although I am politically Ethiopian" (HS-b). One teacher stated that parents sending their children to Amharic instruction can no longer be Shinasha:

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[12] See chapter 5.1.2 about Habesha, a term referring to all Ethiopians belonging to the core identity.

> This guy [who sends his children to Amharic track] must change his tribe to not being Shinasha [...]. It is impossible to use two ways, on one way he is Shinasha, but his children are learning in Amharic. So he has to cancel one of them. He must be either Shinasha or Amharic. (F-TS-a-(4))

In contrast, there were also informants who admitted that Shinasha could be seen as a part of Habesha. However, this was done with some hesitation. The two woreda officers said they were Habesha for the foreigners, probably because they wouldn't know the difference between the ethnic groups, and one teacher said Shinasha had become Habesha, implying it may not have always been like that.

To sum up, the Shinasha mostly expressed they saw themselves as something unique, not similar to other groups and not necessary Habesha. They also saw the increased division between the groups as a positive change. When returned to Addis Ababa I did some follow-up interviews over telephone as I had learned that it is almost impossible to tell the difference between Shinasha and Amhara/ Oromo by appearance (and very distinct to the Gumuz). Through my interpreter I could speak to a Shinasha teacher and ask what the difference and similarities between Shinasha and other ethnic groups (not Gumuz) actually are in daily life. He elaborated how the clothing and culture traditionally differ, but he could not convince me that these differences are so visible in contemporary society. This again shows the wish to be different, although it can be difficult to 'prove' sometimes. It may be here the LOI comes in – as a visible evidence for the uniqueness of the Shinasha.

C) Keep originality

Central to this research is the perceived role of the language and what the informants believe or wish for it to do for them. One very common answer among the Shinasha informants when asked about the role their language would play as LOI was that it would help them preserve the original language and culture. Most of the interviewed parents told how their children teach them features of their language such as the names of the days, etc. which they have forgotten, and which reappears through the LOI. The teachers also welcome the opportunity to retrieve the original language and traditional culture.

In regards to culture, features mentioned which should be preserved were traditional sitting in the home (where the elders sit), wedding and funeral tradition, farming style, food culture, clothing, jewellery, etc. A woreda officer made the point of saying "our culture which was endangered can now be written down and preserved" (WO-2), and a father said:

> Because of this mixed living with other ethnic groups, our original language is getting lost. So now our language is appearing in school as LOI. *All* the original culture should reappear through LOI. (F-FS-a-(3))

When specifically asked about possible negative traditions they would like to change, some informants continued to talk about traditions regarded as positive. Others gave information about this (girls' circumcision, cutting the tonsil, stomach massage, forced marriage, taking out the children's teeth with nails, etc.) but it was never volunteered without asking. Yet even some traditions considered by other people as harmful, such as magic, were praised by a community elder.

A visible evidence of the Shinasha's wish to make their group characteristics seem positively distinct is the Boro Shinasha Development Association. Although this association does health, education and agricultural work, their main mandate is preservation of the Shinasha history, culture and language, according to a regional officer. This association was mentioned by both teachers and parents (and I was asked to become a member!). So LOI is seen as a means of preserving traditions and the original language. All these values of MT can be considered retrospective as they are concerned with how the ethnic group was before.

D) Culture and history define Shinasha – but what about language?

One important question asked was what it means to be a Shinasha and which characteristics are important in order to be considered a Shinasha. The answers given were culture, language and common history, the former being the most common answer. So a condition of being Shinasha is to share the same way of making food, dressing and celebrating life events and ceremonies. One woreda officer, who could not speak Shinasha, said his identification comes from their origin from the Middle East, and also being related to the Kafa people in the south.

The issue of language is more difficult as almost half of the ethnic Shinasha do not speak the language. One mother said "language never matters for being part of an ethnic group" (F-MS-a-(4)) and a (Shinasha) regional officer explained that even if people have not spoken the language for 100 years, they are still Shinasha. However, there were informants who also saw language as a characteristic for group membership. Parents told how the language describes their identity, and another regional officer (non-Shinasha) said:

> I expected actually that Shinasha wouldn't want [the change in LOI], because most of them, or many of those kids they actually speak Amharic […] but for some reason, they feel very strongly about their language. Much more than others. They don't want to lose it. Even there is one school where very few children actually speak Shinasha as MT. But they insisted on having Shinasha school there. (RO-1)

One further question asked was which conditions are important for becoming a Shinasha and under which circumstances (i.e. which missing characteristics) one ceased to be a Shinasha. Here Shinasha seem to make it quite easy to enter the group. For example, former (dark skinned) slaves can be as-

similated into by Shinasha if they adapt to the language and culture. If a Shinasha lives somewhere else and doesn't speak the language, he should still be a Shinasha and "represent his community" (F-TS-a-(3)). A father revealed that he sends his son who doesn't speak Shinasha to Shinasha instruction, because this is his ethnicity. He does not like the system that enables the parents to decide which track the children should be in, but it should be automatic for Shinasha children to learn in Shinasha because the language is supposed to be a characteristic of the group.

To sum up, LOI is seen as an opportunity to introduce language as a possible characteristic for ethnic identity. At the same time language should not be a criterion for leaving the group, but rather all who identify as member of the group should learn the language. It is therefore easy to become a member of the group, but slightly more difficult to leave it, maybe because so many have already done so through decades of assimilation.

E) Equality and unity

When asked about the relationship with other groups, most Shinasha informants answered that the relationship is good. This good relationship is attributed to the fact that everyone is allowed to use their language and show their culture on equal footing. An example given of the good relationship with other groups was that every ethnicity is allowed to show their songs, dance, etc. at different occasions, and people can watch and participate in each other's performances. This was not only described as 'equality' by a teacher, but furthermore as an illustration of the Ethiopian unity, as groups, through "demonstrating their language, [...] are creating unification" (TS-a-1).

So unification and equality for the Shinasha comes through acknowledgement of differences. Only once there was an indication of fear of dominance of others or previous conflict with another group (Gumuz), but otherwise, most informants only mentioned cooperation between the ethnic groups and mutual respect through a sense of equality.

F) Active struggle for growth and visibility

Although almost all Ethiopian ethnic groups appreciate the permission and ability to use and develop their languages, it seems like not all groups work equally actively for this end. The Shinasha seem to be among the more active. When asked where the policy comes from, some informants answered that it came from the federal to the regional government or from abroad. However, several teachers said that it comes from the community itself in a bottom-up structure. Parents and community elders remembered how they had started to fight for Shinasha as LOI *after* the change of government when they saw that others such as the Oromia Region started to use their own language. A

father explains that in the years after the change of government, the community was discussing this issue on weddings and other social occasions and finally requesting it at the regional government, who then started the process. However, according to several parents, the *wish* for cultural and linguistic rights started before the downfall of Derg.

Yet the policy is not only something the parents wish, but also something they are taking responsibility for. A community elder explained the community's responsibility this way:

> If we plant the tree, and we take care of it, it will never die. Language is like that. We are now at the beginning of it. It needs a lot focus and a lot concentration and a lot of preparation. We need to take care of it in the community and in other concerning spheres. (CS-a-1)

The Shinasha's preparedness to take action and be responsible was also confirmed by a regional officer who explained how the Shinasha show more self-initiative than any ethnic group he knows. For example the parents collect money, photocopy textbooks, etc., although they cannot be considered rich. I also observed that parents were eager to come to school and they seemed familiar with being there and talking to the teachers. A mother said that now that the LOI has been implemented, "no one can limit our rights! We can use ourselves" (F-MS-a-(1)).

Furthermore, there were surprisingly many informants who talked about a desire for expansion of the language in terms of number of speakers and geographical area. In order to express this, some fathers used the words "our culture and language [will be] rehabilitated or revived" (F-FS-a-(2)) and "our hidden language will be visible for the future" (F-FS-a-(3)). The very reason for this aim for expansion is the large number of Shinasha who already have been assimilated into dominant groups, or are about to become assimilated, such as through loss of language. Several parents also said they would like other groups to become aware of the Shinasha language and culture.

Furthermore, the Shinasha interviewed were keen to continue MTI beyond grade 4 as they didn't think there was enough advantage gained if it were not to be continued. The reason stated for this was the pedagogical difficulties to switch LOI (early exit), and also the students would forget their language and culture because of the short instruction time. Several informants had the idea of making Shinasha the working language in offices and introducing it in colleges or universities. These Shinasha do not seem satisfied with the policy so far, and they want to see an expansion in the language use, making it more important and visible in society. As already discussed, another underlying wish might also be the desire for distinctiveness from other groups.

However, there are also some indications of a rather passive acceptance of the policy rather than active struggle. For example, one mother who said she is powerless to oppose the policy because it

comes from the law, and a father who claimed there was little active awareness raising about the advantages of MT education prior to the policy being implemented. Still, this does not change the inclination of the Shinasha towards being an active ethnic group who want to expand the language to all those who are or were Shinasha, and even beyond.

In conclusion, the categories identified for Shinasha show there is a great belief in the significance of their own language, and the Shinasha seem very proud and self-confident in their language and culture. Furthermore, they express the feeling of equality with other groups because they are allowed to be distinct. There is however evidence that there is a particular push from parts of the community to retain this distinctiveness. The Shinasha are incorporated into the larger society and their language is spoken by few. Therefore, some Shinasha are determined to retain their unique culture before it gets lost, especially through expanding the language.

6.2.2. Results Gumuz

The informants interviewed for this part of the results were 6 Gumuz teachers and 15 parents and community members/ elders. In addition the two principals at the two schools visited were interviewed, none of them, however, being Gumuz. Several regional officers also mentioned issues about the Gumuz, but the two woreda officers interviewed were both Shinasha and did not answer questions specifically concerning the Gumuz. As mentioned in section 5.3.1., the Gumuz are an ethnic group that has experienced slavery, displacement and forceful assimilation by other Ethiopian groups. Until today they largely remain marginalised in rural areas, and the level of education and societal status in terms of positions is limited. Still, this group has now developed their language as LOI, and they now seem to have an opportunity to change their societal position.

A) Value of mother tongue, but low confidence

When talking about the change in LOI, a large number of informants mentioned the pedagogical advantages with MT. Among the issues brought up was that the students easily can understand and remember, participate and express themselves, they are not afraid in class, they get better grades, they can more easily learn other languages and they can teach friends who are out of school. One teacher tells that previously, when he taught Amhara and Gumuz children in Amharic, "everything was clear for the Amhara speakers, but for the Gumuz speakers, everything was confusing. But [now], everything is clear for them (TG-d-1).

Another advantage with MT related to school instruction is that it seems to increase enrolment and reduce the dropout rate according to regional officers and teachers. Girls' enrolment has been diffi-

cult for the Gumuz mainly because of exchange marriages. One teacher explained that girls often have to quit school to go and live in villages without schools when they get married, and this is also about to change. However, in the school that was the main site for Gumuz instruction in this study, the number of girls was only around 12%, the second school - being slightly more urban - had around 50% girls, so it seems that there still is a long way to go, especially in rural areas.

Furthermore, it seems that knowledge of the language is also seen as valuable for the future, although this is mentioned by only two informants. One teacher said he advised his students that "you will need your MT in the future, and you will see the change in the future when you are going to understand" (TG-d-2), and one father said the community will benefit because they now are able to understand the content of meetings in Gumuz.

Apart from the instrumental advantages of MTI, is the intrinsic value of language and culture, which several of the informants acknowledged. One teacher said the LOI was a chance to express his culture, language and history, and several other informants expressed their happiness because the change in LOI makes the students able to "express their feelings" (F-FG-c-(2)) and gives them value and self-confidence. This was also confirmed by another teacher who related that the students have started to write poems in their MT and read them aloud in class.

Nevertheless, a number of informants were negative towards too much focus on MT instead of Amharic. First of all, both teachers and parents feared the students would have more of a disadvantage compared to Amharic instruction students as their future chances will be limited mainly because they would have to stay in the local area due to inadequate knowledge of Amharic. One mother said she took her son out of Gumuz instruction and put him into Amharic instruction on his wish because he already knew Gumuz, but wanted to learn Amharic. One teacher expressed the general feeling that the other ethnic groups don't care about Gumuz as LOI. The school which was the main site for data collection (Gumuz) had no students from other ethnic groups learning in the Gumuz language even though Gumuz is the majority in that area. In reality it seems there are few other people speaking Gumuz except for the Gumuz themselves.

One of the teachers said if there had been teachers in the Gumuz area before the change of government, "they would have changed and not been backward as they still are" (F-TG-c-(2)) and one mother said "if we have Gumuz teachers who live in the bush like us, we will not learn anything" (MG-d). Another teacher told he was angry and sad that the opinion of several parents is that the students should learn something they can use outside their small local community: "Take them to

Amharic class. If our children will not learn this Amharic language, they will be like before and they will not get knowledge" (F-TG-c-(2)). Especially interesting is to 'be like before' which implies some Gumuz have a very low self-esteem about their own group and history. This was also confirmed in several of the other interviews and focus group discussions and one teacher believed the people in the area have a sense of shame of their language.

Here is a story given to me by an old man about how the ethnicity of the Gumuz emerged:

> This is an oral history. The reason why the mule was given to us is that we should be equal to the others.
> [...]
> The history is like this: There was one Gumuz woman who gave birth to twins. One was black and the other one red [light skin colour]. They were twins. And then when they grew up, for both of them the mother bought one soap to go and wash their clothes. The soap was given to the red one, but not to the black one because she wanted them to share the soap. When they went to wash the clothes in the river, the red boy washed his clothes properly with soap and laid them in the sun to dry. And then the black one didn't want to use the soap, so he sat down and damaged the clothes with a stone. The red one turned his face to the sun at the sun rise and after they finished washing their clothes, the red boy climbed up on the mule and went away. He left the black one at the river.
> [...]
> *So what happened? Where did he go?*
> He continued. This is why we became backward up to now. Who remained? The Gumuz, the black. Who escaped away? Those with the light skin colour. Those who are educated today. (CG-c-1)

It would be expected for ethnic groups to have stories about their origin which show the group in a positive light. However, the Gumuz tell a story about how they themselves were responsible for becoming 'backward'. As a matter of fact, the education level among the Gumuz is low and there are few who continue to secondary school or even to higher education. This also fits with my own observations as I did not meet any educated Gumuz who were not teaching MT or working on the LOI, and still there was a shortage of personnel. In the regional or local government offices there were no Gumuz working as far as could be noted while conducting my research and I also did not encounter any Gumuz women with secondary education.

From my school observations I can add that Gumuz teachers were speaking Gumuz with each other in break times and I was able to find some Gumuz cultural artefacts in the pedagogical centre of the school. Further, the Gumuz are the largest population group in the area, which should give them some political weight and importance. However, the cultural artefacts in the pedagogical centre, similar to the Shinasha's, were not visible for the students and they seemed rarely used. Further, I could see no sign or wall poster containing Gumuz language in any of the schools except one sign with the numbers in Gumuz language in a grade 1 classroom. I also noticed (through the interpreter) that the older Gumuz students tended to speak Amharic with each other in the break times although

there were no students from other groups present. It seems the Gumuz do value their language but continue to feel inferior compared to other groups.

B) Historical burden

However low the confidence the Gumuz may have, there also seems to have been an improvement since the introduction of the policy. Many informants went far back into history and talked about slavery and other inequalities. One teacher said "they were supposed to live like animals. They seemed like animals" (F-TG-c-(3)). Others told about Amhara and Oromo ruling over the Gumuz, partly because - as one teacher explained - they could not understand each other's languages and the Gumuz had no educated people. The rulers claimed tributes from the Gumuz, killed them and did not give them the same rights as people from other groups. One father described how the discrimination was related to language:

> Long time ago, we could not use our language and we were afraid to speak our language. And we tried to speak the language of others. For example me, I was using Amharic before I got the right to use [my language]. Nowadays we have the right to speak our language and the right to express our ideas. (FG-c-2)

The previous feeling of inferiority also seems to have something to do with skin colour, as a community member related: "the Shinasha felt superior because of their light skin colour, and for them the blacks seemed as slaves" (CG-d-1), while another community member said it was the reds who were calling them 'Shanqilla' and "tying us like oxen to work" (CG-c-1). Some informants expressed they still are not yet equal to other groups (see category D).

While the Gumuz endorse the improvement by the recent policy on LOI, the negative opinion of themselves is deeply ingrained and can be traced through history. It is therefore maybe not surprising the Gumuz still express low status of their own ethnicity and the process of change is slow.

C) Search for less separation, but not Habesha

Similar to the Shinasha, a strong division between outgroup and ingroup was noted among the Gumuz informants. Several informants, both teachers and parents, mentioned the uniqueness of being Gumuz and that "Gumuz are not Amhara!" (TTC-1). A father said "when we look at the culture, the culture of Gumuz is unique" (FG-c-2).

A number of informants emphasised the division as being between Gumuz and non- Gumuz, and not between the somewhat different sub-groups within Gumuz, especially the two major dialect groups Kamashi and Metekkel. The LOI has had a unifying effect within the Gumuz as they are sharing one language in the school. The textbooks use as neutral language as possible, with words

from both dialects. According to one teacher, this gives people the feeling they "need to be one people and don't split. […] It is important to be strong instead of splitting" (TG-d-1). The Gumuz don't want to develop two sets of materials even if this would have better educational advantages, according to a regional officer. However, there are also political reasons why the Gumuz prefer to stay united:

> They are the second strongest people group [...] in the region. So they have quite political weight. If they would split, they would lose it. I think that's probably the main reason. […] But I think that people really feel that they are the same. They are Gumuz and that... so there's a sense of belonging in it. (RO-1)

There were indications the separation between the different ethnic groups had increased after the introduction of MT as LOI, but in contrast to the Shinasha, the Gumuz parents and teachers felt this was a negative development. The reason is firstly pedagogical. They are now unable to learn from each other (e.g. the language) and the second reason is the students feel sad because they are divided and cannot "share their culture" (TTC-1). A teacher revealed that the students had actually complained to the teachers because they were separated from the other students. However, according to this teacher, it is not an issue anymore because they told the students the separation was for their own good, i.e. the advantage of MTI. Several informants assured me that the separation only happens in school and does not go into society, and the children have friends across the different groups. One mother admitted that after the change of policy they had a better relationship with the 'reds' and they could drink coffee together.

Gumuz teachers talked about the similarities between the Gumuz and other groups, especially the Shinasha. For example, it was mentioned that clothing and food originally were the same for both groups, and many Shinasha can speak Gumuz. This is interesting as these groups from my observations appear to be very different, and I met few Shinasha who could speak Gumuz or mentioned these similarities. This implies there are some Gumuz who desire to reduce the differences between the outgroup and ingroup.

In regards to the question about Habesha, the Gumuz were very clear they are not Habesha, just as they are also not Ferengi (white foreigners). Furthermore, it was not uncommon to hear an expression like this: "I have never heard a word that called Gumuz Habesha. Gumuz are Gumuz, not Habesha!" (TG-d-3). The parents also emphasised a strict separation between Habesha and Gumuz. In contrast, one teacher said he saw Shinasha as Habesha.

The Gumuz on the one hand could not see themselves as being part of a pan-Ethiopian group Habesha, but on the other hand there was an inclination towards having less visible differences be-

tween the ethnic groups. As will be shown further on, Gumuz identify with a bigger group including other ethnicities, but it is not Habesha, but a unity of 'black' people, referring to skin colour.

D) Development and modernisation

The majority of the Gumuz informants saw the change of LOI as a means of 'modernising' the community. Significantly, the harmful traditional practices in the Gumuz culture were mentioned in almost every interview /focus group discussion, and several informants said the LOI would aid in stopping these traditions. The harmful tradition most frequently discussed was sister exchange marriage, and it was described very negatively. In addition, traditions including rape, killing, scarring the body, cultural celebrations with a lot of alcohol, bad eyes, stealing, women giving birth alone outside, etc. was mentioned.

One teacher expressed the belief that MTI might change the tradition of sister exchange through more educated girls uniting to take a stand against this system. One mother who was hopeful that the MTI might change this tradition had her daughter quit school in grade 4 to get married. An elder first talked about how exchange marriages were arranged, and then he said it has to stop now because "we don't have educated girls like other ethnic groups, for example Shinasha has a lot of educated women" (CG-c-1). So there is the wish for a change in tradition to make the group more equal and similar to others. This issue of equality and similarity will be discussed later on.

Issues not necessarily considered harmful were also mentioned as something the LOI would contribute to change. For example a teacher and a father said the students would teach the community about modern farming techniques and environment in order to give their community "advantages like others [because] they can plough with a tractor like the 'reds'" (F-FG-c-(2)). Changed clothing style and introduction of more varied food, including dishes from other ethnic groups, were mentioned by teachers as positive changes. The language policy is also seen as a chance to attain certain positions in society, such as government workers, etc.

What was puzzling was the issue of harmful traditional practices, or other cultural features they would like to change, were mentioned even when my question was aimed at finding out some positive aspects of their culture. Furthermore, the mothers, instead of explaining what the children taught them in terms of language and traditions, said their children were teaching them about sanitation, 'modern' clothing, building better houses and farming when they came home from school. Two teachers also mentioned the students teaching their parents about sexually transmitted diseases. There is a Gumuz organisation called Mezhizhegwa - which is not so different from the Boro Shi-

nasha Development Association - that instead of preserving culture, aims at giving training to Gumuz women about farming, saving money and harmful traditions.

Nevertheless, there was an indication that some informants do want to preserve the original language and culture through LOI. One father suggested they should ask elders for help with developing the textbooks in order to ensure correct language, while another father and a teacher mentioned how the numbers that were almost forgotten in Gumuz language now are being re-introduced through education. Some informants also thought the policy should help preserve certain elements of the traditional culture which they were proud of, such as the traditional way to receive guests, original Gumuz music and the Gumuz problem-solving through the advice of the elders. Another tradition mentioned for preservation by two teachers is the organised work teams in each sub-Kebele where the members help each other and then share 'borde', traditional beer.

Related to the longing for 'modern' development is the aspiration that the LOI will make the Gumuz equal to other groups, as previously mentioned. This is not necessarily because they (only) obtain equal rights, but because they become more similar. For example, one mother said she wants her children to learn in MT "to be equal with the reds. This will show a great development in future" ((F-MG-d-(2)). When asked what she meant by equal, she said she meant equal education level and equal work. But this equality has not been achieved yet, according to this mother, and several other informants of all categories, illustrated by this quote from an elder:

> A long time ago, we had no education. That's why our language was not starting [in school] equally with the others. Now, to start our MT is good. We have hope that we will be equal with the others in future. That would be good. (CG-c-2)

However, another teacher and elder expressed they already feel equal after the introduction of the policy and it is now easier to interact with other ethnic groups in the daily life.

Even if a language could be considered equal when it gets equal recognition with other languages, this is not necessarily the case for the Gumuz (in contrast to the Shinasha). Rather, MT will make the Gumuz equal though increasing enrolment and achievement which will give the Gumuz a higher proportion of educated people who again will work for the development of the community in terms of housing, agriculture, etc. and also to change harmful traditions.

To sum up, the Gumuz, although expressing they wanted to keep the original language and also preserve some of the traditions, they mostly see the LOI as a means of change and development. The aim is to become more like the other groups, and discard attributes not valued in society, such as the harmful traditional practices. They seem to have a heightened awareness of their negative differ-

ences, more than other groups. The reason why they focus so much on these may also be the reality of many harmful traditions holding them back from being incorporated in the modern society. My own observations noted enormous differences in living style between the two groups: their houses and clothing which were poorer and more rural looking for the Gumuz, and the way the Gumuz seemed much more isolated and less included in society.

E) Language, culture and skin colour define Gumuz

So what makes a Gumuz a Gumuz? Language (and culture) was stated as obvious characteristics and no one could imagine a Gumuz who did not speak the language. Language seemed to be such an important characteristic that one mother said if her son "would forget his language, […] he will be called Habesha in the future" (MG-c). This is also a primary reason for the importance of MTI.

One characteristic the Shinasha do not have is skin colour. Informants sometimes said "a black person" instead of "a Gumuz", and they frequently referred to the other ethnic groups as "the reds", referring to their light skin colour. Concerning the 'Habesha question', one teacher stated that only those with light skin colour can be Habesha, even if the Gumuz should be so politically.

However, colour is not a characteristic that is unique for the Gumuz only. There are several other ethnic groups in Ethiopia which also are considered to be 'black'. The focus on skin colour was also something I observed during my fieldwork. These are my notes from 13th of October 2012:

> It seems like colour is so much more important in the society than ethnicity. […] So it seems like either this policy or at least me, that I am much more interested in knowing people's ethnicity than they are themselves. But on the other hand there is a lot focus on skin colour. The 'blacks' seem to have a special bond and feel related [...]. It seemed like [a Gumuz informant] felt much more related to Anyuak and Nuer [from Gambella] than he did to Shinasha and Agaw who are living in the same area only because they are all black. I quite frequently also hear "we blacks", regardless of ethnicity and language.

The interesting finding here is that multiple group membership seems to be possible after all, but not within the united Ethiopian identity Habesha, but within the identification of being 'black'. It is therefore, according to one teacher, not possible to become a Gumuz if your skin colour is not black, although you might speak the language and exercise the culture, because he would believe you only want to become Gumuz for the benefits (probably to count as indigenous in the region), and then be quick to run away if it became a disadvantage to be a Gumuz. This means it is very difficult to become a Gumuz, and assimilation into Gumuz does not seem to exist. Unfortunately I have very little data about leaving the group, except for the fact that Gumuz can be assimilated into other groups. A teacher said that if a Gumuz has forgotten his language, it seems that he cannot easily be considered a Gumuz anymore – only if he comes back to study his background.

In brief, language and culture are characteristics for Gumuz social identity, but maybe more importantly, skin colour is too as the Gumuz feel a strong affiliation for other black people. Still, language is an important characteristic and one Gumuz teacher expressed fear that the language may vanish, and thus also their identity. The change of LOI will probably mean the language becomes a more significant characteristic of the Gumuz.

F) Passive accept of the policy

Among the Gumuz informants there was identified little active struggle or pushing for the policy. Some teachers however showed responsibility and initiative. One teacher came back from Oromia in order to work for his language, and he and his colleagues are now working hard for the development of the language, making dictionaries, etc. They also feel responsible for telling the community the advantages of MTI and urging them to enrol their children.

Still, there was evidence there had been no activity before the policy had been introduced, and when asked where the policy had come from, no informants said it had come from the community itself, but rather from the federal and regional level. One mother said that although the policy had come with some (Gumuz) teachers from Kamashi zone, these teachers "did not come by themselves" (F-MG-d-(4)). In addition, two fathers discussing the origin of the policy came to the conclusion that it came from the EPRDF and "maybe there are some educated people in our community who thought of their people and asked the government" (F-FG-c-(1)). These 'educated people' however appear to be outside the local community as he did not seem to identify with them.

There were several incidents where informants expressed acceptance of the policy but failed to place themselves and their role within it. One teacher said it like this:

> We cannot do anything because this is from the regional. Also, the principal which is saying that the other students have to learn in Amharic [...], this is not our principle. We accept what we are told to do. To say that our children must learn in MT from grade 1 to 4, this is not in our power to say. (F-TG-c-(2))

Several other informants also expressed that it was not in their power to do anything about the policy or improve their children's educational chances. One regional officer explained that he felt the Gumuz community would not take any initiative, and as a result harm themselves.

Another issue was the participation of the parents in the school. After having been to the Shinasha LOI school I expected to meet equally eager parents, but it was the opposite. After many hours delay some parents came, but they were very reluctant to enter the school, and they didn't seem accustomed to being there. I also had difficulty finding enough mothers and fathers to fill one focus group for each, even when looking for them at the market, etc.

To conclude, the Gumuz, in contrast to the Shinasha, are a distinct group and have notable differences in appearance and how they interact in society. The results from the data collected for this group do therefore not indicate aspirations for further distinctiveness. They show the picture of an ethnic group trying to recover from serious historical inequalities – not necessarily by praising their own attributes, but more in terms of wanting to make a positive change, or to become like other groups. Still, their own language is not something they want to give up in this process, but rather a tool for achieving the end, which is development or 'modernisation'. However, they are not proactive in expanding the policy, but seem satisfied with what is provided.

6.2.3. Summary

In order to summarise this chapter, the table below shows some salient features that emerged from the categories. Most categories consider the same issues for both groups, but category B for Gumuz has no Shinasha counterpart and the category E for Shinasha has no Gumuz counterpart, although some features are shown in the table for the latter, taken from other categories, especially D. The table further shows some indicators and how these have changed from before the policy came and after its implementation. However, some of the 'original conditions' still remain.

Indicator	Category		Original conditions		Policy impacts	
	Sh.	G.	Shinasha	Gumuz	Shinasha	Gumuz
View on own group compared to other	A	A	Own group unknown and unimportant. Language not widely used even by Sh.	Severe inequalities. Language not used in public. G. considered 'backward' and inferior, and partly seen as responsible for their own condition.	Language shown in public and make the Sh. more visible as a group. Language instrumentally and intrinsically important.	Language now important in education (instrumental). Low confidence still visible. Not seen as equal yet.
Historical burden	-	B				
Degree of in-group-outgroup categorisation	B	C	To a very little extent distinguishable from others. Assimilation.	Marginalised and isolated/ different.	Language gives possibility to differ more from other groups.	Stronger ingroup bonds and undesired separation through MTI. Wish for less separation.
Strategies for more positive characteristics	C	D		'Old-fashioned'. Harmful traditional practices.	Chance to come back to traditional and original language and culture.	Chance to develop and modernise. Want to become more similar and equal to others.
Characteristics defining the group	D	E	Culture and history. Language to some extent.	Language, culture and skin colour.	Language becomes new/ strengthened characteristic.	No big change. Language may be more important.
Equality and unity	E	-	Group considered unequal, little social cohesion/ unity.	Marginalisation and inequality.	Equality. Strong social bond (unity) between groups through diversity.	Not yet equal (see above). Language: chance to become equal.
Degree of self-initiative for policy	F	F	Wish to develop language.	Probably wish to develop. No possibility.	Active struggle and energetic expansion.	More passive acceptance and less initiative.

Table 6.1. Summary of findings in comparison

This table shows several significant differences between the two groups. This brief summary will in principle follow the table above except that issues around 'equality and unity' will be mentioned before 'characteristics defining the group'.

Although both groups value their language, the Gumuz lack the pride and confidence in ethnicity, language, culture and history that the Shinasha show. This may be linked to the 'historical burden' which is a collective memory of inequality and exploitation during the previous governments. For the Shinasha there is little natural categorisation into ingroup (Shinasha) and outgroup (Amhara, Oromo and Agaw), so they want to exaggerate these differences through the language and by denying their membership as Habesha. The Gumuz on the other hand do not want to further exaggerate the differences, although there is a certain wish to be unique in a positive way and not blur the distinction between Gumuz and non-Gumuz.

Maybe the biggest difference between Shinasha and Gumuz is how the language policy can be used to achieve more desirable characteristics of their own group. The Shinasha want to use it to retrieve the original features of the language and traditional culture whereas the Gumuz are 'looking forward' towards change and 'modernisation'. This development is thought to make the Gumuz not only more similar to other groups considered 'superior', but also to make them equal. The language policy is in this regard crucial because it is a means for the Gumuz to undertake some drastic changes in their group characteristics. The Shinasha on the other hand express they now are equal and united with other ethnic groups through the language policy where everyone has the same rights to be different.

The change of LOI gives the Shinasha the possibility to increase the importance of language as a group characteristic whereas the Gumuz already have this as an important characteristic. Furthermore, the Gumuz also have the characteristic of skin colour which the Shinasha do not have, which makes a further distinction between them and other surrounding ethnic groups. The Shinasha's struggle for more importance of the language and expansion of the policy is active and characterised by self-initiative. The Gumuz, however, did not show the same eagerness toward the policy. This may be because it has lower priority than the urgent need of increased enrolment or because they perceive greater advantages in using other LOI in order to be able to enter the wider Amharic speaking society.

7- DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter is to summarise the study as well as to discuss some general issues around a number of themes that have emerged. It will start with a summary of the study, concluding with what could have been done differently. Then the findings will be related to the theoretical framework in order to explore to what extent it is useful in order to explain the outcomes of this research. Further, the findings will be discussed in relation to some other relevant literature to place the contributions of this work in the academic field. The main conclusion of the study will at the same time represent the answer to the overarching research question on the impact of language policy on a diverse society. Finally, some modest recommendations for the Ethiopian policy on LOI as well as suggestions for further research will be given.

7.1. Summary

7.1.1. Research Question 1: Policy on Language of Instruction

The first research question represents the dynamics in Ethiopian politics that brought the initial change in language policy. The first part of the question asks: *How did the current policy on language of instruction emerge out of the context of the Ethiopian political situation?* In order to answer this question I interviewed eight policy makers/ regional and woreda officers.

The research question can be answered by referring to the various ethnic nationalist movements that had grown very strong during Derg times. It was through these movements that the issue of ethnic self-determination and secession came to the fore, and so the government acknowledged equal status of all ethnic groups and their languages. There was, in a sense, a bottom-up movement where people demanded to be recognised. However, the policy was then formulated by largely ignoring the grassroots. This was because the policy had already been settled and implementation had been partially started. The reason for this pressure was the political urgency of finding a peaceful solution of power distribution between the different groups.

The second part of the research question asks: *What are the rationales and aims of the policy and how is it being implemented in Benishangul Gumuz Regional State?* The same informants as above were used, but some voices from teachers and parents were also included. Further, I reviewed 8 policy documents, however, some documents did not refer to language policy in particular, and the bulk of them were ESDP's that are less concerned with underlying rationales or goals.

There are strong pedagogical as well as political rationales and aims - and some economic - behind the policy. The pedagogical rationale mainly refers to the advantage of MT for teaching and learning and thus better student achievement. This is referred to by most sources of information. In documents where donor agencies have been participating, the pedagogical aspect is linked to economic and instrumental goals for education in terms of manpower and (economic) development.

As for the political aspect, the most important goal seems to have been to advocate national unity, peace and cooperation and equality between the different ethnic groups instead of conflict and separation. The issue of identity can be considered a political rationale because it was necessary to include various ethnic-linguistic affiliations in order to find a common political solution for the language issue. In many documents, political or civic aims (e.g. peace, participation, human rights, etc.) are mentioned. The pedagogical rationale and aims for the use of MT has, according to informants, have been used to conceal the real rationale which in their opinion is political. However, there also seems to have been a genuine pedagogical rationale as it was clear that Amharic as LOI was unsuccessful and Ethiopian education was in a very bad condition in the early 1990s.

Implementation is similarly also driven by both educational as well as political factors. The pedagogical advantage of better achievement cannot, however, fully explain the urgency of implementing some languages, for example Gumuz and Shinasha. There is not enough preparation in terms of language development, materials, teacher training and supervision routines. But even if the pilot schools struggle with this, there is a political drive to expand the policy to include more schools. It is therefore impressive that the teaching and learning goes comparably smoothly according to the observations, and also seems to result in better student achievement according to informants in this study and research from SIL (2011). Still, because of the political urgency of quick implementation, it could be that the policy has not yet reached the full pedagogical benefits of MTI.

7.1.2. Research Question 2: Policy Impact on Identity

The second research question is: *What is the impact of the policy on language of instruction for the changes in the Gumuz and Shinasha social group identity?* In order to answer this I had one school for each group as the main site and the second school for follow-up interviews and testing some initial hypotheses. The total of informants on school level was 46 (4 principals, 15 teachers, 22 parents, 5 elders). There were one (or two) teachers', one mothers' and one fathers' focus group discussion for each ethnic group. The rest of the informants were interviewed in single or couple interviews. In

addition, three staff members at the local teacher training college were interviewed, and two 'outsiders', i.e. not members of any of the two ethnic groups.

The initial hypothesis that language policy has an impact on changes in social group identity, which is also visible in the research question, was confirmed. The impact appears to vary for the two ethnic groups according to their historical and socio-economic contexts. Results show how closely language, and especially LOI, is related to how people feel about their ethnic group, how they compare themselves with other groups and how this changes. When looking at the table in section 6.2.3., the last column 'policy impacts' directly refers to the research question. Thus, the following *impacts* of policy on LOI for changes in social group identity were identified:

For both groups, mother tongue as language of instruction...

- ...contributes to positive comparisons with other groups
- ...gives intrinsic and instrumental value to the language and therefore also value to the social group
- ...is a means to equalise between different ethnic groups

For the Shinasha, mother tongue as language of instruction...

- ...makes the social group more visible and important in society
- ...makes the social group more positively distinct from other groups
- ...is a means to conserve and revive original language and traditional culture
- ...makes it possible to put more emphasis on language as characteristic for the group
- ...is used to expand number of speakers
- ...can be a means to increase the position of own language in education/ society
- ...creates unity and a strong bond between different groups

For the Gumuz, mother tongue as language of instruction...

- ...gives the social group the possibility to be less marginalised and different
- ...opens the possibility to overcome previous inequalities
- ...strengthens the unity within their own group
- ...is a means to 'modernise' and change traditions that are perceived as harmful or old-fashioned
- ...can give the group more similar characteristics to superior groups
- ...can lead to undesired separations between own and other groups

In general, MT as LOI plays a *positive* role in social identity processes as it gives the group the possibility to be more positively valued and equal with others. The only negative role of language policy was identified for the Gumuz who fear that the policy in some circumstances separates the students from the each other, creating artificial boundaries. But according to the informants, this is only a minor problem, exclusively related to school and not the larger society.

In spite of some similarities between the two groups in how they see the impact of language policy, four major differences can be identified: *Firstly*, the Shinasha see the policy as a means of becoming

more visible and distinct, whereas the Gumuz mainly see the policy as a means to be less different and less marginalised. *Secondly*, the Shinasha want to use the policy to get back to some original characteristics of their ethnic groups, especially traditions and original language. In contrast, the Gumuz see the policy as a means to get away from traditions, and rather develop new, more 'modern' characteristics. *Thirdly*, the Shinasha feel that the policy creates unity between Shinasha and other ethnic groups because they are allowed to be different on equal footing, whereas the Gumuz mostly feel an increased unity within the *own* group and do not yet feel equal with other groups. *Fourthly*, the Shinasha want to use the policy to reintroduce some importance in knowing and learning the MT, whereas this is not so much the case for the Gumuz where language already is a natural group characteristic.

The reason for the differences can be found in the social and historical context of the two groups. Most Shinasha have a reasonable level of education, and they are integrated in the local society and mixed with other groups such as Amhara, Oromo and Agaw. They are non-distinguishable from these groups by appearance and most Shinasha perfectly speak Amharic (and many speak Oromo). The reason why they are now eager to emphasise their differences is that the culture is on the brink of being lost. Those who are Shinasha today are only a small remnant of a big kingdom that was assimilated. The language, which is already close to extinction, is one of the most visible characteristics that could restore the previous distinctiveness of the Shinasha. Therefore the language policy provides a possibility to preserve and develop the Shinasha identity before it is forgotten.

The Gumuz on the other hand are much more isolated and marginalised when it comes to societal participation and level of education. They are clearly distinguishable from the surrounding groups by their darker skin colour and many individuals are monolingual in Gumuz language. For centuries this group has suffered from racism, slavery and displacement and this is still an issue many are struggling with. Therefore, introduction of Gumuz as LOI gives this group the unique possibility of changing the previous low status and give the language a positive value. MTI is seen as the first available tool to change their group characteristics to fit into a modern society and the social values created by the 'superior' groups and thus become equal.

To sum up, a policy of LOI can play various roles for changes in social group identity, and it depends on the different groups how the policy will be used to serve their purposes. In Ethiopia, the policy changes the way people perceive their own group in comparison with other groups and/ or in comparison with their previous situation. Furthermore, policy on LOI has an impact on many aspects of group identity instead of only the linguistic sphere. In can change how the group as a whole,

with its culture, history and traditions, is viewed and how it relates to other groups in society, not necessarily only in relation to language and education.

Now some words about a few shortcomings. If I were to do the study again, I would primarily try to keep the groups more similar in terms of the sampling and setting for the interviews. Many Shinasha parents voluntarily turned up at the school, but the Gumuz parents did not show this enthusiasm. Therefore I had to put more effort into going to their homes or the market to find them. In consequence of these factors, the groups were maybe a little less comparable than they otherwise could be. This can, however, impossibly make up the whole difference between the groups. Firstly, the teachers showed the same answer pattern as the parents although the groups here were similar. Secondly, the Gumuz parents who showed up at the school or the Shinasha parents I met outside school displayed the same attitudes as the others in the group. Another shortcoming is that out of reasons described elsewhere, it proved almost impossible to increase the number of participants beyond three in some of the focus groups, particularly among the Gumuz.

7.2. Theoretical Implications

This section will look at the findings in light of the analytical framework constructed in chapter 3. It is divided into three sections, each of them representing one component of the framework. Within each section the theories and concepts will first be discussed in relation to the findings from the study and then issues that are not satisfactory covered by the theories will be identified. It will thus evaluate the adequacy of the analytical framework. This will provide the possibility to give some suggestions for the construction of new components within the theories in the light of the findings from this research. The first two components acted as a background for the research, and the discussion around these issues should only be seen as suggestions for how it might be according to the literature review that was done and the rather short fieldwork.

7.2.1. Socio-political change

Ethiopia has undergone an enormous and rapid socio-political change since the early 1990s. The changes were brought about by the ethnic liberation movements who demanded a new model for handling diversity in the country as the government de facto only acknowledged monoculturalism and monolingualism both in imperial as well as Derg times. The question here is which model for diversity management Ethiopia now seems to have chosen from an educational point of view and which changes this may have led to in terms of cultural capital (power structures) and national cohesion.

In the analytical framework, three **models for diversity management** were presented: assimilationist, differentialist and multiculturalist. As the governmental structure, as well as the education system, today acknowledges a multitude of ethnic groups and encourages diversity, one can say that the system has changed from an assimilationist to a multiculturalist model. Education includes both the students' mother tongues as well as the lingua franca Amharic (and English), and it can therefore be argued that it will promote bi- or multilingualism, as stated by Vedder and Virta (2005).

What makes the Ethiopian model special, however, is the strong focus on ethnicity and that citizens receive their rights through their ethnic group membership. The fact that the territorial structure of the country seeks to provide each group with their own geographical unit is an example of "over-emphasis on ethnicity" according to Yonatan (2010, p. 236; cp. Abbink, 1997). Informants in this study also report that the educational structure divides the students and exaggerates the differences between the groups. This resembles more the 'ethnic model' of Vedder and Virta (2005) (differentialist) where the focus is on the student's heritage and maybe somewhat less on incorporating them into the larger society.

However, as soon as the students of BGRS reach grade 5 they are educated in Amharic and English without any consideration to the student's backgrounds. Thus, suddenly the system changes into becoming more assimilationist. Furthermore, as already mentioned, none of the official documents reviewed mentions that the country aims at providing multicultural education. So it may seem like the focus at first is very much on MT and then on Amharic, but the link between the languages, i.e. creating functional bi- and multilingualism is missing. It must be acknowledged that the teachers focus hard on 'bridging', i.e. introducing Amharic and English terms during the first four years in order to prepare the students for the change of LOI. However, this also resembles an early exit, transitional/ subtractive approach, rather than a multilingual.

To conclude, although the system may seem multiculturalist, it also has strong elements resembling both differentialist as well as assimilationist models. In fact, according to Inglis (2008) all three models can possibly exist within the same system, so this could be the case in Ethiopian education.

The next question to ask is thus how the changed education system has affected the **power structures** between different groups in society and education by looking at Bourdieu's framework. First, it must be acknowledged that the Ethiopian political structure in itself could be seen as an attempt to change power structures since minority groups and peripheral areas get equal status as bigger and more central groups. Through this social change, vernacular languages and cultures have the chance

to become cultural and linguistic capital and therefore become part of the accepted habitus in school. This means that MT is seen as valuable knowledge in education and society. When indigenous languages are accepted as valuable knowledge in school, cultural reproduction will decrease because dominant groups no longer can exercise power through defining what is supposed to be valued capital. Thus, it could be assumed that symbolic violence and arbitrary power will diminish in this process. This study indeed recorded that MT has become more valued as important knowledge, and moreover, since children are assessed in their MT during the first four years, cultural reproduction in terms of languages is less likely.

Still, as the LOI changes to Amharic/ English in grade 5, there is already huge focus on this in the lower grades. Therefore, although the policy may lead to increased *value* of MT among teachers and parents, it might not be fully able to change the power *structures*. As it is today, children with better Amharic and English knowledge will still be strongly favoured in the system, at least after grade 5. Certain reluctance towards MTI because of societal advantages of Amharic is also reported in this study, strengthening the argument of only slightly changed power structures. Here there are major differences between the two groups in the study. For the Shinasha, who generally speak Amharic well, the cultural reproduction might not have been so apparent in the first place, but the Gumuz might still experience cultural reproduction and symbolic violence when they are mixed with students from other groups who have an advantage in Amharic.

Seen in a bigger picture this may support the view that the government in fact decentralised in response to grassroots demands, but not so much that it could affect the existing national power structures. Thus, the language policy may constitute a kind of 'buy-in' to secure loyalty of minority groups to the state/ the TPLF-EPRDF (cf. Berhanu, 2007).

A detail to clarify here is that Bourdieu talks about social classes and not ethnic groups. Even if many multiethnic societies have a social ranking between ethnic groups, this is not necessarily inherent in the social structure in terms of wealth and status, according to Eriksen (1996). Therefore, although class and ethnicity may overlap in certain societies, it is important to distinguish between them. Bourdieu (1987) defines social class as constructed groups that differ in economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital, and only exist if there are agents who speak in the name of the group and see themselves as a group. Ethnic group is also a construction in people's minds according to Fishman (1989), but it is also more 'real' as it is linked to common ancestral origin, biological bonds and heritage (cf. Barth, 1996). Furthermore, ethnicity is easier to define because of 'objective' dimensions, such as 'race' and language, but at the same time, ethnicity seems to go deeper in the

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sense that it is historical, in contrast to social class. And so to use a theory about social class on a context with ethnic groups should be done with some caution. In fact, this would support the value of taking a much broader perspective on types of social divisions and the sources of capital that can constitute the basis for existing power structures.

Finally, based on the above discussion it may seem like the chosen way to handle diversity could have a negative effect on **social cohesion**. To use Yonatan's (2010) words: Ethiopia experiences "identity fragmentation along ethno-linguistic lines" (ibid, p. 236; cp. Berhanu, 2007). On the one hand, the different ethnic groups are separated in education, and findings from the grassroots level suggest that MTI leads to stronger ethnic identification and partly also a targeted struggle for more distinctiveness. On the other hand, however, with this LOI policy there may be a better balance between centrifugal and centripetal forces and it seems like the Ethiopian government has realised that the more diverse a society is, the more cohesion is needed (cf. Parekh, 2006, p. 196).

In line with this thought, the study can mainly report findings that support better cooperation between the different ethnic groups, more equality and more pride in belonging to the same community. In other words: stronger social cohesion and a feeling of national unity. The latter was especially visible among the Shinasha who emphasised the value of celebrating with other groups where everyone demonstrates their culture, but still belongs to the same society.

The reason why the informants account for increased social cohesion might be because the multicultural model of diversity planning is the most visible among the three, although they all exist in the Ethiopian society. Additionally, although the power structures between the different groups may not have changed entirely, the increased value of mother tongue and thus more focus on vernacular cultural capital is being acknowledged by teachers and parents. Nonetheless, according to the arguments above, the context of socio-cultural change could act as an even better source to promote functional bi- and multilingualism, change previous power structures and enhance social cohesion, if, as a hypothetical suggestion, the multiculturalist model were to be employed more purely.

7.2.2. Language and identity planning

According to the analytical framework, social change has an impact on the way language and identity planning is being carried out with its explicit and implicit rationales and aims. In Ethiopia, the connection between the socio-political changes in the early 1990s and language planning is very clear as the political upheaval brought up the new constitution that proclaimed the equality of all ethnic groups and their languages and thus also the right to develop all languages as LOI.

According to the findings from the fieldwork which overlap with the arguments of several articles on the Ethiopian language planning (among others Daniel & Abebayehu, 2006; Teshome, 1999), the main **drive behind the language policy** was not linguistic or pedagogical, but **political**. The implementation is a particularly visible example that the political will of implementing this policy is stronger than the practical possibilities or pedagogical needs. This tendency is also exactly what Cooper (1989) suggests when he asserts that language policy is very closely dependent on politics over linguistic or communicative aims. Thus, even if some donor agencies or international researchers may believe that the Ethiopian government introduced this language policy out of conviction that it from an educational point of view is best to teach children in their mother tongues, this was at best not the only reason for doing so.

Besides, according to Garcia (2012) language policy is often related to power struggles between groups. This was also the case in Ethiopia: The strength of the political rationale to acknowledge the different identities of Ethiopia's ethnic groups can be explained by pointing at the political tensions that arose between the different ethnic liberation fronts.

It is already clear that **identity planning** is the flipside of language planning in Ethiopia. The question is what the aim of the government's identity planning is, and how conscious it is. I am afraid this question cannot be adequately answered as there has been very little explicitly written and said about this issue. It seems like the Ethiopian government either consciously or by accident fosters a diversity of strong ethnic identities that are linked to the respective languages at the same time as the policy also pays much attention to learning Amharic (and English). However, as Pool (1979) and Eastman (1981) suggest, when minorities learn a majority language for the sake of communication it does not necessarily involve changed affiliations. Thus, it is possible, in line with the argumentation of stronger differentiation in society above, that the planning for ethnic identity works just fine, but the planning for an identity into the lingual franca does not work as effectively. Whether the government has foreseen this or not, and even whether they actually aim at this in order to prevent unification of different ethnic groups that potentially could topple the Tigray minority government (as suggested by Teshome, 1999), remains unclear.

The concept of **ethnolinguistic vitality** can be useful in order to see further into the identity planning of the government. It appears that the government policies may have had an effect in increasing all the three factors for ethnolinguistic vitality: status and demographic factors and institutional support. Language groups may experience more political and linguistic prestige by being recognised as indigenous in the region. As the regions are constructed along ethno-linguistic lines, this has also af-

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fected their geographical concentration (demographic factor). Finally, institutional support of a language in education is also assumed to increase ethnolinguistic vitality.

More vitality through institutional support was recorded for both groups in the study. However, only the Shinasha seem to experience increased status in society. The reason for this might be that they on the one hand are equally included in society like the Amhara and Oromo, but on the other hand count as indigenous which gives them political and educational advantages and special treatment. The Gumuz, although also counting as indigenous and having political and educational advantages did not report this sense of status, maybe because of the collective memory of suppression. However, the reason why they want to remain united instead of dividing into two dialect groups might be because this strengthens their demographic vitality. The Shinasha's 'active struggle for growth and visibility' could be regarded as a search for more demographic and status vitality through increasing the number of group members and strengthening the prestige of the language.

To conclude this component of the framework, according to the findings from this study, language policy in Ethiopia is a highly political matter with aims far outside the practical realm of pedagogy and language use and into identity. However, although the government may have a certain agenda for identity planning, this does not necessarily happen as intended. An example of this is that the policy might exaggerate affiliation with the own ethnic and linguistic group compared to the community of Amharic language users. This will be discussed more in the next section. Furthermore, the government's facilitation for increased vitality may not be similar for all groups and thus it is difficult for the government to know which effects their identity planning actually has.

7.2.3. Social Group Identity

The third component and at the same time the main focus of this research, is on the impact of the Ethiopian LOI policy on social identity of two groups in comparison. As already discussed above, language planning is also planning for identity. This section will thus look more specifically into the relationship between LOI and social identity processes.

McNamara's (1997) four **processes of social identity** relate to four of the categories that were identified within the data from the fieldwork. The first process, *social categorisation* is closely related to 'degree of ingroup-outgroup categorisation' in table 6.1., which shows how the groups perceive the distinctiveness of their own group. In this research, both groups mainly showed increased categorisation. However, the Gumuz expressed a certain wish for less categorisation, although they, in line with the theory, also experienced increased unification within the own group.

The second process, *awareness of social identity* has to do with 'characteristics that define group' where the Shinasha show increased awareness through more emphasis on language as a characteristic whereas this is less strong among the Gumuz. Thirdly, the process *social comparison* has to do with 'view on own group compared to other', where both groups showed many positive comparisons. However, the Gumuz also showed negative comparisons with historical roots.

The last category is *psychological distinctiveness,* and this is related to 'strategies for more positive characteristics'. Using Tajfel's (1974) model for "insecure social comparisons" (Tajfel, 1974, p. 79), it can be suggested that both groups in this study are inferior groups. The Shinasha could be able to leave the group through social mobility, but they choose to stay, similarity to the Gumuz who cannot leave the group as easily. As a result, the Gumuz clearly choose to become more similar to the superior group through changing existing group characteristics so that these appear more positively valued in society. In contrast, the Shinasha choose to rely on the original characteristics, and make them appear more distinctive and positively valued. The former strategy is a protecting, whereas the latter rather is a proud strategy (cf. McNamara, 1997).

Although Tajfel (1974) acknowledges that social identity is not static but rather emerges in social change, only the process of insecure group comparisons that result in search for psychological distinctiveness explicitly shows how social identity can change and what this can lead to,. However, especially in the global and rapidly changing society we are living in today, it is important to consider the constantly changing nature of our identities. Results from this study very clearly show how societal and political changes have an impact on identity processes and therefore can also change these. Consequently, it would suit the theory to include more elements of change, by looking at different potential social, political or historical changes and how these could have an impact on social categorisation, social comparison, group characteristics, etc. for different groups.

Another issue is that the theory only looks at social comparisons with other group, but not comparison between conditions of the group now and before. This is actually a critique from Brown (2000), and he suggests that historical changes should be taken more into consideration. Findings from this study also support this view as the Gumuz have improved their social identity considerably through MTI, but not in comparison with other groups, but in comparison with how their social position was before the change of language policy.

Furthermore, social identity theory emphasises on conflicts between groups in terms of competition for positive distinctiveness. In this research however, it appeared that a strong and positive identifi-

cation with the ingroup could be rather positive than negative for a good relationship with other groups and a feeling of cooperation and unity, as exemplified by the Shinasha. Brown (2000) also acknowledges that strong ingroup identification not necessarily means strong ingroup bias. Therefore, also here the theory might benefit from some modifications.

The second concept within the analytical framework considering social identity is that of **ethnicity**. As suggested above when discussing the identity planning of the Ethiopian government, the policy might have a stronger effect concerning the specific affiliations into different ethnic and linguistic groups rather than identification with the bigger, Amharic-speaking community. This is related to the question asked of the informants whether they see themselves as Habesha, the pan-Ethiopian identification, or not. Informants in both groups denied this, but the Shinasha had to acknowledge they often are considered to be Habesha by outsiders. The language policy, however, strengthens the belief they don't belong to the Habesha, but are special. The Gumuz are not seen as Habesha by anyone, and the language policy also has no effect in facilitating this.

On the contrary, the Gumuz rather identify with another social group: that of people with darker skin colour. This finding is related to the issue of 'race' (Eriksen, 1996). Among the Gumuz, 'race' is an important characteristic for group membership, while at the same time there was recorded some evidence that being 'black' is considered inferior in society. Still, the Gumuz stick to this characteristic, maybe because it, in Eriksen's (1996, p. 30) words, "can be difficult for them to escape from their ethnic identity if they wish to". Thus, the language planning has not had an effect on including more groups into the common affiliation as Habesha, if this ever was an intention by the government.

To conclude this component, Ethiopian language and identity planning, with its political rationales have had contrasting impacts on the two groups studied. This shows how difficult it is to plan for identity within a diverse society, as the different groups may use the policy differently in their social identity processes. Nevertheless, the educational language policy has overall had a positive impact on the social identity of the two ethnic groups. If this was what the government intended – it has succeeded. However, if the government had planned that more people should identify with being Ethiopian rather than belonging to distinct ethnic groups, it has not necessarily achieved its aim.

7.2.4. Evaluation and Expansion of the Analytical Framework

The analytical framework, as discussed above, has been able to inform this research adequately. It has pointed at how socio-political changes at the national level can translate themselves into a new

model for handling diversity which again leads to a specific language policy that has implications for the social identity of the citizens. Perhaps the weakest part of the framework is the concept of identity planning where no adequate hypothesis was worked out on how this actually happens and which overt and covert intentions of identity planning can be expected to lead to which outcomes. Furthermore, as already vaguely indicated within the framework, the relationship between these components is not assumed to be linear, but rather circular. This implies there must be a fourth component which acts as a link between a changed social identity and further socio-political changes.

As soon as the social identity of different ethnic groups changes, the social conditions for the socio-political context will also have changed. Consequently it might be assumable that further changes will happen, although this was not something investigated within this study. One of the reasons for why this might be so is that the now culturally empowered ethnic groups might want to gain further economic and political influence once they experience enhanced self-esteem through identity processes. This is something already happening in Ethiopia as the Oromo (mainly the OLF) for a long time have desired further self-determination and even secession from the federation (cp. Aalen, 2002; Alem, 2005; Berhanu, 2007). This and other ethnic groups may find their way blocked by the elite on the top level, and so could result in new unrests which again will lead to new socio-political changes that in turn will have an impact on language and identity planning.

The changes in the social identity and cultural emancipation of the different ethnic groups may well challenge the central government in new ways and lead to adjustments in the language planning. If there is an economic demand for more equal share, there might again be more emphasis on Amharic and English instead of MT. As suggested by a national policy maker (NPM-1) in this study, once the different ethnic groups are satisfied with developing their languages, they may go back to wanting fewer LOI for the sake of efficiency. However, it could also go the other way: more and more language groups demand further official recognition of their language as national educational or working language, such as e.g. the Oromo currently are doing (cp. Tekeste, 2006). An example of this development is from South Africa, where 11 languages are now being recognised as national languages, which of course has implications for education, parliament, army, etc. (Kamwangamalu, 2001).

To conclude, this framework could benefit from a fourth component to predict how the changes in social identity could influence further socio-political changes and thus lead to a new strategy for

language planning. It will remain to see how the socio-political environment in Ethiopia develops and whether the predictions for further changes come true or not.

Concerning the theories within the framework, the cultural dimension should not be overlooked when using theories developed in an industrialised, rather homogenous society in the North and in a multicultural, more traditional context in the South. Consequently, their adequacy is not obvious. For example the official recognition of ethnic groups in Ethiopia is special, and therefore, the discussion about these issues becomes more overt, more conscious and intentional. Concerning social identity theory, Brown (2000) actually mentions the need for more research using this theory in a multicultural context. Nevertheless, the theories worked surprisingly well in this study as they were able to inform the data in a precise way. Still, more studies need to be done using identity theories in Southern contexts in order to revise them to fit better with this kind of environment.

7.3. Findings in the Light of Literature

Apart from the theories making up the analytical framework, some of the findings from this study correspond with findings from other research. I will include a few of the results from the Ethiopian case of the Gumuz and Shinasha into the wider body of literature on LOI and identity.

The strong and positive link between ethnic identity and MTI recorded in this study has also been recorded by several others (cp. Brock-Utne, 2001; Echeverria, 2003; Jiménez, 2000; Mohanty et al., 2009; Prah, 2003). Similar to Marsh et al. (2002) and Kimizi (2012) who found that MTI has an effect on self-confidence this study can also conclude that this is the case among the Shinasha and Gumuz students, according to their teachers. This self-confidence has also to do with the improved achievements these students experience when using their MT, which also was one of Marsh et al.'s (2002) findings. Further, the study found that the Shinasha, whose language is in danger of becoming extinct, put much emphasis on the importance of language for their identity in addition to extensive public use. In fact, the framework on ethnolinguistic identity and language policy by Garcia (2012) shows how important these factors are for language maintenance and success of language policy, otherwise the outcome might well be language death.

In spite of these findings, this study also recorded "awareness problems", i.e. reluctance against using MT. In fact, this seems to be quite widespread in communities elsewhere in Africa (Brock-Utne, 2001; Qorro, 2009; Tembe & Norton, 2008) and also in Ethiopia (Hirut, 2007). The findings from Tembe and Norton (2008) show that parents value MT because of identity, but a gain in societal

chances and upward mobility with the use of other languages are more important to them. This is very similar to a quote from a national policy maker (NPM-2) in section 6.1.3., where he says parents favour MT because of identity, but they are reluctant to use it in school because it is not a language which will allow the children to get far, academically as well as geographically. This pattern is also visible in the data from the parents in this study. Those who were reluctant to use MT in school argued it would have negative societal effects for the children, whereas they still saw MT as an important identity factor worth protecting.

This study has found several similar results to Cohen (2000a, 2000b) and Smith (2008) and their researches on LOI and identity in Ethiopia. Firstly, that language is a very political issue in Ethiopia is emphasised by Smith (2008), who also draws the line between historical developments and current political realities, especially in terms of identity, self-determination and conflict prevention. Further, she also found strong support for using vernacular languages because of pedagogical advantages as well as identity. This study also did so, but in addition found some ambivalent attitudes towards Amharic, as also Cohen (2000b) reports. This is because Amharic is the language of former oppression, but at the same time a means for upward mobility. Smith (2008) concludes that most parents did not see a contradiction between the language policy and Ethiopian unity, which also is in line with this study, but Cohen (2000a) found some opposite opinions among his informants.

7.4. Conclusion: The Impact of Language Policy on a Diverse Society

This section will look at the general patterns revealed in the study. As the overarching research question is *what is the impact of policy on language of instruction on a diverse society?*, the main focus will be on the interplay between language policy and a diverse society – mainly how the former influences the latter, but also how society can have an impact on language policy.

As the title of the thesis suggests and as all results presented demonstrate, MTI is related to identity formation. Identity formation means that language becomes a more salient feature for being a member of a certain ethnic group and/ or it reinforces other characteristics of the group such as its distinctiveness, its esteem compared to other groups and the group's strategies to strengthen, reinterpret or create new group characteristics. MTI is therefore important not only because of instrumental benefits such as better achievement in school, but it is valued out of its intrinsic effects on group identity. Therefore ethnic groups would want their language to become LOI even if it might not lead to tangible improvement of any kind.

However, although the underlying connection between language and identity formation might be the same for most groups it does not mean the groups will use the policy for the same types of identity formation. This study shows how differently the Shinasha and Gumuz use the language policy. The former use it in order to become more distinct and more 'original' whereas the latter use it for the opposite ends, equally for identity formation. In other words, the impact of MTI on identity may vary significantly according to the historical and societal context of different ethnic groups.

The effects of language policy on social identity formation, however, are part of a bigger picture. The Ethiopian language policy itself is a product of a particular socio-political environment where the government, after centuries of assimilation policy, started recognising different ethnic groups and their languages. But also these socio-cultural changes did not emerge out of thin air. They were a product of different ethnic nationalist movements that demanded more recognition and autonomy. It would appear the government needed to provide more space for local socio-cultural development in order to ensure loyalty of minority groups to the federal state. In turn, such concessions may promote not only local empowerment but also national social cohesion. However, it may also produce greater fragmentation of society.

This means firstly that the whole issue of LOI is highly politically charged. Secondly it means that the socio-political change, which was the source for the contemporary language planning, has its roots in certain group processes of the different ethnic groups who started to demand more self-determination. Thus, it is not only language policy that has an effect on the people living within a diverse society, but these people are those who initiate the policy in the first place. Therefore, this study can conclude that as the social identity of diverse ethnic groups change as an effect of the language policy, this might again lead to a changed socio-political context and new conditions for future language planning.

7.5. The Way Forward

Ethiopian education and the language policy have already come very far in terms of providing education for children in their MT. However, there are some issues which might be necessary to consider for the future of this policy. Maybe the most important issue is about the decision in regards to which languages should be developed as LOI and which not. As this research has shown, it needs a lot of preparation to introduce a language as LOI, and without the necessary preparations it might do more harm than good. Furthermore, it should be considered whether or not a language is being introduced because it is really necessary for the learning outcome of the students, or if it is done for

other reasons, such as political recognition. If the latter is the case, education might not be the right platform, as it could make students suffer for the sake of politics.

Another issue is how to handle what was referred to as "problems of awareness" which means that some people do not see the value of MTI compared to Amharic instruction. The arguments from those who are supposed to have "problems of awareness" do not seem to be listened to and people who have these arguments are assumed to be uneducated or have the wrong attitude. This study however shows that even among those who advocate MTI it is not uncommon to have doubts or to want to promote other languages as well as MT. To simply tell people who do not believe in the benefits of MTI they are wrong might not change their attitude. Furthermore, they might be right in regards to arguments such as: four years of MTI is not enough in order to build a bridge to other languages and that it might not show the anticipated benefits of MTI, or that MT teachers are inadequately trained or have few materials, so they prefer instruction in another language. One might therefore look at *why* people hold these reservations and how one can address their concerns in order to improve the implementation of the policy.

Furthermore, this study shows the difficulties with having English as LOI from grade 5 (as also documented by Heugh, 2010). In rural areas such as Metekkel Zone in BGRS where children have no exposure to English, even Amharic as LOI can present a problem, let alone English, and the teachers' level of English is mostly insufficient. Therefore the decision to have English instruction from grade 5 may be difficult, and four years of MTI is not likely to prepare the students for being taught in another language.

Lastly, further research in this field is necessary. For example, there is a gap in the literature on identity planning and how this is related to the chosen model for handling diversity. There is need for a theory on how a government's aims concerning identity planning are linked to different outcomes in terms of identity formation and what the reasons behind this are. Concerning Ethiopia, one topic which has not been researched so far as I am aware is on indigenous minority languages as *subject* for all students, whether they are speakers of this language or not. This could lead to more mutual understanding between different groups, but it could actually also have the reverse effect as students are forced to learn a language that is strange for them but at the same time also is considered 'unimportant' in society.

All things considered there is much need for a variety of research on the interplay between a diverse and changing society, language policy and identity in Ethiopia and elsewhere.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Maps

Map 1: Ethiopia and its Regional States after 1991

Map 2: Ethiopia and its provinces before 1991

Map 3: Benishangul Gumuz Regional State

All maps are painted by Sophie Küspert-Rakotondrainy.

Appendix 2: Consent Form Interviews

To_____

This consent form is to be signed by those who participate in interviews in the fieldwork of Sophie Küspert-Rakotondrainy. The study will be done between September 1st and November 5th for the purpose of producing a master thesis at the University of Oslo, Norway. The study has been reported to the Norwegian ombudsman for protection of privacy in research (Personvernombudet for forskning) and the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS).

The purpose of this study is to provide information about the education language policy of Ethiopia, especially in the context of Benishangul Gumuz Regional State. The study will focus particularly on the ethnic groups Gumuz and Shinasha and how the understanding of the reform on the policy level is related to the understanding at the local level. The study will include around 30 informants who will either be interviewed alone or in groups. All the information that is being collected will be used solely for the purpose of the master thesis.

Personal information about you and all the other informants will be stored separately from notes and recordings / transcriptions of the interviews. No one except for the student herself, the interpreter and the student's supervisor will ever know who you are, and it will not be possible to recognise you from what you have said in the final thesis. After completion of the thesis and defence, the transcriptions and notes will be made anonymous, and the list of names and codes for the interviews stored separately.

It is voluntary to participate and you are able to withdraw from the interview anytime and without excuse. You can at any time refuse to answer a question. The interview is unpaid and is estimated to last for 1 to 1.5 hour. All interviews will be taped by a voice recorder and notes will be taken. In case you don't want to have the interview taped you are still able to participate.

If you have questions about the research or additional information to give, please do not hesitate to contact me. I can be reached at the following address:

Sophie Küspert-Rakotondrainy
c/o Jiyean Park
Olav M Troviks vei 12, H105
0864 Oslo
Norway
Telephone: 0047 46765067
Email: sophieak@student.uv.uio.no

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

I have read and understood the information and am willing to participate. I have also been given a copy of this consent form.

Date: _____   Signature: _____

ለ_____

ይህ የስምምነት ቅጽ ለወ/ሮ ሶፊ ክስፐርት ራኮቶንዳሪነ የማክ ጥናታዊ ፅሑፍን በተመለከተ በቡድን ወይይት ላይ በሚተፉ ሰዎች የሚሟ ይሆናል:: ጥናቱ የሚካናወንበት ጊዜ ከነሐሴ 26/2004 እስከ ህዳር 1/2005 ሲሆን ዓለማው ለሚተረስ (ለሀለተኛነዲገሪ) የመሟቂያ ጥናታዊ ፅሑፍን ለአስሎ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ኖርዌይ ለማቅረብ ነው:: ጥናታዊ ፅሑፉ የሚራራዉ ለኖርዌጂያን አማዐስዐማ የግል ምርምር ጥበቃ (ombudsman for protection of privacy in research) እና ለኖርዌጂያን ማህበረሰብ ሳይንስ መረጃ አገልግሎት(the Norwegian Social Science Data Services) ይሆናል::

የዚህ ጥናት ዋና ዓላማ በኢትዮጵያ የመሟቂያ ቋንቋ ፖሊሲ(educational language policy) በተለይም በቤንሻንጉል ጉመ ክልላዊ መንግሥት ያለውን ሁኔታ መረጃ ለማከስተ ነው:: ጥናቱ በናኛነት የሚጠተከረው በጉመጻና በሽናሻ ብሔፈሰቦች ቡድን ላይ የተደረገው የፖሊሲ መሻሻል ወይም ለውጥ በአካባቢው ባለት የግንዛቤ ደረጃ እንዴት እንደሆነ ለማወቅ ነው:: ጥናቱ ወደ 30 (ሰላሳ) ሰዎችን በቡድንና በተናጠል በቃለምጠይቅ የሚሳተፍ ይሆናል:: በዚህ ሁሉ የሚበሰበው መረጃ የሚዋለው ለዚሁ ለማከተርስ የመሟቂያ ጥናታዊ ፅሑፉ ብቻ መሆኑ ላረጋግጥላችሁ እወዳለሁ::

የግል መረጃ ያንጨም/ያንተም ሆነ የሌሎች ተሳታፊዎች ከሚታወቁና ከቴፕ ቅጅ(ከቴፕሪኮሪደር) የተገለበጠ መጠቅ ሁሉ የሚመጠው ለብቻው ነው:: ከአጥኚዋ በስተቀር ይህንን መረጃ ተርጓሚዎም ሆነ የተመሄዋ ተቆጣጣሪ (Supervisor) አንቺ ወይም አንተ በሰጣችሁት መረጃ ማንነታችሁን ልረዱ ወይም ልይወቁ እንደማይቻልና የእርሶን ማንነት የሚጠሚከት መረጃ ፈጽሞ በጥናቱ ሜዜሻ እንደማይታቅ ለመለፅ እወዳለሁ:: ጥናቱ ከተጠናቀቀ ለሬተና ከቀረብ በኃላ ከቴፕ የተገለበጠዉና በሚታወሻ የተያዘው መረጃ ሁሉ እንዳይታወቅ ተደርጎ የስም ዝርዝርና ለመጠቅ የተሰጠው ሚያ ለብቻው ይቀመጣል::

ጥናቱን የሚተፉት በፈቃዳኝነት ነው:: እንዳሁም ያለምንም ቅድም ሁኔታና በማንኛውም ሰዓት ከቃለመጠይቅ ማቁረጥ ይችላሉ:: ጥያቄዉንም አለመመለስ ይችላሉ:: ለመጠይቁ የሚከፈልና ከአንድ ሰዓት እስከ አንድ ሰዓት ተከል የሚስድ ነው:: ሁለም መጠቅ በቴፕ ደያዥ ይቀዳል በሚታወሻም ይፃፋል:: እንደአጋጠሚ ሆኖ በቴፕ ደያዥ መቅዳት ባይፈልጉ በመጠይቁ ላይ መታተፍ ይችላሉ::

ተጨሜዉ መረጃ ወይም ስለጥናቱ ጥያቄ ካለዎት እኔን ከማግኘት አይቆጡ:: ከዚህ በታች በተሰጠት አድራሻ ልያገኙኝ ይችላሉ::

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* *

ይህን የስምማት ቅፅ አንብቤ ተረድቼ በፈቃደኝነት በጥናቱ ላይ ለመታተፍ ወስኛለሁ:: የስምማት ቅጅውንም ተቀብዮለሁ::

ቀን_____   ፊርማ_____

Appendix 3: Consent Form Focus Group Discussion

To_____

This consent form is to be signed by those who participate in focus group discussions in the fieldwork of Sophie Küspert-Rakotondrainy. The study will be done between September 1st and November 5th for the purpose of producing a master thesis at the University of Oslo, Norway. The study has been reported to the Norwegian ombudsman for protection of privacy in research (Personvernombudet for forskning) and the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS).

The purpose of this study is to provide information about the educational language policy of Ethiopia, especially in the context of Benishangul Gumuz Regional State. The study will focus particularly on the ethnic groups Gumuz and Shinasha and how the understanding of the reform on the policy level is related to the understanding at the local level. The study will include around 30 informants who will either be interviewed alone or in groups. All the information that is being collected will be used solely for the purpose of the master thesis.

Personal information about you and all the other informants will be stored separately from notes and recordings / transcriptions of the interviews. No one except for the student herself, the interpreter and the student's supervisor will ever know who you are, and it will not be possible to recognise you in the final thesis. After completion of the thesis and defence, the transcriptions and notes will be made anonymous, and the list of names and codes for the interviews stored separately.

It is voluntary to participate and you are able to withdraw from the session anytime and without excuse. You can at any time refuse to answer a question. The focus group discussion is unpaid and is estimated to last around 1.5 to 2 hours. All sessions will be taped by a voice recorder and notes will be taken. In case you don't want to have the session taped you are unfortunately not able to participate in the study as the recordings will be needed for translation into English.

If you have questions about the research or additional information to give, please do not hesitate to contact me. I can be reached at the following address:

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* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

I have read and understood the information and am willing to participate. I have also been given a copy of this consent form.

Date: _____   Signature: _____

ለ_____

ይህ የስምምነት ቅጽ ለወ/ሮ ሶፊ ክስፐርት ራኮቶንዳሪነ የማከ ጥናታዊ ፅሐፍን በተጣለከተ በቡድን ወዲይት ላይ በሚተፉ ሰዎች የሚዋ ይሆናል:: ጥናቱ የሚካናወንበት ጊዜ ከነሐሴ 26/2004 እስከ ህዳሴ 1/2005 ሲሆን ዓላማው ለሚተርስ (ለሀለተኛድግሪ) የመሟቂያ ጥናታዊ ፅሐፍን ለአስሎ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ኖርዌይ ለማቅረብ ነው:: ጥናታዊ ፅሐፉ የሚሰራዉ ለኖርዌጂያን አማዶስማን የግል ምዋምር ጥበቃ (ombudsman for protection of privacy in research) እና ለኖርዌጂያን ማህበረሰብ ሳይንስ ሚዲ አገልግሎት(the Norwegian Social Science Data Services) ይሆናል::

የዚህ ጥናት ዋና ዓላማ በኢትዮጵ የመሟሄያ ቋንቋ ፖሊሲ(educational language policy) በተለይም በቤንሻንጉል ጉመዝ ክልላዊ መንግሥት ያለዉን ሁኔታ ሚዲ ለማስጠት ነው:: ጥናቱ በተናኛነት የሚፀተከረዉ በጉመዛና በሽናሻ ብሄፈሰቦች ቡድን ላይ የተደረገዉ የፖሊሲ ማሻሻል ወይም ለዉጥ በአካባቢዉ ባለት የግንዛቤ ደረጃ እንዴት እንደሆነ ለማዎቅ ነው:: ጥናቱ ወደ 30 (ሰላሳ) ሰዎችን በቡድንና በተናጠል በቃለ መጠይቅ የሚሳተፍ ይሆናል:: በዚህ ሁሉ የሚሰበሰበዉ ሚዲ የሚዋለዉ ለዚህ ለሚተርስ የመሟቂያ ጥናታዊ ፅሐፉ ብቻ ማሁን ላረጋገጥላችሁ እወዳለሁ::

የግል ሚዲ ያንቺም/ያንተም ሁነ የሌሎች ተሳታፊዎች ከሚታወቅና ከቴፕ ቅጅ(ከቴፕሪኮረዶር) የተገለበጠ ማዋቅ ሁሉ የሚማማጠዉ ለራው ነው:: ከአጥኚዋ በስተቀር ይህንን ሚዲ ተርጓሚዎም ሁነ የተሟሄዋ ተቆጣጣሪ (Supervisor) አንቺ ወይም አንተ በሰጣችሁት ሚዲ ማንታችሁን ልረዱ ወይም ልያወቁ እንደማይቻልና የእርሶን ማነት የሚጠቁም ሚዲ ፈዕም በጥናቱ ሚጨሻ እንደማይታወቅ ለመለፅ እወዳለሁ:: ጥናቱ ከተጠናቀቀ ለፈተና ከቀረበ በኃላ ከቴፕ የተገለበጠዉና በሚታወሸ የተያዘዉ ሚዲ ሁሉ እንዳይታወቅ ተደርጎ የስም ዝርዝርና ለማጠፍቅ የተሰጠዉ ሚላ ለብቻዉ ይቀመጣል::

ጥናቱን የሚተፉት በፈቃዳኝነት ነው:: እንዳሁም ያለምንም ቅድም ሁኔታና በማንኛዉም ሰዓት ከቃለማጠይቅ ማቋረጥ ይችላሉ:: ጥያቄዉንም አለመማስ ይችላሉ:: የቡድን ወይቱ የሚከፈልና ከአንድ ሰዓት ተከል እስከ ሁለት ሰዓት የሚዎስድ ነው:: ሁሉም ከፈለጊዜ በቴፕ ደምፅ ይቀዳል በሚታወሸም ይጻፋል:: እንደአጋጠሚ ሆኖ በቴፕ ደምፅ መቅዳቱ ባይፈለጉ አዝናለሁ ደምፁ ወደ እንግልዘኛ ለመተርጎም ስለሚያስፈልግ በቡድን ወይቱ ወክ� ጣጣቀፍ እንደሚችሉ ነው::

ተጨማሪ ሚዲ ወይም ስለጥናቱ ጥያቄ ካላት እበክታን እነን ከማገናት አይቆጡ:: ከዚህ በታች በተሰጠት አድራሻ ልያገኙኝ ይችላሉ::

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* *

ይህን የስምምነት ቅፅ አንብቤ ተረድቼ በፈቃደኝነት በጥናቱ ላይ ለመሳተፍ ወስኛለሁ:: የስምምነት ቅጅውንም ተቀብዬለሁ::

ቀን_____ ፊርማ_____

Appendix 4: Checklist for Document Analysis

List of documents reviewed:

- Official documents issues by the Government of Ethiopia or the Ministry of Education in Ethiopia (after 1994)
    - Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (1994)
    - Federal Government (1994). Education and training policy
    - MOE (2000). Education for All. Ethiopia Country Report
    - MOE (2002). The Education and Training Policy and Its Implementation
    - MOE (2002). Education Sector Development Program II
    - MOE (2005). Education Sector Development Program III
    - MOE (2010). Education Sector Development Program IV
- Constitution of Benishangul Gumuz Regional State

Table for doing the document analysis:

Kind of document	Implicit/ explicit rationale	Implicit/ explicit objectives/ aims	Implementation (strategies, achievements and challenges)	"Truths" taken for granted	What is being valued?	Things to be advocated or prevented
1994 Education Policy						
Official paper NN						
Etc.						
Etc.						
Etc.						
Etc.						

Appendix 5: Interview Schedule Policy Makers and Regional Education Officials

Introduction:

Thank you for coming and being able to answer some of my questions. Your information and opinions are very valuable for me and my thesis and I am sure it will help me to shed more light on my research questions.

Some information before starting:

- Consent form is given and signed.
- Participation is voluntarily and it is allowed to refuse to give an opinion.
- It is allowed to withdraw anytime without excuse.
- The information is confidential and the informant will not be recognisable in the thesis.
- Names of informants and the tapes will be stored securely and separately.
- It is possible to contact the researcher anytime after the research (contact details are on the consent form).
- Short explanation of the study, its purpose and objectives.
- Anticipated length of interview is around 1 hour.
- After accept from the interviewee, the voice recorder is switched on.

A. Background information
1. What is your current position?
2. Which part of the educational language reform do you work with?

B. Official policy
3. Please tell me a little bit about the education language policy in Ethiopia since 1994.
4. Please tell me a little bit about how the decentralisation is being organised. What is the responsibility of the federal state and of the regional state (B/G) in education?
5. What is the rationale for the policy?
6. What are its objectives and aims?
7. What are the benefits with this reform and are there any disadvantages?
8. Who initiated the policy in the first place and who is the main driving force now?
9. Have you experienced any changes in the way people see the reform over the last years?
10. What are the implementation strategies and how far has the implementation proceeded yet?
11. How do you think Benishangul Gumuz is doing compared with other regions with regards to the policy implementation?
12. What are the main obstacles and challenges with the implementation of the policy?
13. Please tell me a little bit specific about the situation for Gumuz and Shinasha in Benishangul Gumuz (if you have any particular knowledge about this issue).
14. What do you think are the main similarities and differences in implementing Gumuz vs. Shinasha as LOI as far as you are concerned?

C. Personal opinions

15. What do you think is the whole idea of this policy?
16. Where in your view does this come from?
17. How far do you think that this policy will go in terms of number of languages, etc.?
18. Are there people who have different or contrasting opinions on the reform and if yes, which opinions do they have?
19. How is the policy's effect on national unification?
20. If not mentioned before: Which role do you think that the issue of identity plays within the policy and the implementation?
21. Generally, do you favour or oppose this policy, why?

Rounding off:

- Thank you for agreeing on this interview and sharing thoughts and ideas. It has been a pleasure to have this interview.
- If you are interested in reading the final thesis I will be able to send it to you.
- I would like to ask you to fill out a sign-in sheet with some personal information.
- I repeat that all information will be handled confidentially and that neither you nor your position will be recognisable in the thesis.

Appendix 6: Interview Schedule with Woreda Officers, Principals and Teachers[13]

Introduction:

Thank you for coming and being able to answer some of my questions. Your information and opinions are very valuable for me and my thesis and I am sure it will help me to shed more light on my research questions.

Some information before starting:

- Consent form is given and signed.
- Participation is voluntarily and it is allowed to refuse to give an opinion.
- It is allowed to withdraw anytime without excuse.
- The information is confidential and the informant will not be recognisable in the thesis.
- Names of informants and the tapes will be stored securely and separately.
- It is possible to contact the researcher anytime after the research.
- Short explanation of the study, its purpose and objectives.
- Anticipated length of interview is around 1 to 1.5 hour.
- After accept from the interviewee, the voice recorder is switched on.

A. Background information
1. Please tell me a little bit about yourself and your work.
2. How are you involved in the policy on LOI?

B. The debate around the policy
3. Please tell me a little bit about your knowledge of the education policy with regards to LOI in Ethiopia since 1994 and especially in Benishangul Gumuz.
4. What do you think is the whole idea of this policy?
5. Where in your view does this come from? What is your source of information?
6. In your opinion, do you think this policy is good or not, and why?
    a. Benefits and disadvantages?
    b. Challenges and obstacles
7. Who do you think advocates the reform and who opposes it?
8. Do you think this policy has a uniting or a splitting effect on the country/ BG?
9. What have been you own experiences in working with this policy in practice?

C. Implementation of the reform
10. How far has this policy been implemented in Benishangul Gumuz?

---

[13] When doing single interviews with parents and elders, the same interview schedule was used, but some of the technical questions about the policy were skipped, and there was put more emphasis on sections B, D and E. Alternatively, the focus group schedule was used for couple interviews.

11. Are there any differences in the implementation for the Gumuz/ Shinasha language compared to other languages?
12. How are the dialect differences being solved (Gumuz)?
13. Are the local circumstances addressed by the policy?
14. Please tell me a little about the role of Amharic and English in the curriculum.
15. How is the level of language knowledge for the students (MT, Amharic, English)?
16. How far do you think that this policy will go in terms of numbers of languages?

D. Social identity and languages

17. Please tell me about your ethnicity. What does it mean to you to be Gumuz/ Shinasha?
18. Is it possible to become a Gumuz/ Shinasha, and under which circumstances do people cease to be member of the ethnic group?
19. Are you also Ethiopian/ Habesha? How?
20. (If this is not said earlier): Is your MT important for you? How?
21. How is your relation to other languages/ ethnicities in Ethiopia?

E. Education policy and identity

22. Is the LOI related to the Gumuz/ Shinasha culture, and how?
23. Do you think the policy will have an impact on how they/ you feel about their/ your language and ethnicity?
24. How is the impact if the policy for Gumuz and Shinasha? Are there any differences between these ethnicities?
    a. Education
    b. Society/ future chances/ politics
    c. Importance of language
25. Some people say that the change in LOI is especially important for the Gumuz/ Shinasha. Why do you think it is so, and do you agree or disagree?

Rounding off:

- Thank you for agreeing on this interview and sharing thoughts and ideas. It has been a pleasure to have this interview.
- If you are interested in reading the final thesis I will be able to send it to you.
- I would like to ask you to fill out a sign-in sheet with some personal information.
- I repeat that all information will be handled confidentially and that neither you nor your position will be recognisable in the thesis.

Appendix 7: Schedule for Focus Group Discussions

Introduction:

- Researcher and translator/ moderator thank people for coming and assure them how valuable their opinions and information are to the research.
- Consent forms are signed before the session begins
- Introduction of researcher, translator and/ or moderator
- Remind that
    - Participation is voluntarily
    - It is allowed to refuse to give an opinion
    - It is allowed to withdraw anytime without excuse
    - The information is confidential
    - The informants will not be recognisable in the final thesis
    - Names of informants and the tapes will be stored securely and separately
    - It is possible to contact the researcher anytime after the research (contact details are on the consent form)
- Short explanation of the study, its purpose and objectives
- Short explanation about what a focus group is and how it is being executed
    - The value and function of focus group discussions
    - Researcher is not interested in consensus, but hearing everyone's opinions
    - There is no need to wait for translation to the researcher, but the discussion should carry on. The researcher/ translator/ moderator will not intervene unnecessarily.
- Practical information:
    - Anticipated length of discussion (1,5 to 2 hours)
    - Drinks and snacks are available and people can help themselves anytime
- Some short rules
    - Everyone is allowed to speak
    - It is important that only one person speaks at the time. If several people want to speak at the same time, they must raise their hands and the moderator will decide who shall speak first
    - The participants are asked not to have quiet discussions with each other during the session and also to switch off mobile phones
    - Participants should also respect confidentiality to people outside the focus group
- After accept from the group, the voice recorder is switched on

All participants are asked to present themselves shortly, but they don't have to give their names if they don't wish to do so. This is in order to being able to recognise the voices when transcribing later on.

Questions:

1. Let's start to talk about the change in LOI in Ethiopia and in Benishangul Gumuz. I would very much like to know what you think about this reform, if you think it is good or not and why you think so.
   - Prompts:
     - Benefits and disadvantages
     - Obstacles
     - The reform in Benishangul-Gumuz compared to the rest of Ethiopia
     - Who opposes the reform and who advocates it?

2. Why do you think that this policy is being implemented? Who decides about this?
   - Prompts:
     - Where did the reform come from in the first place?
     - Source of information on policy
     - Is there a need and willingness for this reform from the grassroots?
     - For whom is the reform most important? Who does really want to do this?
     - Do they feel that their needs and opinions are being taken into consideration?

3. What do you think about the increasing amount of languages that are becoming languages of instruction and the changes this may lead to?
   - Prompts:
     - Who benefits from the reform?
     - The impact of the reform on education
     - The impact of the reform on society
     - Imagine that all languages in Ethiopia become languages of instruction. What will happen?
     - Some would say that this policy is especially important for the Gumuz/ Shinasha people. Why?

4. I now know that you all are Gumuz/ Shinasha. Please tell me a little bit about what it means to you to be Gumuz/ Shinasha.
   - Prompts:
     - Pride?
     - The difference to other ethnic groups
     - The connection to being Ethiopian ("If you are Gumuz/ Shinasha, are you still an Ethiopian/ Habesha?")
     - If the discussion goes too far into cultural factors not related to language, moderator should proceed to the next question.

5. The Gumuz/ Shinasha language seems to be an important part of being Gumuz/ Shinasha. Or: You have not talked a lot about how important the Gumuz/ Shinasha language is for being a Gumuz/ Shinasha. Please tell me a little bit more about your language.
    - Prompts:
        - Pride?
        - Which language they speak with their children
        - The way they see the language and the way other groups see the language
        - Role of other languages: Oromo/ Amharic/ (Kafa → Shinasha)
        - Relationship to Kamashi dialect (Gumuz)
        - The importance of the language in the society in Ethiopia/ BG
        - Is it possible to be Gumuz/ Shinasha without speaking the language?
        - In which situations to use Gumuz/ Shinasha language and in which situations to use other languages / Amharic?
        - Confidence in using the different languages

6. Let us go back to the issue of LOI in school. I would like you to discuss about how you feel that the change in LOI affects you as Gumuz/ Shinasha in particular.
    - Prompts:
        - Identity: Group?
        - National unity
        - Changes for Gumuz/ Shinasha people in general
        - Changes in the importance of the language
        - Changes in the position of the language/ ethnic group in the society
        - "Group boundaries"?
        - Changes for how the students think about their MT
        - Changes for participation (social, political, etc.)
        - Future chances

Rounding off:

- Thank you for coming and sharing thoughts and ideas. It has been a pleasure to have this focus group discussion
- If anyone is interested in reading the final thesis this will be sent to [someone you know who has an email address].
- All participants are asked to fill out a sign-in sheet with some personal information.
- Making sure that all participants have completed the consent form.

Appendix 8: Observation Schedule

Name of school: _____

Date:_____

Issue:	Specification:	Field notes:
Surroundings	Building	
	Compound	
Teachers	Ethnicity	
	Language use (as far as recognisable)	
	Interaction with students	
	Striking behaviour	
	Other issues	
Students	Language use (as far as recognisable)	

	Participation/ interaction with teachers	
	Striking behaviour	
	Other issues	
Culture	Wall decorations	
	Cultural activities in class	
	Other cultural signs	
Language	Language on signs/ boards	
	Language in class (as far as recognisable)	
	Language in text books	
	Other use of language	

Appendix 9: Sign-In Form Officials

This form will ask for personal information from interviewees in the fieldwork for master thesis of Sophie Küspert-Rakotondrainy.

I would very much appreciate if you could fill out the required information. It is however not mandatory to give information which you don't want to share. All information will be handled confidentially and you will not be recognisable in the final thesis.

Age: _____   Gender: _____

Highest completed education: _____

Current position: _____

How long have you been in this position: _____

What did you do before you got the current position:_____

_____

Ethnicity: _____ MT(s): _____

Other languages you speak: _____

Any other information/ opinions/ ideas that you want to add about the issue discussed that you were

not able to give in the interview (you can also use a separate sheet):

_____

_____

_____

_____

If you have other things that you would like to share with me, please tell me and we will be able to talk about this at a time that is convenient for us both. Please tell me if you have any questions regarding the research or the thesis.

Thank you very much!

Sophie Küspert-Rakotondrainy

Appendix 10: Sign-In Form Teachers

This form will ask for personal information people participating in interviews or focus group discussions in the fieldwork for master thesis of Sophie Küspert-Rakotondrainy.

I would very much appreciate if you could fill out the required information. It is however not mandatory to give information which you don't want to share. All information will be handled confidentially and none of the information given will be linked to what you have said in the focus group discussion and you will not be recognisable in the final thesis.

Age: _____   Gender: _____

Highest completed education: _____

Position at school: _____

Length of teaching experience (in years): _____

Ethnicity: _____ MT(s): _____

Other languages you speak: _____

Any other information/ opinions/ ideas that you want to give about the issue discussed that you were

not able to give in the focus group discussion (you can also use a separate sheet):

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

If you have other things that you would like to share with me, please tell me and we will be able to talk about this at a time that is convenient for us both. Please tell me if you have any questions regarding the research or the thesis.

Thank you very much!

Sophie Küspert-Rakotondrainy

በማህራን የማሟ የቡድን ወይይት ቅጽ

ይህ የማጠይቅ ቅጽ የግል ሚጃ ከተሳታፍዎች በቡድን ወይይት ወቅት ለወ/ሮ ሶፍ ክስጋርት ራክቶንዳሪያኒ ለሁለተኛ ድግሪ የመሚቂያ ወረቀት የማስክ ጥናትን በተጣስከተ የማሟ ነው፤

ይህን አስፈለጊ የሆነ ወን የግል ሚጃ በቅጹ ላይ በማሟት ስለማሃባበሩኝ ክልብ አመሠግናለሁ፤ ለሌላ ወገን እንዲታዎቅ የማዟፈልጉትን ሚጃ አለመስጠት ይችላሉ፤ ሆኖም ግን በዚህ የቡድን ወይይት ወስጥ የተነሱ ሚጃዎች ሁሉ በሚጠሪ የማዟዙ ማሃናቸዉና የእርሶን ማንነት የማዟጣክት ሚጃ ፊፅም እንደማዟጣገብና እንዳሁም ስሞ በሚጨፈሻ በጥናቱ ፅሐፍ ላይ እንደማዟጣጠስ ለማሂጋገጥ እወዳለሁ፤

እድሜ_____   ያታ_____

ያጠፍቀቁት የትምህርትደረጃ_____

በትምህርት ቤቱ ያሎት የሥራ ድሬሻ /ሥልጣን /_____

በሚተመኒ የቆዮበት ጊዜ (በዓመት ምሃረት) _____

ብሄር_____

የመጃመዪያ የአፍ መፍቻ ቋንቋ_____

የማገራት ሌሎች ቋንቋዎች_____

በቡድን ወይይት ጊዜ ከተወያየንበት ጉዳይ ላይ ማንኛዎም ሌላ ተጨሚ ሚጃ (አስተያየት) ወይም ሃስብ ካላ በቡድን ወይይት ጊዜ ማንሳት ያልቻሉ በዚህ በተሰጠው በዶ ቦታ ላይ መሟት ይችላሉ፤ የተሰጠው በዶ ቦታ ካልበቃ ሌላ ወረቀት ማጠቀም ይችላል፤

_____

_____

_____

_____

በተጨሚ በግል ልያነገግሩኝ ከፈለጉ ጊዜ ወስደን ለሁለተችንም በሚያሟች ቦታና ጊዜ ተገነኝተን መወያየት እንችላለን፤፤ እንዳሁም ጥናቱን በተጣስከተ ጥያቄ ካለዎት ማጠየቅና ሚዳት ይችላሉ፤

ስለትብበርዎ ክልብ አመሠግናለሁ
ወ/ሮ ሶፍ ክስጋርት ራክቶንዳሪያ

Appendix 11: Sign-In Form Parents

This form will ask for personal information from people participating in interviews or focus group discussions in the fieldwork for master thesis of Sophie Küspert-Rakotondrainy.

I would very much appreciate if you could fill out the required information. It is however not mandatory to give information which you don't want to share. All information will be handled confidentially and none of the information given will be linked to what you have said in the focus group discussion and you will not be recognisable in the final thesis.

Age: _____   Gender: _____

Highest completed education: _____

Occupation: _____

Number of children: _____ Number of children at the local primary school: _____

Ethnicity: _____ MT(s): _____

Other languages you speak: _____

Any other information/ opinions/ ideas that you want to give about the issue discussed that you were

not able to give in the focus group discussion (you can also use a separate sheet):

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

If you have other things that you would like to share with me, please tell me and we will be able to talk about this at a time that is convenient for us both. Please tell me if you have any questions regarding the research or the thesis.

Thank you very much!

Sophie Küspert-Rakotondrainy

በወላጆች የቡድን ወይይት ወቅት የማጠቃ ቅጽ

ይህ የማጠየቅ ቅጽ የግል መረጃ ከተሳታፊዎች በቡድን ወይይት ወቅት ለወ/ሮ ሶፍ ክስጋርት ራከቶንዳሪያኒ ለሀለተኛ ድግሪ የመማሪቂያ ወረቀት የማክ ጥናትን በተመለከተ የማጠኛ ነው፡ :

ይህን ቅጽ በትዕግስትና በጥሞና አንበበው ለመሟላት የማያደርጉተን ጥረትና ትብበር እያደነቅኩኝ በቅድሚያ ከልብ ለማሥካገን እወዳለሁ፡ : ለሴላ ወገን እንዲታወቅ የማየፈልጉተን መረጃ አለማጠጠ ይችላሉ፡ : ሆኖም ግን በዚህ የቡድን ወስጥ ወቅት የተነሱ መረጃዎች ሁሉ በሚጠር የማየዘ መሆናቸውና የእርሶን ማንነት የማያማከት መረጃ ፈፅሞ እንደማይዘጋብኝ እንዲህም ስም በማጠሪሻ በጥናቱ ፀሐፊ ላይ እንደማየጠቅስ ለማሂጋገጥ እወዳለሁ፡ :

እድሜ_____   ፆታ_____

የትምህርት ደረጃ_____

ሥራ_____የልጆች ቁጥር_____

በአከባቢው ባለው አንደኛ ደረጃ ት/ቤት ያለት ልጆች ቁጥር_____

ብሄር_____

የመጀመሪያ የአፍ መፍቻ ቋንቋ_____

የሚገሩት ሌሎች ቋንቋዎች_____

በቡድን ወይይት ጊዜ ከተወያየንበት ጉዳይ ላይ ማንኛወም ሌላ ተጨሜ መረጃ (አስተያየት) ወይም ሐሳብ ካለ በቡድን ወይይት ጊዜ ማንሳት ያልቻሉ በዚህ በተሰጠው በዶ ቦታ ላይ መሟላት ይችላሉ፡ : የተሰጠው በዶ ቦታ ካልበቃ ሌላ ወረቀት ማጠቀም ይቻላል፡ :

_____

_____

_____

_____

ሌላ በተጨሜ በግል ልያካፍለኝ የሚፈልጉ ሐሳብ ካለ ይንገሩኝና ለሀለተችንም አመቺ የሆነ ጊዜ ፈለገን ማገገር እንችላለን፡ :እንዲህም ስለጥናታዊው ፀሐፊ ለማወቅ የሚፈልጉት ነገር ካለ ማጠየቅና ማወቅ ይችላሉ፡ :

ስለትበበርዎ ከልብ አማስግናለሁ
ወ/ሮ ሶፍ ክስጋርት ራከቶንዳሪያኒ

Appendix 12: Abbreviation key for recognising informants

For interviews: The first two/ three letters represent the category of informant. The next letter indicates the location and the number indicates the number of the interview with this kind of informant at this site. When there was not more than one interview with this kind of informants at this site, there is no final number. For example HG-c means the principal at the first school using Gumuz as LOI.

For focus group discussions the same formula is used, but the code starts with F for Focus group. Further in the end there is a number in brackets which indicates the speaker, e.g. F-MS-a-(3) for the third mother in the Shinasha mothers' focus group discussion located at school a.

Informants:

NPM = National Policy Maker
RO = Regional Officer
WO = Woreda Officer
HS = Headmaster Shinasha
HG = Headmaster Gumuz[14]
TS = Teacher Shinasha
TG = Teacher Gumuz
MS = Mother Shinasha
MG = Mother Gumuz
FS = Father Shinasha
FG = Father Gumuz
CS = Community member/ elder Shinasha
CG = Community member/ elder Gumuz
TTC = Teacher at the teacher training college

Location:

a = Main site for Shinasha as LOI
b = Second school Shinasha as LOI
c = Main site for Gumuz as LOI (and Shinasha as a subject)
d = Second school Gumuz as LOI

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[14] This does not necessarily refer to the ethnicity of the informant, but rather if this is a principal at a school teaching in Shinasha or Gumuz language.

Appendix 13: Statistics of informants

In total, data from the following informants was used in the study:

Category	Number of informants
National Policy Makers	2
Regional Officers	4
Woreda Officers	2
Staff at Teacher Training College	3
Principals	4
Shinasha Teachers	9
Shinasha Parents	10
Shinasha Community Members/ Elders	2
Gumuz Teachers	6
Gumuz Parents	12
Gumuz Community Members/ Elders	3
Others	3
Total	**59**

The reason why there were more Shinasha teachers than Gumuz teachers was that at the school that was the main site for Gumuz instruction also offered Shinasha as a subject. Therefore there was arranged a focus group discussion with the three teachers teaching Shinasha there as well as at the main site for Shinasha instruction. I was unfortunately not able to visit a school where Gumuz was only offered as a subject.
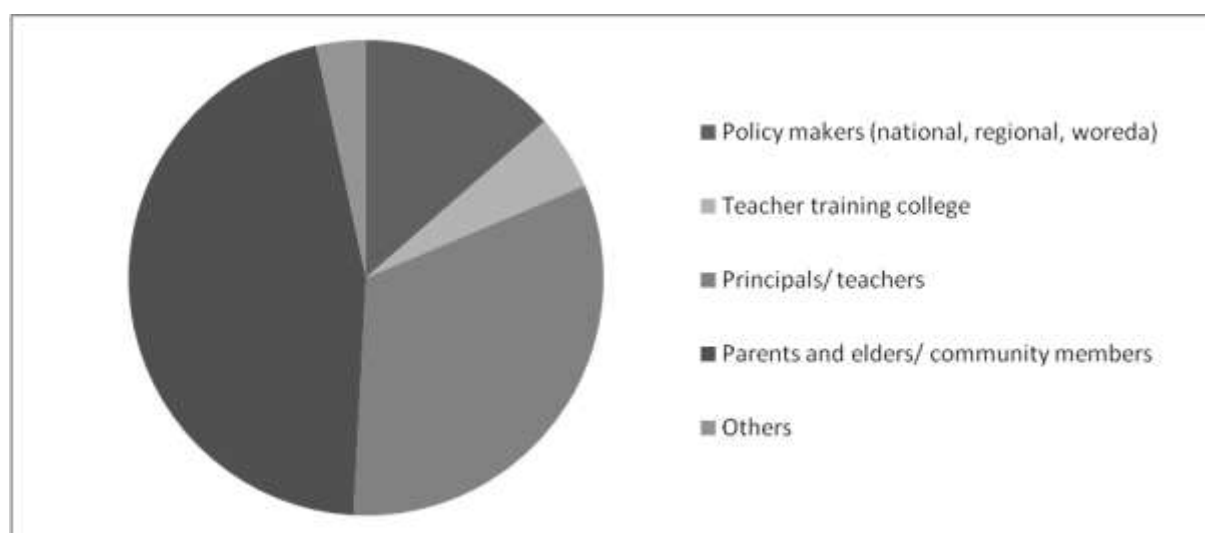
The informants were interviewed using single and couple interviews as well as focus group discussion. 24 informants were interviewed in single-interviews. However, some were interviewed as couples, mostly two teachers or parents who showed up together. In total there were made 5 couple interviews. The rest of the informants were interviewed through the focus group method, 25 informants in 7 sessions. Beforehand, I had decided that all focus group discussions should contain 4 members. However, the average number of group members is only 3.6. The reason is that I had three groups with only three members. These were the teachers teaching Shinasha as a subject at the Gumuz instruction school because they were only three in total. The next group was the group of Gumuz teachers at the main site for Gumuz instruction as one teacher was absent and did not return until I had to leave, and there were no other Gumuz teachers at that school. Thirdly, the group of Gumuz fathers had only three members as it was extremely difficult to get hold of Gumuz fathers, so I decided in the end that I would carry out the focus group discussion with some members missing. The rest of the groups had all four members.

The following diagram shows ethnicity and MT of the informants for this study in absolute numbers:
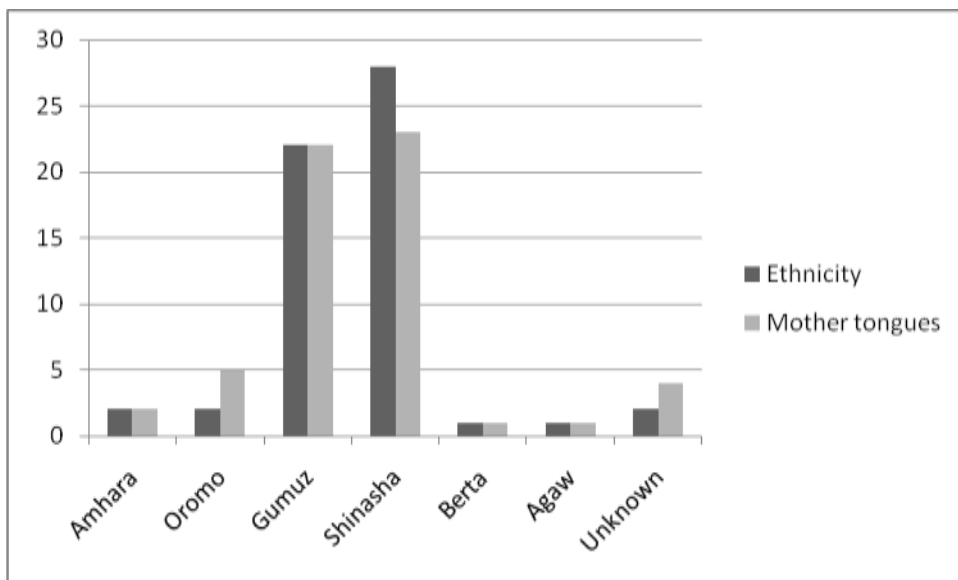

This shows that everyone who saw themselves as Gumuz also had Gumuz as their MT, whereas this was not the case for Shinasha where some informants did not speak Shinasha as their MT although they saw themselves as Shinasha. Furthermore, it shows that there were more Shinasha than Gumuz informants. The reason is that most of the regional and woreda officers were Shinasha as well as some principals, whereas all Gumuz in the study were either MT teachers or parents/ community members. This is further evidence to the low educational level and the limited visibility of the Gumuz in society.

Regarding language knowledge, one can also see that the Gumuz were much less likely to be bi- tri- and multilingual than the Shinasha. This is a comparison in percentage:
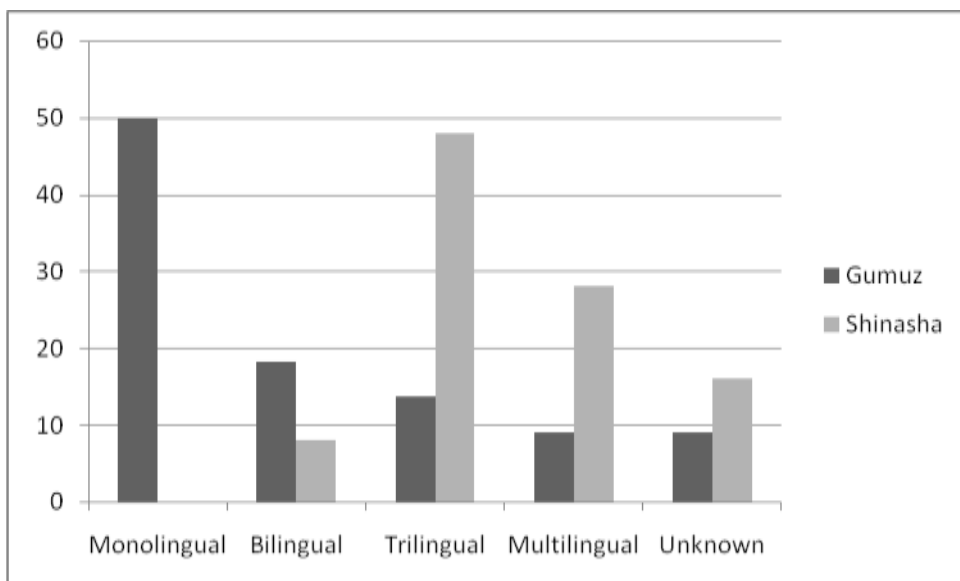
Regarding gender, all informants in offices (i.e. policy makers, education officers and principals) were male. All Gumuz teachers were also male. For the Shinasha, six of the teachers were female, three were male. For the parents the number of informants was determined: for both groups there were four mothers and four fathers in each group. In addition, one Shinasha mother and one father were interviewed in single interviews, for the Gumuz, two mothers and two fathers. All elders were male. In total, 41 informants were male, 18 were female.

Most of the informants in this study were very young, the biggest proportion being under 30 years of age. The reason for this might be that the MT policy is very new and that therefore the young generation of teachers and officers are those working on it. Furthermore, most parents who had children in primary school first cycle were very young. This diagram shows the age of all informants in absolute numbers:
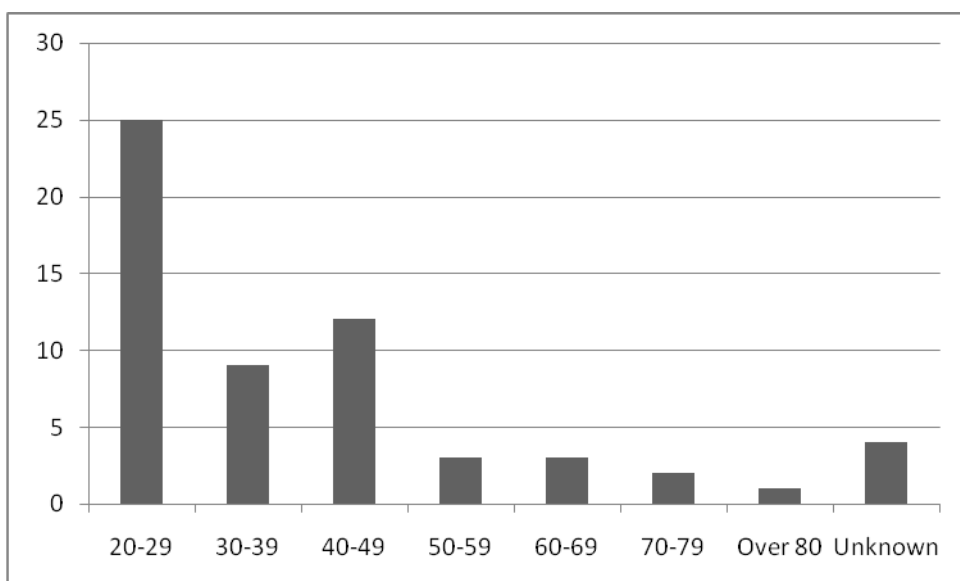
Appendix 14: Ethnicities and Languages Related to the Study

Total population in Ethiopia is 73,750,932 according to the 2007 census.

Ethnic group	Language	Location	Population in Ethiopia (2007 census[15])
Amhara	Amharic	Central (north of Addis Ababa)[16]	21,600,000
Oromo	Oromo/ Afaan Oromoo/ Oromiffa	Whole centre of Ethiopia from the Western to the central East and until the border to Kenya	25,500,000
Tigray/ Tigaway	Tigray	The far north of the country (Tigray Regional State) and in Eritrea	4,320,000
Agaw	Agaw/ Awngi	Around Chagni (Amhara Region, into BGRS), north east of Addis Ababa	489,000
Berta/ Jebelawa	Berta	Borderland to Sudan, mixed area with Gumuz (also in Sudan)	187,000
Gumuz	Gumuz	Borderland to Sudan, today most parts of BGRS and into Oromia (also in Sudan)	179,000
Shinasha (Boro)	Shinasha (Borna/ Borinono)	Three small areas north of the Abbay river, north east of Addis Ababa (BGRS)	60,587 [17]
Komo	Komo	Mao Komo Special Woreda, BGRS and Gambella Regional State	8,530
Mao	Different languages	Mao Komo Special Woreda, BGRS and into Oromia	?

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[15]From the Ethnologue (Lewis et al., 2013)

[16]Traditionally in the central north of Ethiopia, but today widely spread around the whole country, and the language is the most widely spoken language in the country.

[17] I here use the figure from Abbink (2012b) who claims that the figure 37,500 which is the one that appears in the Ethnologue (Lewis et al., 2013) is from the 1994 census.