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Running among thorns : perspectives on Ethiopian/United States educational experiences.

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RUNNING AMONG THORNS:
PERSPECTIVES ON ETHIOPIAN/UNITED STATES
EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES

By

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B.A., Montana State University, Billings, 1986
M.A., Montana State University, Billings, 1992

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Faculty of the
College of Education and Human Development of the University of Louisville
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for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Middle & Secondary Education
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

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A Dissertation Approved on

July 11, 2013

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DEDICATION

With gratitude

for her resilience and joy when running among thorns,

I dedicate this work to my wife,

Lora Lee Whearty.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ABSTRACT

RUNNING AMONG THORNS:
PERSPECTIVES ON ETHIOPIAN/UNITED STATES
EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES

Bruce Whearty

July 11, 2013

This dissertation is a qualitative exploration of the perspectives of Ethiopian immigrants to the United States who have educational experience in both cultures. By interviewing five respondents and asking them to reflect on the role that their education played in their acculturation to the United States, a series of case histories was developed. The case histories were analyzed using the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation to determine if they upheld the two predictions made by this model: 1) acculturation for any particular individual proceeds independently at different rates across three different dimensions: language, behavior, and cultural identity; and 2) acculturation rates and patterns between individuals across these three dimensions differ.

Chapter One summarizes the purpose, significance, and structure of the dissertation, introduces the research questions, and defines significant terms.

Chapter Two, the literature review, consists of three parts. First, there is an extensive review of Ethiopian educational history. This section explores in some depth the six strands that comprise that history, their interaction with each other, and their impacts upon three 'troubling topics': the role of women, ethnic identity, and slavery. Second, for comparison purposes, there is a much briefer summary of U.S. educational

history. Finally, there is an introduction to acculturation, including the theoretical model used in this study.

Chapter Three presents the research design of the dissertation, including a brief introduction to its theoretical roots in the case study approach. The chapter also outlines the two-step plan for data analysis.

Chapter Four records the case study reports from the five respondents and analyzes each report, viewed individually. The first prediction of the model was upheld.

Chapter Five provides a summary of suggestions for educational practice and discusses findings of the cross-analysis of the case studies, viewed collectively. The theoretical model's second prediction was called into question. This paper posed four theoretical questions to focus further study.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"People run among thorns only for a reason. Either they are chasing a snake, or a snake is chasing them" (Ahmed, 1998, p.3). This proverb, showing the wisdom and humor typical of many Ethiopian cultures, illustrates the experience of immigration. Immigrants are sometimes moved by the hope of great resources, like hunting a potential meal. At other times, they are moved by the fear of catastrophe overtaking them. Either way, their paths are typically marked by painful challenges to overcome. This study, which records several auto-biographical narratives about immigrants, shares reflections about how education helped meet the challenges faced by those who have 'run among thorns.'

Purposes of the Study

The first purpose of the study is to increase understanding of Ethiopian immigrants and their unique educational context. This purpose is pursued in two ways. In Chapter Two this study provides an introduction to the history of Ethiopian education, while in Chapter Four it provides a forum for the distinctive voices of Ethiopian immigrants themselves to be heard. For this purpose, the intended audience is the educational community, especially those administrators, curriculum and program developers, and teachers who work in areas of the educational system which directly

impact immigrants. Its focus is on immigrants and giving them a setting where their voices can be heard. These voices, speaking from their unique cultural context, may help educators to better serve Ethiopian constituents. These voices may also call attention to critical features which the U.S. educational system might need to consider as it serves an increasingly diverse student body.

The second purpose of this study is to explore education as an agent of acculturation for this particular pool of respondents: adult immigrants from Ethiopia to the United States who have educational experience in both cultures. The study summarizes strengths and weaknesses of the educational system as revealed by the respondents, and produces a corresponding list of suggested practices which facilitate acculturation. Once again, the intended audience is the educational community, but the perspective is slightly different. While the first purpose is to provide insights about the immigrants themselves, the second purpose is to provide insight about potential changes in educational policy and practice; its focus is on the educational system and key components of that system.

To fulfill those purposes, this study gathered data through interviews of adult Ethiopian immigrants to the United States having educational experience both in Ethiopia and in the United States. By asking respondents to reflect on the role that their education played in their acculturation to U.S. culture, a series of case histories was developed. Those case histories were analyzed through the lens of the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation (Birman & Trickett, 2001). This model makes two predictions: 1) acculturation for any particular individual proceeds independently at different rates across three different dimensions: language, behavior, and cultural

identity; and 2) acculturation rates and patterns between individuals also differ across these three dimensions. Data analysis, then, had two components. First, each case history was analyzed to determine how acculturation varied across those three dimensions for each individual respondent. Second, the case histories from different respondents were cross-analyzed to see if there were differences between individuals across those three dimensions.

Exploring this theoretical model served as the third purpose for this study. This perspective is of primary interest for that part of the research community focused on immigrant acculturation. Since the study's case histories, viewed individually, revealed that the respondents did not tend to progress uniformly across all three areas of acculturation (language, behavior, and cultural identity), they serve as illustrative cases in support of the first prediction of the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation. However, since the case studies, viewed collectively, tended to follow the same pattern across the three dimensions, they suggest that the second prediction of this theory of acculturation may not hold in all cases.

Significance of the Study

The Importance of Education in Acculturation

This study examined the role of education in helping—or hindering—the acculturation of Ethiopian immigrants to their new communities. By this focus, the study situates itself not in psychology or anthropology or sociology, but in education. Effective and reasonably efficient acculturation of immigrants to a new country is important for the overall society because of the need for coherence and the ability of members of the society to interact reasonably well together. Education is a significant component of the

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acculturation process (Sekhon, 2008) because immigrants typically spend at least some time in educational programs upon arrival in the United States, and because they tend to see education as essential for success in their new culture (Suárez-Orozco, 2008). They might attend public school as full-time students, or they might merely go to occasional evening English classes, depending on their age and circumstances, but formal education in one form or another is practically unavoidable for immigrants to the U.S. Since education is so prevalent a theme in the immigration experience, it is potentially worthwhile to seek an assessment of its value from the perspective of those whom it purports to serve. This approach thus fulfills both the first and second purposes of the study outlined above. The technical evaluation of particular programs is outside the scope of this study, but the opinions of former students, whether complimentary or critical, might help educators better understand the general effectiveness of their programs for facilitating adjustment to a new culture. In order to obtain some degree of nuanced perspective from respondents, this study limited its pool of respondents to adults, who have experienced both the educational system and the broader social and economic context for which their education was preparing them.

The Importance of Immigrants as Sources

"Perry goes for pugnacious" screamed the title of the article on the editorial page (Milbank, 2011, p. A9). Dana Milbank, a columnist for the Washington Post, was commenting on the first Republican Party debate of the campaign for the 2012 presidential nomination. That debate included Texas Governor Rick Perry, at the time the front-runner for the party nomination for the presidency of the United States. Milbank reported on the candidate's answers to questions from the debate's moderator about a

wide variety of current issues in the U.S. "Asked about Texas' worst-in-the-nation graduation rates and his education-funding cuts, Perry blamed immigrants" (Milbank, p. A9). Even granting that Perry "was on a one-man campaign to spread provocative language," (Milbank, p. A9), it is striking that a candidate for a national office can bluntly supply 'immigrants' as the answer to a complex, far-reaching problem. Perry evidently expected that answer to resonate with voters.

Perry was not elected to the presidency, but his confidence in emphasizing the issue of immigration may be justified. It's not uncommon to hear citizens of the U.S. blame immigrants for many of the country's problems. In the 'Letters to the Editor' section of the Louisville Courier Journal, for example, one letter writer held immigrants currently employed in the U.S. responsible for the nation's unemployment. He then concluded by stating, "No wonder we are so deep in debt and overflowing with illegals. I think it should be a requirement that politicians should have brains" (Payne, 2011, p. A12). Whether or not a politician like Perry meets this particular voter's 'requirement', it is undeniable that immigration has become an important theme of recent debate in the U.S. In the 1970s, almost five million immigrants arrived (Massey, 2008, p.1). In the 1980s, that number was exceeded, and in the 1990s the totals for each preceding decade were surpassed again (Massey, p.1). The number of immigrants in the 1990s actually more than doubled the 1970s' total (Massey, p.3). According to the U.S. Census Bureau, "by 2000, there were over 30 million foreign-born persons in the Unites States, almost one-third of whom arrived in the prior decade" (Massey, p.2) so that today one in five Americans has "recent roots in other countries" (Massey, p.2). And "immigrants currently arrive in the United States at a rate of over one million a year . . ." (Dentler &

Hafner, 1997, p. 1) Recent decades, then, have continued the centuries-long trend where "our country was viewed as the golden nugget of opportunity, and millions traded their livelihoods, families, homes and sometimes their lives trying to 'become an American'" (Mason & Brackman, 2009, p. 55).

Immigration on today's scale makes the presence of immigrants unavoidable in U.S. education in most communities in the nation. Since one of the typical experiences of an immigrant is education of some sort, and since education serves as one of the primary agents of acculturation of these new residents, it is imperative that education's role in acculturation be examined. This study's second purpose was achieved by its examination of the perspective of immigrants so that educators can better facilitate acculturation.

There is another reason to study the perspectives of immigrants, and that reason has nothing to do with learning about them. It is to learn about ourselves. When we attempt to see from a perspective foreign to our own viewpoint, we have the opportunity to learn about our culture in new ways. Since culture is the sum of our entire life together, including the organization of our activities and the shared understandings and meanings we give to those activities, this opportunity has the chance of providing profound insights, more so than if we were to merely swap predictable understandings with familiar neighbors who are equally immersed in the same culture. School is one place where immigrants freely intermingle with more acculturated residents. Just as the two groups of students can learn from each other through that intermingling, the educational community can take advantage of the same opportunity to learn about both the acculturation of immigrants and itself. Although the perspectives of U.S.-born students would reveal some insights about ourselves, and their interactions with immigrants might

help further our understanding of acculturation, this study restricts itself to immigrants with experience in U.S. education. Furthermore, in seeking richer insights into the U.S. educational system, the pool of respondents is limited to immigrants who also have experience in one or more contrasting educational systems of their homeland.

Immigrants, then, form an important sector of the U.S. society and our education system acts as a key agent for their acculturation. This study, since it focuses on the process of immigrants' acculturation within the context of education, presents potentially valuable opportunities to reflect on our educational system, thus fulfilling the second purpose mentioned above.

The Importance of Ethiopian Immigrants as Sources

The research community has recognized the necessity of studying immigrants, and has responded well to that need; the body of easily-accessible literature includes abundant lists of studies about immigrants, from more than a century ago (Flom, 1909) to the present day (Hahamovitch, 2011). There are studies on immigrants from practically all major regions of the world, especially Latin America (Duany, 2011; Henderson, 2011) and Asia (Fong, 2011; Seward, 1970). There are studies on immigrants from dozens of individual countries, including Lebanon (Abdelhady, 2011), Philippines, (Lasker, 1969), Russia (Herzl, 1920), Italy (Iorizzo, 1980), Ireland (O'Donovan Rossa, 1969), Mexico (Lipshultz, 1971), and even Tonga (Small, 1997). There are studies on immigrants from non-national ethnic groups, such as Russian Jews (Siegel, 1998) and Southeast Asian Hmong (Moua & Lamborn, 2010). There are tightly-focused studies on the unique circumstances of particular immigrants, such as the religious aspects of Swedish immigration (Stephenson, 1969), gender identity in immigrants from Eastern Europe

(Zaborowska, 1995), and the role of Japanese immigrants in the sugar strike on Oahu, Hawaii, in 1920 (Duus, 1999).

Research about Ethiopian immigrants is no exception. There are general studies where Ethiopians are mentioned as part of the immigrant phenomenon (Frazier, Darden, & Henry, 2010; Schweitzer, Perkoulidis, Krome, Ludlow, & Ryan, 2005). There are also studies specifically about Ethiopian immigrants, including their incidence of depression (Fenta, Hyman, & Noh, 2004), their medical challenges (Beyenne, 1992), and their rates of domestic violence (Sullivan, Senturia, Negash, Shiu-Thornton, & Giday, 2005). There are no current studies, though, that examine their acculturation in light of their bi-cultural educational experiences. This lack of a research base constitutes the first reason that an effort to study Ethiopian immigrants is appropriate and timely.

Ethiopian immigration to the U.S. has historically been small compared to the broad, long-lasting pattern of immigration from Latin America or to the intense, short-lived periods of refugee resettlement following specific crises such as the end of the Vietnam War. But there recently has been a substantial number of Ethiopian immigrants to the U.S. In fact, in the ten years from 2000 through 2009, just the Ethiopians obtaining legal permanent resident status averaged over 9,900 per year, with a high of over 16,000 in 2006 alone (United States, Department of Homeland Security, 2010). These significant numbers help support the value of adding a study about Ethiopian immigrants to the already substantial body of research about immigration from many other countries, and constitute the second reason for this study's significance.

There is a third reason to study the insights of Ethiopian immigrants about the role of education in acculturation: unlike many of the countries from which immigrants come

to the U.S., Ethiopia has a long, complex history of education, which for centuries developed entirely independently of the education of Western Europe and the United States. Just as students in an elementary classroom might gain insights from their immigrant classmates, and just as those insights are likely to be more interesting and thought-provoking as immigrants represent more diverse cultures, the U.S. educational system as a whole might gain its most profound and challenging insights from immigrants from a significantly different historical perspective.

Given those theoretical justifications for investigating Ethiopian immigrants, there is also a personal reason for this research. After preparing for the appointment for more than a year, I went to Ethiopia as an educational consultant. I intended to fill that role for many years. My involvement in Ethiopia, however, was cut short after only seven months by a medical emergency and permanent evacuation back to the United States. That experience left me empowered to offer a particular gift to this research: because of both my personal knowledge of Ethiopia and my sudden, unwanted 'immigration' back to the United States, I was easily able to establish rapport with Ethiopian immigrants. It should also be noted that this research has offered a gift to me in return: I have been able to put my knowledge and experience to a beneficial use, and have thereby healed some of the grief of that unplanned transition, my own small version of running among thorns.

The significance of this study, though, does not rest on my personal experience. It rests on the three justifications presented earlier: (1) that education is an important part of acculturation; (2) that immigrants can contribute to our understanding of education as an agent of acculturation, both through their direct experiences of U.S. education and their comparison of that education to other experiences in other lands; and (3) that Ethiopian

immigrants represent an understudied, growing, and unique population to provide those insights about our educational system.

Research Questions

This study's first two purposes, examining the Ethiopian perspective of education and examining education as an agent of acculturation examining the Ethiopian perspective of that education, are brought into focus by a single, principal question:

(1) How do adult Ethiopian immigrants to the United States, who have experienced education in both countries, make sense of the two educational systems as facilitating their acculturation?

In order to probe for select specific aspects of the questions above, there are two supporting, secondary questions to be investigated:

(1a) How do Ethiopian immigrants evaluate their Ethiopian education in preparing them for acculturation?

(1b) How do Ethiopian immigrants evaluate their U.S. education in helping them through acculturation?

In order to contribute to the understanding of theory about acculturation, the third purpose of the study, there is a second principal question about confirming a particular theory:

(2) How well does the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation fit the narratives of Ethiopian immigrants?

This question also has two supporting, secondary questions:

(2a) Do the respondents' self-assessments, viewed individually, show that their acculturation is differentiated among the three dimensions of the theory?

(2b) Do the respondents' self-assessments, viewed collectively, show that their

acculturation patterns differ from each other?

Other Introductory Considerations

The Author's Voice

In writing this paper, I have chosen to use my own, first-person voice. This seems

reasonable, since the first purpose of the paper, as stated above, is to increase

understanding of Ethiopian immigrants, and one of the ways to accomplish that purpose

is to provide them a forum for their voices. If their voices get to be heard, why not mine?

But this decision is not just an idiosyncrasy. As Denzin and Lincoln (2005)

recount, in the 1990's, "Many scholars began to judge the days of value-free inquiry

based on a God's-eye view of reality to be over" (p. x). As qualitative research has grown

in its understanding of the need to recognize the particular perspective of the researcher,

along with the sometimes-reluctant admission that this perspective determines to some

extent the subject, the focus, and even the outcome of research, we have gradually come

to realize that "writing itself is not an innocent practice" (Denzin and Lincoln, p. x).

Richardson and St. Pierre (2005) assert, "our selves are always present no matter how

hard we try to suppress them" (p. 962). There is no place to hide the researcher; I peek

out from behind the choice of every word. More than that, though, I have been a critical

factor in this study. My network of contacts determined the selection of respondents, my

choices controlled the interview guide, and my personality, along with the personalities

of the respondents, allowed us to establish the rapport which shaped the candidness and

the depth of the responses. Webb (1992) writes that it is perfectly appropriate to use the

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first person, "when one has played a crucial role in shaping the data or ideas presented" (p.747). In this research, I have played such a role.

Any witnessing requires a witness. Since you cannot cross-examine me in person, I'd better do a good job of introducing myself. There is an entire section of Chapter Three (The Interviewer, p. 178) devoted to that introduction, and there are also two other sections of this paper which are written in an intensely personal way: the Preface to Chapter Five, (p. 325) and Appendix E (p 406).

In an effort to avoid chanting my "name the live-long day to an admiring bog" (Dickenson, 1891), though, I have often used more indirect, traditionally academic constructions, such as 'this study found' or 'this research shows.' But as a reminder that this writing is the product of a writer, I have chosen to periodically use first-person constructions, too. It is my hope that this explanation, along with the three extensively personal sections and the occasional reminders, will help orient readers to my particular perspective, as well as to invite them to consider their own.

Refugees and Immigrants

In considering the movement of people from one country to another, some theorists have attempted to distinguish between immigrants and refugees. The critical factor in making this distinction is choice. If the person leaving a country is freely choosing to do so, then that person is considered an immigrant. If, however, the person leaving the county is fleeing danger, then the person is considered a special sort of immigrant, a refugee. Sekhon (2008), for example, states that "it is critical to distinguish between refugees and immigrants" (p. 11), and goes on to supply a working definition: "Unlike most immigrants, refugees do not leave their homes by choice" (p. 12). Using

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this system, the category 'refugees' seems to be a clearly-defined subset of the larger category 'immigrants.'

For extreme cases, these definitions are clear. Immigrants with large trunks of possessions, traveling according to carefully-crafted plans and with clear destinations and jobs waiting in their new homeland, are clearly different from ragged refugees fleeing on foot in fear for their lives, with no possessions but the clothes on their backs. Difficulties arise with the definitions, however, when less extreme cases are considered. McBrien (2005), among others, distinguishes between 'anticipatory' refugees, who leave their homelands in advance of foreseen times of shortage or violence, and 'acute' refugees, who leave only when danger is present. The clear, two-set structure of Sekhon's definition now includes the intermediate category 'anticipatory refugee.' On further examination, this category, too, becomes blurry. There are no discussions provided for the length of advance warning that might qualify as 'foreseen', for how much 'shortage' and how much 'violence' might be expected, or for how close danger must be in order to be considered 'present'. An apparently clear definition turns out to be founded on undefined phrases, open to inconsistent interpretations.

A second short-coming of this artificial distinction between 'immigrants' and 'refugees' is that immigrants' choices are often made among very limited options, especially when poverty limits those options even further. Those options are changeable, leaving the element of choice remarkably ephemeral. For example, a man in fear for his life might have fled to a refugee camp. He would therefore be undeniably identified as a 'refugee.' But if he chooses to apply for a re-settlement program, even though the available choices for resettlement are severely restricted, his status might be considered

to have suddenly changed from 'refugee' to 'immigrant'. Or an 'immigrant' woman might discover that the promised job in her new homeland is non-existent, and that she is actually a victim of human trafficking for prostitution. Her status might be viewed as having just changed from 'immigrant' to 'refugee,' even though her signature remains on the original application as documentation of her supposedly free choice.

A third short-coming of this definition is that it completely ignores children, who usually have little choice in following their parents' decisions. By insisting on making this artificial distinction, 'immigrant' parents are often accompanied by 'refugee' children. The distinctions between 'refugee' and 'immigrant', then, are fluid, temporary, and vague; perhaps they should not be made at all. I suggest a different model.

The narratives of immigrants, like people with reason to run among thorns, locate themselves along a spectrum between hope and fear (Taylor & Whittaker, 2003), and it probably isn't particularly useful to try to distinguish more than a general sense of their relative position on that continuum at any given time. Indeed, during the travel from their first home to the land which will become their new home, immigrants might move back and forth along that spectrum. An Irish immigrant from the potato famine, for example, might have felt more like a 'refugee,' that is, fearful, while seasick on the North Atlantic, more like an 'immigrant,' that is, hopeful, on catching sight of the New York City harbor, and, again, more like a 'refugee' on encountering door signs that read "No dogs or Irish allowed."

For this study, then, respondents are not asked to label themselves as immigrants or refugees. They are asked to describe their subjective experiences and emotions as they have 'run among thorns' through the challenges of acculturating to a new homeland, as

they have navigated the spectrum between hope and fear. This study, then, uses the term 'immigrant' as a generic label for people moving to a new homeland.

Definitions of Terms

In addition to the definition of terms in this section, unfamiliar or foreign words such as *kine* or *zema* are defined in the text the first time that they are used.

Immigrant: a person moving to a new homeland.

Acculturation: the process of change that an immigrant goes through because of contact with a new culture.

Culture: the way a group organizes its life and activities, including its shared norms, understandings, and values.

Amharic Spelling

Amharic, the dominant language of Ethiopia, along with the currently spoken languages Tigrinya and Tigré as well as the ancient religious language Ge'ez, uses not an alphabet but a syllabary. A single character represents a syllable, typically (though not always) a consonant sound followed by a vowel sound. Since there are about 33 consonants in Amharic, and each of them can be linked with each of seven basic vowel sounds, there are just over 200 distinct characters. These represent the Amharic 'alphabet'. For example, the name of the capital city, Addis Ababa (literally 'new flower'), is spelled with six characters, አዲስ አበባ, which correspond roughly to the six English sounds [ah--dih--s ah--beh--buh].

In principle, Amharic writing is phonetic, but as with any living language, pronunciations can vary in different times and places. This variation, coupled with the unpredictability of an individual hearing the sound and then transliterating it into English,

can result in many different spellings for the same word. Addis Ababa, for instance, has been spelled in many different English ways, including Adis Ababa, Addis Abebe, and Addis Abeba. This paper uses the most familiar English spelling, Addis Ababa, except in quotations, where the author's original spelling is respected.

Organization of the Study

This study is organized into five chapters. The first chapter has already introduced the topic, established its importance, and defined its focus. The second chapter, the literature review, provides the reader with an extensive background in Ethiopian education, a more cursory review of U.S. education, and an introduction to the theoretical basis for understanding acculturation. The third chapter outlines the choices made in deciding which methods of research were to be used and how they were to be applied, and defends the value of those choices. The fourth chapter records the reports of the interviews with Ethiopian immigrants and analyzes the results within each individual case study. The final chapter discusses the cross-analysis of those reports and the findings of the study, including its limitations.

Tena Yisteleng!

It remains only to welcome the readers of this study with a traditional greeting in Amharic: *Tena yisteleng!* and to invite them to enter in a small, vicarious way into a new culture, as if they were immigrants themselves.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The first basic research question for the study is:

(1) How do adult Ethiopian immigrants to the United States, who have

experienced education in both countries, make sense of the two educational

systems as facilitating their acculturation?

In order to probe for select specific aspects of the questions above, there are two

supporting, secondary questions:

(1a) How do Ethiopian immigrants evaluate their Ethiopian education in

preparing them for acculturation?

(1b) How do Ethiopian immigrants evaluate their U.S. education in helping them

through acculturation?

There are three areas to be explored, then, and there are consequently three parts of this

literature review: Ethiopian education, United States education, and the process of

acculturation that bridges those two educational experiences.

This chapter begins with a general discussion of Ethiopian education. This theme

is developed in considerable detail because it is assumed that most readers of this study

are Americans having a limited knowledge of Ethiopian culture, history, and education. It

could be argued that the study's coverage of Ethiopian education could be limited to the last two or three decades, the time period when the study's respondents actually attended school in Ethiopia. That stance either assumes that the reader's knowledge of Ethiopian history is already extensive or disregards the long history and deep complexities that have substantially contributed to the current Ethiopian cultural context. The ongoing influences of this long educational history are shown to still impact Ethiopian educational experiences today, and thus in order to better understand the perspective and context from which the immigrants' Ethiopian educational experiences derive, it is important to adequately represent the long and varied Ethiopian educational history.

Since one of the purposes of this study is to increase educators' understanding of Ethiopian immigrants and their unique educational context, this discussion is fairly extensive. As presented below, it might serve as a useful resource for an educator working specifically with Ethiopian immigrants. But in the current educational setting of the U.S., many educators work with children from several (or many!) cultures in a single school or district. For the benefit of these educators, a summary of Ethiopian education, about one-tenth as long as the original, is presented as Appendix A. Finally, for the harried classroom teacher, who daily struggles to create differentiated instruction for children of many cultures in a single classroom, a quickly-skimmed one-page summary is presented as Appendix B. It is hoped that educators will have time to study the unique aspects of Ethiopian culture in more detail, but in the meantime, those appendices mention intriguing parallels between traditional Ethiopian educational practices and modern understandings of best practices for teaching. They also might serve as hints of the depth and richness of the Ethiopian educational legacy.

The appendices also present the reader with an alternative approach to this paper. It is entirely possible to skim the one-page Appendix B first. It can serve as an overview, an advance organizer for later studies. When time and interest permit, the reader might then read the twelve-page Appendix A for a more complete picture of Ethiopian education, before committing to total immersion in the study of the entire chapter.

The second discussion in the literature review, United States education, is much shorter. Many readers are assumed to be familiar with the broad outlines of the history of education in the United States (and if they are not, there are many resources to available to teach them), so this study simply recaps those outlines with an emphasis on the themes that have been developed in the previous section and are of particular interest from an Ethiopian perspective.

Since such a broad approach risks providing only the sketchiest of generalizations, the literature review also investigates three 'troubling topics' as foci for further attention. Those topics are the role of women, ethnic identity, and slavery. For the section on the United States, the topic of women's roles is de-emphasized and the topics of ethnicity and slavery are combined, as they have been throughout so much of the history of the U.S.

The label 'troubling topic' might conceivably be a troublesome title for some readers. The term is not meant to suggest that every member of the cultures represented finds these topics troubling. For example, there is no reason to believe that in an intact village society, individuals are typically troubled by the relative status and power of men and women. Powerful men and less powerful women might be equally accepting of their positions in the community, so immersed in the traditions of the village that they are

never really conscious of the situation, much less particularly troubled by it. The label 'troubling topic,' then, is meant to identify for the modern reader certain recurring themes of these different approaches to education, as well as their different historical cultures, which might well be troubling to the modern educator. They are equally troubling to most modern Ethiopians.

The final section of the literature review discusses the process of acculturation, which is the process of changing because of contact with a new culture. This section, which might be considered the connecting bridge between the first two sections, is focused on understanding the challenges of moving across the gulf between two such dissimilar cultures as those of Ethiopia and the United States. It includes an introduction to one specific theory, the Differentiated Multi-dimensional Model of Acculturation, which is used in this study for considering the acculturation of respondents.

It is at this point where readers are welcomed to choose their own path by deciding to skim Appendix B, the one-page summary of Ethiopian education, to read Appendix A, the twelve-page summary, or to delve into the following passages, which explore that history in some depth. Readers who prefer to use the appendices are invited to rejoin this main narrative for the section titled 'Looking to the Future,' starting on page 126.

Overview of Ethiopia

Figure 1. Map of Ethiopia.

As shown in Figure 1, Ethiopia is a mountainous country in northeast Africa. It is bounded on the north by Eritrea, on the northeast and east by Djibouti and Somalia, on the south by Kenya, and on the west by Sudan and South Sudan. Historically, Ethiopia included the lowlands along the Red Sea in the north, but since the independence of Eritrea in 2000, Ethiopia has been landlocked (Phillips & Carillet, 2006, p. 40).

The central region of Ethiopia is a high plateau, with "mile-high escarpments and rugged terrain [which] serve as barriers to cultural contact with the outside world" (Kalewold, 1998, p. vi). The plateau is generally between 6000 and 8000 feet in elevation

and is bisected by the Rift Valley. The plateau is fertile and, because of its height, the climate tends to be mild and healthy. As one moves away from the center toward lower elevations the heat becomes tropical, indeed Saharan, with attendant environmental challenges such as malaria and dengue fever (Phillips & Carillet, 2006). The hotter, drier, lower elevations are suitable for grazing, but not for cultivation. This, then, is the summary of Ethiopia's geography: "the state's central core, surrounded by a borderland buffer zone in low-lying, arid, or tropical zones" (Marcus, 1994, p. xvii).

"The immense and varied physical resources of Africa are practically unknown to the civilized world" (Lewis, 1962, p. 13) and Ethiopia is no exception. It is a rich and fertile land, constantly surprising outsiders who come to Africa with preconceptions of only poverty and darkness. Ethiopia is the origin of an entire complex of agricultural plants, "including the narcotic chat, its banana-like ensete, its oily noog, its finger millet used to brew its national beer, and its tiny-seeded cereal called teff, used to make its national bread" (Diamond, 1997, p. 388). Coffee, Ethiopia's most famous native crop, originated in Kaffe province, and has enriched the cuisine of the entire world. These crops, domesticated independently of the more familiar, Middle-Eastern staples such as wheat and barley, still thrive in their native soil, but are now complemented by imported crops from around the world. In the same way, Ethiopia is immensely rich in cultural resources. Its 65-plus ethnic groups, speaking 83 distinct languages and more than 200 dialects (Phillips & Carillet, 2006) form a rich, cross-fertilized resource of human assets that holds great potential for the future.

Semitic people from the north migrated to Ethiopia starting more than 3500 years ago, and gradually moved inland from the Red Sea coastlands up onto the central plateau,

where they replaced the original, Black African cultures. This is the first basic pattern of

Ethiopian history: the dominant culture and language are unquestionably of non-African

origin, and "public history in Ethiopia has moved from north to south" (Marcus, 1994, p.

xvii). Consequently, "the destinies of this region have been indissolubly tied with the Red

Sea more than with the Nile Valley" (Trimingham, 1968, p. 21). This Semitic culture,

best represented by the Amhara tribe, imported Christianity (again, from the north) early

in the Common Era, that is, the time since the year 'one' on Western calendars. (This

paper uses the abbreviations CE—'Common Era'--and BCE—'Before Common Era'--

instead of the designations 'AD' and 'BC,' traditional to the Christianity of Western

Europe.) The Semites then formed a series of dominant empires in the highlands. For the

subsequent centuries of Ethiopian history, this Christian, agricultural, Semitic culture has

been in uneasy contact with the Bantu (black African in origin), nomadic cultures

occupying the surrounding lowlands. These Bantu pastoralists, the largest tribe of which

is the Oromo, have usually followed Islam or traditional Africa religions.

This relationship forms the second basic pattern of Ethiopian history: the central

authority, located in the highlands, has either extended into or retreated from the

lowlands as the empire's authority waxed or waned. From time to time, in fact, the nation

"had disintegrated into component parts, but it had never disappeared as an idea and

always reappeared in fact" (Marcus, 1994, p. xvii). Tension between the center and the

periphery has never abated; in fact, "the geography--our mountain fastness and the hostile

lowlands--determined our history and lifestyle" (Mesfin, 1990, p. xv). This demarcation

continues to influence issues of today. The secession of lowland Eritrea and the ensuing

war, which ended in 2000 (Phillips & Carillet, 2006), as well as the current agitation for

the creation of 'Oromia' as an Oromo nation separate from Ethiopia (Kirkos, 2008) are merely the latest developments in this three-millennia-old pattern, the conflict between the center and the margins of the nation.

Thus there are two over-arching patterns in Ethiopian history: the progression from north to south (which includes the implications of cultural origins in--and continued interaction with--the Middle East), and the interaction (and conflict) between the center and the margins. These two historical patterns have been repeated throughout Ethiopian history and continue to echo in current issues in Ethiopian education. For example, the educational role of the Christian church (imported from the north perhaps 1700 years ago) is profoundly rooted from the centuries when the Orthodox Church held a monopoly on education, and the church still exerts a large influence on the expectations that people hold for education. Further, the ethnic and cultural tensions between the Semitic tribes anchored at the core of the nation, such as the Christian Amhara, and the marginalized tribes, such as the predominately Muslim Oromo, still shape such debates as the primary language of instruction, the centralization or decentralization of control over curriculum, and the purpose of education itself.

There is one other circumstance of Ethiopian history that makes Ethiopia unique among African nations: it was never colonized by a European power (Phillips & Carillet, 2006). This also is a 'current event' in Ethiopian education, and continues to impact educational issues in both positive and negative ways. For example, Ethiopia exhibits intense national pride in its history of freedom and its quest for a uniquely Ethiopian culture and education (Phillips & Carillet, 2006). However, the country's educational

systems lag behind those of many other African nations because of its lack of a legacy from colonial education (Phillips & Carillet, 2006).

Because of Ethiopia's historical and cultural uniqueness, which makes its history atypical of Africa as a whole, Ethiopia's role in African education is still hotly debated. Many people, especially marginalized people of color in former colonies, idealize Ethiopia because they falsely imagine it free of inter-tribal and inter-racial conflict, since these twin disasters are often blamed on the colonial experience (Clarke, 1986). Conversely, other people feel that Ethiopia isn't really 'African' at all because of its Middle Eastern roots, and therefore deny Ethiopia's relevance to the current, continent-wide discussion about the future of African education (Weller, M., personal communication, April 8, 2011).

History of Education in Ethiopia

Introduction

The two over-arching patterns in Ethiopian history, the progression from north to south and the interaction (and conflict) between the center and the margins, continue to echo in Ethiopian education and the lives of those who have experienced it. In order to understand the way those patterns impacted Ethiopian education, it is helpful to review Ethiopia's history, which is "complex and at times mysterious" (Pankurst, 1996, p. 7). This study reviews that history with an emphasis on the educational institutions of each period.

The preceding overview of Ethiopia has already alluded to the three ancient strands of this complex educational history. First, there were Black tribal cultures and their traditional, village-based educational systems. Second, starting as early as the first

century CE (and certainly in place by the sixth century CE), there was the Orthodox Church's educational system, led by the Amhara on the central plateau. The third and final ancient strand became a part of the weave toward the end of the seventh century CE, when Islam was introduced from the north and encircled the Orthodox highlands. These three strands have been interweaving, then, for the past thirteen hundred years, with first one and then the other in positions of prominence.

To make matters more complicated, there are three additional strands that have been introduced into the weaving in modern times. The modern Christian missionary movement began in the mid-nineteenth century, the Derg and its communist ideals temporarily dominated education beginning in 1974, and since the fall of the Derg in 1991, the current regime has fostered efforts to modernize and extend education. Each of these six strands is examined below, along with its relationship with earlier strands and with each of the three challenging issues.

Though the six strands are introduced in chronological order, this presentation as a whole does not provide a chronological history. For example, the text presents the first strand of tribal roots from pre-history to modern times. Then the text returns to the early years of the Common Era, introduces Christianity, and traces its influences to modern times. Each new strand retraces, to some extent, time periods already discussed, and intertwines with previous strands to create a fully developed picture of Ethiopian history. As an aid in that effort, each component of Ethiopian history is introduced with a small schematic figure, showing each new strand, usually entering the nation from the North, superimposed on an outline map of Ethiopia. There is a rough chronological component in these figures, moving from ancient times on the left to more modern times on the right,

and the width of the each line suggests the relative strength of each tradition. Figure 2,

below, is the simplest in the series, since it depicts only the broad, black foundation

provided by the native traditional education systems.

Figure 2. First Strand: Tribal Traditions

Introduction

Even the choice of where to start a discussion of Ethiopian history is politicized. A description of the early kingdoms along the Red Sea might be seen as supporting the Amhara perspective of a strong, central--and Christian--nation as the cultural norm. On the other hand, a decision to describe the Oromo perspective, based in Muslim educational tradition, might be interpreted as lending credence to Oromo claims of primacy. In order to side-step most of that controversy, this study begins its survey of

Ethiopian history and education with a third tribe, the Nuer, as an example of the now-marginalized traditional African cultures. Though such tribes now compose only about 10% of the nation's population, with Christians about 50% and Muslims about 40% (Trimingham, 1968), the Nuer provide a glimpse of the original, ancient cultures of the region, the foundation upon which the later Christian and Muslim influences built. There are many other cultures, the Gurage, for instance, which could also serve as such an introduction, but the Nuer, having been studied extensively twice during the past century, serve as a well-documented resource..

The native cultures of Ethiopia, as well as their educational traditions, have faced enormous challenges, especially in the lowlands on the margins of the nation. For example, the noted anthropologist E.E. Evans-Pritchard, in describing the Nuer, a nomadic tribe along the sub-Saharan Sudanese border, commented about the difficulty of their life in a harsh environment with only minimal technological resources. "Nuer do not live in an iron age or even in a stone age, but in an age, whatever it may be called, in which plants and beasts furnish technological necessities" (Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 87). Sharon Hutchinson, an anthropologist who studied the Nuer a full fifty years after Evans-Pritchard, also commented about the continuing difficulties of the environment, and how food gathering and sharing continued to play a central role among the Nuer. Hutchinson pointed out that "the sharing of food was what distinguished most clearly the social world of human beings from that of animals and the bush in numerous Nuer folk stories and myths" (Hutchinson, 1996, p. 161). This centrality of food is seen as a basic principle of society, and is reflected in the Nuer proverb, "'Food binds people together'" (Hutchinson, p. 161). Evans-Pritchard described the importance of famine in shaping the values of the

culture. "Schooled in hardship and hunger--for both they express contempt--they accept the direst calamities with resignation and endure them with courage" (Evans-Pritchard, p. 90). He theorized that "it is scarcity and not sufficiency that makes people generous, since everybody is thereby insured against hunger" (Evans-Pritchard, p. 85).

From the difficulty of life in these marginal lands, then, comes the basic feature of African life: communalism. In addition to the transmission of specific skills for the survival of the culture within its particular environment, a need universal to education in all cultures, the education African children receive transmits communal values. "Above all, they were taught their roles in the all-embracing network of kinship relations, and what their rights and obligations were within it" (Busia, 1969, p. 13). Kinship, not law, was the basis of all relations, and the central determinant of what behavior was expected in any situation. "Indeed," commented Evans-Pritchard, "the Nuer have no government, and their state might be described as an ordered anarchy" (1940, p. 5). That 'anarchy' is ordered is by kinship. "Either a man is a kinsman, actually or by fiction, or he is a person to whom you have no reciprocal obligations and who you treat as a potential enemy" (Evans-Pritchard, p. 183). Within the web of kinship obligations, children have a special place. They are seen as the future of the clan, and "the needs of children are always the first to be satisfied even, if as happens in times of privation, their elders have to deny themselves" (Evans-Pritchard, p. 21). Hutchinson (1996) quoted the Nuer proverb, "'A small child is the child of everyone'" and explained that "all adults shared in the responsibility of ensuring that he or she was well nourished and well brought up" (p. 164).

Education in Tribal Traditions

This 'bringing up' of children included, of course, education. At the most basic level, "the aim of indigenous education was preparation for effective living in the society" (Farouk, 1998, p. 172), and such a basic definition of education is true of every culture. But African education "did not share the basic tenets of Western education, which tend to focus on the development of the individual" (Farouk, p. 172). Instead, "traditional education sought to produce men and women who were not self-centered" (Busia, 1969, p. 17). Children were expected to "put the interest of the group above their personal interest," and to fulfill obligations that were "hallowed and approved by tradition" (Busia, 1969, p. 17).

It was the goal of education, then, "to inculcate this sense of belonging, which was the highest value of the cultural system. The young were educated in and for the community's way of life" (Busia, 1969, p. 17) and all children were included. This description is not meant to idealize village or nomadic life, with its limited options, its narrow horizon of opportunity, and its intense conservatism. But in these cultures, it may be said that no child was left behind.

In village or nomadic life, either before the advent of modern civilization or in isolated areas today, "the young learnt by participating in activities alongside their elders. They learnt by listening, by watching, by doing" (Busia, 1969, p. 13). Actually, "the whole society was one big school. Teaching and learning were done by one generation passing on its values, norms, culture, history, and religion to the next generation by word of mouth or by example" (Farouk, 1998, p. 199). Everything that the young people were taught, then, was naturally relevant "to the life and culture of the community and to the

kind of life they were expected to lead" (Farouk, p. 15). This informal teaching, naturally

enough, took place in the native language of the student. "Education, then, in the

traditional African setting, cannot be separated from life itself" (Reagan, 2005, p. 62).

The first basic pattern of Ethiopian history, of north to south progression, began

with incursions of Semitic peoples from the north. As early as 2000 BCE, the Red Sea

coast "had established strong contacts with the inhabitants of southern Arabia" (Phillips

& Carillet, 2000, p. 26). These people, called simply the pre-Axumites because they

preceded the historically well-documented kingdom of Axum, "dominated the highlands"

of northern Ethiopia (Marcus, 1994, p. 3). Their altars were embellished with traditional

symbols from Arabia, such as the crescent, and not with symbols familiar to Black Africa

or Egypt. "In an ideological sense, therefore, Ethiopia early joined the Middle East and

participated in the region's rich religious history" (Marcus, 1994, p. 5). The region was

famous throughout the Middle East for its riches, and its first historical record dates from

1495 BCE: the walls of the temple of Queen Hapshetsut in Thebes record an expedition

returning from the Red Sea coast with ivory, gold, and slaves (Pankurst, 1996).

Troubling Topics

Troubling topic one: Tribal traditions and women. The position of girls and

women in tribal societies was well-defined, and it was inferior to that of men. It is not

somehow 'natural' for women to be subservient, because there have been matriarchal,

goddess-worshipping societies (Nicholson, 1989), as well as semi-legendary societies of

women warriors ruled by queens (Rothery, 1910), but those societies have been in the

minority in human history. In northeast Africa, native cultures have tended to be

overwhelmingly dominated by men. In patriarchal societies such as these, "the essential

underlying gender-based division is that men have the larger share in decision making, and women have the larger share of work" (Longwe, 1998, p. 20). Women owned no property. They were valued in terms of cattle, were bought and sold as brides, and were given as compensation and peace offerings in cases of homicide within the tribe. Polygamy was typical. In these circumstances, of course, a woman's education was strictly limited. She learned her place in society and the chores that she was required to do in order to keep her family fed.

Interestingly enough, there were some sexual protections that were afforded to women in these traditional cultures. In the Nuer, for instance, adultery was rare. This was partially a function of the fact that women were owned; 'trespassing' on another man's property could result in violence, or in a compensation ruling by the elders that might require the adulterer to forfeit cattle or some of his own wives. The taboo against adultery was also due to the importance of the kinship patterns described above. "A man considers that not only would it be wrong to commit adultery . . . but also that it would be, in greater or lesser degree incestuous," Evans-Pritchard explains (1940, p. 166). "One does not fornicate with the girls of one's own village, for they are generally related to one" (Evans-Pritchard, p. 167). Girls or women outside the immediate kinship group, of course, could be approached with no fear of violating incest taboos.

Troubling topic two: Tribal traditions and ethnic identity. The second issue from these distant origins that still affects Ethiopian education is ethnic identity in the form of tribalism. Evans-Pritchard, again describing the Nuer, noted that "their feeling of superiority and the contempt they show for all foreigners and their readiness to fight them are a common bond of communion" (1940, p. 123). Evans-Pritchard explained how,

within the tribe, if one man affronted another, there can be a payment of "blood wealth" (which can be paid either in cattle or in women), but "that this is different from a fight between tribes, *kur*, in which no claims for compensation would be recognized" (p. 161). These tribes made acute distinctions between the insider and the outsider: if a tribal member offended a fellow member of his tribe, he owed compensation. If he offended a foreigner, he owed nothing. In fact, success at stealing outsiders' cattle or raping outsiders' women simply justified assumptions of superiority and reinforced pre-existing contempt for foreigners.

It is often difficult for Westerners to understand the depth of tribal identification for Africans. A final illustration from Evans-Pritchard (1940) highlights the strength of the tribal bond, even into the twentieth century:

> How strong is tribal sentiment may be gathered from the fact that sometimes men who leave the tribe of their birth to settle permanently in another tribe take with them some earth of their old country and drink it in a solution of water, slowly adding to each dose a greater amount of soil from their new country, thus gently breaking mystical ties with the old and building up mystical ties with the new. (1940, p. 120)

With few exceptions, "at the core of the African's loyalty lie his extended family and his tribe" (Ashby, 1964, p. 3). Attempts to understand Ethiopian education cannot ignore this assertion, which was true in ancient times, and is still true today.

***Troubling topic three: Tribal traditions and slavery*.** One might consider slavery as simply one particularly terrible outgrowth of tribalism, the second 'challenging issue,' but it can be recognized as its own separate problem because of its long-term grip on the Ethiopian (and African) psyche, because of its persistence in modified form into our present century, and because of its relevance to United States history. Slavery, then,

completes the triad of 'Troubling Topics' from the ancient past, which intertwine to create a tangle of challenges in current education.

Slavery was practiced by the tribes of the region, for as long as history can show, as a way of paying debts or making restitution. This slavery "was of a patriarchal and traditional kind" (Tapiero, 1969, p. 63). But there was a larger pattern occurring as well. Throughout the historical record, from the very first citation of contact with Egypt, mentioned above, there are entries about slaves as an export from the region that was to become Ethiopia. The pre-Axumites, centered on the very northern edge of the highlands in what is now Eritrea, "exchanged ivory, tortoiseshell, rhinoceros horn, gold, silver, and slaves for such finished goods as cloth, tools, metals, and jewelry" (Marcus, 1994, pp. 3-4). This trade continued unabated through the history of Axum, a later Semitic kingdom that rose as early as 400 BCE and by the first century CE was the dominant power along the trade routes linking Rome and India (Phillips & Carillet, 2000, p. 27). Axum was also centered in the highlands, though, in holding with the pattern of movement from the north, slightly to the south of the previous capital. Until its fall in the sixth century CE, in the chaos following the fall of Rome, Axum "attracted trade from much of the ancient world" (Hiskett, 1994, p. 135), including a constant stream of slaves heading north. These slaves were not usually from the kingdoms of the pre-Axumites or Axum, "but from southern and western Ethiopia, whose societies could not protect themselves" (Marcus, 1994, p. 55). The dominant culture of the highlands preyed on the surrounding lowlands for slaves, just as they sought ivory, which they then sold at a profit to their northern neighbors, where "Middle Easterners long had bought Ethiopian slaves for their armies, their fields, their homes, and their beds" (Marcus, 1994, p. 55). Slaves were not only a

valuable commodity in themselves, but they also served as the transportation, "the carrying medium" (Trimingham, 1968, p. 32) for all other commodities, the most important of which was ivory. Trade between Ethiopia and the surrounding regions, then, was oriented toward the north, and the primary colors of the trade were ebony and ivory, slaves and elephant tusks.

This slavery was not like the slavery practiced in the Middle Eastern, Greek, or Roman worlds of the time, where slavery was racially inclusive. In those cultures, debtors or criminals from the local societies, especially in times of war or famine, could easily become slaves, along with foreigners such as prisoners of war. Fathers might sell sons--or more often, daughters--for instance, simply because food prices had risen beyond their ability to pay. Ancient slavery typically included a wide variety of people; a Roman villa's well-to-do owner might hold Semitic slaves from various Greek and Roman colonies in North Africa, blond Teutons or dark Celts defeated on the European borders of the Empire, and Roman debtors as well as Ethiopian laborers and concubines. But the slave trade in Ethiopia took on a unique aspect: an unbroken parade of dark-skinned Africans marched north through the centuries, enslaved in raids with the capture of slaves as their only aim. The targets of these slaving raids were the marginalized cultures of the lowlands, the cultures already held in contempt through the intense prejudices produced by tribalism.

Second Ethiopian Educational Strand: Orthodox Church

from the North

Orthodox Church:
educating a tiny elite as priests

Tribal Traditions

ancient times ──────────────► modern times

Figure 3. Second Strand: The Orthodox Church

Introduction

Entering Ethiopia from the north, as shown in Figure 3, Christianity introduced the first formal educational system to the region. The precise advent of Christianity in Ethiopia is unknown. "The Ethiopian church claims that Christianity first reached Aksum at the time of the apostles" (Phillips & Carillet, 2000, p. 28) in the first century CE, but there is no historical evidence to support that contention. The commonly accepted legend is that Christianity came to Ethiopia in the third century, via two ship-wrecked boys, the

sole survivors of their trading expedition, who were enslaved, brought to court, and rose to positions of power in the kingdom (Kalewold, 1998, p. xi-xii). According to this tradition, one of the boys was eventually appointed as the first bishop of Ethiopia by the patriarch of Alexandria. A less romantic version of history proposes that "conversion was slow and occurred first in the towns and along the major trade routes" (Marcus, 1994, p. 7), primarily through the work of Christian merchants from the Roman commerce that dominated the Red Sea trade routes. It is surmised that, "as linked to trade, Christianity proved a boon to the monarch" (Marcus, 1994, p. 8). By the beginning of the fourth century, Christian crosses were appearing on the Ethiopian empire's stone monuments (Phillips & Carillet, 2000) as well as on its coins, which were circulated from Rome all the way to India. This empire was led by the Tigray, a Semitic people centered on the northern edge of the highlands just above the Red Sea coastal plain, and this particular sect of Christianity developed into the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church is distinct from the Eastern Orthodox Church, based in Constantinople (later, Istanbul). The Eastern Orthodox Church began to differentiate from Roman Catholicism in 324 CE, when Constantine changed his capital from Rome to Byzantium, which he renamed Constantinople (Kelly, 1997, p. 195). After seven hundred years of increasingly uneasy co-existence, the two communions eventually split in 1054 CE when their respective leaders, the Roman Catholic pope in Rome and the Eastern Orthodox patriarch in Constantinople, " excommunicated each other" (Woodhead, 2004, p. 83). The Ethiopian Orthodox Church, as already shown, predates the Eastern Orthodox Church by several centuries. It was separated from both Rome and Byzantium by the Mediterranean and the Sahara, and later by the Muslim cultures of

North African and the Middle East, and developed in isolation along unique lines. The two 'eastern' traditions are both termed 'ortho-dox' because of their emphasis on 'correct doctrine,' that is, a set of formal beliefs that have proven very resistant to change.

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church established monasteries on the sites of traditional shrines from the ancient African religions. The monasteries "fashioned their monastic rule around communalism, hard work, discipline, and obedience, while introducing asceticism and mysticism that attracted young idealists" (Marcus, 1994, p. 9), and set about employing these young monks to convert the region to Christianity. This system of monasteries was the first formal educational system in Ethiopia, and its functions have continued throughout the intervening seventeen centuries, making it "one of the oldest continuous systems of learning in the world" (Kalewold, 1998, p. xi). Generation after generation, selected boys have been trained as monks whose primary purpose in life was to serve as teachers for the next generation.

This educated elite, "acting as the sole repository of Christian culture and identity" (Kalewold, 1998, p. vi), preserved that heritage through the coming of Islam, the rise and fall of different dynasties, the alternating fragmentation and re-establishment of the empire, and the gradual encroachment of the modern West. It is a history of extraordinary tenacity, comparable to the Roman Catholic Church or the Eastern Orthodox Church in duration, if not in scope. In this brief overview of education, however, even if a paragraph could be included about each successive kingdom, the summary for each century would be, 'and the Orthodox Church continued to provide education for its corps of elite priests.' Following are several examples, not even one per

century, which attest to the amazing perseverance of the influence of the church into modern times.

In about 1270, after a period referred to as Ethiopia's Dark Ages, the Amhara people founded a new dynasty that claimed descent from King Solomon. An elaborate tradition was constructed--an Amhara writer might say 'discovered'--that claimed for the new emperor unbroken descent from the Biblical Queen of Sheba, and included a legend of her capturing the Ark of the Covenant and transporting it to Ethiopia (Phillips & Carillet, 2000, p. 29). This claim of ancient, Jewish roots had the result of strengthening the power of the Orthodox Church and the status of its priests. The augmented demand for priests throughout the empire increased the numbers of young men who were trained to serve as teachers, though in terms of population percentages, the number of literate men remained miniscule.

In the 1300's, "Ethiopia expanded southward, confirming Amharic and Christianity as integral parts of the imperial tradition . . . Crown and church were inextricably linked" (Marcus, 1994, p. 19) in the expansion of the empire into the lowlands, and into more intimate contact with Black African cultures.

Within several generations, though, the church and the empire were no longer expansionist. The intense conservatism that had allowed the church to survive unchanged for over a thousand years continued to dominate its outlook and its education. "Whereas fifteenth-century Western Europe was reinventing the town and the related market mechanisms that would overwhelm feudalism, Ethiopia was slowing the forces of change and strengthening the process of division" (Marcus, 1994, p. 29).

By the sixteenth century, Ethiopia had settled into a static, feudal "state centered in the northern-central highlands among people who shared cultural, economic, linguistic, and religious affinities" (Marcus, 1994, p. 28). This core area was encircled by conquered tribes, administered somewhat loosely by the central government. This first ring of provinces was at least nominally similar to the central core, but still preserved their separate traditions. These areas, in turn, were surrounded by a wider circle of more-or-less independent tribes that paid tribute to the emperor. This outer periphery was composed of people culturally different from those of the empire's heartland. These frontiers of the empire were fragile, and tended to secede whenever any instability occurred in the dynasty. While the nations of Western Europe were beginning to unite, Ethiopia remained fragmented. A Breton or a Norman was beginning to think of themselves as French, and a person from Cornwall or York preserved only a dialect as a souvenir of independence from English domination, but Ethiopia as a nation consisted only of "fragile unities of religion, language, tradition, economics, and mythology. Most of Ethiopia's peoples continued to think locally" (Marcus, 1994, p. 29). The church faded to a frail net, often the only force for unity, loosely tossed across disparate cultures. Lacking both efficient methods of travel between the far-flung villages, and any opportunity for education except for men who hoped to become priests, "the individual peasant's extremely limited contact with the world has been bridged by the Church and its network of schools and itinerant teachers" (Kalewold, 1998, p. vi).

This pattern of the church and its educational system as a consistent source of national unity continued all the way into the twentieth century. During the Italian occupation from 1936 to 1941, for example, "tiny church schools hidden in the

mountains were the only educational establishments transmitting the national cultural heritage to the younger generation" (Kalewold, 1998, p. vi).

In this long, unbroken legacy, there were only two truly notable events in the history of Ethiopian education as practiced by the Orthodox Church. The first event, which promoted change, was contact with Jesuit missionaries, welcomed into the country in the seventeenth century during a time of Muslim incursion (which is discussed as part of the following strand about the Muslim influence on Ethiopia). The emperor at the time, seeking an alliance (and modern firearms) from the Portuguese in order to fight back the threat to the empire, actually converted to Catholicism and attempted to impose the new religion on the population. This effort, born of desperation, "provoked widespread rebellion" (Phillips & Carillet, 1998, p. 31). In the ensuing unrest, over 30,000 peasants died, the emperor was overthrown, the Orthodox Church was reaffirmed as central to the state, and the Jesuits were expelled. "Though the Jesuits had caused great suffering and bloodshed in Ethiopia, they left behind one useful legacy: books" (Phillips & Carillet, 1998, p. 31). During this time, the first Ethiopian history and the first accounts of cultural and daily life were written, and the first stirrings of a need for literacy beyond the clergy were felt.

The second of these crucial events concerning education thwarted change. Following a period of blatant and bloody attempts by European powers to dominate Ethiopia, in 1896 the Emperor Menelik "shocked the international world by resoundingly defeating the Italians at Adwa" (Phillips & Carillet, 1998, p. 34). This was the first time that a European colonial power had been defeated in Africa, and Ethiopia instantly became a beacon of hope to the colonized continent. Menelik then embarked on a period

of intense modernization, founding the modern capital of Addis Ababa, building roads and bridges and hospitals, and introducing electricity and the telephone. But he was thwarted in his modernization attempts in education by the Orthodox Church, which argued successfully that church-based education was essential for the unity of the nation and for the preservation of Ethiopia's heritage. In subsequent decades, then, while education across the rest of the continent was gradually being transformed by Western methods introduced by the colonial powers or by the inevitable, concomitant Western missionaries, Ethiopia remained tied to its ancient, parochial educational system. By the early twentieth century, it was clear that the Orthodox Church was inextricably enmeshed in the empire, preserving its own role and the role of the feudal state that in turn sustained the church.

Education in the Orthodox Church

Most of the citations in this section are from *Traditional Ethiopian Church Education*, by Alaka Imbakom Kalewold. Kalewold completed the time-honored Orthodox education, became a long-serving monk and teacher in the Orthodox Church, and in 1998 wrote an autobiographical memoir. The most remarkable aspect of the book, at least as read by a modern Westerner, is the reality that Kalewold's descriptions are from the twentieth century, not the twelfth. He writes of students leaving their native villages at age five, begging for their daily meals, and spending almost thirty years in studying subjects such as church music and sacred poetry. The mere fact that such an educational experience still exists is perhaps the most striking introduction possible to this Orthodox strand of Ethiopian education. Such schools "are probably still attended by

well over a hundred thousand pupils in various parts of the country" (Kalewold, 1998, p. xi).

The central purpose of education provided by the Orthodox Church through the centuries "has been to prepare a clerical class highly proficient in Biblical interpretation and religious doctrine, adept in the shaping of exceptionally sophisticated poetry, in reproducing church music, and in performing traditional religious dances" (Kalewold, 1998, p. v). The education usually started at about the age of five, when promising young boys were identified and started on the long, leisurely pathway toward becoming completely adept at all aspects of the thirty-year curriculum (Kalewold, 1998). The importance of starting education at a young age was recognized. As Kalewold points out, "A pupil who joined the school at ten or 12 years of age and thus ruined the advantages of an early start takes longer to graduate. Such a pupil is almost always unsatisfactory in his performance" (p. 8).

Level one: Kissing the ground. The school of reading, called *zema*, where the boys start out, is usually located in the student's home village, or at least in a neighboring one. "He follows his education under the care of his father and mother, at home, in comfort" (Kalewold, 1998, p. 3), and doesn't have to worry about food or clothing or homesickness. Lessons start at eight o'clock in the morning, and "the student salutes the teacher by kissing his feet. He also kisses the ground." (Kalewold, p. 3) The students study reading in the ancient Ge'ez script, which has a relationship to modern Amharic something like Latin does with Italian in the West, and practice by reading aloud. "The shrill voices of young children can be quite deafening." (Kalewold, p. 4) Later on, after basic reading is mastered, students memorize required texts such as "Praises to Mary"

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and "The Physiognomy of Mary" (Kalewold, p. 5) by repeatedly reciting the entire text aloud. "Students are organized in groups of three, each composed of the teacher, who is a more advanced student, the learner, and the observer, also a student" (Kalewold, p. 4). "As to the master himself," Kalewold explains, "he teaches only two or three of the most advanced students at a time" (p. 4). While the teacher is engaged in this instruction, the head boy that the teacher has appointed "is authorized to maintain discipline in the school. He is the one who rings the gong and sees to it that the pupils recite in unison the opening and concluding prayers to each lesson" (Kalewold, 1998, p. 5). This curriculum builds on the potential of students coming from an oral culture, uses the communal nature of village life, and requires practically no educational materials.

This *zema* school lasts about four years for a bright student, but progress is evaluated individually, so this first level of schooling isn't completed until the teacher recommends that a student progress to the next stage. "Having thoroughly mastered *zema*, and having received testimonials as well as blessings from the master" (Kalewold, 1998, p. 20), the student leaves school with a choice. Perhaps his schooling is finished, if family needs take priority or if the young boy has not proven adept at academic work. But if the student, now maybe nine or ten years old, shows promise, then the "young scholar departs in search of an opportunity to practice his profession" (Kalewold, p. 20). That profession consists of both furthering his own learning and teaching younger students.

This same pattern continues at all the succeeding levels. Some students drop out, but the student who continues decides where he would like to study, presents himself to the teacher to be accepted as a student, and then studies with that teacher while tutoring

younger students. Eventually, the teacher declares the student competent to move on, and the student does. This pattern is explained with the Ethiopian proverb, "The running stream gets farther than the stagnant pool" (Kalewold, 1998, p. 28).

Level two: Poetry. The study of reading naturally leads to the study of traditional Ethiopian literature, which is centered in the highly structured poetry called *kine. Kine* includes many different forms of poetry, which might be seen as parallel to the West's sonnets or odes, and the subject matter deals with religious themes. It takes eight or ten years to master the art of composing *kine* and of analyzing others' work. Students at this level leave their home villages, travel to a larger town where there is a master with whom they wish to study, and live communally. The group of students is supported by begging, which they do cooperatively, and the younger students do the more menial tasks for their elders, who are also their tutors (Kalewold, 1998, p. 30).

The education of the young men at this stage moves beyond memorization to deeper levels of analysis, since "scholarship comprises not only the powers of a well-developed memory, but also the command of an acutely sharpened verbal ability and mastery of the art of disputation" (Kalewold, 1998, p. viii). In addition to criticism, the young scholars learn to create their own *kine,* which are, in turn, criticized by their peers. "In its treasured trusteeship of *kine,* church education is a link with the historic Ethiopia" (Kalewold, p. viii-ix). There are times in *kine* school when education does not include textbooks at all. "The *kine* student . . . spends his waking hours in contemplation, trying to compose original poems of his own, or to unravel the meaning of the most obscure and difficult specimens from the work of past masters of the art" (Kalewold, 1998, p. 27).

Both fine and applied arts are an integral part of the education. By the time a student has completed *kine* school, he is proficient at calligraphy, manuscript-making, "preparing ink from various plants and trees, making the reed pen, bookbinding, making leather sheaths for books, and tailoring his own clothing" (Kalewold, 1998, p. 32), as well as illuminating manuscripts, carving wood for the traditional three-dimensional church icons, and painting the traditional murals in churches. Four years is typically devoted to arts and crafts (Kalewold, p. 32).

Level three: Music and dance. "The student who proceeds onward after the *kine* school proceeds to the school of *Aquaquam*" (Kalewold, 1998, p. 21). This level focuses on the artistic facets of the church liturgy, which include music and dance, where the use of the drum and the sistrum is the dominant element. The so-called "dance of the priests" is an important item of the curriculum here (Kalewold, p. 21). It is common to spend up to another eight years at this level, mastering the traditional elements of the Orthodox services.

Level four: Scriptures and commentaries. "The final stage in traditional education is what is called "the study of the Books" (Kalewold, 1998, p. 29), which focuses on the detailed and profound study, analysis, and interpretation of the Scriptures and of the Commentaries on the Holy Scriptures" (Kalewold, p. 29). The student will spend about ten years at this level, studying the Bible as well as the "voluminous writings" (Kalewold, p. 29) accumulated through the centuries.

The dedicated student who completes the three decades of study required to complete this regimen of training is referred to as a 'four-eyed' scholar "because he is an accomplished master of the four main divisions of learning" (Kalewold, 1998, p. 29).

The four-eyed masters now have a choice of vocations. Some will become specialists in their chosen areas of expertise, such as *kine,* and teach in the centers renowned for particular aspects of learning. Some will become practitioners of liturgy or liturgical arts in church centers. Some will return to their native villages as *zema* teachers. In this case, Kalewold reports, "He who left home and weeping friends and relatives 30 years earlier is now welcomed with joy and rejoicing" (Kalewold, 1998, p. 32).

The role of teachers. Teachers at all levels are sustained by three things: the cooperative support of the community in response to begging students, the work of students "helping with farm work like weeding, harvesting, and sowing" (Kalewold, 1998, p. 30), and payment to the teachers for the skills that they have accumulated through their studies. Teachers take "care of their material needs by making mats, parasols, writing manuscripts, binding books, carving [icons for the church] and selling their handicrafts at a modest price" (Kalewold, p. 9).

Teachers are still highly respected into the present century, especially in the more traditional areas of the country, because they are seen as "deep in learning, upright in faith, and morally strong" (Kalewold, 1998, p. 9). In a society where almost everyone was illiterate, teachers were highly valued members of the community, and seen as indispensible as "masters of the holy books and scripture" (Kalewold, p. 9). Teachers, especially the teachers of *zema* in the rural areas, were admired as holy men. Kalewold, a four-eyed master himself, says of such teachers that "they choose the innocent company of children and the life of the unrecognized, possessed of great learning but choosing not to display it" (p. 9).

In the levels of schooling beyond *zema,* a boy had free choice of his teachers, and as long as the teacher accepted him into the school, he became a follower of any teacher he chose. This introduced a competitive element into education. For example, Kalewold reports that "Goggiam is traditionally a land of learning and scholarship" (1998, p. 30), so it was natural for students to accumulate there. Kalewold explains:

> it is in the nature of things that not all teachers are identical twins in knowledge or ability. Consequently it is quite possible to see new lights and fresh angles, to complement the teachings of one master with those of a second or third. (p. 28)

Summary of Orthodox education. The Orthodox Church emphasized learning for only a small minority of students, and the purpose of the education was to sustain the traditions of the church. The church offered the brightest boys the opportunity to leave the village, but they either returned to the village decades later as master teachers or they entered service to the national church. Either way, the emphasis was on the development of the potential of promising young men for service to the community, not for their own development or enrichment.

Cooperative learning is one of the foundations of education in the Orthodox Church, from the earliest days in *zema* through the begging that supports the older students. Kalewold fondly remembers his experiences:

> The life of mendicant students is a model of comradeship based on humility and concern for one another's welfare. It is for this same reason that life in monasteries can be more attractive than life in the secular world. For it is a group life of cooperation: one of the group would put his sheepskin mantle on, sling his leather pouch on this shoulder, hold his long walking staff grimly in his hand, and go marching forth on a begging expedition; a second one would go to fetch water from the stream; a third would go to the woods to collect firewood; a fourth would stay behind to sweep the little hut and prepare red chili or linseed sauce for dinner. (1998, p. 19)

The Orthodox Church educational system provides two especially thought-provoking observations. First, the elite teachers who completed the entire 30-year instructional regimen were quite highly trained by the standards of any day, masters indeed of all aspects of the curriculum. Second, by using students as teachers of their peers at all levels, the system for many centuries successfully provided enough teachers for the society, or at least the minority of the society that was educated. The use of students, untrained in any theory, pedagogy, or critical attitude except the evaluation of poetry against ancient standards of excellence, was an ideal approach for an institution which had as its primary concerns its own survival and the faithful transmission of an orthodox heritage. In a system that included only the most promising of students, and which was built on memorization of a conservative, unchanging heritage, a seven-year-old could teach a six-year-old (or another seven-year-old) quite adequately.

On a more problematic note, the Orthodox Church required learning a foreign language, the ancient form of Amharic, Ge'ez. This language requirement produced a class of young men who were able to communicate across tribal lines in the interest of the unity of church and empire, but it also added a significant challenge to students, as Ethiopian education took its first step away from the local and practical toward the general and abstract.

Equally problematic, the church separated its students between exclusive tracks. Whereas in the traditional village setting, children were educated together, the church introduced differentiation between boys with high academic promise, who would earn the opportunity to leave the village and study under faraway masters, and boys destined to remain at the traditional village level.

Troubling Topics

　　Troubling topic one: The Orthodox Church and women. The Orthodox Church, in perhaps seventeen centuries of power, never challenged the cultural norms for the status of women. Church doctrine and practice affirmed the traditional teachings of the inferior role of women. Kalewold, writing in 1998 for a Western, English-speaking audience, attempted to point out exceptions:

> Even women are known to have mastered the intricacies of *kine* and the Scriptures to a point of being able to teach these subjects. [I] actually witnessed with [my] own eyes a certain *Woyzero* (madam) Guela Maddis teaching the New Testament as a full-fledged master. (p. 30)

Kalewold also mentions, "in Gondar there have been poetesses whose works are on record. They dealt with love--as might be expected perhaps--and with other themes" (1998, p. 37). Kalewold reveals perhaps more than he might wish in his choice of words in these quotations. "Even women" suggests their rarity in the history of Orthodox education, and his aside "as might be expected" patronizingly relegates women to the area of love poetry. Furthermore, Kalewold goes on to admit that women were never considered equal to men, and this was the reason for "their rarity as poetesses" (p. 37).

　　Troubling topic two: The Orthodox Church and ethnic identity. In one sense it could be claimed that the Orthodox Church contributed a common culture to competing ethic groups because it trained diverse students in a common language and indoctrinated them in a common heritage. But in a larger sense, issues around ethnicity and tribalism were unmitigated by the church, since the church was inextricably associated with the Amhara tribe and its hold on the empire. Students spoke Amharic in the Orthodox schools and spent their time studying Ge'ez, the archaic form of Amharic that is still used in Orthodox liturgy, rather than making any attempts to localize the church's teachings by

translating them into native languages. The conflicts between the centers of power in the capital and marginalized cultures were never addressed because the church itself was a defining element of the nation's cultural center, and a powerful instrument of empire. In practice, there was no difference between rendering allegiance to the church and to the crown.

   Troubling topic three : The Orthodox Church and slavery. In the same way, the church utterly failed to effectively confront slavery. In the 1500's, fully a millennium after its ascendency, the church finally declared that it was sinful for Christians to profit from the slave trade (Marcus, 1994, p. 55). This proclamation, well in advance of the denunciation of slavery by Western churches, had virtually no impact on slavery, however, because the church neglected to forbid slavery itself. Christians, including members of the church hierarchy, continued to buy and own slaves for another four hundred years, ceding to Muslims the profitable selling of human beings from the tribes along the margins of the empire. This relationship between the Orthodox Church and Muslims is further explained in the description of the third strand of Ethiopian education, Islam.

Third Ethiopian Educational Strand: Islam

from the North

Islam:

educating to learn the Koran

Orthodox

Tribal Traditions

ancient times ⟶ modern times
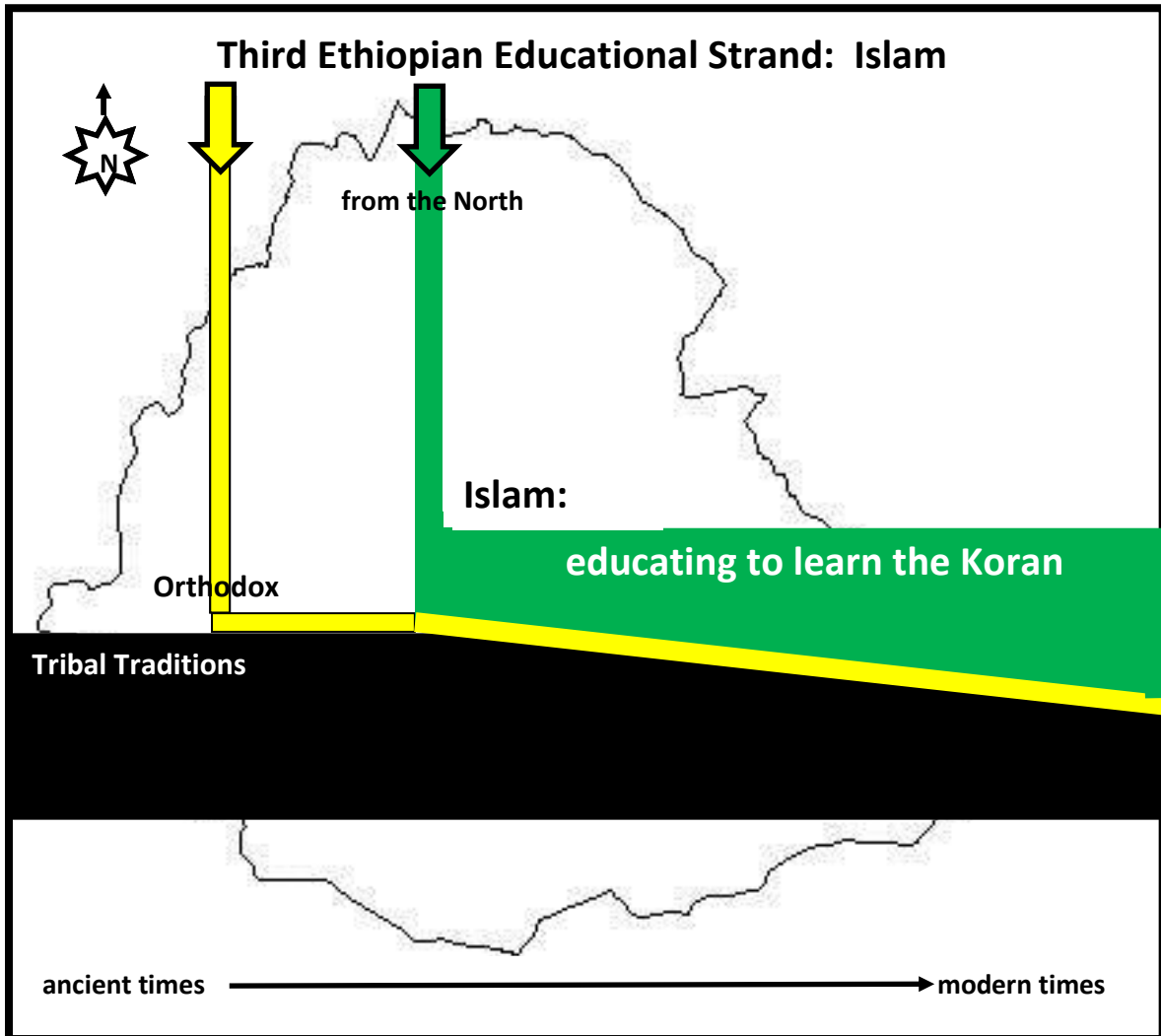
Figure 4. Third Strand: Islam.

Introduction

      The two oldest strands of Ethiopian education, the tribal traditions and the

Orthodox Church, are not limited to historical periods; each of these strands continues to

impact the current situation in Ethiopia. Traditional villages continue to follow their

ancient traditions, and the Orthodox Church continues to train chosen boys for priesthood

and teaching. The third strand of pre-modern educational influences, Islam, is the same;

this study does not describe an historical period, 'the Muslim years,' but introduces a third strand of the complex weave that continues in Ethiopian education today.

The point of view of a particular historian, of course, shapes the description of history, especially in the context of continuous confrontation and conflict such as has existed between the Orthodox Church and Islam over the past 1200 years. The Ethiopian Christian perspective maintains, "Ethiopians remained steadfast in their Christian faith even after the rise of Islam" (Kalewold, 1998, p. xiii). A European Christian perspective concurs: Edward Gibbon, the great historian of the Roman Empire, famously described the Muslim-induced isolation of Ethiopia: "Encompassed by the enemies of their religion, the Aethiopians slept near a thousand years, forgetful of the world by whom they were forgotten" (quoted in Phillips & Carillet, 2006, p. 42). This perspective has persisted into the present, when a modern Christian historian writes, "Islam, the religion of the nomads of the plains, is not significant in itself in this region, but only in relation to this isolated Christian outpost, the focus of historical continuity, the state of Ethiopia" (Trimingham, 1968, p. 26).

From the perspective of Islam, though, such assertions are outrageous. Levtzion, a contemporary Muslim author, declared "the old notion of Ethiopia as 'an island of Christianity in the sea of Islam' has been abandoned" (2000, p. 227), and goes on to claim that the history of Islam within Ethiopia is "equally as old, as complex, and as significant" (Levtzion, p. 227) as Orthodox Christianity. Since Islam was not founded until the year 622 CE (Sonn, 2004), it is clear that Islam cannot be as 'old' as Christianity in the Horn of Africa, but it must be admitted that Levtzion's claims of complexity and significance are true. Moreover, Muslim authors point out that Ethiopian Islam, in

contrast to Ethiopian Christianity, has been indissolubly interconnected with the rest of the world that shares its faith. Ethiopian Islam, therefore, especially since the early twentieth century, is more representative of worldwide Islam than Ethiopian Christianity is representative of worldwide Christianity. This difference is easily seen in their respective educational systems.

As shown in Figure 4, Islam came to Ethiopia from the north, like Christianity before it, and encircled the Ethiopian Orthodox Church of the Central Highlands. Since then, the two traditions have ceaselessly struggled for domination. At this point, like comparing a river's current with the rock obstructing its flow, the clearest claim a historian can make is that they have shaped each other. Each of the central patterns of Ethiopian history, then, the movement from the north and the interplay between the center and the margins, is visible in the addition of this third strand in the braid of Ethiopian education.

Early Muslim History

Within the first century after being founded by Mohammed in 622 CE, Islam swept across the desert lands of Arabia and North Africa (Bloom & Blair, 2002). By 710, it had reached clear to the Atlantic. In contrast, the southern progress of Islam was impeded by the mountainous terrain of Ethiopia, so dissimilar to the desert plains of Islam's origins. Islam was carried south not by swift cavalry but by slow traders who followed the ancient trade route through the Red Sea. The people of the coastal towns came into contact with the new religion first. They adopted "Islam at an early date, just as they once welcomed pagan cults and Christianity" (Kritzeck, 1969, p. 21). Offshore coastal islands were under Muslim control by 715, less than a century after the founding

of Islam (Trimingham, 1968, p. 26). "Islamic expansion was connected with trade, and traders from the coast were active throughout the region" (Trimingham, pp. 26-27). Islam was so intimately connected with trade, in fact, that to this day in the Oromo language, "*naggadi* means both 'merchant' and 'Muslim'" (Trimingham, 1968, p. 29).

"By the ninth century, there were Muslim communities along the trade routes to the interior" (Levtzion, 2000, p. 5). These communities were the first seats of Islamic learning in Ethiopia, and eventually "grew to become Muslim principalities that challenged the hegemony of the Christian Ethiopian State" (Levtzion, 2000, p. 6). Some of these little city-states became famous and endured through the ensuing centuries. The city of Harar, for example, was the most "important commercial and religious center in southern Ethiopia, famous for its saints and Islamic schools" (Reichmuth, 2000, p. 429). These religious centers "served as institutions of higher learning, spiritual training, and devotional practice, and they made written contributions to the Islamic scholarship of their era" (Kapteijns, 2000, p. 234).

Islam and the Orthodox Church

The Orthodox Church maintained its primacy in the central highlands, and from that vantage point it was quite possible to assert, "Islam in the region is not significant in itself, but only in its relation to the history of the Christian state in northern Ethiopia, the central point throughout the history of the region" (Kritzeck, 1969, p. 21). But as centuries passed, Islam gradually became deeply established in the surrounding areas. There were two kinds of early Muslim communities. First came the string of trade-based Muslim principalities described above, and second, groups of Muslim traders who were

"protected inside the Christian state of Aksum (and later, inside Ethiopia)" (Kapteijns, 2000, p. 227).

By the middle of the ninth century CE, the center of the Christian empire had moved south from Axum deeper into the highlands, and entered an expansionist phase. It was, however, "confronted by . . . increasing pressure from the Muslim newcomers who had by this time set up a significant trading presence both on the coast and in the interior" (Hiskett, 1994, p. 135). The Christian center was encircled by a constricting band of Islam, and with the addition of the clash of religions to the pre-existing conflict between highland agriculturalists and lowland pastoralists, the conflict grew very bitter. One Orthodox emperor, writing in 1322, vowed to keep fighting, "as long as these hyenas and dogs, sons of vipers and seed of evil ones who do not believe in the Son of God keep on biting me" (Kapteijns, 2000, p. 229).

The Muslims replied in kind. A series of strong leaders arose who "refuted the arguments of the quietists that welfare, prosperity and justice could come out of co-operation with infidels. [They] argued that such co-operation was wholly contrary to the Koran" (Hiskett, 1994, p. 146). The Muslim city-states banded together and answered the call to *jihad* (in this context, a 'holy war,' but literally, a 'struggle') against the Christians. By this time, the competing cultures were intimate enemies. One Muslim leader raided the highlands in 25 consecutive spring seasons, timing his incursions "to take advantage of Christian Ethiopia's weakened state during their 55-day-long fast before Fasika (Orthodox Easter)" (Phillips & Carillet, 2006, p. 30). "Islam became the force of resistance against the expanding power of the Ethiopian state" (Trimingham, 1968, p. 27), and the empire exhausted itself in countless wars on all frontiers.

By the sixteenth century, the empire was shrinking, and the "fighting culminated in the conquest of large parts of the Ethiopian state by the Muslim coalition" (Kapteijns, 2000, p. 227). The empire almost disappeared entirely, but the Muslim victories were short-lived; the network of little trading principalities, though they could raise a *jihad* under a charismatic leader, could not govern an empire in the long run. The most important long-lasting result of the centuries of war was entirely unforeseen by either party.

With both the Christian and the Muslim powers weakened by their long, mutual violence, the way was left open for the only notable exception to Ethiopia's historical pattern of 'north to south.' The Oromo (also referred to as 'Galla,' although that term is now considered derogatory) people, a nomadic, cattle-herding culture, swept north from the Kenyan plains and "so overwhelmed vast areas of the southern Sidama region that Islam practically disappeared there" (Trimingham, 1968, p. 27). Furthermore, the Oromo also established themselves in the Central Highlands, sometimes by fighting and sometimes by simply migrating into the areas depopulated by the fierce religious wars. Lasting in various phases for two hundred years, this migration changed Ethiopia forever. The Oromo assimilated the peoples that they conquered, and were in turn assimilated by the existing cultures that they 'overwhelmed.' Within several generations, the Oromo who had stayed in the lowlands were converted to Islam, which regained its previous strength. The Oromo who settled in the highlands converted to Christianity and "many Oromos later rose to eminence in the Ethiopian Christian state" (Pankurst, 1996, p. 13). The religious status quo--a Christian center and a Muslim periphery--was restored. But everything else changed. "The advent of the Oromo, and their subsequent incorporation

into the Ethiopian empire, very significantly increased the country's ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity, which is today much in evidence" (Pankurst, p. 13). Never again would an observer be able to classify a given Ethiopian by skin color or body type and automatically know their tribe, language, and religion. Semitic and African, Christian and Muslim, Amharic and Oromo categories all became intermixed.

This survey of Ethiopian history began by describing the Nuer as an example of a culture that survived into the twentieth century in a more-or-less traditional state. At this point, it is possible to explain why this is so. The Nuer, in the southwest of Ethiopia, were safely distant from the Orthodox centers in the north until the latest expansion of the nation-state beginning at the end of the nineteenth century. They were also relatively untouched by Islam because they were an interior tribe, distant from the trade routes emanating from the coast. Finally, they were displaced to the west into even more isolated and less desirable homelands by the Oromo migrations from the south. The Nuer and closely related tribes now live mostly in Sudan, especially since the imposition and enforcement of modern national boundaries now limit their options for migration in times of drought. Since there is still a remnant population within the modern borders of Ethiopia, it is justifiable to examine the Nuer as an Ethiopian population, but their displacement serves as a reminder of the long and complex nature of Ethiopian history.

The Oromo Historical Perspective

This study has presented Ethiopian history as two movements, the first proceeding from north to south and the second the waxing and waning of the center. This explanation follows the descriptions of most historians, but there are other perspectives. A history written from an Oromo point of view, such as that by Mohammed Hassen, claims that

"there is conclusive evidence which demonstrates beyond the shadow of a doubt"

(Hassen, 1990, p. xii) that native African people such as the Oromo originally inhabited

the highlands. Hassen asserts that the Oromo "are one of the indigenous peoples of

Ethiopia" (Hassen, p. xiii) and emphasizes the length, in tens of thousands of years, of

this early, distinctively-African tenure, in contrast to the recent, forceful expulsion of the

natives by the non-African invasions from Arabia a mere three thousand years ago. Since

the local people had been forced south into the hostile lowlands by the foreign Semitic

invaders, the Oromo migrations of the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries represented

the rightful reclaiming of ancestral lands from foreign domination. This perspective is

important because it demonstrates the complexity of issues current in Ethiopian

education. Different constituents cannot even agree on a basic history of the nation, and

these cultural lenses limit the degree of cooperation that might be expected in developing

a curriculum and in teaching students.

Muslim History since the Oromo Expansion

Islam continued to expand along trading routes into traditional tribal areas to the

south and west of the highlands, as well as to make inroads in the highlands themselves.

As the empire re-established itself as the central authority, Islam became a way for

smaller tribes to assert their identity against the Christian Amhara. "Those in the central

highlands of Wallo, Raya and Yeju," for example, "found in [Islam's] profession a means

to enable them to remain distinct from the Amhara" (Trimingham, 1968, p. 29).

The progress of Islam was finally halted by the unification of Ethiopia under a

series of strong emperors—Menelik has already been mentioned— in the late nineteenth

century, which not only reclaimed the Orthodox core of the country but "extended its

boundaries to embrace the many Muslim and pagan peoples found in the present-day state of Ethiopia" (Trimingham, 1968, p. 29). Along with this expansion of the political boundaries came an expansion of the Orthodox Church as the state religion, including among the more traditional regions of the South. At the turn of the twentieth century, estimates of the religious affiliations of Ethiopians were roughly 20% tribal religions, 50% Muslim, and 30% Christian (Trimingham, p. 105).

In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, Britain, France and Italy each attempted to establish themselves as colonial powers in the Horn of Africa, and each succeeded in carving away portions of the Ethiopian Empire to add to their colonial empires. They saw themselves as even-handed in their dealings with Islam, since they understood religion to be something separate from the governance of a colony. Muslims felt, though, that "they limited the application of Islamic law and based policy on the conviction that kin-based realities and relations were the most truly traditional and authentic ones" (Kapteijns, 2000, p. 237). From a Muslim point of view, then, the Europeans respected and protected traditional African communities more than they did Islam. The Europeans also attempted to use religious differences to drive wedges between different tribes of the Empire. For example, Italy "counted on the support of Ethiopian Muslims to contain the old ruling class" (Kapteijns, p. 239) when they invaded Ethiopia. After the Italians were defeated and expelled, Haile Selassie consolidated his power not only "by restoring discriminating practices against Muslim Ethiopians, but he also took punitive action against them for having sided with the enemy" (Kapteijns, p. 240).

Ethiopian Islam had developed over the centuries a character quite distinct from Islam in other lands. There were two traditions of Islam in Ethiopia: "an exuberant mystical and a sober reformist one" (Kapteijns, 2000, p. 244). The 'exuberant' tradition was characterized by burning incense, drinking coffee, dancing to drums, and other ways of indulging the senses. In this way, it had incorporated elements of both the Orthodox style of liturgy, which includes incense and chanting, and the tribal religions, which rely on drumming and dance. This 'exuberant' style of Islam had become assimilated to Ethiopian culture, while the 'reformist' style maintained a stricter attitude toward native culture and was more intent on adapting Ethiopian culture to conform to international Muslim practice than on seeing Islam localized.

Following the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I, there was a reaction against Western influence and a resurgence of fundamentalism in Islam worldwide. That increasing passion contributed in Ethiopia to three forms of militancy: "that against adherence of indigenous religions and lax Muslims, that against the expanding and intolerant Christian Ethiopia state, and that against the colonizing powers from Christian Europe" (Kapteijns, 2000, p. 236). This increasing militancy shifted the practice of Islam. The 'exuberant' local tradition, considered one of the 'lax' areas of Muslim practice, lost followers to the 'reformist' tradition, and Ethiopian Islam became less localized and more conformed to international Islam. This purification and standardization of Muslim practice touched all aspects of religious practice, including Muslim education. The process continues today, with investments from the oil-rich Muslim countries of the Middle East funding the building of new mosques and Koran schools throughout Africa, including Ethiopia (Weller, M., personal communication, April 8, 2011).

Muslim Education

Like tribal education and Orthodox education, Muslim education is an attempt to transmit an entire culture to the student. Just as a tribal education included how to make spears and how to find herbs, and the Orthodox education included wood-carving and ink-making, Muslim education passed to the next generation basic literacy and "a wide range of subjects: law, theology and mysticism, Arabic grammar, poetry and literature, Islamic history, and finally a good deal of arithmetic, astronomy-cum-astrology, and medicomagical therapeutics" (Reichmuth, 2000, p. 419).

There is one striking difference, though, between Muslim learning and the earlier two strands of Ethiopian education: "Islamic learning is first and foremost supposed to provide the believer with access to the Quran" (Reichmuth, 2000, p. 419). As early as 1352, the traveler Ibn Battuta confirmed that memorizing the Koran was the central feature of all Muslim education (Dunn, 1986), and that focus continues unabated into the present century.

> The teacher, with full authority over the student given to him by the father, would at first have him learn the opening *sura* (*al-fatiha*) and the last *suras* of the Quran by heart. The pupil then began to learn how to read and spell the Arabic letters and vowel signs. From this he would be taught to read and recite the whole Quran, starting from the last *hizb* (sixtieth) to the first (Reichmuth, 2000, p. 424).

Each village in a Muslim area typically has a Koran school, and boys go there when their fathers feel them ready to commit to the discipline of study, often at the age of ten or twelve. "Sessions are in the morning (7-12) and afternoon (2-5)" (Trimingham, 1980, p. 134). During this time, the boys learn to read and write, but with the memorization of the Koran always given priority.

The reason for this emphasis on memorization, which continues to this day, is to "keep observance of the law free from error" (Wilks, 2000, p. 98). Once the memorization is perfected, "the main instruction about Islam comes from its practice" (Schildknecht, 1969, p. 236). It is through this practice that Islam reaches into the heart of a community. So though it is true to assert that Muslim education is based in memorizing the Koran, that memorization is not the full extent of the impact of Muslim education. Memorization leads to Islamic practice, and that practice shapes the community.

These elementary studies, when almost all class time is devoted to memorizing the Koran, are usually complete in three years. There are attendant studies in reading and writing, but the Koran is always the subject matter. Because of this selection of curricular material, the language that of instruction is, of course, the language of the Koran: Arabic. The student graduates quite learned in one particular book, the Koran, but in no other books, and literate in Arabic, but illiterate in his own language.

Upon graduation, the student, if he wishes, finds another teacher to help him explore other areas of learning, such as those mentioned above. Any training "beyond the Qur'an stage is based to a large extent on the system of seeking masters" (Trimingham, 1968, p. 61). This system is similar to the Orthodox approach to mastery of a variety of subjects at higher levels, but much less formal and extensive. After completing perhaps another two to four years in further study, the student is finished with formal learning unless he is one of the small minority of students showing rare promise as a scholar. In this case, he finds his way to Harar or another center of learning and becomes an apprentice teacher while continuing his studies under his selected master, in much the

same way that the Orthodox student does. The difference between the two educational systems is the number of years spent and the concomitant mastery of learning attained.

Another difference between the two systems of training is that "theology is not studied since it has no practical significance; there were no skeptics or free-thinkers in traditional society" (Trimingham, 1968, p. 62). Muslim school is seen as the basis for community norms, and anything else is a seen as a threat, not only just to the extant school system, but to Islam itself. The Orthodox Church, while holding the same ideal of faithfully passing along an unchanging belief and practice to later generations, took an exactly opposite stance on theology: four-eyed masters were expected to become adept at theological argumentation in order to defend the faith from any threat of change.

If the Muslim student does not go on to higher learning, he simply returns to his people and becomes the village teacher for the next generation. This system, then, while not developing the potential of most students, provides enough teachers to give each village a Koran school. The teacher disciplines the next generation of scholars to memorize the Koran, to practice Islam, and to continue shaping their community as an obedient center of Islam.

In the modern era, Islamic culture is torn between regressing to the past and facing the future of a more open, less limited view of education. "Today the values attached to a divine law and an Arabic education are being undermined by the values attached to secular education, freedom from religious restrictions, and the material benefits derived therefrom" (Trimingham, 1968, p. 113).

Muslim teachers. "Anyone who thinks himself competent may open a Qur'anic school on the veranda or in a room in his house or in its compound" (Trimingham, 1968,

p. 60). Just "the merest smattering of Qur'an recitation, together with some knowledge of the ritual and social regulations of Islam and the technique of amulet-making, enables one to join their ranks," the historian Trimingham comments, though he goes on to admit that "the acquisition of the knowledge to enable one to attain the higher ranks is a very arduous discipline" (p. 59). The young teacher generally begins by instructing the children of his extended family or neighbors. If his students successfully memorize the Koran and the parents are pleased, the teacher's reputation will spread and more children will be sent to study with him. Because there are many teachers and many schools, there are rarely more than twenty students for any teacher. This ensures that each student gets attention from the teacher, and makes for progress satisfactory to the community.

In Islam, there is no clear line between being a teacher and being a religious leader, or *imam.* In a small village, especially if there is only one formally trained man, he will perform both functions by teaching lessons as well as leading prayers and making amulets. Even if there is someone else available to serve as an *imam*, teaching "is a pious duty and is not regarded as a profession exclusive of other occupations" (Trimingham, 1968, 60). The teacher usually has some other profession to support him, which allows him to work unpaid as a teacher. If the community has a herding economy, he will have cattle the same as his neighbors, while if the community practices farming, he will have a cultivated area. Either way, his pupils are expected to help him work. "Schools in villages may well be difficult to find during the daylight hours when the pupils are working in the fields, and lessons are given early in the morning and in the late afternoon or evening when they will be found chanting their passages by the light of fires" (Trimingham, p. 60).

Teachers also serve a community in one additional way. "Being a highly mobile and sometimes truly cosmopolitan group, [they] provided important links to the outside world for the communities they were living with" (Reichmuth, 2000, p. 420). Though lacking the extensive decades of training that the Orthodox teachers had achieved, Muslim teachers were valuable in keeping the local community attuned to and in step with the larger world of Islam.

Summary of Muslim education. Ironically, for two world views that have been in conflict in Ethiopia for more than a millennium, the Muslim and the Orthodox traditions are really quite similar in the answers that they have crafted to the challenges of creating educational systems in Ethiopia. As in tribal traditions, both Orthodox and Muslim early learning is village-based, tied to the students' homes. Islam, like the Orthodox Church before it, requires the learning of a non-local language (Ge'ez or Arabic) rather than the local vernacular. In both systems, there is a great deal of oral work in recitation from memory, a boy's rate of progress is individualized, and there is a great deal of choice in seeking more renowned masters in more distant centers of learning. Both systems produce a sufficient supply of teachers for the lowest levels of instruction, though the Muslim system surpasses the Orthodox production of teachers and thus ensures small teacher/student ratios in village classrooms. The two systems also share the lack of training in critical pedagogy and the assumption that early levels of education do not require highly educated teachers.

Islam is at a crossroads in Ethiopia, trying to balance between the ancient truths of its faith and the allure of modernity. The outcome of this balancing act is crucial to education in Ethiopia. "Islamic cultural values are being undermined by the challenge of

new assessments such as the attraction of modern as against religious education"

(Trimingham, 1968, p. 121). Writing in 1968, the historian Trimingham observed:

> Islam is losing its former values, its prestige as a civilization, and seems to
> lead nowhere. Islam to the new men, including the Muslims among them,
> becomes associated with things that limit and retard. Among such are
> traditional education, Arabic and its script in non-Arabic-speaking Africa.
> At the same time as its spread is slowing down, its influence is waning.
> These changes are linked with the whole changed atmosphere in Africa.
> (p. 106)

That forty-year-old summary, made at the height of African freedom from

colonialism and before the rise of modern Islamic fundamentalism, is investigated below

in addressing the modern era. But the basic educational issue for Islam remains the same

now as it was two generations ago: how does Islam, with its intense desire to preserve its

heritage unchanged, interface with modern schooling? The same tension is true for the

other two strands outlined above. Like the Muslim strand, the tribal and the Orthodox

traditions are intensely conservative, each dedicated to the preservation of the unique

heritage that constitutes its culture. Despite the many differences between these strands,

they share one thing: each is now being challenged by modern, secular civilization

(Trimingham, 1968).

Troubling Topics

  Troubling topic one: ***Islam and the role of women.*** Islam is a patriarchal

religion, and cultures based on Islam reflect this aspect of the faith. Men hold power in

Muslim societies, and women are held to be inferior, in many instances considered

merely chattel. At the same time, women are seen as needing to be shielded from other

men. The primary reason for this seclusion is not to protect the women, but to protect the

honor of the men to whom they belong. In Ethiopia, the coming of this openly patriarchal

religion served to reinforce and extend the pre-existing patriarchal tendencies of the tribal cultures. "The importance of male authority and guardianship sprang from both Muslim and indigenous African practices" (Dunbar, 2000, p. 410). In tribal Ethiopia, there was a great variety of cultures, and a few of them made exceptions to the overall repressive pattern for women. In one instance, there is even the legend of a warrior queen rising as a hero and defender of the tribe (Rothery, 1910). But in Islam, which holds as one of its goals the propagation of the true faith in pure form, there is little room for local varieties of expression.

"Though she may not be equal to her man in Western feminist terms, the homemaker is the 'crown of her husband'" Daniel Mesfin (1990, p. xxxvii), a male Muslim writer, asserts, and goes on to affirm "mutual respect is central in marriage. A man who lacks it becomes an object of derision in his community" (Mesfin, p. xxxvii). In this way, though equal rights do not exist between men and women, according to Mesfin the community itself enforces a modicum of respect for women. That respect is somewhat tenuous, though, and dependent on carefully proscribed behavior on the part of the woman. There is no built-in protection against rape, for instance, as was provided by incest taboos in the tribal village. Women are reliant on men for protection, and if they stray from that protection, then they are seen as deserving of whatever poor treatment they experience.

This tradition of restricting women is very tenacious. "In Muslim communities women have lagged well behind men," one historian of Islam writes, "and Muslim men, with few exceptions, still hold traditional attitudes" (Trimingham, 1968, p. 120). These attitudes effect education, of course, just as they shape all other aspects of the society.

The education of girls is not only held in low priority, but is seen as dangerous and anti-Islam. "Strong opposition to the education of girls was encountered from both men and women, conservatives and '*evolues*' [progressives] alike" (Trimingham, p. 118). "Religious leaders see the question of the freedom of women like many other problems in terms of changes which weaken the position of Islam in social life, and such is their power in this Islamic backwater that the position has not greatly changed" (Trimingham, 1980, p. 147). Education for girls has been very slow to develop in areas where Islam is the major religion "since the obstacles to be overcome, deriving from the traditional Muslim outlook, are still more formidable" (Trimingham, 1980, p. 174). Muslim communities still insist "on the segregation of sexes when adolescence is reached, consequently girls' education remains at an elementary level" (Trimingham, 1980, p. 174). In areas of Ethiopia "with substantial Muslim populations, the numbers of girls attending school is significantly lower than elsewhere" (Dunbar, 2000, p. 400).

Girls who are allowed to attend school start their studies side-by-side with boys at the lower levels of most schools, and they study "until the girls reach the age of puberty when they are withdrawn" (Trimingham, 1980, p. 135). This perceived need to sequester girls at adolescence means that for most girls education is broken off around age 12, with no further options. "Higher Islamic learning came to be a male domain" (Reichmuth, 2000, p. 420), since there were no girls left with the opportunity to seek masters for further learning like boys could.

"A girl would undergo a clitoridectomy between the ages of eight and twelve" (Mesfin, 1990, p. xli). This practice, referred to in Ethiopia as "the cutting of the rose" (Raatz, J., personal communication, March 13, 2008), is more commonly called by

Western authors Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). Though FGM has its origins in so distant a past that no one now knows whether it originated in Africa or the Middle East, its most radical forms are practiced where Muslim and African traditions overlap, most notably in Somalia and Ethiopia (Raatz, J., personal communication, March 13, 2008). Sociologists maintain that it is an effort to repress female sexuality, though the reasons given for the practice in Ethiopia "vary from hygiene and aesthetics to superstitions that uncut women can't conceive" (Phillips & Carillet, 2006, p. 51). Other advocates for FGM "believe that the strict following of traditional beliefs is crucial to maintaining social cohesion and a sense of belonging" (Phillips & Carillet, p. 51). FGM, especially in the extreme forms that are practiced in Ethiopia, causes pain, prolonged suffering, and a greatly increased risk of infections and complications throughout the woman's life. An estimated 85% of women in Ethiopia undergo FGM, and 15% die from the practice (Phillips & Carillet, p. 51). FGM stands as the second leading cause of death for Ethiopian women, after complications resulting from giving birth (Raatz, J., personal communication, 2011). The Orthodox Church has also been complicit in the practice of FGM, since FGM is performed not only in tribes that practice traditional religions and Islam, but those that practice Christianity as well.

Women in Ethiopia are sometimes reluctant to embrace a faith that is so obviously disadvantageous to females. "Men are more deeply involved in Islam whereas women's participation is marginal" (Trimingham, 1968, p. 46). In extreme instances, the situation can even be summarized as "men being Muslims and women pagans" (Trimingham, p. 46). "It is women too who maintain the non-Islamic cults, such as sacrifices to nature spirits…" (Trimingham, p. 47).

Most of the time, though, both men and women follow Islam, so the nature of Muslim society itself, from the way that it is segregated into male and female spheres, necessitates basic education for at least some women. Women must be indoctrinated into Islam in order both to eliminate the hated vestiges of tribal religions and to secure the conversion of the entire community. But because women are secluded, men cannot be their teachers. Therefore, "in a closed society it is necessary for women to be able to recite prayers and Qur'an passages" (Trimingham, 1980, p. 135).

Educated women, having learned the Koran alongside their brothers but then having been secluded in the female half of the society, "preached to other women, and performed voluntary services" (Levtzion, 2000, p. 15), thereby training the next generation in subservience and perpetuating the system that repressed them. This was the result expected by the men that had admitted them into school in the first place. But the women went beyond that. Their seclusion freed them from the oversight of men and, as for their male counterparts in the male world, "the line between women's activities as educators and as spiritual leaders is rarely distinguished, in part because they often overlap" (Dunbar, 2000, p. 401). "Demarcated into a separate, gendered world by physical, social, and religious conventions, women have made of that separation an arena for spiritual expression and for the creation of networks that promote spiritual, psychological, and material support" (Dunbar, p. 400). It may be that within this hidden world, where "women's expression of the spirit life found outlets through spirit possession" (Dunbar, p. 400), the 'exuberant' forms of Islam that have been outwardly repressed are still alive and thriving. Moreover, from these secluded oases of women flows a stream of religious thought, usually devotional in nature, which enriches the

surrounding culture. "Through their poetry and homilies, women scholars have contributed significantly to the intellectual development of the Muslim world in Africa" (Dunbar, p. 400).

Islam, then. except for the ironic circumstance where the segregation of men from women necessitates that at least some women be educated enough to teach other women the Koran, has neglected and then segregated the education of women.

Troubling topic two: Islam and ethnic identity. Islam's impact on ethnic identity has been multifaceted. On the one hand, Islam teaches the brotherhood of all people, so in theory Islam, like Christianity before it, might be expected to serve as a force for unity across the boundaries that have separated different cultures since ancient times. "Islam is an *oecumene*, an intercultural system which has always sought to expand and consequently embraces all sorts of different peoples" (Trimingham, 1980, p. 65).

Muslim learning creates a framework for relations among Muslims. "Islam often brought together people from different ethnic and linguistic communities, as well as from different age groups and social layers" (Reichmuth, 2000, p. 420). Muslim teaching and learning "became part of the prevailing social structure, in urban as well as in rural and nomadic contexts" (Reichmuth, p. 420). Muslim perspectives on life and Muslim answers to questions of living together, then, developed common norms across tribal boundaries, at least in some cases" (Reichmuth, p. 420).

In other cases, Islam has not succeeded in changing the underlying culture, but has merely been superficially imposed on the traditional beliefs. In the northern deserts of the Afar depression, for example, the spread of Islam among the local tribes "was not accompanied by Arabization as in Nilotic Sudan, and this meant that they reserved their

social institutions as basic features of tribal life, modified but not greatly changed by Islamic institutions" (Trimingham, 1968, p. 30). Within these tribes, it is Islam that has accommodated itself to the original culture, not the other way around. "All one can say of the effect of Islam upon traditional social differentiation is that it had no effect" (Trimingham, p. 94). Like Christianity, then, Islam in Ethiopia has failed to convert many of the original cultures, at least at a deep-seated level.

Islam has also failed to realize an ideal of supra-ethnic peace, because at the same time that it was creating a framework for relations among Muslims, it was also creating quite a different framework for relations to non-Muslims. It has already been described how Islam embraces the entire life of the community, bringing a particular order to education, to relations between the sexes, and to all aspects of the culture. This great strength, the comprehensive ordering of a society, is also Islam's great weakness in dealing with outsiders. The insistence on following a particular set of narrow, ancient norms automatically creates new lines of conflict. In this way, "Islamic learning, even at the elementary level of Quranic education, creates and reinforces basic differences between Muslims and non-Muslims" (Reichmuth, 2000, p. 419). This religion of international peace and brotherhood drives wedges between the community that has converted and the community that has not. For example, for Somalis, pastoralists in the largely undefined eastern borderlands, "Islam formed an important tribal as well as religious characteristic" (Kritzeck, 1969, p. 29), and this Muslim identity still contributes to ongoing conflict with the Orthodox central highlands. A new set of fracture lines is created in inter-tribal relations, and old conflicts are made more powerful by being sanctioned by Islam's efforts to convert new followers and its insistence on its sole

possession of the truth. This function of differentiation, of creating and defending new systems of 'insider/outsider' identity, "can be found at work in periods of social unrest and political upheaval" (Reichmuth, p. 421).

This expansionist aspect of Islam, the militant facet, is one more characteristic shared with Christianity in some of its historic periods in Ethiopia. These two modern religions, each called to create a post-tribal ideal of peace, have simply substituted larger 'tribes' of faith for the old tribes of ethnicity. The Oromo people are the dominant tribe for Islam, having subsumed several smaller tribes during their migrations and exerting substantial influence over other lowland tribes. For the Orthodox Church, the Amhara people are the 'super-tribe,' having dominated and absorbed many other tribes over the centuries, including some of the Oromo who settled in the central highlands.

One difference between Christianity and Islam in this contest of which religion can create the largest new 'tribe' is that the Orthodox Church—along with the Amhara-- have long been aligned with the secular power of the Empire, while Islam, though it is the principal religion of particular regions of the country, has never been imperially dominant. Christianity, then, has long been associated with the central authority, and there is a corresponding resentment on the part of many smaller tribes. It appears that this difference favors the spread of Islam.

A second difference between the two modern religions is in their customary attitudes toward the native religions of Africa. While Christianity typically demands a total conversion, including a renunciation of traditions, Islam has tended to be more accepting of local beliefs, at least until modern fundamentalism gained the upper hand. "African custom is accepted, and a convert to Islam may continue in his former tribal life

as before, taking part in all the ritual functions and believing in them virtually as before"
(Schildknecht, 1969, p. 235). Again, this difference favors the ascendance of Islam.

Yet another advantage that Islam holds in its centuries-long struggle with
Christianity is its association with trade. That relationship continues, and as the twenty-
first century increases pressures towards urbanization and the breakdown of traditional
economic units, this tradition of Islam may become yet more important. "Urban and
trading life involve abandoning, or at least independence from, family and local religion,
and Islam provided a spiritual basis for life in a new dimension" (Trimingham, 1968, p.
94).

All three of these factors appear to favor the spread of Islam, yet as a proportion
of the population of Ethiopia, Islam has shrunk over the last century from an estimated
50% to 40%, while Christianity has grown from about 30% to about 50% (Trimingham,
1968, 105). This reversal is examined below, where the modern strands of Ethiopian
education are introduced.

Troubling topic three: Islam and slavery. Slavery existed in Ethiopia long before
Islam arrived. As described above, slavery has been practiced at least as long as there
have been historical records, and Ethiopian trade in humans has been characterized by
slave raids on neighboring tribes, by using the slaves as porters for other trade goods, and
by persisting through the centuries with a northern orientation toward the Middle East.
But Islam and slavery have been deeply intertwined in Ethiopian history in several ways.

First, Islam accepted slavery. Muslims not only were allowed to own slaves, but
slavery was a key aspect of Muslim culture in the Horn of Africa. For example, in some
areas when a child first entered a Koran school, "the father of the child accepts the

obligation to furnish a domestic servant to the Arabs as a slave when the child has completed his studies" (Shell, 2000, p. 308). Slave-owning also extended to the ownership of slave women as concubines. Though Muslim men were limited to four official wives, "unlimited polygamy if slave wives were included" was allowed under *shari'a* [Islamic law] (Trimingham, 1980, p. 69). This practice echoes down to the present day. Even though slavery has been abolished for more than three decades in Ethiopia, the effects of this form of marriage to slave girls is still present. The reason for the persisting repercussion is that births from such marriages were recorded and the children of such marriages were considered legitimate, though only as slaves themselves. "Descendants of slaves, though free according to secular law, are still slaves according to the *shari'a* and subject to disabilities in a *shari'a* court" (Trimingham, p. 148). Even more striking, "members of former master clans may take slave-wives from descendants of former slaves" (Trimingham, p. 148). In addition to serving as yet another instance of Islam's intense conservatism, this example demonstrates how Islam still accepts the lingering legacy of slavery.

The second way that Muslim traders interacted with slavery was for profit. As described above, in the sixteenth century the Orthodox Church declared that Christians could not directly profit from selling slaves. "Religious law did not permit Christians to participate in the trade, but they could buy, own, and use slaves. Since Christians could not be involved, Muslims dominated the slave trade" (Marcus, 1994, p. 55). Christians continued to profit from the labor of slaves, and Christian emperors continued to collect taxes from the slave caravans that traveled through their domains, but this decision by the church left the trade to develop in Muslim hands.

This situation curiously parallels conditions in medieval Europe, where the Catholic Church determined that Christians could not engage in usury (defined in those days as any lending while charging interest). Jews, then, took over banking, became necessary as lenders for the functioning of the entire economy, and consequently were hated and envied when they became rich. In Ethiopia, it was Muslim Arabs, filling the forbidden role of slave trader, who kept the economy moving and became wealthy. The stereotype of the grasping Arab slave trader, like that of the greedy Jew, results from these parallel situations; both of these caricatures were created in response to Christian rulings designed to protect the 'purity' of Christians while still safeguarding their profits.

Third, Islam increased slave traffic by simply incorporating it into the trade package fostered by revitalized connections with Arabia. As tribes converted to Islam, they tended to join the web of slave traders. The Beja, for instance, one of the small tribes near the northern seacoast, had been preyed on for years by the pre-Islamic slave traders. When the Beja converted to Islam, they "made the transition from victims to participants in private Islamic commerce" (Spaulding, 2000, p. 118). They became 'middle men,' preying on tribes further inland and transferring the captured slaves to the Arab traders on the coastal trade routes. The pastoralists of Somalia "raided and harassed the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia to capture slaves" (Kritzeck, 1969, p. 70) to such an extent that the slave trade actually replaced herding as their main occupation and became the basis of their economy.

As described in the summary of Muslim history, the Oromo migrations greatly stirred the genetic mix of Ethiopia. The modern slave trade, therefore, had one important difference from the earlier centuries: it was no longer a story of brown Semites enslaving

black Bantus. Now, whatever tribe was dominant in a particular area raided its neighbors for the raw material to keep the trade moving, and color was no longer a characteristic of either slave or slaver. For example, along the Somali coast "pious Shafi'ites constantly engaged in warfare (presumably slave-raiding) with pagan Zunuj, though most were themselves Zunuj, jet black and with facial scarifications" (Trimingham, 1980, p. 7).

Fourth, Islam propagated itself along the routes of the slave trade. Slave raids "broke up communities . . . and the scattered units found a new hope and religious basis in attachment to Islam" (Trimingham, 1968, p. 25). Islam became "a refuge of slaves separated from their tribes" (Kritzeck, 1969, p. 73). The growth of the slave trade century by century "drove the agents of this human traffic directly into the interior of the continent. This brought about more conversion to Islam" (Kritzeck, 1969, p. 71). It may seem strange that the people in exile created by the slave raids should embrace the religion of the slavers, but "the atrocities committed in the course of slave-raiding were not a factor inhibiting the spread of Islam" (Trimingham, 1980, p. 56). As discussed earlier, the tribal traditions included strong bonds with their land and tribes, and "when their bonds with tribal life were severed slaves had no spiritual alternative than Islam" (Trimingham, 1980, p. 25). Moreover, the slavers were victors, men of power, and it followed that their God must be powerful, too, more powerful than the tribal gods of the captured slaves. Besides, "Arabs were by no means the chief raiders; they created a demand which Africans themselves met" (Trimingham, 1980 p. 56). Islam might be accepted as the religion of the victorious Black slavers from the tribe next door, and only later—if ever—really understood to be of foreign origin when the slave finally reached the coast for export from Africa.

Knowledge of Islam "among slaves was much attenuated by the low standard of Islamic education available to them. Illiteracy was high, opportunities for learning few, and knowledge of the faith rudimentary" (Sperling, 2000, p. 280). There were, of course, no Koran schools for slaves or the children of slaves, so the captured people had little chance to really learn much about the new faith that they professed. But they professed it anyway, as a reaction to their enslavement, and Islam increased by converting slaves, even as Muslims increased the slave trade. "During slavery, Islam's authentic universalism had a powerful appeal" (Shell, 2000, p. 337). Islam, then, profited both materially and numerically by its interest in the slave trade. The slave who originally carried ivory carried Islam, too.

As mentioned before, history can be told differently from different perspectives. Levtzion, an author sympathetic to Islam, maintains "just because many of the traders were Muslim, and some slaves were sold in Muslim areas, does not mean this was an "Islamic trade" (2000, p. 39). He develops his argument by pointing out that slavery was finally stopped in the West only in response to industrialization, when

> the slave mode of production became outmoded and inefficient. This did not happen in the Indian Ocean world, and hence, for Arab traders and producers, the trade continued; this however was not a function of their being Muslim but of their not yet having made the transition to capitalism (2000, p. 39).

This argument glosses over three important points. First, Levtzion minimizes the role of Muslims in the slave trade; Muslims traded slaves as a central part of the Middle Eastern economy for a period of many centuries. Second, he ignores the fact that Islam openly accepted slavery for more than a thousand years, and still has not amended *shari'a* to allow full rights to the descendants of former slaves. Finally, he ignores that in the American experience, slavery was outlawed with substantial conflict and sacrifice, not as

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a withering away of an outmoded economic model. The Muslim world has not yet chosen

to make that sacrifice.
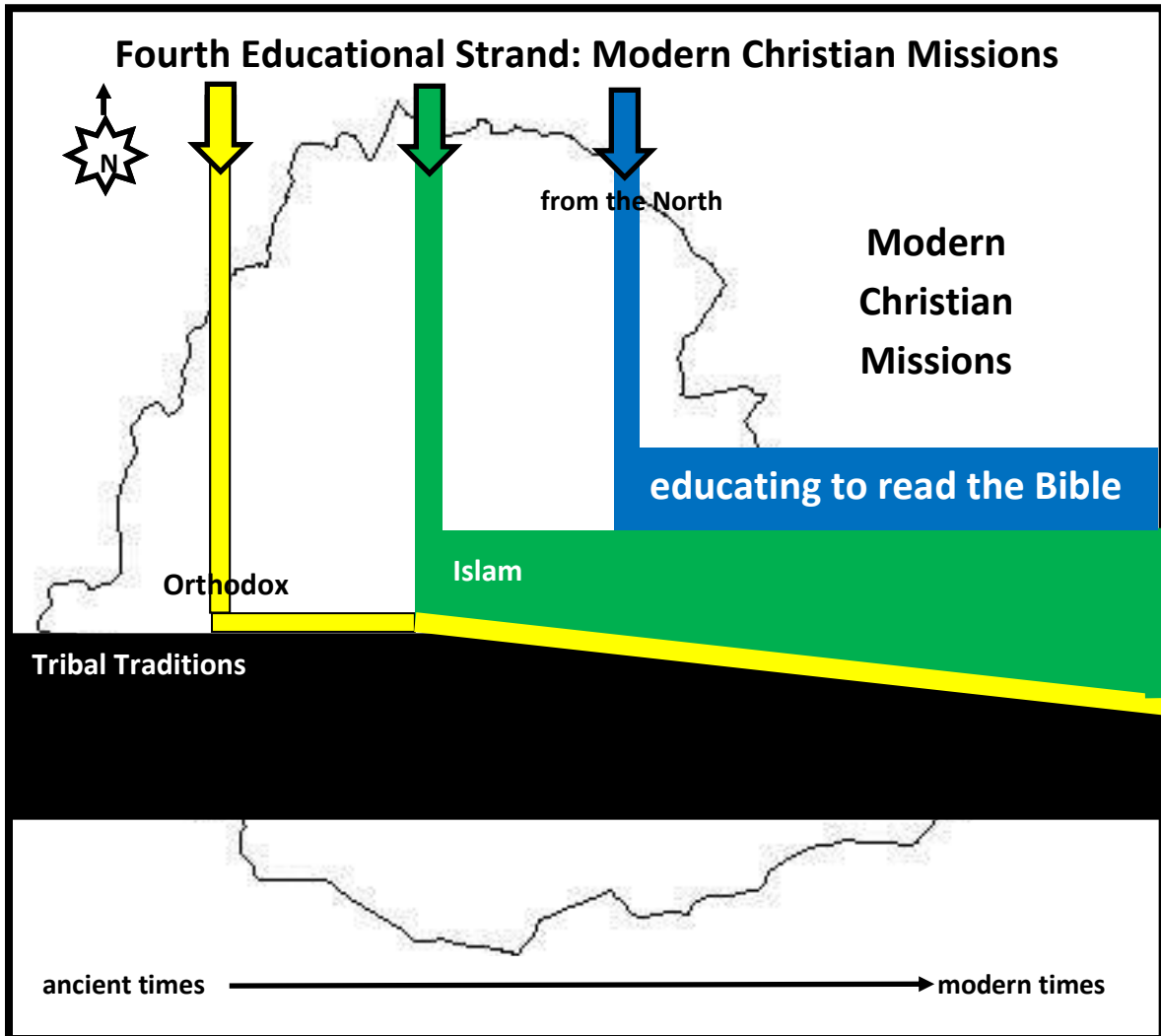
Figure 5. Fourth Strand: Modern Christian Missions.

The Delay of Modernization

This paper has now introduced the three strands of the braid composing Ethiopian education as it existed at the start of the modern era. As shown in Figure 5, the fourth strand, Modern Christian Missions, also appeared from the North, both from European missionaries and from their counterparts in the European-derived Christian cultures of North America. The first step in considering this next strand is to examine an important

aspect of Ethiopian history: the delay in modernization. Ethiopia, which had contact with

European visitors as early as the 1500's, was not an early entrant into the Industrial Age

and modern education. There are several factors that explain this delay.

The first reason for the delay in the establishment of modern education was that

Ethiopia, due to its rugged geography and to its semi-legendary position in the lore of

Europe as a Christian island in a Muslim sea, was ignored by the growing missionary

movement in Europe and North America. As the rest of Africa fell under the sway of "a

steady expansion of missionary enterprise, evangelization, and education" (Sperling,

2000, p. 276) in the first half of the 1800's, Ethiopia remained virtually untouched.

Ultimately, all Africans except "those who were already thoroughly Islamized and the

less accessible pastoral peoples, came under the influence of one or more Christian

missions and had a chance to acquire formal Western education" (Sperling, p. 278).

Ethiopia, however, remained aloof from this process, left to its own traditions by the

outside world.

The second reason for the delay in modernization was the long period of chaos

and decline in the central structures of the country. As explained above, two centuries of

warfare with the Muslim periphery had weakened and shrunk the central empire to a

mere remnant in the highlands, and then two subsequent centuries saw the incursions of

the Oromo from the south. It was only in the second half of the 1800's that the empire

was resuscitated from its long decline by a series of strong emperors. They reversed the

400-year trend of stagnation and decline and re-established the empire as a force

powerful enough to affect change. As Pankurst summarizes, "Disunity and lack of strong

government delayed Ethiopia's modernization, which otherwise would probably have

taken place at this time [1800's] when the Industrial Revolution was beginning to spread

from Europe to parts of Africa and Asia" (1996, p. 16). Just as the West did not seek out

Ethiopia to modernize or to proselytize, neither did the Ethiopians seek modernization.

The third reason for Ethiopia's late modernization was the timing of the rise of the

series of strong emperors in the nineteenth century, just as the missionary movement was

gaining strength. As missionaries poured into rest of the 'dark continent'; as the vanguard

of a new tide that threatened to engulf all existing cultures, Ethiopia entered a new phase

of consolidation and expansion from the central highlands back onto the lowlands. Thus,

when the time came that the West might have wanted to colonize Ethiopia, Ethiopia

became strong enough to resist that encroachment except on its own terms. The Orthodox

Church, just as it had so many times before, both re-enforced the power of the throne and

grew in power itself through its relationship with the re-invigorated empire. The church,

of course, maintained that the nation needed no new religions to challenge its hegemony,

so Western missionaries were not invited or welcomed.

Early Modernization Efforts

The first effort to modernize education was made by Emperor Tewodros in 1861.

Tewodros was a warrior emperor who consolidated the highlands under his rule and

subdued large areas of the lowlands, but found that the feudal lords and regional chiefs

rebelled as soon as his army left any particular locality to conquer another. "Tewodros

found himself the emperor of only that part of Ethiopia through which he and his large

army marched, and no amount of pillaging and looting and terrorism seemed to make

much of a difference" (Marcus, 1994, p. 69). He finally decided to impress his unruly

subjects by inviting Western assistance in order to change Ethiopia into a modern nation.

He was solidly in agreement with the leadership of the Orthodox Church that the nation

did not need missionaries, but he invited the Swiss to send priests from the Saint

Chrischona Institute of Basel as secular instructors for craftsmen and technicians. The

priests "combined quiet instruction in spiritual matters with education in the trades"

(Marcus, 1994, p.69), and the era of missionaries had finally arrived for Ethiopia. There

were, however, no new missionaries invited, so the impact of Western education was

severely restricted.

      Italy, newly united in the mid-1800's and frustrated by its lack of a colonial

empire which would allow it to contend with the nations of Europe which had united a

century or two earlier, looked to the Horn of Africa as a promising place to contend with

French and British influence. There had been a long-standing Italian presence along the

Red Sea coastal plain, and the Italians wanted to expand their influence into the central

highlands. The French, established in Djibouti, and the British, controlling Sudan to the

west, Kenya to the south, and Somalia to the east, secretly agreed not to interfere with the

Italian efforts in Ethiopia. After a series of diplomatic overtures relying on greater and

greater degrees of intimidation, the Italians finally invaded Ethiopia in 1896. The

Emperor Menelik II, who had recently succeeded both in expanding the borders of the

empire and in securing his own power within its borders, raised an army composed of

representatives of all major ethnic groups and defeated the Italians at Adwa. This

resounding victory "shocked the international world" (Phillips & Carillet, 1998, p. 34)

and allowed Ethiopia to survive "the European Scramble. Ethiopia was the only state on

the so-called Dark Continent to do so" (Pankurst, 1996, p. 17). The victory owed much to

the Italians' disdain of the 'inferior' Africans; the invaders had failed to mobilize

sufficient troops to ensure the victory of modern guns against massed spearmen. Still, the victory caught the imagination of oppressed peoples throughout the colonized world. It created a new image of Ethiopia: "an age-old African empire which had withstood the onslaught of European imperialism, and was thus a unique symbol of African dignity and independence" (Pankurst, p. 17-18). This was the first time that an African country had successfully defended itself against a colonial invader, and Ethiopia experienced a tremendous boost to national pride—as opposed to tribal pride—throughout the empire. Interestingly, the racist West, which could not admit that Africans could vanquish Europeans, "suddenly discovered that Ethiopians were Caucasians darkened by exposure to the equatorial sun" (Marcus, 1994, p. 99). Ironically, in the century since Adwa, this crude attempt at justification for the Italian defeat has proven correct; linguistic and genetic research has undeniably confirmed the Middle Eastern origin of most highland Ethiopians.

There was one less-gratifying result of the battle of Adwa, though, and that was the formal ceding of the Red Sea province of Eritrea to Italy, which had already been its de facto ruler for many years. Thus one of the margins of the empire was formally and irrevocably set on its own historical path and lost to the common history of the rest of Ethiopia.

Menelik embarked on a modernization campaign, but unlike the Japanese, who were making parallel efforts to modernize, he "saw no need to change an effective social and economic formula" (Marcus, 1994, p. 106). He imported Western manufactured goods, but not the industries that needed to produce them. Likewise, he imported Western teachers, but not the educational systems that would train native Ethiopians. Menelik thus

set Ethiopia on a path of dependency rather than self-sufficiency in education as well as in economics. The West was only too happy to oblige.

The British and French, still dreaming of domination over the entire Horn of Africa, then decided to approach Ethiopia themselves and take control of it through 'peaceful' economic coercion. They were startled, just as the Italians had been, to find that Menelik wanted to deal with them on his own terms, not as an easily swayed local chieftain. Menelik signed various trade agreements and allowed the Europeans into Ethiopia, but only on a strictly limited basis. He "embarked on a period of intense modernization, founding the modern capital of Addis Ababa, building roads and bridges and hospitals, and introducing electricity and the telephone" (Phillips & Carillet, 1998, p. 34). Menelik promoted the building of a railway line linking his new capital of Addis Ababa with the coastline, as well as the founding of western-style coffee plantations. But the head of the Orthodox Church successfully protected the church's monopoly on teaching by persuading Menelik "that education came within the province of the church. The Ministry of Education was not in fact established until after Menelik's death, during the brief period of power enjoyed by Lij Iyasu, his grandson" (Wagaw, 1979, p. 4). Thus, while missionaries and colonial administrators were establishing extensive school systems in other parts of Africa, including the first Western-style university on the continent in South Africa in 1873, Ethiopia held itself aloof from outside influences on its educational system for another generation.

Modernization Takes Hold: 1919-1935

After World War I, the Europeans again turned their attention to the exploitation of Africa. Under increasing pressure from Britain, France, and the United States, Ras

Tafari, the reigning regent later to become Emperor Haile Selassie in 1930, first allowed increasing numbers of missionaries into the country in 1919. The national interest of Ethiopia, as an exhausted Europe eyed the riches of Africa as a balm to their wounds, "stemmed from the need to protect and extend its frontiers, and, given the diplomatic complexity and the consequent dangers, the emperor's best tactic was to dissimulate, to cooperate with all but to side with none (Marcus, 1994, p. 102). Marcus writes admiringly of Haile Selassie, "Subtle evasion was his guide to a secure future" (p. 102).

Haile Selassie was equally adept at juggling the steadily increasing number of religious factions competing within the country, particularly missionaries.

> [Selassie] had needed to maintain a fine balance between the modernization and the religious dissent they brought. On the one hand, missionaries built medical and educational facilities that the Selassie government couldn't afford, while on the other, their evangelical Protestantism introduced a competitor to the nation's ancient Orthodox Church. The dextrous young king played gracious host to all and gave his heart to none. (Coleman, 2003, p. 18)

Selassie "strove to build a centralized government, a modern professional army, a national system of communications, and prominent public works in Addis Abeba" (Marcus, 1994, p. 130). Following the strategy pioneered by Menelik, Selassie saw Addis Ababa as the key to the entire country and began a far-reaching road-building program that would link the capital to every province and to every important town. He established several new schools in Addis Ababa including "the quasi-secondary Tafari Makonnen School which by the end of the year [1925] enrolled 160 boys" (Marcus, p. 122). When those students graduated, Selassie recruited many of them to join such newly opened offices as the Ministry of Finance and the Customs Service. This strategy allowed the central government to ensure the flow of taxes, previously lost to unreliable local

politicians and officials, and "permitted Haile Selassie to marshal, even during the nadir

of the Great Depression, sufficient resources to pay for his programs" (Marcus, p. 130).

The nation became increasingly reliant on Western education. "There was a whirlwind of

activity: projects and planning fell into place for roads, schools, hospitals,

communications, administration, and public services" (Marcus, p. 137). Key among the

human resources for the educational part of this effort were missionaries from the West.

These Protestant missionaries, from a variety of denominations and countries of

origin, were not desired by Haile Selassie as promoters of their religions. He allowed

them to enter the country in order to placate the would-be colonial powers and to initiate

modernization. The missionaries, however, were despised by the Orthodox Church,

whose monopoly of formal education was threatened by their introduction. Selassie

protected his power base with the Orthodox Church by "by confirming its status as the

national church" (Coleman, 2003, p. 18) and by allowing the missionaries to work only

on the periphery of the country to offset Muslim advances, while forbidding them any

activity in the central part of the highlands under the control of the Orthodox Church.

Selassie's strategic use of the missionaries was well understood by the

missionaries themselves. Don McClure, an early Presbyterian missionary writing about a

proposed American mission in the Ogaden region, noted "the mission and government

would be working together rather than at cross-purposes. Ethiopia needs help with its

Muslim people, and we could provide it" (Partee, 1990, p. 396). Nevertheless,

missionaries like McClure were candid about the differences in their priorities. "The

primary goal of the Ethiopian government is the peaceful rehabilitation of the Somali

nomads," McClure wrote of one proposed modernization effort, "but our primary goal is the evangelization of that region" (Partee, 1990, p. 400).

Selassie assigned missionary delegations from different nations to different areas of Ethiopia. One of the drawbacks of the missionary experience, then, was to introduce fragmentation to education in the country, as well as to exacerbate the tension between the Orthodox, Amharic center of the country and the diverse margins of the country. Each area on the periphery, which in practice meant each ethnic group, developed its own curriculum under its own missionaries, who might be from Norway, Sweden, France, the United Kingdom, or the United States. Each denomination set their own standards for teacher training and certification, usually including conversion to whatever Christian denomination was active in that area. Selassie, as an advocate for modernization, actually elicited the sympathy of the missionaries at times. McClure wrote in a letter,

> The Emperor is virtually helpless because there is no Ethiopian who can do what is needed among these peoples. No Ethiopian is trained and prepared to enter those tribes, to reduce their language to writing, or to open medical, educational, and evangelistic work. The whole burden rests with us. (Partee, 1990, p. 377)

That burden, and the sacrifices of the missionaries to shoulder that burden, should not be underestimated. McClure, no naïve newcomer to African conditions, reported, "The amount of hunger, poverty, disease, ignorance, and superstition is unbelievable" (Partee, 1990, p. 375). Yet these early missionaries, McClure among them, devoted the greater part of their lives to the endeavor to bring their version of Christianity to Africa. An American official, reporting on a fact-finding trip in the early 1970's, wrote of the missionaries, "of all their great sacrifices, the most pitiable are of their own precious children. Dear God, I saw the gravestones of children all over Africa" (Partee, p. 394).

Modern Christian Missions in Africa

Ethiopia's missionary experience took place, of course, within the larger context of the European incursions into Africa. The colonial administrators and the missionaries in different areas of the continent shared some traits, such as an unquestioning belief in the cultural superiority of the West, but there was considerable diversity in the means employed by different colonial governments.

The French and the British, who together controlled most of the continent, shared the belief that the purpose of education "was to create and sustain an intellectual elite" (Ashby, 1964, p.41). Their conviction was that education's emphasis should be on the few, and that university level education could only be developed after secondary schools were operating successfully—"a misguided opinion, for many of the men who held it came from Oxford or Cambridge, universities which flourished centuries before there was a sound system of secondary schools in England" (Ashby, p. 15). As early as 1903, the French developed a general plan which "embodied an educational policy which aimed at establishing French culture in Africa" (Busia, 1969, p. 22), a perspective understandable only in light of the unshakeable French perspective of French superiority. This cultural imperialism focused on "the development in each territory of secondary and technical schools which were to be the same in every way as similar institutions in France," Busia explains, "and the selection of suitably qualified Africans to pursue higher academic and professional studies in France" (1969, p. 23).

Belgium, working in the Congo, agreed with the British and the French about achieving absolute equivalence with European schools. "No questions of adaptation appeared to arise, for the aim was seen to be that of lifting the Congolese into what the

rulers regarded unquestionably as the higher civilization of Belgium" (Busia, 1969, p. 24). The Belgians, however, disagreed with the British and French priorities of educating only the elite few; "They aimed at raising the whole people to a higher level" (Busia, p. 24). Their efforts were spectacularly successful at reaching their narrowly defined goals: at independence in 1960, Congo claimed a literacy rate of 64% but had produced "only 16 university graduates out of a population of more than 13 million" (Busia, 1969, p. 24).

The Portuguese authored the most spectacular failures in African education. Their aim was not to train colonials for self-government, but to assimilate the natives of Mozambique and Angola into Portuguese culture. After 500 years of rule, only 3.6 percent of the native inhabitants had mastered the curriculum to the point of becoming Portuguese citizens, and "there are no institutions of higher learning in the territories" (Busia, 1969, p. 25).

South Africa also neglected instituting effective education for local people. According to an interdepartmental memo from 1935, the Ministry of Education upheld the doctrine that "the education of the white child prepares him for life in a dominant society, and the education of the black child for life in a subordinate society" (Busia, 1969, p. 26).

All of Africa's colonial powers perpetuated racism and colonialism: the British and French by only training a small elite, the Belgians by training only the masses, and the Portuguese by training no one. Ethiopia's initial attempts to begin Western education included the first two of these approaches. The government's education model, using expatriate advisors to initiate programs, followed the French and British models of aiming to educate a small elite for government jobs. The missionaries tended to follow

the Belgians, and tried to extend education to the masses of peasants, though their educational enterprise was in reality a means toward the real goal of proselytizing. It was only "out of the desire to teach people to read the Bible, education became one of the primary and historic foci of Presbyterian mission" (Outreach Foundation, p. 2). In the course of time, as the Ministry of Education grew in its ability to exercise more control over schools, more of the missionary schools came under the same examination regimen as the government schools, and thus shifted more to the French/British model.

The Italian Occupation

The Italians, seeking to revive their dreams of an African Empire as well as to exact revenge for the defeat at Adwa, invaded Ethiopia from their bases in Eritrea in 1935. This time there was no lack of preparedness and the Italians possessed overwhelming military superiority. Just as the Germans used the Spanish Civil War as a training exercise for their armed forces, the Italians threw all their weight behind a full-scale invasion of Ethiopia. This time, spears and outmoded rifles were no match for tanks and bombers. Mussolini ordered the aerial spraying of mustard gas, which was banned under international law. The rout was quick and complete, barely allowing Haile Selassie time to escape to Britain as a monarch in exile (Pankurst, 1996).

Determined to make the country a cornerstone of an Italian Empire in Africa, Mussolini's troops swept through the countryside and tried to overturn all progress that had been accomplished by non-Italian Europeans. Since Catholicism was seen as an integral part of Italian culture, Protestant mission schools were closed and missionaries were deported. Orthodox priests, too, were driven from their traditional schools, and "fled north to their homelands in the high, rugged mountains of Gondar and Wollo" (Coleman,

2003, p. 20). There, with the support of their parishioners, the priests initiated illegal radio transmissions as part of the resistance to the invaders. The Italians retaliated by classifying "their adversaries as brigands, to be shot immediately and not treated as prisoners of war" (Marcus, 1994, p. 147).

To make the situation even more brutal, Mussolini's soldiers then enacted a strategy of destruction of all Ethiopian education. The Italians had no intention of trying to train local people to lead, much less trying to train the masses in basic skills. From their perspective, the native Africans were only fit to work as laborers in support of Italy, so the invaders proceeded to slaughter as many educated people as possible. This campaign decapitated the educational systems of the country; some estimates place the percentage of killed scholars as high as 75%. The Italian occupation only lasted six years before the Allies drove the Italians out as part of the campaign preparatory to the liberation of Egypt. Eritrea was forcibly reunited with the rest of the country, in spite of having been a colony of Italy for over forty years. The short duration of the occupation allowed Ethiopia to retain its claim as the only African nation never colonized, but the horrendous impact on Ethiopian education reverberated for decades.

1942 to 1974

"With the end of hostilities and the return of Haile Selassie in 1942, the missionaries were invited to come back and help his government establish clinics, hospitals, and schools" (Coleman, 2003, p. 15). A half century after Menelik's original decision not to seek sustainability by the full-scale re-organization of Ethiopian society, the fruits of his decision were undeniable. The nation was still entirely reliant on foreign aid and personnel in education; there had been practically no teacher training to this

point, and the few teachers who had been educated had been murdered by the Italian occupation forces.

Haile Selassie, in order to carry out his hoped-for modernization, continued to push for the education of an elite corps devoted to the state—and to the throne of Haile Selassie. "He believed that the effects of education would transform his feudal empire into a modern state" (Marcus, 1994, p. 160). By 1950, Ethiopia had about 500 schools re-established, with an enrollment of about 50,000 children. On a visit to the United States in 1954, Haile Selassie summarized Ethiopia's achievements in modernization in a speech to Congress, including "a four-fold increase in school enrollment" (Marcus, p. 161). Later that year, the University of Addis Ababa graduated its first class, including the first graduates of the teacher training program. The government was exercising more control over curriculum, and the era of the major impact from missionary educators was drawing to a close. They had been remarkably successful in their twin educational goals of teaching basic literacy and improving the extent of Ethiopian education, especially considering the comparatively late start of Western education and the catastrophe of the Italian occupation.

At the same time, though, there were drawbacks to the missionary enterprise. The early missionaries were filled with a single-minded ambition that amazes modern readers. McClure, for example, while contemplating a mission to the Suri people, unapologetically enthused, "The need is there, and the opportunity is ours to grasp" (Partee, 1990, p. 399). There was evidently no question in his mind about whether Christianity might be adapted in some way to the local culture; it was simply to be

imposed. And the same attitude of cultural superiority continued in confronting the Orthodox Church, including its ancient educational system.

Christian Missionaries and Islam

It is striking that missionaries could remain so blandly confident in the work that they felt called to do, especially in light of their own reporting of episodes of extreme cultural dislocation. McClure, for instance, described one such incident.

> When we got back to Gode we were told that Hadj Omar [a recent convert] had proudly announced to his family that he had become a Christian, and his older brother in a rage, and in the presence of the family, had taken a knife, killed him, and fled into Somaliland. (quoted in Partee, 1990, p. 415)

The relations between the new missionary movement and Islam were clearly antagonistic, even more so than with the Orthodox Church. Since the Koran schools were important in imparting an entire Muslim way of life to the community, Muslims recognized that the new mission schools represented the end of a way of life for them. Trimingham (1968), summarizing the Muslim reaction to the coming of the missionaries, commented, "… Islamic education cannot be changed without losing its essential character. A school where the Koran is taught as one subject among others is a secular school" (p. 119). Muslim writers saw the missionary movement as introducing a "context of Christian aggression" (Daniel, 1969, p. 210) and even "a Christian crusading attitude" (Kritzeck, 1969, p. 210). They clearly saw that "the desire for modern techniques conflicted with religion" (Daniel, p. 207) and steadfastly refused to adapt their curriculum to include non-religious subjects. The result of this reaction was that "for a long time the Christian missions had a monopoly of modern education" (Fisher, 1969, p.138).

In many areas of Africa controlled by Britain, such as Kenya, the colonial authorities respected Islam as a cousin of Christianity, with Muslims (and Jews, for that

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matter) seen as fellow followers of the Abrahamic traditions. The British sent missionaries only to areas that still followed traditional beliefs, thus revealing their prejudices about the inferiority of African culture but at the same time helping the local tribal cultures begin modernizing. The Muslim communities, left unchallenged by the British missionaries, clung to their schools and memorized the Koran as they had for centuries. The "Muslim educational system insulated the Muslim community from the modernizing tendencies associated with Western education" (Levtzion, 2000, p. 15) and contributed to the Muslim areas falling behind in modern education. "There can be no doubt that the unequal educational development led to social imbalances between Muslim and non-Muslim regions and communities that continue to haunt some African states" (Reichmuth, 2000, p. 432). This was certainly not the case with Ethiopia, where Haile Selassie specifically targeted the Muslim areas for missionary activity in order to protect his relationship with the Orthodox Church. Thus the relationship between Islam and the missionaries was more strained in Ethiopia than elsewhere in Africa.

The Muslim concept of conversion, which differs from the Christian, also contributed to conflict between the two religions. In Africa, Muslim converts were usually allowed at first to simply continue to practice local customs, allowing Islam to gradually percolate into their lives through memorizing the Koran. "A convert to Islam may continue in his former tribal life as before, taking part in all the ritual functions and believing in them virtually as before" (Schildknecht, 1969, p. 235). This practice was anathema to the Christians, who believed that all things African were pagan and had to be renounced before baptism. It was difficult for the Christian missionaries, then, to distinguish between those people who were 'pagan' (that is, practicing traditional

religions) and those who were Muslim, so the Christians simply attempted the wholesale

conversion of everyone.

Muslim comments about the Christians tend to be virulently eloquent, such as this

statement by Sayyid Muhammed in about 1890.

> There is no remedy if you expect a good reward from the Christian foreigners.
> Once you let down your guard, the infidel will ensnare you. The money he
> squanders [on you] now will come back to haunt you. First he will rob from
> you your firearms, as if you are women. Then he will brand you like cattle.
> Next he will order you to sell the country [to him], and then he will put loads
> on your backs as on donkeys. (Kapteijns, 2000, pp. 236-7)

Christian Missionaries and Tribal Traditions

For Christian missionaries the purpose of education was conversion; they saw

local traditions as backward and evil. In many situations, the implacable insistence of the

missionaries on the renunciation of all tribal tradition actually drove natives to adopt

Islam. The previous native attitude of equal resistance to both imported religions,

Orthodox Christianity and Islam, became instead a growing resistance against the

Christian insistence on the destruction of their cultures. As the historian Trimingham

commented, "Christian missions are well established and Islam provides an element of

opposition to Westernism" (1980, p. 42).

For the most part, though, the missionaries were successful at seeking

conversions. This was partially due to the 'cargo' they brought with them, such as

modern technology and medicines that provided at least some relief from the disabling

diseases of the lowlands. The missionaries were well-equipped, inspired, and tenacious;

the result was the destruction of local culture. The missionaries failed to recognize, for

example, any value in the informal educational practices that had served the local

societies for centuries. It would have been inconsistent for them to talk of local traditions

as one strand of a valued inheritance while simultaneously dismantling the traditions, and

they ignored the human pain that came from the cultural dislocation that they initiated.

McClure, for instance, seemed simply unaware of the reaction of the local people to the

sweeping cultural changes that he, among others, introduced. "The cry 'Yankee go

home!' may apply to diplomats, soldiers, and businessmen," McClure stated, seemingly

more from his own wishful thinking than from facts, "but it does not apply to Christian

missionaries who have been commanded to go into all the world, teaching, preaching,

and healing in the name of Jesus Christ" (Partee, 1990, p. 381). McClure, a typical

representative of this whole culture of European missionaries, "had little insight into the

alienation caused by colonialism, loss of political independence and lands, poverty and

demands for waged labor, together with the imposition of Western cultural norms"

(O'Connor, 2000, pp. 382-383).

Lewis (1962) politely suggested that though missionaries deserved much of the

credit for developing educational facilities in Africa, "many of the missions have yet to

realize the full significance of education in the development of the African people" (p. 9).

The same problems persisted, though, and in 2000 O'Connor could still write wistfully of

'Ethiopianism', which he called "an assertion of the legitimacy of African culture" (p.

383) instead of the imposition of Western cultural norms through education. This theme,

called 'negritude' in the Francophone world or more generally 'localization,' re-echoes

across the entire continent. Today, nearly 50 years after Lewis wrote, balance between

Western and African traditions is still seen as one of the basic needs of education in

Ethiopia, since "the adaptation of education to the needs of the people is urged as the first

requisite of school activities" (p. 10). This goal of balance in education was articulated as early as 1932, when a report on Achimoto College in Ghana was made to the Governor.

> There was a deliberate attempt to "produce a type of student who is 'Western' in his intellectual attitude towards life, with a respect for science and capacity for systematic thought, but who remains African in sympathy and desirous of preserving and developing what is deserving of respect in tribal life, custom, rule and law." (Ashby, 1964, pp. 35-36)

This goal seems as elusive today as it was in 1932, and Africa remains ". . . a world of shaken beliefs and uncertain values. (Busia, 1969, p. 58)

A Nuer poet expressed his feelings about trying to straddle the divide between the traditional and the modern by saying:

> This country is overrun by strangers;
> They throw our ornaments into the river.
> They draw their water from the bank.
> Blackhair my sister,
> I am bewildered.
> We are perplexed;
> We gaze at the stars of God. (Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 47)

As a reminder of the distances that separate diverse cultures and the difficulties that haunt cross-cultural understanding, the author invites the reader to reflect on the identity of 'Blackhair my sister.' It perhaps makes this poem of loss even more poignant to realize that Blackhair, to whom this lament is addressed, is one of the poet's cows.

Troubling Topics

    Troubling topic one: Modern Christian missions and women. The impact of the missionary experience on the role of women was ambiguous. For the first time in Ethiopian history, women were seen as worthy of education, and the missionaries championed educational opportunities for girls as well as for boys. Many village schools were founded by missionaries as part of the effort to teach literacy, and girls were seen as

the equal of boys in their need to read the Bible. Girls took part in many literacy programs.

There are three ways that this effort was not as promising as it might appear. First, though the missionaries attempted to deeply impact the traditional beliefs of the various cultures, they fell victim to their own priority, which was conversion. If they could obtain the conversion of a chief or influential elder, for instance, they were often willing to ignore his multiple wives and the wives' status as chattels. They were not willing to jeopardize their perceived mission, that of 'winning souls,' by risking offending a powerful tribal leader through challenging any of the factors that contributed to his prestige.

A second reason that the missionaries largely failed to improve the lot of African women is that most of them simply accepted the premise that women are inferior. Repeating the experience of the tribal, the Orthodox, and the Muslim strands before them, they accepted the secondary lot of women as desirable and reasonable. In their case, this view was supported by their religious traditions and by their interpretation of the Bible. With every new convert brought to literacy and a personal reading of the Bible, then, the missionaries affirmed the inferiority of women.

Meanwhile, the wives of the missionaries ('missionaries,' in this era, were invariably men) "shared the invisibility of most wives in the recorded history of the work and achievements of men" (O'Connor, 2000, p. 318). They served their husbands in support roles in the 'masculine' work of evangelization, and therefore modeled the traditional fundamental example of a subservient wife to the new converts of the local culture. "Teaching was always the most regular demand on their time and energies. Of

prime importance were scriptural and catechetical instruction, especially of girls"

(O'Connor, p. 318). Thus the women of the modern missionary movement cooperated in

perpetuating the inferior position of women, just as the other strands of Ethiopian

education had before them.

Troubling topic two: Modern Christian missions and ethnic identity. Like Islam

before it, modern Christianity officially deplored tribalism and yet contributed to it. For

Islam, the dream of an international household foundered on the introduction of conflicts

between the Muslims and the infidel. Christian dreams of 'the family of God' foundered

on a similar division between the faithful and the lost, but also were exacerbated by the

conflict with the Orthodox Church and the introduction of numerous denominations

originally spawned by the Protestant Reformation in Europe and continually proliferating

during the intervening centuries. The introduction of these competing sects was the

source of confusion to potential converts, especially since the national churches of the

missionary-sending nations of Europe and North America established themselves as local

variants within the tribes of whatever region Haile Selassie had assigned to them.

Christianity in Ethiopia, far from serving as a solution to tribalism, became tribalized

itself.

Troubling topic three: Modern Christian missions and slavery. Slavery in

Ethiopia was significantly lessened during the decades of the major missionary activity

under Haile Selassie, but not as a result of the churches' actions. In his efforts to obtain

international recognition and support from at least some of the European powers which

were doggedly trying to conquer his country, Selassie sought to bring Ethiopia into the

League of Nations after World War I. Since the league refused to consider an application

from a country that practiced slavery, in 1923 Selassie "issued the first decree for the gradual abolition of slavery…" (Pankurst, 1996 p. 139). The abolition was indeed gradual. Slavery became less and less common, but was never really abolished in Ethiopia until after the overthrow of the empire in 1974. The social stigma against descendants of slaves remains to this day.

Summary of the Impact of Modern Christian Missions

The impact of the missionary endeavor in Ethiopia on the three 'troubling topics', then, was not particularly impressive. But impacting those ingrown evils was not their priority, any more than it was the priority of the systems of education introduced before them. The missionaries partially succeeded at their top priority, evangelism, by changing the balance between the majority Muslim nation of 1900 and the majority Christian nation of today. "The evangelists ultimately won in much the same ways that Christian missionaries have always succeeded, through hard work, faith, and persistence…" (Marcus, 1994, p. 22). Other contributions, similar to those of other mission work throughout Africa, included literacy for more than a few, a view of people as potentially educable and therefore potentially powerful in a wider sense than was offered before, and a Western curriculum including such subjects as science and social studies for the first time.

Missionaries themselves tended to be young, energetic, and idealistic. Writing of his missionary parents, Coleman (2003) recalled that his mother and father were "much too young to realize all the nuances of the cultural intervention in which they were engaged" (p. 17). They were focused on bringing the gospel to the 'heathen,' and education was the path that they trusted to accomplish that task. "Under this conception

of education the teaching of health is a religious duty, the cultivation of the soil is co-operation with God, and every other need of the individual and the group is a Christian responsibility" (Lewis, 1962, pp. 9-10). It was this extraordinary focus that allowed the missionaries to impact traditional cultures so profoundly.

Figure 6. Fifth Strand: The Derg.

As shown in Figure 6, the second modern strand of Ethiopia's history, like those before it, came from the North, this time from the communist U.S.S.R. Figure 6 shows, however, that this new phase to Ethiopian education came not as an addition to education, but at an immense cost to all previous strands. This strand began with the overthrow of Haile Selassie's empire in 1974. Though there were several disaffected parties that

contributed to the revolution, the revolution was led, and its new government

consolidated, by the communist party under the leadership of the 'Derg' ('committee' in

Amharic), the ruling body of the party.

The Downfall of Haile Selassie

Haile Selassie was an emperor dedicated to his people: a symbol of resistance

during the Italian occupation, an adroit manipulator of the competing Western powers,

and a steadfast and successful advocate of modernization, including steadily increasing

opportunities for education. This historical summary has mentioned only one

shortcoming so far, that of Selassie's adherence to Menelik's original policy of continual

reliance on outside aid for modernization instead of concentrating on increasing local

capacity, and even that deficiency was increasingly addressed in the final years of

Selassie's reign. However, Ethiopia is a complex arena, and even the most adroit ruler

has blind spots that can contribute to his downfall.

There were several aspects of Selassie's rule that weakened his position. One

major factor was his policy of concentrating on Addis Ababa, the capital, to the exclusion

of the rural areas of the country where the vast majority of Ethiopians lived. Addis Ababa

was the focus of all efforts at modernization. Roads were to Addis, buildings to showcase

the success of modernization were in Addis, and the emperor himself resided exclusively

in Addis. "Most institutions of higher education were located in the capital, as were nine

of the empire's twenty secondary schools" (Marcus, 1994, p. 165).

Most of the population, however, saw none of these things. They saw only their

villages or grazing grounds, and the occasional missionary/teacher asking them to change

their traditional way of life for a vaguely sketched vision of modernization. They heard

only stories of Selassie's distant court, where he lived in a series of palaces in Addis Ababa, prepared sumptuous feasts for foreign visitors, and arrived home after travel to foreign countries by airplane while holding his pet Chihuahua. For most of the people these stories were told in the local language after translation from Amharic, the distrusted language of the dominant tribe, Selassie's tribe, with its long history of conquerors and despots. Amharic was the required language in all government schools, a policy intended to unify the country but which served instead to create more even more dislocation and distrust in the minority tribes. Furthermore, if there was a local missionary or government teacher who took note of a particularly bright young boy in the local school, that son was sent off with feasting and high hopes to Addis to complete his education. He then never returned to the village. Selassie's policy of keeping the best scholars for government service might have been necessary when first building a national civil service, but became a drain on the countryside, just one more tax to support the emperor, as generations passed during his long reign. Ethiopia continued as a traditional feudal state; indeed, until 1974, all of Ethiopia and everything in it legally belonged to Haile Selassie. There was such an accrual of power into the center, into the person of the emperor himself, that there was a loss of understanding that events could exist outside his control. Selassie assumed ultimate authority over everything in the country, and the people believed his claims. When the living circumstances of the rural majority became difficult, the people's faith in the emperor turned to blame, and he was held responsible for the ongoing rural poverty and the enduring lack of modern infrastructure outside Addis Ababa.

The perceived success of freedom for the former colonies of Africa during the 1960's also played a part in raising people's aspirations. Haile Selassie saw vast progress during his long tenure, but the expectations of the population in this heady time of *uhuru* ('freedom' in Swahili) rose even faster. The historian Marcus (1994) summarized the situation by concluding that

> The emperor's assessment did not appreciate that his country remained poor and backward even by African standards. He was not a relativist: he saw 240 medical facilities in 1955, whereas a quarter of a century earlier there had been 48. Tens of thousands of children were actually in school, compared with the meager thousands of 1931. Haile Selassie was enough of a traditional figure that he could not grasp the reality of Ethiopia's problems as he witnessed and presided over changes that would have been unimaginable to Menelik II, during whose reign he had been born, reared, and educated. (p. 166)

The first general unrest became public in 1968, when the government closed Haile Selassie I University (today the University of Addis Ababa) in response to student riots. The simmering issue of balancing between traditional beliefs and modernity came to a boil at a year-end modeling show in the Home Economics department, which taught sewing to the few female students. Featured in the show of student-created designs were mini-skirts that offended the more traditional students' sense of modesty. The students "dragged the models and visiting dignitaries from their cars, punched them, and pelted them with eggs" (Hanna, 1975, p. 73). Defenders of the female students, and modernization in general, rescued the women students, and three weeks of riots between the two factions followed.

> In 1969 the university closed for two months while the students went on strike and agitated for educational reform. The students made six demands: (1) dismissal of the Education Minister, (2) revision of the scholarship allocation system, (3) abolition of examination fees, (4) a larger education budget, (5) a cut in expenditures for "embassies, banquet, and ministerial salaries and travel," and (6) the expulsion of

"immoral" Indian and American Peace Corps teachers. (Hanna, 1975, p. 73)

Unlike the first unrest in 1968, which was sparked by cultural divisions, the riots of 1969 were touched off by concerns about the state of education itself. The Ministry of Education expelled the student leaders and blamed 'outside elements' for the violence, but the president of the university "placed at least part of the blame on the university for its failure to give the students relevant education that would more effectively channel their energies" (Hanna, 1975, pp. 74-75).

Similar riots, equally ineffective and quickly suppressed, followed in 1970, but the protests had moved beyond the "old tradition of African secondary school students rioting over bad food or living conditions" (Legum, 1972, p. 2). These riots were different, "a more highly politicized form of protest" that became highly significant for the entire country the following year (Legum, p. 2).

In March, 1971, secondary teachers throughout Addis Ababa, with the full support of their students, went on strike. In April and May, university students joined in the unrest by launching a series of demonstrations. Fearing public backlash for strong-arm tactics of reprisal, such as they had used the previous three years, the university resisted the use of force and negotiated with the university students about their educational demands, which centered on poor lecturers and unfair testing. Before agreement could be reached, however, the secondary students started criticizing the university students for negotiating only for themselves and their concerns.

> The high school students put forward their own four demands: (1)
> Reduction of bus fares (recently up 20 per cent); (2) Reduction of living
> costs (up for the first time in recent years--butter by as much as 100% and
> potatoes totally prohibitive); (3) Land reform: 'land for the tillers of the
> soil'; (4) Ending the sending of vagrants from Addis Ababa "to the

'poorhouse'--the official name for the camp to which beggars and others are sent from the capital, and which students referred to as the *Shola* ('concentration camp'). (Legum, 1972, p. 15-16)

The students were able to close down almost all of the schools in the Addis, and organized a series of very popular market demonstrations. A large group of students would approach a market stall and ask for the price of a staple such as butter. Intimidated, the seller would quote a reduced price, which the students would then repeat through the market so that the common people could buy at affordable prices while the students stood watch to ensure that the trader kept his word. Police, "themselves the victims of price rises" (Legum, 1972, pp. 16-17), refused to arrest the students. When the army was called in, the soldiers, too, refused to follow orders to disperse the students.

These actions of civil disobedience resulted in the government announcing its plans for controlling prices. The student protests not only were seen as effective by the general population; they also demonstrated that the throne, for all its magnificence, was helpless in the face of soldiers who refused to follow orders. Three years later, these lessons were remembered when several barracks of soldiers stationed in Addis Ababa went on strike for back pay. The strike spread throughout Addis and the army marched on the palace, declared that the empire was at an end, and captured Haile Selassie, who was "unceremoniously bundled into the back of a Volkswagen and driven away to prison" (Phillips & Carillet, 2000, p. 38). The relatively spontaneous coup resulted in a period of instability that lasted about three years, including several outbreaks of extensive violence as different factions fought to consolidate power. The period of uncertainty eventually settled into a military dictatorship run by the Derg, the central committee of the communist party, under the leadership of a former Colonel, Haile Mariam Mengistu. The

Derg enjoyed full backing from the Soviet Union, which replaced the United States as the main foreign aid supplier of Ethiopia. Haile Selassie disappeared, with no evidence of whether he was alive or dead, but the Derg eventually decided that he was potentially dangerous as a rallying point for monarchists. They "assassinated Emperor Haile Selassie in 1975 and buried him in a secret grave on the palace grounds" (Milkias, 2011).

The Rule of the Derg

The Derg declared a socialist state and nationalized all factories and businesses. They also introduced their own version of Ethiopia's ancient custom of the entire country belonging personally to the emperor; now all land belonged to the Derg. They instituted more than 30,000 peasant associations, an effort that "was initially much praised internationally, particularly by UNESCO" (Phillips & Carillet, 2000, p. 38).

The attempt to instantly and violently drag the entire country from feudalism into modern socialism created chaos, and in an eerie reprise of the Oromo incursions during the Muslim-Christian wars of four centuries before, Somalia invaded from the east in 1977. The Soviet Union came to Mengistu's aid "with Soviet state-of-the-art weaponry, [and] Somalia was beaten back" (Phillips & Carillet, 2000, p. 38). Internal power struggles were not so easily solved, though, and in 1977 Mengistu launched the Red Terror Campaign "to suppress all political opponents" (Phillips & Carillet, p. 39). More than 100,000 opposition leaders were killed.

The Derg ruled for 17 years, a time that is remembered as simply 'the bad times' by rural residents. The monsoons failed several years in a row in the mid-1980's, and a terrible famine followed. Hundreds of thousands of people died, and the Derg's policies of resettling villagers onto nationalized lands and establishing communal farms were

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blamed for making the famine worse. The Derg used foreign food aid for political ends, rewarding areas that accepted their socialist policies and withholding food from starving areas if they resisted the Derg's rule. "Mengistu's disinclination to help the province of Tigray—the worst affected region and home to the powerful Tigrayan Liberation front—caused thousands more to die" (Phillips & Carillet, 2000, p. 39). The population became harder and harder to control, which called forth new brutality by the regime. With the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the Derg was no longer propped up by outside military power and became suddenly vulnerable.

Education under the Derg

The Derg attempted to overturn every previous strand of Ethiopia's educational systems. They exiled the missionaries, closed all sectarian schools (Orthodox, Muslim and Protestant), and systematically exterminated educated people as part of the Red Terror campaign. The Derg remembered how student unrest had led to both Haile Selassie's overthrow and their own rise to power, and attempted to make any parallel revolt led by an educated elite impossible. Some estimates of the Derg's killing during the subsequent years approach the Cambodian experience under Pol Pot, with up to 70% of educated people being exterminated. Most estimates are closer to 40 or 50% of the educated classes actually murdered, but it is certain that the 70% level of loss was reached if the thousands of refugees that fled the country are included. These refugees tended to be the most highly educated, mobile, and well-connected, including leading businessmen and community leaders along with their families. The communist Derg intentionally created a vacuum in education, especially in educational leadership, which was probably the equal of the vacuum left by the fascist Italians two generations before.

The Derg closed all universities except the newly renamed University of Addis Ababa, which was conveniently close to the Derg's direct control. Students with unquestioned loyalty to the Derg were originally allowed to remain on campus, but later even they were forcibly evicted from Addis to make any organized demonstrations or resistance impossible. The Derg declared that all students owed the government three years of service to pay for the education they had already received, and that 'payment' would have to be received before they could continue their studies. In the first effort to educate the rural population en masse in Ethiopia's history, the students were sent to rural areas as teachers and as propagandists for the Derg. Students would commonly arrive in their assigned village, drive out the local teacher, and proceed to indoctrinate the village elders about the Derg's communist ideology. Villages that resisted were razed, and the people brutalized and killed. Students who were less than enthusiastic about their assignment, or who even complained about the food or housing that the village was forced to provide for them, were labeled counterrevolutionary and shot.

Troubling Topics

Troubling topic one: The Derg and women. In spite of the atrocities of this regime (and contrary to the current practice in Ethiopia of avoiding any positive statements about the Derg), it is reasonable to recognize that the Derg made contributions to education. The Derg enhanced the role of women through imposing the communist ideal of equality between the sexes. Under the Derg, education for girls became commonplace on a widespread basis for the first time. In 1974, the literacy rate for girls was effectively zero. In 1991, when the Derg was deposed, it was nearly 15%, a greater contribution to girls' education in 17 years than in the previous 17 centuries. Under Haile

Selassie, education for a few select girls from the urban elite climaxed in sewing mini-skirts. Under the Derg, tens of thousands of girls from throughout the country made the first steps toward the literacy and numeracy that constitute the core of a modern education.

The deeper issues of the oppression of women, such as the practice of FGM and the status of women as chattel, were directly challenged by the Derg. The Derg's tenure was so short, though, that there was little lasting impact on these issues. Still, the conversation had been started, and Ethiopians had for the first time been directly confronted with a new set of ideals regarding gender issues.

Troubling topic two: The Derg and ethnic identity. Education under the Derg had two main impacts on ethnic identity. First, the Derg spread education across the country instead of concentrating solely on showcase schools for the elite in Addis Ababa. University-trained students became temporary teachers throughout the nation, and rural literacy rates rose. Many tribes in the secondary ring of the country around the Amharic core in the highlands received their first taste of education under the dispersed university students as teachers, leaving untouched only the truly traditional tribes on the country's periphery, such as the jungle-dwelling Suri in the extreme south.

Second, local languages were widely used for the first time in instruction. "Apart from Amharic, only Tigrinya had any extensive history of being a language of literacy prior to the 1974 revolution. The process of bringing other Ethiopian languages into full literacy was begun under the Marxist government" (Appleyard, 1995, p. 2). This policy of encouraging ethnic identity was in radical opposition to Selassie's efforts to unite the ethnically diverse nation through the use of Amharic, which the Amharic emperor had

seen as the natural national language. "Ethnicity replaced national culture in shaping the country's destiny" (Marcus, 1994, p. xi). The modern missionary movement, which had begun creating written alphabets for many language groups in order to translate the Bible, ironically became a resource for atheist education under the Derg.

Nowhere was this new ethnic awareness more prominent than in the coastal province of Eritrea. This province, along the Red Sea shore in the north, was already substantially alienated from the rest of the country because of its long period of colonization under Italy. Eritrea, with Tigrinya as the major local language, had resented the Amharic empire since the days "when Amharic replaced Tigrinya, the home tongue of most Christians, and Arabic, revered by the Muslims, as the language of instruction in the primary schools" (Marcus, 1994, p. 175). When the Derg combined the lifting of the Amharic language requirement with the resounding rhetoric about the worth of localization, Eritrea responded with the commencement of a decades-long struggle for independence. "What had begun as an Islamic war of liberation against a Christian overlord turned into a secular struggle between two Marxist factions--the Eritrean nationalists and the Mengistu Regime" (Hiskett, 1994, p. 147). While the impact of the Derg's regime was genuinely revolutionary and liberating for women, it was counter-revolutionary in enhancing tribalism.

Troubling topic three: The Derg and slavery. After a gradual decline since being partially limited by Selassie in 1923, slavery was finally abolished under the Derg. The Derg saw slavery as an insidious relic of a pre-revolutionary past and expunged it entirely. In one sense, it could be argued that the entire population was now in slavery to

the Derg, but for the first time in the millennia-long history of the nation, human beings were no longer bought and sold.

Figure 7: Sixth Strand: The Current Government.

The Overthrow of the Derg

The Derg was overthrown in 1991 by another group of army officers, which copied the Derg in their methods just as the Derg had copied the student leaders of the riots of 1968-1970. Mengistu fled to Zimbabwe, where he was granted asylum by another notorious dictator, President Robert Mugabe.

The junta that replaced the Derg in 1991, as shown in Figure 7, was unusual in that it was home-grown, not imported from the North. Like the Derg before, it took about three years to consolidate its power under the leadership of Meles Zenawi. (He continued in power until his death in 2012. His government continues in power as this paper is written in 2013.) With no continuing support from the Soviet Union, Ethiopia reached out to re-establish ties with the United States, which welcomed the new regime as a successful exemplar of anti-communism and provided extensive aid. Figure 7 also shows the substantial growth in educational opportunities, both because previous strands of education rebounded from the Derg's oppression and because of the increased investment in education through foreign aid. Most of this aid, though, came in the form of a military buildup which allowed Zenawi to secure his own power at home, to continue to prosecute the ongoing war with breakaway Eritrea, and to attack the pro-communist regime in Somalia. Ethiopian troops served as 'peacekeepers' there until withdrawn to Addis Ababa just prior to the elections of 2010.

The Eritrean War

Alienated from Ethiopia by its distinct Tigrayan/Muslim culture, its long heritage as an Italian colony, and its lingering resentment of Mengistu's attempted genocide through the withholding of aid in the years of famine, Eritrea expanded its guerilla war for independence in 1997. "Despite being friends and having fought against the Derg side by side for over a decade, Meles Zenawi and Eritrea's President Isaias" (Phillips & Carillet, 2000, p. 39) escalated their conflict into complete violence. Ethiopia and Eritrea attacked and bombed each other's military installations, towns, and schools in 1999, and peace was established only after thousands of people, civilian and military alike, had died

on each side. Ethiopia reluctantly grated Eritrea independence in 2000, thus becoming landlocked by losing its ancient Red Sea ports.

Current Conditions in Ethiopia

Though officially a democratically-elected prime minister, and the recipient of U.S aid as a foe of communism, Zenawi was, in fact, a dictator. In the elections of 2005, for example, the opposition party accused the government of intimidation, torture, and the outright murder of dissenting leaders. International observers corroborated those accusations, but Zenawi was 'elected' with over 90% of the vote and maintained power. In the election of 2010, in response to international concerns, a token 'opposition' was allowed in the final two weeks before the election. The opposition had no funding and no access to media. Zenawi was re-elected with over 99% of the vote (Veltman, N., personal communication, June 18, 2011). Zenawi celebrated not only his landslide victory, but the 'peaceful' election itself as an example of the success of his regime.

The government is pre-occupied with crises on all fronts. In the west, there have been floods of refugees from the continuing violence in Sudan. In 2007, for example, more than 400,000 Sudanese refugees fled across the border. Some of them were not repatriated until 2008, in time to establish residency before the 2011 referendum on secession for South Sudan. With the passage of that referendum, the establishment of the new nation of South Sudan, and the endemic violence between the two former halves of the nation, there is a recurrent threat of more refugee crises. In the north, there is a continual threat of war with Eritrea across the 25-kilometer-wide demilitarized zone that separates the two wary adversaries. In the east, there is constant strife with Somalia about the undefined border regions, as well as the oil reserves which are suspected to lie

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beneath those desert sands. In the south, any time the monsoons are late in coming,

villagers and nomads alike periodically crowd aid stations out of fear of another drought.

The government is unable at this time to focus on any single goal, including improving

education. According to the United Nations Human Development Index, Ethiopia is one

of the ten "least livable" countries on earth (United Nations, 2008).

Current education in Ethiopia. Ethiopia's educational system has had a difficult

time rebuilding following the Derg's complete rupture with the past. This paper has

characterized Ethiopian education as a 'complex weave' of three ancient strands: tribal,

Orthodox, and Muslim, overlain with three modern strands: Christian missionaries, the

Derg, and the current government. It might be more accurate to describe Ethiopia's

education as an ancient, three-strand weave, that saw the addition of a fourth strand in the

modern missionary movement and then was shredded and nearly destroyed by the Derg,

Currently, there are only cursory attempts to repair it by a weaver distracted by other

projects on other looms.

The University of Addis Ababa, in the capital city, has recently begun granting

Masters Degrees in 10 areas, including education administration. This is the highest

educational program available in the country, and it reaches only the smallest minority of

students.

Literacy rates for men in Ethiopia are estimated by some sources, including the

Ministry of Education, to be as high as 50%, but most non-governmental sources, such as

UNESCO, suggest that 40% is a more reliable approximation. Women's literacy rates are

about half that of men, or about 20%, giving the nation a total literacy rate of perhaps

30% (Teferra, 2006). Only about one-fourth of school-age children regularly attend

school, and for those who do, the student/teacher ratio is about 42:1 (Embassy of Ethiopia, 2007).

Ethiopian education is faced with a severe shortage of educational resources at all levels (Embassy of Ethiopia, 2007). That shortage is predicted to become even more severe in the future due to the projected growth of the school-age population and the growing expectations on the part of the rural population for greater opportunities in education. Coupled with this increased need is the expected continuing scarcity of resources that might help alleviate the immediate crisis. These two projections—increased need and no expected new capacity to meet that need—combine to paint a very bleak picture for the future of Ethiopian education.

Teacher training. Teacher training by the Ministry of Education consists of three streams. Teachers of primary grades are expected to have completed grade 10 and to have finished a one-year certificate course in pedagogy. According to the 2007 annual report by the Embassy of Ethiopia, this goal has largely been achieved, with 97% of primary teachers having attained that level. Teachers of middle school, grades 5-8, are expected to have completed grade 12 and a two-year diploma curriculum in pedagogy. Just over half, about 55%, have reached those goals. For grades 9-12, teachers are 'required' to have completed a four-year degree program, comparable to teacher certification in the U.S. Only about 47% of secondary teachers have reached that goal. About 14% of teachers in the public schools have no formal training at all.

There is also a bewildering array of outside literacy programs run by the foreign aid programs of 12 different nations and more than 100 different non-governmental organizations, including the YMCA, the Boy Scouts, and the Girl Guides (Phillips &

Carillet, 2006). These efforts to help the situation, though well-meaning, lead to another

difficult issue: the question of whether teacher training is necessary at all. Teachers in the

traditional village, the Orthodox Church, the Muslim Koran schools, and (to a great

extent) the missionary compounds, were never seen as requiring special training. Even

the best, most culturally sensitive missionaries saw pedagogy only as the means to an

end: conversion. This problem is best represented today by the Peace Corps, which sends

volunteer teachers who are not professionally trained. They serve, therefore, as

inadvertent examples for local people of what standard of teacher training is needed:

none. They also provide a model of teachers who serve only for a short time. In Ethiopia,

it is far too common for teachers to abandon their careers to take positions in the growing

economy, where they can earn much more than they can on a teacher's salary. The

starting salary for a beginning teacher at the primary level is only $44 US per month

(Embassy of Ethiopia, 2008). In the past, that level of income would have been

considered wealth, but with today's growing economy, it simply prepares the way for a

massive internal brain drain from the educational sector to the private.

 Other current challenges. Other major issues can be lifted unchanged from the

list that Wagaw assembled back in 1979, in the early days of the Derg: (1) the conflict

between the use of a national language, such as Amharic and the use of local languages

for instruction; (2) the "maldistribution of educational opportunity" between urban and

rural students; (3) illiteracy; (4) an overreliance on national exams, based on European

models; (5) the quality and relevance of education, particularly for rural students; and (6)

underemployment. (Wagaw, pp. ix-x) There has been little progress on these central

issues over the last thirty years.

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Troubling Topics

Troubling topic one: The current government and women. Women in Ethiopia, thanks to the violent break with traditional roles created by the Derg, have gained immensely in rights. They can now vote and own property, and they can be represented in the government. "Legally, women in Ethiopia enjoy a relatively equitable position" (Phillips & Carillet, 2000, p. 51), especially compared with some of the more repressive nations on the continent. This equality, though, is more permitted in theory than realized in practice. For instance, there are currently no female members of Ethiopia's parliament, and at the national level there is only one woman represented in the government: the minister of women's affairs. FGM is still practiced on 85% of women, though momentum appears to be slowly growing against the ancient practice.

Troubling topic two: The current government and ethnic identity. The Ministry of Education has abandoned the Derg's heavy-handed insistence on centralization. Instead, in an effort to placate ethnic sensibilities, they have delegated responsibility for education to nine regional provinces. Each of these provinces is more-or-less ethnically based. Since there are over 65 ethnic groups in the nation, though, each of the nine regional provinces contains many less-numerous minority groups within its boundaries. There is, for instance, a province called Oromia, shown in Figure 8. But since the Oromo have been migrating into Ethiopia and settling among other tribes for more than 400 years, ethnicities are impossibly intermingled.

Figure 8. Map of Oromia

The province has amazingly intricate boundaries, which try to delineate majority Oromo areas from the areas where other tribes live. Nevertheless, Oromia includes at least 20 smaller ethnic groups The Oromo tribe champions the Oromo culture and dreams of a greater role for the Oromo tribe. Asafa Jalata, for instance, eloquently explains how the Oromo, his tribe, have been 'colonized' by Ethiopia for more than one hundred years, as if the Oromo—the most numerous tribe in the nation—had not been part of Ethiopia for that century. He describes himself and his fellow Oromo as second-class citizens (Jalata, 2001). The Oromo work tirelessly against the adoption of Amharic as the national language of instruction. They feel that such a decision would devalue their language, Oromifu. Within the province of Oromia, though, the Oromo create instructional resources in Oromifu and require their use throughout the entire province, thus imposing their language on the small, non-Oromifu-speaking tribes within the province. At the

regional level, then, the Oromo treat other tribes with discrimination parallel to the discrimination that they try to avoid at the national level.

  Troubling topic three: The current government and slavery. As described above, slavery was outlawed and ended under the Derg. I suggest, though, that a new, more subtle slavery has taken its place. With the destruction of the incremental progress that had slowly accrued under the empire, and the destruction as well of the hope for continued progress, emigration from Ethiopia has become commonplace. The initial refugees from the Derg, the fleeing intelligentsia, were only the first of a continuous flow of emigrants that has diverted the human resources of the country at a time of great need for their talents. It has become common, for instance, for graduates of the University of Addis Ababa to seek employment outside the country. This trend, started under the Derg as the educated elite fled for their lives, continues unabated today. Many Ethiopian nationals, trained as professionals to help meet the growing needs of the country, are now long-term expatriates in the Middle East, Europe, and countries as far away as the United States. (Indeed, those expatriates form the pool of respondents for this study.) From a personal perspective, an emigrant's choice makes perfect sense: they can improve their material well-being and health care, their children can be educated in advanced school systems, and their extended families can benefit from a portion of their comparatively high salary sent home to Ethiopia. From a national perspective, however, this choice is catastrophic. The Derg's dream of privileged students serving the nation as payment for their education has become the exact opposite. Education is now a drain on the nation's limited resources, and the most successful students are empowered to leave the country. This emigration of the intelligentsia, however harmful it is to the nation, is not slavery.

However, the poorly-educated emigrate too, joining the centuries-long stream of Ethiopians leaving the country for work in the Middle East. This migration impoverishes Ethiopia and contributes to the economic enrichment of nations in the north. This migration is slavery in all but name, since the poorly-educated emigrants have no power or freedom once they arrive at their destinations, which include such places as the oil fields of Saudi Arabia or construction projects in Israel. Indentured servants, obligated to their contract holders, may well merit the label 'slave.'

There is also a third category of emigrants, those who are unskilled, uneducated, and vulnerable, who are increasingly subject to true slavery, human trafficking. This practice is often carried out under the guise of contract labor, where, for instance, a young girl will agree to travel under the patronage of a supposed 'au pair' recruiter, only to find herself raped and brutalized, a practicing prostitute in some Middle Eastern or Asian country where her dark skin makes her exotic, an especially valuable chattel.

Advocates for education, then, find themselves in a no-win situation. The highly educated leave the country to seek better living conditions and wealth. The poorly educated leave the country to seek wages. The uneducated are abducted from the country through human trafficking, the modern world's version of slavery. There will be no easy solution to this complex set of problems, but it is clear that education will have to be a major factor in creating that solution.

Looking to the Future

The Future of the Three Troubling Topics

The response to the problem of the low status of women must include helping the local cultures learn to value women as humans, as well as encouraging the more

progressive elements in each culture to help ensure that this powerful human resource is free to contribute as productively as possible. The response to problems of ethnic identity must include finding the balance between respecting and honoring the local context and ensuring connectedness to the whole. The response to modern forms of slavery must include learning to celebrate the worth of humans, both for their own dignity and for their contribution to their culture and their nation. Education will be a valuable tool in each case, and these three topics could well define the objectives of that education. Indeed, these three topics may constitute the examination that will assess education's success or failure in this generation.

Warning Against Hope

There are several possibilities that might enable Ethiopia to devote more resources to education. Perhaps the monsoon rains will be timely and the harvests plentiful in coming years, relieving the continual fear of desperate famine and allowing needs other than food, such as education, to come to the forefront of community and national planning. Perhaps peace will be achieved in the Horn of Africa, so that resources that are now diverted to military expenditures might become available for education's improvement. Perhaps the fledgling efforts to develop a more robust market economy will bear fruit, and the resulting windfall of income will begin to stem the brain drain. Each of these much-desired scenarios, though, will also increase the demand for education. Greater security, whether from reliable food reserves or from peace, will free more people to pursue education, and more jobs from an invigorated economy will increase the perceived need for education in order to seek employment. The current shortfalls in education will not be remedied by any means easily imaginable.

Hope Beyond Warning

In considering the rebirth of an entire educational system, nearly from the ground up, in the twenty years since the fall of the Derg, there are grounds for hope. The small villages and the nomads along the margins of the nation are slowly beginning to modernize, to accept education as a gift that can strengthen their communities. True, this step into the larger world of the twenty-first century is painful for the student, since modern education "obliges him to live in a Western way, whether he likes to or not. It stretches his nerve between two spiritual worlds, two systems of ethics, two horizons of thought" (Ashby, 1964, p. 41). Hutchinson (1996) writes, "The Nuer equivalent for the English verb 'to change' is based on the idea of a 'splitting away from' that which went before" (p. 39). This sense of 'splitting' seems an apt metaphor for the wrenching attempt to change a deeply traditional culture. But Hutchinson (p. 40) also reports that a new word use has been coined among the Nuer. Instead of talking about change based on 'splitting,' they are beginning to use a new word for change: 'arrival.'

The Orthodox Church, which the Derg failed to eradicate, continues its training of priests, one of the longest traditions of formal education on the planet. It not only trains its select corps of four-eyed masters, but has also recently initiated programs in basic literacy in rural areas. This unexpected new vigor may be taking place to counteract the increasing dominance of the mission schools, but it serves well the intense needs of the people for more access to education.

The more progressive elements of Islam are assimilating modern education. "Nowadays boys often attend a secular school in the morning and *chuo* (Koran school) in the afternoon, since pupils who attend a *chuo* for three years and then go to a secular

school are so much behind other pupils" (Trimingham, 1980, p. 134). Muslims, too, are struggling to find a balance between old and new.

The missionaries, exiled under the Derg, left behind local converts who kept the mission churches running by replacing the expatriates with local leaders. The largest Protestant church, the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus (EECMY), has more than tripled its membership in the last thirty years. With more than six million members, it is now larger than any of its 'mother' churches in Europe or the United States. At the invitation of the EECMY, Protestant missionaries have returned and re-established themselves as advisors instead of leaders. The minority ethnic groups of the nation, termed 'unreached peoples' by the missionaries, are currently being taught basic literacy as a means to read the Bible. Most missions today, though, do not teach reading without also including "the development of future church leaders, and the formation of a healthy society through providing secular, religious, and moral education to the adults of tomorrow" (Outreach Foundation, p.2). Like the Orthodox Church and Islam, they officially adhere to ancient beliefs but are actually beginning to function as powerful instruments for change.

Hutchinson, writing in 1996 during an outbreak of rinderpest which devastated the cattle herds of the Nuer, quoted an 11-year-old boy as saying "…when the world becomes good again, I will get what I need" (1996, p. 32). Perhaps, with the help of better education, that time is coming.

Ethiopian Education and This Study

This paper has summarized the six main strands of Ethiopian educational history, from ancient times to attempts to see into the future. I find it intriguing to note that each

of the strands offers particular strengths, some of which Western educators think that we have only recently discovered. The ancient tribal traditions, for example, emphasize communalism, mentoring, relevance to everyday life, and the need to include every, treasured child. The Orthodox Church emphasizes cooperative work, individualized progress, life-long learning, and expectations for very high achievement. The Muslim tradition sees education as vital to inculcating a common sense of values, and sees practically everyone as a potential teacher of others. The modern Christian missions mirror the Muslim emphasis on a wide reach in education, where no one is left behind, but extend that vision to include women. The Derg were pioneers in education in local languages, while the current government is attempting to expand education, including the education of teachers, in an environment lacking in resources. Each of these themes finds its echoes in current U.S. education, so that the history of Ethiopian education can be seen not only as a compelling drama of the 'other,' but also a commentary on our own struggles.

That history, though possibly fascinating for many readers in its own right as a drama of the interplay of complex and conflicting cultures, is also vital for deep understanding of the perspectives of the respondents in this study. Since culture involves the whole way of life of a people, including the way that they ascribe meaning to events, an interview asking respondents to reflect carefully about critical events in their lives pushes into the depths of a culture. This situation is not unique to Ethiopians. For example, questions about current educational achievement in Kentucky inevitably draw researchers into issues of race, economic inequality, and family educational expectations, and those questions lead back into the area's deep history: the Civil Rights movement,

segregation, the Civil War, slavery, and eventually back to the experience of immigrating from Africa or Europe. Education students of the University of Louisville, if coming to class from the northwest corner of the campus, commonly walk past a monument to the Confederate soldiers of the Civil War. They then walk through a plaza celebrating the contributions of African-Americans to U.S. culture. Only then can they enter the education building. In the same conflicted way, Ethiopian history is inescapable for Ethiopians, who must negotiate a complex narrative before preparing for their future.

As shown in the Interview Guide (Appendix D), respondents were asked to reflect about their ethnicity, their native language, and their family situation, all of which impacted their educational experience in Ethiopia. They were also asked to reflect on the role of that educational experience in preparing them for their acculturation to their new homeland. An understanding of that background, then, is vital to the study itself.

United States Education

Introduction

This study examined the educational experiences of Ethiopian immigrants to the United States. Since the immigrant experience has been described as "the claims of two different worlds" and a "dilemma of overlapping membership" (Goyol, 2006, p. 9), it is reasonable to examine each of those worlds. Accordingly, this chapter first investigated the Ethiopian side of the experience. The study now mirrors that effort for the United States, but in a sharply abbreviated form. There are three reasons for this paper's comparative lack of depth in considering education in the United States.

First, since this study is conducted through a university in the United States and written in English, it is likely that most readers are somewhat familiar with United States

education. However, many of these readers, even if highly educated, could reasonably be unaware of either Ethiopian history or the cultural diversity of that history, so it is reasonable for the study to provide an expanded summary of the 'History of Education in Ethiopia' included above.

Second, while there is no comprehensive text that serves as an introduction to education in Ethiopia, there are many resources readily available about education in the United States; indeed, practically every college course introducing the foundations of education relies on such texts. This study, then, provides the reader with background about Ethiopian education sufficient to compare with easily accessed resources about American education.

Finally, and most importantly, this study has attempted to ground the reader in an Ethiopian perspective before moving to consider the United States. In some sense, as readers now shift focus from Ethiopia to the United States., it is hoped that they bring with them their "spectacles of Ethiopia" (Clarke, 1986, p. 39, quoting Marcus Garvey) and in a small way mirror the immigrant experience itself.

This section of the study, then, quickly sketches the educational history of the United States, but adds shading and texture only in areas which directly relate to topics that have already been examined in some depth in Ethiopian education.

Troubling Topics

The discussion framed around the three 'troubling topics,' which served well to illuminate issues in Ethiopia, is discontinued for the discussion of education in the United States. Issues concerning the role of women in U.S. society and education remain topics of current controversy in the U.S., of course, but they constitute an entire field of research

by themselves, well beyond the scope of this study. Having identified women's education as a problematic topic in the history of Ethiopian education, the interviews for this study included questions about the role of women in its interviews with immigrants of both sexes. The study does not, however, attempt an in-depth analysis of the issue's current status in the U.S. In contrast, issues concerning the legacy of slavery in the U.S. have now faded as concerns distinct from ethnic identity, which remains a critical facet of the educational situations that Ethiopians must navigate as immigrants. Issues of ethnic identity, including the heritage of slavery, then, are explored as the single troubling topic covered in this literature review about U.S. education.

Summary of U.S. Educational History through Ethiopian Spectacles

Education in the United States, seen through Ethiopian spectacles, is short and simple. Instead of a multi-strand weave of nearly two thousand years, formal education in North America is characterized by two broad patterns only several centuries old.

The first strand of Ethiopia's education, the informal, deeply traditional education embedded in the lives of native people groups, has virtually disappeared in the United States. Native American cultures were often completely obliterated, sometimes through intentional government policies but mostly through the (usually) accidental introduction of European diseases. Of the estimated 300 distinct languages that existed in North America in pre-colonial times, "only about 40 of the languages [are currently] spoken by people of all ages, including children" (Fixico, 2011, p. 180). There are remnant educational efforts in native languages, primarily in Alaska and the desert southwest, but these are examples of a Western curriculum taught in local languages, not traditional

education, which tended to be strikingly similar to traditional village education in Ethiopia.

Rather than three separate strands of religious influence, reflecting Ethiopia's Orthodox, Muslim, and modern missionary traditions, the United States has, from the beginning of formal education in the Northeast up until the current generation, seen overwhelmingly a single religious tradition: Christianity. The interplay between Christian parochial instruction and public schooling, then, is the first of the broad, defining patterns of U.S. educational history. European education started on this continent as part of the religious world. "Harvard, William and Mary, and Yale had been founded in the 1600s to train ministers" (Willner, Peters, Resnick, and Schneider, 2010). Paul Peterson agrees that education started in this country as "faith-based" (2010, p. 21), including institutions like Harvard, but during Horace Mann's era of educational expansion, the nation-building reformers "made elementary schooling universal, compulsory, and free of sectarian influence" (Peterson, p. 13).

The United States has had no national experience similar to the regime of the Derg, which presented an abrupt and violent break with previous educational practices. Instead, the U.S. has realized a gradual modernizing of education over the past two centuries, similar to Ethiopia's much-compressed history of modernization since the fall of the Derg only two decades ago. This long modernization presents the second broad pattern of U.S. educational history: an increasingly centralized educational effort. "The control of education has steadily shifted away from family and community toward more centralized institutions under the control of a professional class" (Peterson, 2010, p. 16).

The History of Education in the United States

As a framework for summarizing the history of education in the United States, this study used "Introduction to the Foundations of American Education," an example of the introductory college texts mentioned above. As a way of jump-starting reflection on recent progress, though, this chosen source (Johnson, Collins, Dupuis, & Johansen) was published in 1969. By this somewhat eccentric choice, this study can dramatically highlight the differences between the progress that was made during the first four centuries of U.S. education and the changes in perspective that have occurred during the last four decades, especially in the area of ethnic identity. This history of education, then, starting with the next paragraph, repeats the section headings used by Johnson et al. for the major periods of U.S. educational history.

Antecedents to American Education

Johnson et al. (1969) begin their description of the history of U.S. education by identifying its historical roots. In their "Chronology of Important Dates in the History of Education", the first three entries are: (1) "About 4000 B. C.—Written language developed, (2) 2000—First schools, and (3) 1200—Trojan War" (p. 243). Johnson et al. mention the possibility of schools in ancient Sumer and China, but then maintain "that the ingredients necessary to produce a society sufficiently advanced to spawn a real concern for education came together" first in ancient Greece, during the Age of Pericles about 500 B.C.E. (p. 201). After contrasting Sparta and Athens, they mention how Rome borrowed and extended Greek education. They then jump 1300 years to 800 CE, where they explain how Alcuin, Charlemagne's selected chief educator, proclaimed that "care shall be had for the study of letters that those to whom God has given the ability to learn

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may receive instruction" (p. 209). They mention Erasmus, who said, "We learn with great willingness from those whom we love" (p. 211), and Luther, who suggested that "an equal sum" (p. 213) be spent for education as for defense, and conclude with Rousseau admonishing "Do not treat the child to discourses which he cannot understand" (p. 216). Their theme of steady progress is securely established: education began in Greece, and through improvements and extensions in Rome, the Middle Ages, and the Reformation, developed to the point of being introduced to the United States.

Colonial Education (1607-1787)

Johnson et al. (1969) state that "The first permanent European settlements in North America included Jamestown (1607); Plymouth (1620); Massachusetts Bay (1630) Maryland (1632); Connecticut (1635); and Providence Plantations (1636)" (p. 220). They then describe the growing establishment of education, including the gradual involvement of government: in 1642 the General Court of Massachusetts passed a law *encouraging* parents to do a better job of educating their children (p. 221), and then followed up in 1647 *requiring* that towns of over fifty households "shall forthw appoint one w in their townes to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write & rede" (p. 222). "Harvard was the first colonial college, established in 1636 for the purpose of preparing ministers" (p. 224).

Early National Expansion (1787-1820)

Johnston et al. (1969) continue their narrative by explaining that "after winning independence from England, the United States was too busy solving political problems to devote much attention to education" (p. 224). They outline the use of the monitorial system, introduced in 1818, which "represented mass production in education" (p. 226)

and explains that a single teacher, with the help of student 'monitors' (older students acting as mentors for younger pupils), could be "in charge of as many as eight hundred students" (p. 226).

Educational Awakening (1820-1860)

The recital of progress then picks up pace in the account of Johnston et al. (1969). Their narrative includes the establishment of the first American high school in Boston in 1821 (p. 228) and the first kindergarten in Watertown, Wisconsin, in 1855 (p. 232). They mention the establishment and revamping of public school systems in various states, the beginnings of teacher training, and the establishment of the first state board of education, in Massachusetts under the leadership of Horace Mann (p. 230).

Educational Expansion (1860-1900)

Johnson et al. (1969) report on the introduction of "Pestalozzianism" and "Herbartianism" as influential developments, where "the method of teaching became as important as the subject matter which was to be taught" (p. 234). In only two sentences they summarize "the Civil War as having "temporarily retarded educational development" because in the south, it "destroyed many schools but also . . . destroyed the people's interest in education" (p.235). Land grant colleges are mentioned, as well as debates about the legality of financing high schools through tax levies. The establishment of the first "authentic graduate school in the United States" (p. 236)—John Hopkins University—in 1876 is mentioned, as well as the beginning of educational psychology as a field of research.

Educational Refinement (1900-[1969])

Johnson et al. (1969) list two twentieth century U.S. educational developments: "the phenomenal growth of enrollment in schools at all levels" and "a refining of our educational system" (p. 238). The growth in enrollment is explained by the passing of compulsory attendance laws by all states by 1918 (p. 238). The most-thoroughly explored 'refinement' of education is John Dewey's progressivism, including the need to have education related to the student's life, the need for careful planning, and the importance of social adjustment for students (p. 240). Experimental programs and educational innovation are mentioned, as is the rise of educational testing, along with Sputnik as a "catalyst for increased attention and action" (p. 361). There is a single paragraph about Brown vs Board of Education, which is presented as the 1954 reversal of a Supreme Court decision of 1849, along with other paragraphs about the G. I. Bill of Rights, the National Defense Education Act, and the establishment of UNESCO in 1945 (p. 241-242). In a separate section titled "The School and Social Problems," there is a six-page discussion of integration, most of which focuses somewhat abstractly on the problem of "amalgamating the existing groups into social harmony" (p. 37). The overall story of American education is one of sweeping progress, where "emphases are placed on the importance of education for the survival of democracy" (p. 1).

Reflections on the 1969 Text

From the vantage point of two generations later, it seems astonishing that a 440-page text written in 1969 to introduce students to education in the United States would have such immense gaps. Johnson et al. mention Jamestown, but not the preceding century-long presence of Spanish-language culture—including schools—in the

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Southwest. Their 'educational' timeline lists the Trojan War and Alcuin, but not Martin Luther King, Jr. The text discusses ancient Sparta more than immigration, which is disposed of in a single paragraph as just one of the factors of the automation-unemployment problem, "since most of these laborers must join the skilled and unskilled labor force" (p. 60). Ethiopia's three troubling topics are simply invisible, and there is no discussion concerning the education of women or girls. According to the authors, "In the classroom, the child enters a group comprised of his age-mates in which, except for differences by sex, there is initially no formal basis for differentiation of status. Differentiation develops gradually according to achievement" (p. 6). Gender, then, is at least recognized, but race and ethnicity are not. There is no discussion of slavery in any form, neither the historical slavery that existed for more than two centuries during the time that this history claims to examine, or modern versions of slave-like conditions of worker exploitation.

The Johnson history book serves as a warning for this study, and for others like it which aspire to work outside a single cultural perspective. The authors of the 1969 text reveal themselves to be extremely limited by their own cultural bias. For example, they categorize cultures on a linear developmental scale, referring to "simple cultures" and the difficulty of acculturating to a "more complex culture" (p. 5). The authors note that the "great tidal wave of modern technology" threatens traditional cultures around the globe, and then comment, "It is not necessarily a bad thing for those old cultural patterns to be torn asunder . . ." (p. 106). Ultimately, the authors are probably generally accurate when they observe that "most often, schools reflect their societies" (p. 1), but they seem to be reflecting only one small aspect of education in the late 1960s. Perhaps this study might

contribute in a small way toward an appreciation of the need to see our current

educational practices from different perspectives, such as those of Ethiopian immigrants.

An Ethiopian reader might be touched by two particular passages in the era

labeled "Early National Expansion" above. First, Johnson's account might lend some

perspective to the overwhelming challenges that Ethiopia faces today; the Ethiopian

reader might be comforted to think that the U.S. was also, at one time in its history, too

preoccupied with "problems to devote much attention to education" (Johnson et al., 1969,

p. 224). Second, an Ethiopian might be intrigued to read about the monitorial system, and

wonder about its possible application to the roughly congruent current situation in

Ethiopia. An educated Ethiopian would immediately notice the similarities between the

monitorial system in the U.S. and both the *kine* schools of the Orthodox Church and the

mentoring systems of the early mission schools.

Johnson et al.'s view of this long, triumphal sweep of education tends to ignore

the difficulties and the conflicts. There were, in fact, many instances of progress, but

these advances did not come without vigorous debate. For example, in 1937, Katharine

Dupre Lumpkin and Dorothy Wolff Douglas published a book decrying the use of child

laborers in the U.S. The National Industrial Conference Board, arguing against passage of

laws limiting child labor, had asserted that "Participation in the economic life of their

environment before adult age is reached is desirable and necessary for complete

education and maturity . . ., as well as for the promotion of good citizenship" (Lumpkin

& Douglas, 1937, p. 286). Lumpkin and Douglas replied, "There should be no

equivocation about why children are employed. Children are employed with a view to

reducing costs and increasing the profit margin for business" (p. 182). They also wryly

observed, "If wage earning were so essential to the education of American's children, then of course it should not be denied to children of the privileged classes as well" (Lumpkin & Douglas, p. 286). Without impassioned voices such as these, the steady progress depicted by Johnson et al. would never have occurred.

There are, of course, alternative perspectives on American history, with competing visions of how to divide the flow of the story into manageable chapters. The period from the Civil War to the dawn of the twentieth century, for example, is treated by Johnson et al. as a single movement called 'Educational Expansion.' The authors of the American history section of the SAT test, however, divide the same period into five chapters: 1) The Civil War, 2) Reconstruction and Its Aftermath, 3) The Closing of the Frontier, 4) Industry, Big Business, and Labor Unions, and 5) Society and Culture in the Gilded Age (Willner et al., 2010). And where Johnson et al. treat everything from 1900 to 1969 as a single chapter, Willner et al. examine the same time period in a total of 13 chapters.

In addition to treating the educational history of the United States in greater or lesser detail, there are also alternative ways of discerning patterns. Instead of Johnson et al.'s long sweep of improvement, for instance, others have seen an oscillation between periods of advance and periods of retreat, or at least consolidation. As early as 1841, Ralph Waldo Emerson identified this pattern of 'give and take' as part of American history: "'Innovation presses ever forward; Conservatism holds ever back. We are reformers spring and summer, in autumn and winter we stand by the old; reformers in the morning, conservers at night'" (quoted in Schlesinger, 1986, p. 23). Arthur Schlesinger saw this dialectic as "the swing between conservatism and liberalism, between periods of

concern for the rights of the few and periods of concern for the wrongs of the many"

(Schlesinger, 1986, p. 24). Table 1, below, illustrates Schlesinger's theory, with his

descriptive words used as labels:

Liberal "concern for the wrongs of the many"	Conservative "concern for the rights of the few"
1776-1788—"creating a government"	1788-1800—"reaction against that government"
1800-1812—"a period of greater energy"	1812-1829—"Jeffersonian retreat"
1829-1841--"democratizing age of Jackson"	1841-1861—"increasing domination of the government by slaveholders"
1861-1869—"abolition of slavery"	1869-1901—"conservative rule"
1901-1919—"the Progressive era"	1919-1931—"The Republican restoration"
1931-1947—"the New Deal era."	
Table 1: Schlesinger's Oscillations in American History	

Schlesinger explains that his father, in discussing the pattern illustrated by Table 1,

> . . . rejected the image of the pendulum because it implied oscillation between two
> fixed points. The cycle, he pointed out, did not return the nation to the status quo
> ante. Liberal reforms usually survived after conservatives regained power. The
> appropriate image, my father said, was the spiral, in which the alternation
> proceeded at successively higher levels and allowed for the accumulation of
> change. (Schlesinger, 1986, p. 24).

It should be pointed out that whether this dialogue is seen as a pendulum or an

oscillation in spiral form, it is very irregular. The 'liberal' periods vary between eight and

22 years, while the 'conservative' periods vary between 12 and 32. It is interesting to

note that the shortest 'liberal' period, the eight years of the Civil War and its immediate

aftermath, was violent and costly to the nation, both in lives and fortunes lost. Perhaps it

makes sense, then, that this shortest 'liberal' period was followed by the longest

'conservative' period, 32 years of adjustment to the changes wrought so quickly. One strength of Schlesinger's view is the acknowledgement that challenges can be costly to overcome.

There were also other voices, contemporaries of Johnson et al., who spoke more clearly about the difficulties yet to be surmounted. President Lyndon Baines Johnson wrote "for all our progress, we still have enormous problems in education: stubborn, lingering, unyielding problems" (Johnson, 1968, p. 8). LBJ went on to declare a "fifth human freedom: freedom from ignorance" (Johnson, p. 8). Ralph W. Tyler, a respected curriculum expert, agreed that "the gap between our aspirations and our achievements is wide" (1968, p. 31). Tyler also reflected on the disparities in the United States. "Walk through the streets of almost any American community," he wrote, "and you will find wide variations in the environmental conditions as they relate to the goals of quality education" (p. 31). Robert Slaughter observed, "Historically schools have had the reputations of being very slow to adapt and put innovations to use" (1968, p. 112), and advised that "the process must be accelerated" (Slaughter, p. 111). Harold Gores added, "There is a commitment, new in degree if not in kind, to education as an instrument of social purpose and a vehicle of social change" (Gores, 1968, p. 127). This study now briefly examines the last 40 years to identify some of those social changes to which education has contributed.

Education in the United States since 1969

Introduction to the Last Forty Years

Arthur Schlesinger points out that the pace of change is accelerating, especially in the United States. "Science and technology revolutionize our lives, but memory,

tradition, and myth frame our response" (Schlesinger, 1986, p. xii). Wearing Ethiopian

spectacles while reading his observations makes it possible to take his remarks and apply

them not only to the United States, but to the immigration experience itself. This shift in

the pace of change, Schlesinger states,

> has profoundly altered inner perceptions and expectations. It has placed
> traditional roles and institutions under severe and incomprehensible strain. It has
> cast off reference points and rituals that had stabilized and sanctified life for
> generations. It has left the experience of elders useless to the tribulations of the
> young. (Schlesinger, 1986, p. xi)

This onrushing wave of change has not only reshaped the landscape of the United

States, but it has also reshaped American education. Peterson observes,

> In the late 1950s, the American educational system was the envy of the world.
> Though it had many warts—southern schools were racially segregated,
> disabled students were excluded, and school facilities were often hopelessly
> inadequate—the nation's secondary schools could boast a higher graduation
> rate than that of any other major industrial country." (Peterson, 2010, p. 9)

> Today, elementary and secondary schools in the United States no longer
> appear exceptional. In recent decades, other countries have been encouraging
> their young people to remain in school for ever-longer periods of time, but
> U.S. graduation rates have remained constant. Once the world leader, the
> United States now stands merely at the average for the industrialized world.
> (Peterson, 2010, p. 10)

Peterson's unflattering descriptions of United States schools are probably a

reasonable summary of the position of U.S. education in the world today. With this sober

assessment in mind, this study now looks at issues of ethnic identity that continue to

plague U.S. education as well as the society beyond the school doors. Though the issues

surrounding Native Americans still linger on the periphery of American culture, there are

two main areas where ethnic identity issues are central to current U.S. education. Those

two conflicted areas concern African-Americans and recent immigrants, and both of these

areas impact immigrants from Africa.

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Prejudice against African-Americans

Prejudice, broadly defined as "the acceptance of negative stereotypes" (Massey, 2008, p.2), continues as part of the American heritage, and race, defined as "a social construction, a function of how particular racial groups are valued or devalued by society" (Anderson, 2009, p. 202-3), remains a difficult and enduring problem in the United States. "Of the former European colonies, the United States and South Africa have perhaps the deepest and most intransigent legacy of institutionalized racism and apartheid" (Banks, 2006, p. xiv). This prejudice affects education, and "the stories of Black people and their educational experiences are deeply etched by inequality, adversity, and struggle" (Ball, 2006, p.22).

It is beyond the scope of this paper to document in detail the past four centuries of the systematic oppression of African Americans, but it is important to note, unlike Johnson et al., that the United States "was plagued at its inception with racism [and] discriminatory practices" (Anderson, 2009, p. 3). As early as 1712, a missionary's school in New York City "was closed for fear that education would motivate Blacks to seek freedom" (Anderson, p. 7). Thomas Jefferson proposed that Virginia's public school system should "exclude children of color (free or enslaved)" (Anderson, p. 29), thus limiting the educational future of some of his own descendants. Throughout the rise of the "antislavery movement, and its subsequent backlash, violent opposition to the education of people of African descent emerged" (Anderson, p. 28), and opposition to African Americans and their education continued for decades after the Civil War, in both the South and the North. The "yawning gap between the noble words of America's

founding documents and the reality of injustice and segregation" (Massey, 2008, p. 11) continued.

The Supreme Court decision Brown vs. Board of Education in 1954 opened the way for modern efforts to desegregate schools. "The ultimate end was not simply racially integrated schools but an integrated society" (Anderson, 2009, p. 173), but schools were chosen as the way to slowly begin overcoming the divisions in society between black and white.

Following the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s, which culminated in the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964, there was progress in the integration of American society. This progress was not instantaneous, though, and continued to entail confrontation, violence, and sacrifice. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. not only led a movement for equality for African Americans, but also served as an example for other minority groups before he was assassinated in 1968. "Rights talk spread from African Americans to other ethnic groups, as well as to the disabled . . ." (Peterson, 2010, p. 52), but "those rights did not produce better schools or equal educational outcomes" (Peterson, p. 16). Peterson goes on to observe:

> The movement King led, though triggered by a decision that outlawed segregation of students, had less of an impact on the racial composition of classrooms than on that of workplaces, restaurants, hotels, legislatures, sports arenas, and places of public entertainment. Substantial integration took place nearly everywhere except within the schools. Within schoolhouses, whites moved out when blacks moved in. (p. 53)

King's legacy has not yet proven as far-reaching as African Americans, or as progressives of the 1960s, had hoped. Peterson comments that "after 1972, hardly any additional desegregation occurred" (p. 61), and in many ways the non-white population is still "regarded as expendable" (Ball, 2006, p. xxv).

This widespread, systematic discrimination cannot help but affect education. "Even today, in practice, students attending predominately Black schools rarely receive educational appropriations, facilities, or curricular emphasis equal to those of most white schools" (Ball, 2006, p. 22). "Inequalities continue to exist in the form of racially unequal funding of schools, overcrowded classrooms, dilapidated buildings, inadequate facilities, unengaging instructional policies and practices, and underqualified teachers" (Ball, p. 20). Not surprisingly, the performance gap between white and African American students continues. Writing in 2002, John Chubb and Tom Loveless observed that the difference in achievement between white and black students "is large and persistent" (Chubb and Loveless, 2002, p.1). Charles Clotfelter, writing in 2004 agrees that since the Brown vs. Board of Education in 1954, "the research suggests no effect on mathematics achievement for blacks and some modest positive effect on reading for blacks" (Clotfelter, 2004, p. 187). The legacy of society's discrimination produces poor schooling, and in a circular dynamic, the poor schooling also disrupts society. "In this country fourth-grade reading scores are used to project the number of prisons that should be constructed in preparation for those children's eighteenth birthdays" (Hurley, 2009, p. 95-6).

One sign of progress in the "long and sordid history of intolerance and organized discrimination" (Massey, 2008, p. 11) in the United States is that discrimination against African Americans is now, at least in most circles, no longer openly acceptable. George Wallace, for example, after losing the election for governor of Alabama in 1958 to a more outspoken anti-black opponent, promised that he would "never be out-niggered again" (Carter, 1996, p. 122). He became publicly and blatantly racist, and consequently

successful in state-wide politics. Later in his career, though, moving toward solidifying a national base for the presidential campaign of 1968, he moved "away from the narrowly racial rhetoric of his [successful] 1962 gubernatorial campaign and adopted a kind of 'soft-porn' racism in which fear and hatred could be mobilized without mentioning race itself" (Carter, p. 4). He accomplished this by re-framing old arguments. Wallace was no longer openly against integration of schools; he was for 'freedom of choice,' and was able to shape the entire context of the 1968 election. In the last months of the campaign, Richard Nixon, fearing that the rise in Wallace's popularity outside the South would cost him the presidency, "reiterated his opposition to 'forced busing' and his support for freedom of choice plans" (Carter, p. 33). "Of course, everyone knew that freedom of choice plans minimized comprehensive desegregation" (Carter, p. 32). Nixon narrowly won the election, but Wallace took 20% of the popular vote, demonstrating that there was a wide-spread population of Americans who were willing to block desegregation efforts. This 'soft-porn' approach, couched in the language of local rights instead of prejudice, is still with us today. Even Newt Gingrich, who campaigned for the 2012 presidential election, "is not above mobilizing the old fears" (Carter, p. 122).

"Past eras of violent confrontations remain alive in human consciousness and sustain feelings of anger and hate" (Spring, 2004, p. 9). As a result of this long and disturbing history, African Americans are still faced with serious and complicated issues of identity. "The fundamental question for people of African ancestry is, 'To be or not to be African?'" (Anderson, 2009, p. 81) W. E. B. Dubois, describing this deep question of identity, explained, "One ever feels his twoness, an American; Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body. . ." (Spring,

2004, p. 44). Questions of identity still seem as thorny as they were under slavery.

Thomas Jefferson's offspring by his slave Sally Hemings, for example, were legally 'white' under Virginia's laws current at the time. Sally had a white grandfather and father, making her only one-fourth 'black'. She was still legally categorized as 'black', but her six children by Jefferson, only one-eighth 'black', were legally 'white' under the accepted theory of "the third cross clears the blood" (Kukla, 2007, p. 137). Sally's children remained slaves, though, since freedom "depends on the condition of the mother" (Kukla, p. 137). Issues of race in America today seem equally entangled.

Immigrants from Africa, then, enter a complex, conflicted context, one where discrimination against them because of their skin color is part of their experience and their identity.

Prejudice Against Immigrants

In spite of Peterson's somber view of U.S. education relative to the rest of the developed world, which might lead one to suspect that immigration to such an 'average' setting might be less than desirable, immigration to the United States has been enormous over the past several decades. As pointed out in Chapter One, the U.S. has recently experienced phenomenal growth in immigration, so that today one in five Americans has "recent roots in other countries" (Massey, 2008, p.2). Recent decades, then, have continued the centuries-long trend where "our country was viewed as the golden nugget of opportunity, and millions traded their livelihoods, families, homes and sometimes their lives trying to 'become an American'" (Mason & Brackman, 2009, p. 55).

Immigration on today's scale makes the presence of immigrants unavoidable in U.S. education in most communities in the nation. In fact, "American classrooms are

experiencing the largest influx of immigrant students since the beginning of the twentieth century" (Banks, 2006, p. xi), with some communities showing increases in immigrants "of several hundred percent from 1990 to 2000" Massey, 2008, p. 179). "Forty percent of the students enrolled in the nation's schools in 2001 were students of color" (Ball, 2006, p. xi), and the present percentage is certainly higher.

In education, one of the central debates surrounding immigrants is the relation between teaching the host culture and affirming the immigrant's culture. For some of those debaters, including those unfortunate heirs to the United States' long history of racial prejudice, education is about "knowing the dominant culture" (Spring, 2004, p. 27). The anti-immigrant side of the debate can uphold the goal of education as the assimilation of immigrants as quickly as possible, so that "there will be national unity and all groups will have economic opportunity" (Spring, p. 27). Proponents of this stance, who do not overtly talk about race, ultimately would like to see an end to cultural differences. Even if this argument is accepted, and cultural differences are seen not as assets that enrich a culture but as potential agents of division, "teaching the dominant culture does not directly address the problem of the cultural adjustment of immigrants" (Spring, p. 35).

One of the areas where conflict breaks out, again without ever mentioning the word 'race,' is over the supposed challenge that immigrants give to the status of the English language. English, because of the dominance of the United States over the past century, "continues to occupy the place of privilege—it being the language of the ruling system, government, education, business and trade, and diplomacy" (Ordóñez, 2003). English is by far the most widely-used language on the planet. Even back in 1968, C. K.

Ogden could assert that "nearly a quarter of the human race already knows some English . . ." (p. 9) and that was before the decades of current expansion through the use of modern media such as the internet. English is under no threat; it actually threatens many minority languages of the world. It also poses a profound challenge to immigrants, since learning English is "one of the most significant dimensions of the acculturation process" (Iancu, 2009, p. 52). Yet "immigrants' perceived linguistic challenges to English as the national language constitute an important component of their "symbolic threat" (Massey, 2008, p. 152) to the nostalgia of some Americans for a less inclusive past. In reality, this discrimination against other languages has been a part of the United States character for a long time. For example, in the last half of the nineteenth century many states outlawed the use of any language except English in public schools, and some states tried to go even further than that. "It took a U.S. Supreme Court decision to keep Nebraska from banning bilingual instruction from private schools" (Peterson, 2010, p. 97) in the xenophobic period during World War I.

Like the prejudice against African Americans described above, discrimination against languages other than English is less open now than it used to be. A Ku Klux Klan leader in 1925 could publicly state, "Somehow these mongrel hordes must be Americanized; failing that, the only remedy is deportation" (Gandara & Hopkins, 2010, p. 24). Today, the argument is more likely to be couched in gentler terms, such as "home languages should be kept at home" (Gandara & Hopkins, p. 7). In 2006, President George W. Bush mused, "One of the things that's very important is, when we debate this issue, that we not lose our national soul" (Gandara & Hopkins, p. 30). Bush went on to explain, "I think people who want to be a citizen *[sic]* of this country ought to learn English, and

they ought to sing the national anthem in English" (Gandara & Hopkins, p. 30). Other

opponents of change can be more outspoken, proclaiming that "the only ones who don't

think English should be the official language are liberal activists trying to recast America

in their own image" (Blackwell, 2009, p. 66). Some simply fail to see learning a new

language as a difficulty: "Most immigrant children in the United States and through the

world are in mainstream classrooms, and most of them seem to swim, not sink" (Rossell,

2009, p. 84).

Educationally, if the society wants to achieve better results than simply having the

majority 'seeming to swim,' there is a clear consensus on the role of teaching in a

person's native language. "We can say with confidence that teaching English learners to

read in their home language . . . boosts their reading achievement in the second language"

(Gandara & Hopkins, 2010, p. 143). Moreover, while most state programs provide for a

maximum of three years of language support for immigrants, and some for as little as a

single year, "it can take English learners from three to five years to acquire oral language

proficiency and four to seven years to acquire academic language" (Gandara & Hopkins,

p. 150-1). Our efforts as a nation clearly fall short of maximizing the potential of new

immigrants. "Whether in a period of relative beneficence regarding English learners . . .

or in more ungenerous times, we have never served the students who are not native

English speakers well" (Gandara & Hopkins, p.31).

Inter-relationship between African Americans and Immigrants

Because of the twin histories of race and immigration in America, both of them

complex and controversial, immigrants from Africa enter a pre-existing and conflicted

situation. As people with dark skins, they are often seen as African Americans and

lumped together with African Americans in such statistics as "forty percent of the students enrolled in the nation's schools in 2001 were students of color" (Ball, 2006, p. xi). It is true that immigrants share some qualities with African Americans, most notably "dispossession" (Ball, p. xix). Like many African Americans, especially during the great migration of the twentieth century from the rural South to the urban North, immigrant families feature histories "of spatial dislocation . . . [which] generate defensiveness, fear, and barriers to learning" (Ball, p. xix).

There are also differences between the two communities. Not only do immigrants bring their own cultures and languages with them, but they bring different expectations. The perspective of African Americans contains "a level of hostility toward the institutions which subjugated them, while immigrants enter the United States with the hope that these institutions will provide them with improved living conditions" (Spring, 2004, p. 38).

There also exist dynamics of competition between the two groups. "Given the legacy of Jim Crow and the imperfect realization of civil rights after the 1960s, African Americans often felt more threatened than whites and generally expressed greater animosity toward the new immigrants" (Massey, 2008, p. 345). Prejudice against newcomers is also related to the class of the native-born Americans. Americans employed at a professional level tend to express a welcoming tolerance for newcomers, while working class instead tended to exhibit hostility toward their new neighbors. Immigrants then, as an added challenge to their already difficult transition to a new culture, often initially live in poorer neighborhoods where they find themselves

surrounded by working class African Americans, members of the two groups most hostile to them.

Immigrants are also exposed to the African American search for identity. For some African Americans, "African identity transcends both temporal and geographic location" (Anderson, 2009, p. 79), so immigrants are expected to identify with African Americans in an "experiential and cultural connectivity with others of the African Diaspora" (Anderson, p. 79). But with radical differences in culture and language from African Americans, new immigrants must balance this identity question with their newfound identity as Americans. Just as critical multiculturalists "resist politics of identity founded solely on the authority of shared history" (Anderson, p. 81), so immigrants can resist, or at least attempt to resist, politics of identity founded solely on skin color. This uncertainty offers a line of inquiry for some future study.

Acculturation

Immigrants and Acculturation

Having now completed an extensive exploration of Ethiopian education, along with a parallel but comparatively cursory survey of U.S. education, this study now examines the critical point where these two profoundly different educational cultures meet: in the experience of immigrants from Ethiopia as they acculturate to their new homeland. The immigrants, whether they are wealthy, comparatively well-educated, and well-connected with the international community, or poor, poorly-educated, and poorly-connected, have one thing in common: they experience the process of acculturation as they confront, and are confronted by, an unfamiliar culture. They run among thorns.

Acculturation, "the adaptation processes and cultural changes of minority groups as they experience firsthand contact with a dominant culture" (Goyol, 2006, p. 2), is not a smooth transition. Instead, it tends to be "a difficult, reactive and conflicting process" (Goyol, p. 2). Since immigrants "pull up their roots for a new land for two of the elemental human instincts, hope or fear, and in some cases, both" (Taylor & Whittaker, 2003, p.3), it is an experience fraught with emotion.

The immigrant experience continues to be stressful, just as it was for the ancestors of present-day Americans of European descent. Immigrants struggle to adapt to the many changes in their lives. For someone who has never experienced adapting to a new culture, it's hard to imagine how profoundly cultures can differ. Cultural differences go far deeper than simple questions of clothing, food, or domesticated animals, such as a sixth grade social studies unit might explore. This is especially true for two cultures such as Ethiopia and the United States, which have very little shared history. Immigrants' "lives were first attuned to a different culture " (Igoa, 1995, p.3). They "have been uprooted from their own culture" (Igoa, p. 9), and with this experience of being transplanted to new soil comes trauma and grief. "You cannot imagine how hard it is to become accustomed to things here," wrote Jette Bruns, an immigrant from Germany to the U.S. in 1836. "The customs, the morals, the language, people without feeling, everything is foreign and cold" (Iancu, 2009, p. 109). Gro Svendson, an immigrant from Norway in 1862, wrote, "My love for my native land is too deep and too sacred. I could never prefer any other country to my own" (Iancu, p. 74). Though their feelings have been mirrored in literally millions of American lives, Jette and Gro were both from northern Europe, separated only by language and culture from their contemporaries. How much different, how much harder it

must be to come to the United States as a dark-skinned outsider from Ethiopia, entering a culture already deeply conflicted about racial relations! Immigrants from Ethiopia are not just 'torn asunder' into two halves, like Dubois (quoted above, p. 138), but shredded, since they must negotiate an even more complex transition.

Acculturation takes place on both individual and group levels. For an individual, basic challenges can take place to personal identity, including deeply-held beliefs and values. Immigrants often experience anxiety or depression. At the group level, immigrants must adapt to changes in their social, economic, and political identities, and this adaptation largely depends on factors outside the immigrants' control, such as how they are welcomed into their new community. Even when race and radical cultural differences are not factors, differences can still exist simply because of the political climate of the moment. Two groups of immigrants from Latin America provide a clear example. Cubans, fleeing to the United States following Castro's rise to power and the installation of a communist government, were usually welcomed sympathetically and were able to duplicate their standard of living and maintain their community structure in their new nation. On the other hand, Nicaraguans, rejected as asylum seekers and virtually ignored by the mainstream media because they were not 'poster children' of the Cold War, were generally unable to maintain their professions and standards of living once they reached the United States (McBrien, 2005).

The individual and group levels of acculturation, of course, affect each other. A strong sense of individual identity feeds the ability to learn the lessons of the new culture and to attain economic security, while economic and political success feed the ability to maintain a sense of individual identity and well-being (Stein, 1979).

Theories of Acculturation

There is no consensus about a comprehensive theory of acculturation, or even about what outcome from the acculturation process is most desirable. Some writers believe that accommodation, sometimes called biculturalism or multiculturalism, is desirable, while others assert that true biculturalism is impossible or even psychologically unhealthy. Rudmin (2003) points out that there is very little empirical evidence for either case, although the argument dates back to at least 1918.

Berry (1980) developed a formal taxonomy of acculturation and described four patterns: assimilation (embracing the new culture and rejecting the old), separation (rejecting the new culture and embracing—and attempting to recreate—the old), marginalization (rejecting both cultures), and integration (embracing features of both cultures). Rudmin (2003) also criticized this theory as lacking supporting evidence.

A more recent—and more nuanced—theory is Segmented Assimilation, introduced by Portes and Zhou in 1993. The first of its three patterns is individual upward mobility and assimilation into the dominant culture. Examples include many immigrants from Europe to the United States, including Irish immigrants in the early 1900s (McBrien, 2005). This pattern corresponds to Berry's category of assimilation.

The second pattern of Segmented Assimilation is upward mobility with ethnic solidarity, where immigrants maintain their original culture while still succeeding in the dominant economic and political system of their new homeland. Some relatively recent Cuban and Vietnamese immigrants fit this pattern, where an individual is competent in both the minority and the dominant cultures and is empowered to move comfortably

between them, in or out of 'Little Cuba' or 'Little Vietnam.' This category corresponds to Berry's 'integration' or to the 'accommodation' or 'biculturalism' of other authors.

The third pattern of Segmented Assimilation, though, represents a new contribution to the discussion. This third pattern is downward mobility and assimilation into poverty and the underclass rather than the middle class. This is the mirror image of the first pattern, another form of assimilation, but this time not to the dominant culture of the middle class, but to the oppositional culture of the perennially poor. Portes and Zhou term these two types of assimilation 'additive' (the upwardly mobile pattern) and 'subtractive' (the downwardly mobile). Subtractive assimilation, according to Portes and Zhou, is the fate of many non-European immigrants who, unlike the Norwegian immigrant quoted above, cannot blend into the dominant society. They therefore find it much harder to claim a productive niche in the economy (Sekhon, 2008).

This study sees Segmented Assimilation as a useful reminder that immigrants may assimilate into any of various subsets of American culture, including those groups that are intentionally oppositional to the dominant culture. On the other hand, this study does not see acculturation as a simple yes or no--additive or subtractive--process. Residents of a traditional, big-city 'Chinatown,' for example, might exhibit all three of Segmented Assimilation's categories. A single family, or even a single individual, might display additive assimilation in their intense capitalism and political activism on behalf of the ethnic community, exhibit accommodation in their ability to maintain their traditional language and culture while still competently using English with the dominant community of their host country, and exhibit subtractive assimilation in oppositional activities such as smuggling or organized crime. Clearly, the process of acculturation is more complex

than a simple series of pigeon-holes and can proceed differently in different spheres of activity.

The Differentiated Multidimensional Model of Acculturation

In considering acculturation, then, this study uses the Differentiated Multidimensional Model of Acculturation, as proposed by Birman & Trickett (2001). Birman & Trickett, who developed this model in a series of studies of Jewish immigrants from Russia to the United States, see acculturation not as a simple, pass/fail test of adaptation to a new set of cultural demands. They see acculturation as multidimensional, that is, encompassing different spheres of activity, and as differentiated, that is, capable of proceeding at different rates in those different spheres. In this view, acculturation depends on context and can develop differently in different domains of life as immigrants balance the competing demands of the old and new cultures in family and peer relationships, school and work performance, and psychological adaptation.

Language Competence

The first dimension of the Differentiated Multidimensional Model of Acculturation, language competence, concerns the ability to communicate. This ability to communicate includes not only competence in a given language, whether the immigrant's first language or the language of the host country, but also the ability to choose which language to use as a given situation demands. Birman and Trickett (2001) found that for Russian Jewish immigrants, adolescents gained competence in English while losing competence in Russian, to the point that within four or five years of arrival, English replaced Russian as their most fluent language. In the worst case, immigrant children might actually lose fluency in their native language before they achieve fluency in

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English. This unfortunate outcome subjects them to a constant struggle to communicate in any setting (Olsen, 2000). Adults in the Birman & Trickett study, in contrast to adolescents, maintained their fluency in Russian, but were slower to become fluent in English. One of the factors that Birman & Trickett discuss is the possibility that the adolescents, coming from well-educated families, were encouraged to learn English as a means toward rapid acculturation. Studies of immigrants from other cultures, including Southeast Asians (Nicassio, 1983), and Eastern Europeans (Pryor, 2001), strongly suggest that proficiency in the language of the host country is vital to acculturation, though complete proficiency can typically take up to five years to achieve (Cummins, 1992). McBrien (2005) agrees with that time frame, and observes that developing language competence in immigrants depends, therefore, on a substantial commitment of resources on the part of the community, much more than is typically afforded now for either students or adults. Before proficiency is reached, immigrants often find themselves subjected to teasing or ridicule, and they may become uncommunicative as a result (Olsen, 2000). Language acquisition is extremely important, and actually is a key to the other two dimensions of acculturation. Bilingual students, those who have successfully reached accommodation in the language dimension, "have the highest test scores, lowest levels of depression, highest self-esteem, and highest education and career goals" (Sekhon, 2008, p. 55). The importance of language acquisition is affirmed by immigrants themselves. "The issue of language in grade school was very evident," reports Ernesto Sanchez. "We associated with those who could understand us" (Sanchez, 2005, p. 229).

It is important to recognize that this dimension of acculturation is focused on language competence, not on actual language use. Language use "is better conceptualized

as behavioral acculturation because it may relate not to competence but to situational demands" (Birman & Trickett, 2001, p. 459). Language preference, on the other hand, is better conceptualized as one facet of cultural identity (Birman and Trickett, 2001).

Behavioral Competence

The second dimension of the Differentiated Multidimensional Model of Acculturation, behavioral participation, concerns the immigrant's competence to engage in behaviors that are seen as normal in the new environment, as well as the immigrants' preferences for engaging in cultural activities in that environment. Birman and Trickett (2001) found that behavioral acculturation was parallel with language acquisition, but not with identity, for the adolescents that they studied. Just as with language, after four or five years in the United States adolescents had shifted so that their activities and behaviors were more American than Russian. Results for behavioral acculturation for adults in the study, interestingly, did not match either of the other two dimensions. While their language remained predominately Russian for years, and their identity shifted quickly to American, behavioral acculturation shifted very slowly to American, and achieved a balance point between the two cultures only after about seven years in the new country. This finding, again, underscores the validity of the Differentiated Multidimensional Model of Acculturation by documenting that these three different dimensions of experience display different patterns of acculturation.

Cultural Identity

The third dimension of the Differentiated Multidimensional Model of Acculturation, cultural identity, concerns an individual's perception of group membership. Phinney (1990) describes cultural identity as the degree to which an

immigrant embraces membership in a culture. That cultural identification, like language use, might shift between cultures depending on the circumstances. Cultural identification "consists of two components: self-designation as a member of a group and positive affect toward this identity as a group member" (Birman & Trickett, 2001, p. 459). As an example of how complex the different dimensions of acculturation can be, Birman & Trickett (2001), in their study of Jewish immigrants from Russia to the United States, identified an interesting and unexpected finding. Adolescents, even those who had achieved high competence in English while losing competence in Russian, continued to identify themselves strongly as Russian, while their elders, maintaining competence in the Russian language while struggling with English, identified more strongly with American culture. Birman & Trickett (2001) speculate that this unexpected finding may be a result of the importance of identity for adolescents, coupled with their lack of choice over immigrating. Their parents, on the other hand, actively chose for the family to immigrate. They therefore might have been more enthusiastic in claiming an American identity, even though their language skills lagged behind those of their children. In any case, the discrepancy between the results for language and identity acculturation strengthens the claim of the Differentiated Multidimensional Model of Acculturation that acculturation takes place differently in different dimensions. It is clear, then, that immigrants might retain their original culture or adopt their new culture to any degree independently of how strongly they are acculturating in other dimensions.

There are no conclusive findings about the retention of ethnic identity for immigrants and its effects on school performance, even though this area has been thoroughly researched. For example, two studies of Chinese immigrants disagree on the

relationship of identity and achievement. Ogbu (1991) reported a positive correlation and suggested that maintaining a strong ethnic identity aided achievement, while Pearce (2006) suggested that the correlation is more with Chinese cultural factors supporting education rather than with the retention of ethnic identity itself.

The three dimensions of the Differentiated Multidimensional Model of Acculturation operate independently of each other, similar to the categories in the board game Clue. 'Colonel Mustard, in the conservatory, with a candlestick' might be the solution to a particular mystery, but not all of Colonel Mustard's murders are in the conservatory, and sometimes he uses a rope instead of a candlestick! 'Quite fluent in language, less so in behavior, and quite low in identification with U.S. society' might be an apt description of a particular immigrant, but this account is not necessarily accurate for all immigrants.

Summary of Chapter Two

This chapter has established a three-part background for this study. It explored Ethiopian education extensively, briefly touched on the most relevant areas of U.S. education, and supported the appropriateness of the Differentiated Multidimensional Model of Acculturation as the theoretical basis of the study. At this point, readers can look back with some astonishment at the long pathway that they have traveled. Like immigration itself, the trip has sometimes taken unexpected turns and revealed entirely unexpected curiosities. But the journey has also provided a rich and detailed preparation for the future, for understanding the answers that respondents supply in reflecting upon their own long journeys. Acculturation is a complex phenomenon, and this chapter has attempted to capture some of that complexity. Chapter Three builds on this background

and describes methodology suited to answering the specific research questions of the study. In Chapter Two, this study presented an extensive review of Ethiopian education, introducing six historical strands and three themes which were referred to as 'troubling topics.' It then presented a short summary of United States education as it relates to those themes. Those two sections of Chapter Two constituted an introduction to the population which this paper studied: Ethiopian immigrants to the U.S. with educational experiences in both cultures. The final section of Chapter Two introduced the research literature about acculturation and examined the particular theoretical perspective of this research paper, the Differentiated Multidimensional Model of Acculturation. Having established the background for the study, then, it is now appropriate to look at the specific research questions and the way in which their answers are sought.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Research Questions

As already elaborated in Chapter Two, this study's first two purposes, giving voice to an Ethiopian perspective and examining education as an agent of acculturation, were brought into focus by a single, principal question:

> (1)How do adult Ethiopian immigrants to the United States, who have experienced education in both countries, make sense of the two educational systems as facilitating their acculturation?

In order to probe for specific aspects of the questions above, there were two supporting, secondary questions that were investigated:

> (1a) How do Ethiopian immigrants evaluate their Ethiopian education in preparing them for acculturation?

> (1b) How do Ethiopian immigrants evaluate their U.S. education in helping them through acculturation?

In order to contribute to the understanding of theory about acculturation, the third purpose of the study, there was a second principal question:

> (2) How well does the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation fit the narratives of Ethiopian immigrants?

This question also had two supporting, secondary questions:

(2a) Do the respondents' self-assessments, viewed individually, show that their

acculturation is differentiated among the three dimensions of the theory?

(2b) Do the respondents' self-assessments, viewed collectively, show that their

acculturation patterns differ from each other?

Research Design

Quantitative and Qualitative Research

There are two main 'kingdoms' in the taxonomy of scientific research:

quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative investigations are useful in confronting

questions whose answers can be supported by evidence in a numerical format, while

"qualitative methods facilitate study of issues in depth and in detail" (Patton, 2002, p.

14). Quantitative methods usually result in statistical comparisons of large numbers of

subjects, while qualitative methods focus more on detailed information about a

comparatively few subjects. Glesne summarized this difference well by pointing out that

"qualitative researchers often look for patterns, but they do not try to reduce the multiple

interpretations to a norm" (2006, p. 5). Instead, qualitative researchers "seek to

understand and interpret how the various participants in a social setting construct the

world around them" (Glesne, p. 4). Since the research questions for this study demanded

in-depth knowledge about how respondents 'make sense' of their experiences, a

qualitative design was the most appropriate for developing robust evidence-based

answers to the research questions.

The Continuum from Theory to Action

There is a "continuum from theory to action" (Patton, 2002, p. 213) in the purposes for undertaking scientific research. Basic research, which contributes to foundational theory and the knowledge that supports that theory, forms one end of the continuum. Applied research, which attempts to examine particular concerns of the society, is slightly less theoretical and certainly less general. Summative evaluations, which seek to determine a program's effectiveness, and formative evaluations, which seek to improve a program, continue along the spectrum toward less theoretical, more action-oriented research designs. Finally, at the least theoretical end of the continuum, action research attempts to solve a particular local problem.

This current study, with its two primary questions, could be seen as occupying two places along that continuum; it shared features of both applied research and basic research. The first research question, which was limited to a tightly-defined group of respondents (adult Ethiopian immigrants with bi-cultural educational experience) within a larger societal issue, the acculturation of immigrants, placed the study in the area of applied research. The second research question, which tested the explanatory power of the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation for this specific population, placed the study toward the theoretical end of the continuum. The two goals of this study, then, were to examine the role of education in the acculturation of Ethiopian immigrants and to determine the 'fit' of the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation.

Strategy of This Study

Since there is already an established theory of acculturation, the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation, the current study did not seek to generate new theory. It borrowed, however, from grounded theory the warning not to rely too heavily on a pre-selected theory. The Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation was used as a sensitizing concept in the initial stages of data collection by informing the interview protocol. Later, during the analysis phase, I attempted to identify emerging patterns, exactly as in grounded theory. Those patterns were then compared to the categories used in the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation. In this way, the data were evaluated to see if they confirmed the theory's predictions or if they failed to fulfill those predictions.

Case Study Approach

Because the study concerned itself with how Ethiopian immigrants made sense of their acculturation experience, as well as how they understood the contributions of both Ethiopian and U.S. educational systems to that acculturation, it was appropriate to choose a case study approach for the research. The term 'case study' represents both the process of collecting and organizing data and the product that results from that data organization: an accurate, rich description. "The purpose is to gather comprehensive, systematic, and in-depth information about each case of interest" (Patton, 2002, p. 447).

The case study approach, then, identified by Patton as "a major strategic theme of qualitative inquiry" (Patton, 2000, p. 297), was an appropriate choice.

The label 'case study' might conjure up images of an ethnographer documenting tropical islands and strange customs, but case study is not limited to the exotic. It is a

useful approach wherever a particular phenomenon is under consideration and lends itself

to description. A case study tries. . .

> . . . to understand situations in their uniqueness as part of a particular context and the interactions there. This understanding is an end in itself, so that it is not attempting to predict what may happen in the future necessarily, but to understand the nature of that setting—what it means for participants to be in that setting, what their lives are like, what's going on for them, what their meanings are, what the world looks like in that particular setting—and in the analysis to be able to communicate that faithfully to others who are interested in that setting." (Merriam, 1988, p. 16-17, quoting Patton, 1985, p. 1.)

"Case study research . . . is an ideal design for understanding and interpreting

observations of educational phenomena" (Merriam, 1988, p. 2). Since this research

situated itself in education, case study, then, was an appropriate design. Merriam goes on

to state that this model "offers the greatest promise of making significant contributions to

the knowledge base and practice of education," (Merriam, p. 3) specifically because it is

". . . focused on discovery, insight, and understanding from the perspectives of those

being studied" (Merriam, p. 3). It is precisely the perspectives of the immigrants which

this research sought; the case study approach was therefore entirely fitting.

Yin suggests that the case study approach is applicable when examining events

"when the relevant behaviors cannot be manipulated" (1984, p. 19). Obviously, neither

the long-ago experience of immigrating to the United States or the contemporary

experience of navigating the cross-cultural adaptations necessary to function well in

modern U.S. society can be manipulated; again, the case study approach was called for.

Merriam poses three specific factors which are vital in determining whether the

case study approach is appropriate for a particular research question.

1. "The nature of the research questions: 'What' and 'how many' are best answered by survey research. 'How' and 'why' questions are appropriate for case study. . .

2. The amount of control. The more control one has, the more 'experimental' the design.
3. The desired end products. . . . Will the end product be a holistic, intensive description and interpretation of a contemporary phenomenon?" (Meriam, 1988, p. 9)

This study sought 'how and why' answers, I clearly had no control over the subjects' environment, and the desired end product was a rich description of the phenomenon of immigration and the role that education played in that experience. Therefore, a case study approach was clearly justified.

There is a fourth consideration in deciding whether the case study approach is appropriate: the subjects of the study should form a 'bounded system,' that is, a set that can be defined as clearly distinct from other groups. This study was not based on a series of interviews of random, chance-met individuals; the pool of respondents was bounded by certain clear limits. "The most straightforward examples of 'bounded systems' are those in which the boundaries have a common sense obviousness . . ." (Merriam, 1988, p. 10). For this study, those boundaries, as explained below in the section titled 'The Pool of Respondents', included 'adult', 'immigrant', 'Ethiopian', and 'experienced in two educational systems'. Each of those descriptors was straightforward instead of contrived, and again, the case study approach was deemed appropriate.

There are, of course, other glasses to try on in the optical shop of qualitative research, and each lends a certain color to the scene. Narrative inquiry, for example, has been important in this study for reminding me to be a careful collector of stories, since " . . . life histories reveal cultural and social patterns through the lens of individual experience" (Patton, 2002, p. 115). The simple act of asking a person to share their life story, as I have done in this study, honors that life, and lifts private memories into the

sight of the community. Those stories, then, arranged and interpreted with respect and care, can be compared with the stories of others, and we can marvel at both their uniqueness and their commonalities.

Biography has also been an important lens, since the foundation of this paper is the recording of the stories of other people's lives. This task had to be approached humbly, because the first purpose of this paper includes allowing Ethiopian immigrant voices to be heard. I didn't want to drown out those voices with my own, and attempted to "resist the legacy of the Western colonizing other" (Denzin, 2005, p. 935). There are sections of this paper where my own voice clearly is heard declaiming in first person, but there are others, particularly the narratives themselves in Chapter Five, where I have made every effort to mute my voice so that my respondents' voices might be heard, telling their own stories in their own words. I have not appropriated their insights, but celebrated and preserved them. For example, Dalmade's striking story of his epiphany at the malaria camp is now recorded for the first time, both in this paper and on videotape, and he has a copy of that recording for his children. His story has been kept alive.

Comparative education has also been an appropriate lens, since a large part of the analysis of the respondents' stories concerned their education, both in Ethiopia and in the United States. Arnove, Kelly,and Altbach note that "in an imperfect world, intelligent and cautious comparison may still be the best analytic tool . . ."(1982, p. 5). I have tried to be intelligent in seeking and pointing out parallels between different educational traditions, and cautious in not over-reaching the data. I have also taken to heart King's observation that "education is more than school" (1967, p. 3), and included stories of education that reached beyond any stated curriculum. For example, Alimitu's recollections of playing

until dusk and trading yarn for berries are included as part of her description of her life at boarding school.

Theoretical Basis

The Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation, as explained in Chapter Two, was the theoretical basis of this study. In contrast to earlier models of acculturation, which tended to see an immigrant as proceeding linearly from outsider to insider, the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation asserts that there are three dimensions of acculturation: language, cultural identity, and behavior. The differing categories operate independently, and it is easy to picture any combination of these three dimensions of acculturation. For example, spies must have very high language and behavior acculturation for the enemy community that they hope to infiltrate, but at the same time, they must retain complete identification with their home culture.

The Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation predicts that an immigrant can—and usually will—progress at different rates in these three dimensions. It also predicts that different immigrants often show different profiles along those dimensions. This study used the respondents' self-assessments as data to determine if the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation adequately described the extent of the differences in acculturation along those three dimensions both for a single respondent and among different respondents.

Summary of Research Design

In response to the demands of the research questions themselves, then, I made several key choices in methodology. This study answered two primary research questions, along with the accompanying secondary questions, which balanced goals in

both applied and basic research. The study was based in the case study approach with emphases on constructing individual case narratives. The study's theoretical basis was the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation.

Data Collection Phase

Interviews as Preferred Method

The thorough description required by the case study approach, which includes not only objective events but also both the subjective experience and the cultural context within which the experience takes place, cannot be known in depth through surveys or through observation. And I, as the researcher for this study, had not been a participant observer, sharing the particular history of immigration and acculturation. For this study, then, there was really only one effective data collection methodology to gain an in-depth understanding: I had to interview respondents who have experienced it. "In order to create those descriptions, the researcher must undertake in-depth interviews with people who have directly experienced the phenomenon of interest" (Patton, 2002, p. 104). Since this study sought to answer questions about the acculturation of Ethiopian immigrants to the United States, it was necessarily based on interviews with those immigrants.

Three Methodological Challenges

For this study, which interviewed Ethiopian immigrants to the United States years or even decades after the immigration took place, it would have been appropriate to question the accuracy of those memories. The recollections of feelings and experiences had to be recalled from long ago, across years presumably filled with challenging and life-changing adaptations. They then had to be translated into a language which was not the 'heart language' of the respondent, and finally sifted through the artificiality of an

interview. These three challenges might have been seen as posing threats to the validity of the interview responses. Each threat is addressed, in turn, below.

Memory of long-ago events. The first methodological challenge was whether memories of long-ago events could be trusted. Current brain researchers such as Schacter (2009)) argue that memories do not exist as discrete units, located in particular sites in the brain like shiny pebbles in a rock collection, waiting to be retrieved, dusted off, and admired for having maintained their pristine condition through the years. Memories are seen now more like boulders scattered in a mountain landscape, subject to the displacement of frost heaves through the intervening seasons, erosion by wandering rivers of re-interpretation, and the complete loss occasioned by the sudden landslides of more recent events. "Each time we remember a complex event, we reconstruct the event from various partial traces" (Schacter, p. 426). We are left wondering, then, if memory can be trusted at all.

There are three reasons, though, why a researcher might claim validity through interviewing respondents about long-ago events. First, there are memories that are held in great accuracy, especially those that were created during particularly striking and sensitive times. While it is true that many memories are lost in a haze, or never really formed unless they demanded focused attention through their uniqueness, other memories can remain crystal clear half a lifetime after their creation. They were " . . . received, taken in, at a most impressionable point . . . and preserved or saved thanks to this very receptive sensitivity" (Casey, 1985, p. 42). Certainly the time of transition to a new culture, complete with grief and fear as well as excitement and hope, qualifies as a 'most impressionable point.' Furthermore, since these particular memories are indelibly

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attached to certain places, both the places of leave-taking in Ethiopia and the places of arrival in the United States, they are even more likely to be recalled in substantial detail. "It is a given particular place that holds significant memories of ours, acting as a veritable gathering place for them" (Casey, p. 48).

Second, memories do not just sit like inert boulders, especially if those memories are foundational for all subsequent experience in a new culture. "The memory has been actively maintained by being revived from time to time . . . and by this very revival it has attained a state of 'being kept' in mind throughout" (Casey, 1985, p. 42). The more important a certain event was, the more likely it is to have been 'revived.' In the case of immigration, fraught with questions of personal and ethnic identity, memories of the first months and years of acculturation are not just important; they are pivotal for all further personal history. Since education is almost certainly to have been a part of those first months and years, memories of those educational experiences are likely to be vivid, even after a substantial time. "Memory here is understood as a return to and a releasing of an energized source, a source with a power to sustain and direct our being" (Wood, 1985, p. 58). Casey elegantly summarized the situation: "We keep holding on to what holds us" (p. 43). And immigration is something that continues to 'hold' the immigrant, in every aspect of their new life.

Finally, because in modern research subjective experiences such as memory are considered worthy of scientific investigation, the detailed historical facts matter, but so does the way the respondent has recounted the story to create an identity and to inform the present. While modern brain research warns that "Events are fashioned into a kind of imaginary product in which memory, distortion, forgetting, and reorganization all play a

role" (Phillips, 1985, p. 66), Casey points out that "When we play the game of memory, we play it for keeps" (1985, p. 41). Wood explains, "When Casey talks about keeping the past in mind, what is essential is not accuracy of recall, but a preservation of its power to speak to us" (p. 57).

This study hoped to describe in thorough detail the immigrant memories which still speak to the immigrants themselves and perhaps to the reader as well. As with memories of any duration, "It is necessary for the inquirer to keep in mind that interviewees are always reporting perceptions—selective perceptions" (Patton, 2002, p. 264). By keeping this warning in mind during data analysis and subsequent interpretation, I could be attuned as much as possible to possibilities of selective memory. Because of the three reasons summarized above, validity threats due to the time span between experiences and recollection have been mitigated.

Translation into English. The second methodological challenge concerned the accuracy of the respondents' translation of their original memories into English. Respondents for this study were drawn from a carefully selected group, made up of those who had experienced some education in Ethiopia, immigrated to the United States, and (with one exception) then experienced further education in the U.S. as well. Because of their time in the U.S. educational system, as well as time spent studying English as a foreign language before immigration, each respondent had sufficient English skills to successfully take part in an interview, particularly because I, as the interviewer, was interested, empathetic, and somewhat familiar with Ethiopian culture and education. Furthermore, as a way to check my perceptions, each respondent was asked to grant

permission for follow-up questions if clarification was needed. All respondents agreed to that request.

Interviewing as an artificial experience. Interviewing is an artificial experience. It takes place in a formally-designated, agreed-upon place, it interrupts the regular pattern of the respondent's life, and the researcher assumes, to a greater or lesser degree, control over the subjects discussed. However, in spite of these limitations, "We interview people to find out from them those things that we cannot directly observe" (Patton, 2002, p. 340). If we are interested in the role that education has played in the acculturation of Ethiopian immigrants, we cannot go back in time to observe their schooling in Ethiopia, we cannot travel with them during their immigration, we cannot attend their first classes in the U.S., and we cannot observe every interaction with the society around them which added to or subtracted from the acculturation facilitated by the educational system. Furthermore, "We cannot observe feelings, thoughts, and intentions" (Patton, p. 341). If we were to understand the subjective experience of acculturation, which is what the study questions demanded, then interviewing was necessary. The purpose of qualitative interviewing, Patton, explains, "is to capture how those being interviewed view their world, to learn their terminology and judgments, and to capture the complexities of their individual perceptions and experiences." (p. 348). Actually, "interviewing, especially semi-structured and unstructured formats, fares well when compared to other data collection techniques in terms of the validity of the information obtained" (Merriam, 1988, p. 86).

The inevitable initial awkwardness in interviewing can be ameliorated by several factors, such as seeking comfortable sites and convenient times for interviews, but

ultimately, "The quality of the information obtained during an interview is largely dependent on the interviewer" (Patton, 2002, p. 341). Primarily, it is the neutral, openly-accepting attitude of the interviewer that ensures successful data collection. In the case of this study, then, an interviewer who can exhibit empathy and familiarity with Ethiopia has an advantage in establishing rapport and making the respondent feel at ease.

The Interviewer

Merriam points out that relying on "the investigator as the primary instrument for data collection and analysis can produce brilliant insights about a phenomenon, or it can produce a pedestrian, incorrect, or even fraudulent analysis" (1988, p. 35). Since the quality of the information from this study depended so heavily on my performance both as the interviewer and the interpreter of the data produced by those interviews, please allow me to introduce myself directly. I am a 61-year-old, white, male American, originally from Montana, where I lived in a variety of circumstances, from an isolated farm to the state's largest city. I worked as an elementary school teacher for 14 years, becoming knowledgeable about both typical U.S. curricula and classroom practice. I sought further education, earning both a Master's Degree and national teacher certification. I was also recognized as Montana's Educator of the Year in 1996. I then sought service through my church in overseas positions as an educational advisor. I have lived with my wife and family for five years in Vanuatu, a small island country in the South Pacific, as well as serving for a short time in Ethiopia, where I worked with four ethnic groups. As described above, my work in Ethiopia was cut short by a medical emergency which necessitated my evacuation. Though grateful to have recovered fully, I am no longer allowed to travel overseas and work in the capacity for which I have been

trained. I have moved, then, from practicing acculturation myself to researching it in others. I am trilingual (though not fluent in any Ethiopian languages), and have experienced the act of entering deeply into a foreign culture multiple times. I have successfully helped create friendships and trust across multiple cultural boundaries, and so found myself ideally situated to interview others about similar experiences. Since my resumé includes in-depth experience in different cultural perspectives, sometimes as an outsider, sometimes as a participant, I well understand how a particular world view "is pre-structured for an individual who acts and thinks in accordance with the prevalent and prior interpretations forming that structure" (Ihde & Silverman, 1985, p. 188). For the respondents in this study, who have stepped outside not only the physical boundaries of Ethiopia but also the borders of Ethiopian cultural understanding, I did my best to serve as a knowledgeable and empathetic listener.

One danger of the interview method, as well as all qualitative research such as field observations, is the 'reactivity' of the interviewer to the respondents' stories and reflections. 'Reactivity' is the label for issues surrounding the researcher's authenticity and prejudices, "how the background and predispositions of the observer may have constrained what was observed and understood" (Patton, 2002, p. 301). Prior cross-cultural experience, though not an immunization against prejudice, helps sensitize the reflective interviewer to the existence of prejudice, and the realization that such concepts as 'normal' and 'reasonable' are culturally determined. As Stake commented, "One of the principal qualifications of qualitative researchers is experience" (1995, pp. 49-50, quoted in Patton, p. 296). As explained above, I have extensive cross-cultural experience, but even more important, part of that cross-cultural background concerns Ethiopia itself.

There are two reasons why my familiarity with Ethiopia proved to be an advantage in positioning myself as an interviewer of Ethiopians. First, familiarity with Ethiopia enhanced the likelihood of eager participation on the part of potential respondents. This was particularly true because I was not identified with a particular ethnic group. Second, familiarity with Ethiopia, particularly with Ethiopian educational systems, enhanced the quality of the descriptions I was able to make. I was required, of course, to remain faithful to the respondents' descriptions, but familiarity allowed for more accurate questions to probe for deeper meanings from the respondents. "First-hand experience with a setting and the people in the setting allows an inquirer to be open, discovery-oriented, and inductive" (Patton, 2002, p. 262).

The Pool of Respondents

Respondents for this study, with one exception (explained below), were drawn from the population of Ethiopian immigrants to the United States who have experienced education in both cultures. But in order to accurately answer the research questions, which involved not just recalling educational experiences but reflecting on their worth in acculturation to U.S. society, I chose to limit the pool to those who are currently adults. It seemed reasonable that an adult perspective could lend deeper insight into the long-term benefits and drawbacks of a bi-cultural educational experience in acculturation than a child's or a youth's perspective, which must necessarily have been more limited in breadth. It is worth noting that I am middle-aged myself, thus guaranteeing at least some similarity in age with the respondents and, hopefully, additional grounds for empathy with them, too.

Since I am male, and since almost every part of Ethiopian society is profoundly conservative in relations between the sexes, there might have been some question about the inclusion of women in the pool of respondents. Through my experiences in Ethiopia with both women and men, though, I did not see this concern as requiring the limiting of the pool of respondents to men. I observed and mentored women teachers in Ethiopia, worked closely with them, and sensed no hesitancy on their parts to speak up and share as equals. Furthermore, since the respondents were all at least partially acculturated to U.S. society, there was even less reason to worry about this concern in the United States. If it had become obvious that women were reluctant to take part in the study, or that their responses were not as information-rich as men's, then it would have been possible to make the interview environment more comfortable for women by having another woman present for the interview, or even recruiting a woman interviewer . Fortunately, that need did not arise.

The pool of respondents for this study, again, with one exception, was made up of adult Ethiopian immigrants, both men and women, who have educational experience in both Ethiopia and the United States.

Sampling

This study used a purposeful sampling technique, where I contacted people who work closely with immigrant populations, leaders in the Ethiopian immigrant community, or Ethiopian immigrants themselves. "The logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting *information-rich* cases for study in depth" (Patton, 2002, p. 230). I described to these contacts the ideal subjects for the study, those who might provide particularly information-rich accounts: adult Ethiopian immigrants who can remember their

experiences in the educational systems of both Ethiopia and the United States, and who

would be willing to share their reflections about their experiences. I then asked the

contact to make suggestions about possible subjects to include in the sample. Some of the

initial contacts volunteered to become respondents themselves, while other contacts

simply suggested acquaintances. I asked the contact to make the initial approach to those

immigrants named, and to ask them if they would like to participate in the study. I felt

that asking a person from the same culture to introduce me to the potential respondent

was more likely to result in an enthusiastic agreement to participate than a 'cold call'

from me might have, though admittedly this approach relinquished some control over the

developing sample. Valued respondents tended to lead the me to other valuable

respondents, in a 'snowballing' approach to developing a pool of respondents.

Eventually, a sample of the pool of potential respondents emerged that included

available, willing respondents who met the inclusion criteria.

It was always possible that mid-way through the step of data collection, I would

become aware of an unforeseen pattern, an emerging hypothesis. One of the strengths of

purposeful sampling is that it allows the study to explore such an unexpected pathway by

more precise sampling in the desired direction. I, like other researchers before me in the

qualitative tradition, was free to seek cases that were particularly information-rich in the

new area, and to seek to confirm or disprove the emergent hypothesis.

The particular type of purposeful sampling used in this study, as described above,

was snowball (or chain) sampling. This sampling technique is an acceptable method in

qualitative research, and was particularly suited for this study. In a relatively closed

society such as an immigrant community, where potential respondents are separated from

the researcher by cultural and language divides that might have created initial distrust, a referral and initial contact from one member of the community was useful in opening doors that would otherwise have remained closed to the me..

The best imaginable snowball sampling is to follow the pathway of pre-interview questioning of contacts until redundancy occurs, that is, until the same potential respondents are suggested repeatedly by different sources and a clear consensus is reached among the informers about who the best subjects for the interviews are. "Sampling to the point of redundancy is an ideal, one that works best for basic research, unlimited timelines, and unconstrained resources" (Patton, 2002, p. 246). Since I am very much constrained by limits of both time and financial resources for travel, and since the pool of potential respondents was fragmented by being widespread geographically, redundancy was not expected to be achieved. I contacted acquaintances previously-known through personal connections, trusted the suggestions which those acquaintances made about potential respondents, and selected the most promising choices possible among the potential respondents. I then evaluated the interview results to actually determine which respondents were, indeed, information-rich cases. I was astonished—and grateful—that every case was not only information rich, but extremely insightful and illuminating.

Throughout this process, I had to keep in mind that 'information-rich' does not automatically mean 'in agreement.' Respondents' stories might have converged on a single theme or they might have diverged wildly. Either way, it was hoped that the snowball sampling technique would result in an adequate pool of immigrants who share the experience of Ethiopian education, the critical incident of immigration, and

acculturation to their new culture. It did. It was also hoped that respondents would be eager to reflect on their experiences and would be open and honest in those reflections. They were.

No specific number of respondents was specified in advance. In deciding the number of respondents to seek, as with all design choices, I had to balance the advantages and disadvantages of possible pathways forward. Having many respondents presents a wide range of narratives but requires relatively superficial interviews because of time constraints. Having a small number of respondents presents a narrower range of perspectives but allows a greater depth of understanding. This study included only five respondents. This small sample permitted a great depth of questioning, but I admit that the perspectives presented are not necessarily representative of the entire larger population.

I was startled to discover how difficult it was to find prospective respondents. Civic structures, such as schools, immigrant resettling services, and immigrant housing complexes tended to be unhelpful for locating potential respondents, primarily because they are constrained by privacy laws. I was also startled by how difficult it was to convince potential respondents to agree to take part in the study. Ethiopian-owned businesses such as restaurants tended to be unproductive sources, probably because of the large time commitment required by in-depth interviews: at least an entire evening. Of the five interviews in the study, only two were completed in single sittings. The other three interviews each required two sessions of actual taping, but they also involved meetings both before and after the taping sessions. The preliminary meetings were necessary to answer questions about the study, to address specific concerns, usually about

confidentiality, and to establish an initial level of trust. Follow-up meetings were necessary to politely thank the respondents, as well as to share the promised copies of the videotapes.

Initial contacts with the five respondents were made in a variety of ways. I met Alimitu at a multi-cultural fair where she was working in a booth about Ethiopia. She was easy to identify as Ethiopian, and I simply struck up a conversation with her. An acquaintance whom I had met through church work with immigrants, himself an immigrant from West Africa, referred me to Badaka, who then referred me to Camachu in classic 'snowball' fashion. I met Dalmade through my wife, who teaches in a pre-school which Dalmade's daughter attends. Both Alimitu and Dalmade, each members of the Orthodox congregation served by Father Efrem, suggested that I speak to him. After several non-productive 'cold' phone calls, I finally met Father Efrem by simply attending a worship service at his church as described in Appendix E. Respondents, then, were reached through persistence, as well as the willingness to utilize a variety of approaches to find them.

The findings of this study, then, with such a small sample of respondents, must be seen as only first approximations of a wider understanding. Though lacking in generalizability themselves, they may well be seen as identifying promising avenues for other studies, either among a wider range of Ethiopian immigrants, of African immigrants, or of the entire population of immigrants to the United States.

The Interviewing Approach

There are three basic options to choose from in approaching an interview. The first possible approach is an informal, conversational interview. This approach "offers

maximum flexibility" (Patton, 2002, p. 342) in eliciting information from the respondent. Because questions can be personalized in response to a subject's comments, there is a definite possibility of having a profound conversation. The cost of this flexibility, though, is that the data which are gathered will almost certainly be vastly different for every respondent. Since the current study was focused on examining patterns of acculturation, it needed to use an interview approach that would facilitate collecting data about those patterns which could be analyzed efficiently and successfully.

The second possible approach, the standardized open-ended interview, is the opposite of the first. This approach requires the interviewer to develop carefully detailed questions in advance, with the goal of giving each respondent exactly the same cues for responding. Though the interviewer is free to follow up with probes for more information, the probes themselves should also be carefully standardized, in order to elicit parallel information from each respondent. This technique assures that the resulting data are collected under conditions as standardized as possible, which aids in quantifying data analysis. This approach is helpful when there are several researchers doing separate interviews or when there is a very tight timeline which requires very efficient data collection. Since this particular study sought to understand in detail individual stories from informants, each of whom was seen as having unique circumstances surrounding their acculturation, circumstances which need to be explored fully to be understood, I rejected this approach. I decided that it was important to be free to pursue full understanding of each unique story, with opportunities to ask questions which were not anticipated when the interview protocol was written.

The third approach to interviewing, balancing the advantages of the informal and standardized protocols, struck me as being just right for this study—like Goldilocks' choice of porridge. This option, called the interview guide approach, uses an outline of the basic questions that are to be asked during the interview. It assures that there is an adequate framework for the interview to collect the needed data for analysis, but leaves the researcher the freedom "to explore, probe, and ask questions that will elucidate and illuminate that particular subject" (Patton, 2002, p. 343). As with the informal interview, the researcher is free to follow the flow of the conversation as needed, but as with the standardized interview, the researcher can be confident that the desired questions will be asked and that the anticipated data will be collected.

The Interview Guide

The interview guide for this study is attached as Appendix D. In creating the interview guide, I paid attention to creating an interview framework that assured eliciting answers directly related to the research questions. Moreover, the questions, as outlined on the interview guide, allowed exploration of a variety of topics, including knowledge, experiences, behavior, opinions, and emotions.

The interview began with collecting the consent form. The consent form, attached as Appendix C, was usually offered to the respondent in advance at a preliminary meeting, though I brought a duplicate to the interview itself in case the original has been misplaced. I then provided both a brief recap of the study's purpose and the opportunity for the respondent to ask questions about the study.

Section 1 of the interview guide focused on the present circumstances of the respondent, in order to start with comfortable questions entailing no long-term recall or

deep interpretation. These questions, however innocuous they seem, were actually vital in understanding the degree of acculturation to U.S. society that the respondent had achieved. The interview guide then jumped to the distant past and proceeded chronologically, facilitated by probing and follow-up questions as needed to help the respondents tell their stories. Section 2 covered the Ethiopian experiences of the respondent, especially those in education. Section 3 explored the immigrant experience itself, with its attendant culture shock and the beginnings of acculturation, and Section 4 covered experience with the U.S. educational system. Section 5, the final section, was a deeper reflection on present circumstances, including a self-assessment of acculturation. Section 5 constituted a form of triangulation with the initial comments made in Section 1, as well as with my observations of such phenomena as English fluency and the emotional impact of recounting the stories of immigration.

Each respondent was given the opportunity at the close of the interview to add information as they chose or to ask additional questions, and was asked if they could be contacted for follow-up questions if more clarity was needed.

Other Methodological Considerations

I was aware of the need to establish rapport with the respondent, especially since these were cross-cultural interviews, taking place in what was usually the respondent's third or fourth language. Clarity was vital, in the original questions, in transitional statements, and in follow-up questions to guarantee an adequate understanding of the respondent's perspective. My experience in Ethiopia proved invaluable in establishing that rapport, as well as my willingness to allow the respondent to choose the timing and location of the interviews. Alimitu and Dalmade came to my office and were interviewed

there, though I met with Dalmade three other times at the university hospital where he researches. I met with Badaka and Camachu at their Protestant Church, and with Father Efrem at his Orthodox Church.

I was also well aware of the need for asking carefully-worded questions that were genuinely open-ended and limited to a single topic for each question, as well as the need to maintain a neutral stance in regard to the content of the stories and reflections elicited.

Each interview was fully recorded on videotape, augmented by quick notes that I took during the interview to help jog my memory later, and by the more substantial notes that I wrote as soon as possible following the interview. The purpose for the note-taking was not to duplicate the actual words on the tape, but to facilitate the formulation of new questions that were needed to seek completeness, to record sudden insights, observations, or reflections, and to facilitate the organization of the data for later analysis. I chose to videotape the interviews—rather than audiotape them—so that I had a full record of the interview, one that would allow me to relive the actual experience rather than rely solely on my notes. I found this approach especially helpful when a later interview alerted me to an interesting observation, such as a particular gesture. I could then return to the videotape of an earlier interview to compare respondents. Whereas my notes were limited to only those facets of each interview that I was expecting at the time, the videotape allowed me to return multiple times to explore gestures or postures, even though I was not sensitized to them in advance. Since the study took place over a period of many weeks, the videotape also allowed me to refresh my memory about earlier interviews. Respondents, especially the older ones, were noticeably uncomfortable when first being videotaped at the start of an interview. They straightened their posture, for example, or

smoothed their hair. I was surprised, however, how quickly they forgot the camera. They became focused on their story, typically within five or ten minutes, and became more relaxed and animated. A further advantage of videotaping is that it produced a wonderful gift for each of the respondents. Each of the five respondents requested—and received—a copy of the tape of their interview, and each expressed their thanks for that gift as a valuable addition to their family archives.

As soon as possible following the interview, I checked the interview tape for completeness and made a copy of the tape for safe-keeping in the locked office of Dr. Thomas Tretter, the dissertation advisor. I reviewed and completed notes taken during the interview, and started the process of making sense of the interview's data while they were still fresh in mind. Patton's advice that interviews "should be scheduled so that sufficient time is available afterward for data clarification, elaboration, and evaluation" (2002, p. 384) was followed as much as possible.

For all interviews, a copy of the videotape was given to a typist to transcribe. The typist was well-educated on issues of confidentiality, and carefully instructed on the need for a full and accurate verbatim record. There were some particular difficulties in typing these interviews. First, the respondents' native language was not English. The transcriber had to have the ability and the patience to listen carefully and understand sometimes heavily-accented narratives. Second, the narratives included names of both people and places that are Ethiopian. The transcriber had to be willing to make reasonable guesses about the spelling of unfamiliar names by writing them phonetically. Those guesses had to be accurate enough that upon reading the transcript, I could read a term that might have been transcribed as 'high-lee-suh-lass-see' and recognize it as Haile Selassie.

Finally, the transcriber had to be willing to be exposed to emotionally difficult stories, which included recounts of grief, loneliness, and persecution. Like me, the transcriber, had the option to debrief with Dr. Thomas Tretter if needed.

Upon completion, the typed transcription was sent by email or in person from the transcriber to me, and the physical tape was returned to me in person.

Ethical Considerations

The following list of ethical issues was created by Patton (2002, p. 408-9). The brief titles are directly quoted from his list, while the explanations are reflections about how those potential concerns were met in this study.

1. Explaining purpose. The purpose of this study was explained to potential respondents as an effort to find out how Ethiopian immigrants to the U.S. make sense of their life story. Sample language included statements such as, "You have two separate educational experiences, one in Ethiopia and one in the United States. I'm interested in how those have worked together in helping you fit into U.S. culture." It was mentioned that the study may have the potential to help both immigrants and those educators who try to help them.

2. Promises and reciprocity. Each respondent chose freely to take part in the study in order to share their story. Each respondent asked for a copy of the video recording of their personal interview, and I provided them. No other incentive was provided.

3. Risk assessment. The potential emotional risk of 'opening up old experiences' was mentioned to the respondents, as well as the promise that they could stop the interview any time they choose. Though it was expected that some of the immigrants came to the United States because of profound political upheavals in

Ethiopia, as outlined in Chapter Two, participation in this study was not expected to expose them to any risk of reprisals. There were two reasons for this assumption. First, the respondents, by definition, have not recently arrived in the U.S. To enter the pool of possible respondents, the immigrants had to have experienced U.S. education and acculturated to some extent to U.S. society, so that they were now somewhat distanced from the circumstances, however dire, which led to their immigration. Second, the focus of the research questions was not on the worth of Ethiopian education, where acute criticism might be expected to call forth a defensive response from the Ethiopian government. Though the roles of the two educational systems were vital as foundations, the primary focus of the study was the acculturation of the immigrants to the United States.

4. Confidentiality. The participants' names, their original places of residence in Ethiopia, and their current places of residence in the United States were concealed by the use of pseudonyms or indirect descriptions. Ethnic identity, such as 'Oromo' or 'Amharic,' as well as gender identity, was not concealed, however, in order to allow the investigation of possible patterns of correlation in the reported data. Data, including interview tapes and notes, were used in writing the dissertation at my home, but carefully protected from loss, theft, or unauthorized access. Once the data collection phase was complete, interview tapes and consent forms were stored in the locked office of the dissertation advisor, Dr. Thomas Tretter, at the University of Louisville. They will be kept for a minimum of five years per University policy and then destroyed.

5. Informed consent. This study complied with the guidelines of the University of Louisville Institutional Review Board, both in initially seeking approval and in carrying out the research.

6. Data access and ownership. Tapes and data, as well as the final dissertation, belong to me, but the dissertation committee members have access to them, either before or after publication. Copies of the tapes of their personal interviews, but not others, were provided to respondents as requested.

7. Interviewer and transcriber mental health. I expected to hear stories of difficult transitions, and described that risk to the transcriber. Had the emotional impact been beyond what was anticipated, both had the opportunity to debrief with Dr. Tretter. That service was not required.

8. Advice. Had unexpected ethical issues arisen, Dr. Tretter was to serve as my mentor. Dr. Tretter assumed the responsibility of notifying the IRB if there were further ethical concerns.

9. Data collection boundaries. I had no intention of making respondents uncomfortable by pushing hard for information. The respondents had the right to stop the interview at any time, and I respected that right. Though probably not constituting a very information-rich case, such an instance of emotional stress would have actually constituted valuable data, an example of the difficulty of acculturation.

10. Ethical versus legal. I felt constrained by my respect for the respondents, as well as by my own experiences of being a 'stranger in a strange land,' from limiting

my conduct to mere legal minimum standards. My conduct was not only legal, it was, without exception, kind.

Data Analysis Phase

Introduction

There is no recipe or formula for analysis in qualitative research. Patton (2002) stated that there is no substitute for the "skill, knowledge, experience, creativity, diligence, and work of the qualitative analyst" (p. 432). The analysis was guided, of course, by the research questions and the purpose of the study, as explained above, but the ultimate responsibility for 'finding the findings' remained mine.

Analysis actually began during data collection in the notes taken during the interviews. Those quick scrawls sometimes contained potentially important follow-up questions, promising pathways for further exploration, and possible insights. Even more important, the notes allowed me to make the most of one of the advantages of face-to-face interviewing: the chance to observe and note the body language—including gestures and posture—of the respondent.

As more interviews were completed, the more I developed a sense of when new information confirmed (or disconfirmed) earlier data and might be leading toward (or away from) a specific theme. Rushing to premature conclusions had to be avoided, but insights from previous interviews helped sensitize me, in subsequent interviews, to pathways likely to yield clear understanding. The earlier interviews, then, helped inform the later ones. On the other hand, the later interviews provided the opportunity to help inform follow-up questions for the initial interviews, should they have been needed.

Case Study Stage

This stage of the data analysis drew extensively from narrative methodology. The narrative from each interview was initially written as if it were an individual case study, the sole content of the entire research project. I pored over the mass of raw data, including the videotapes, the interview transcripts, and notes scrawled during the interviews, and become immersed in them. Patterns emerged in the different steps of the narrative, and ultimately led to a holistic portrait of each particular respondent.

There were three steps in constructing a case study. First, I gathered all of the relevant raw data for a particular case. Those data included my notes from the interview and from the reflection period immediately following the interview, the verbatim transcription, and the tape itself so that I could check any questionable passages, particularly names or non-English words, as needed. The tape also allowed me to confirm tone of voice, hesitations, and style of speaking if needed for clarification or to jog my memory.

Second, I created a case record, which was "a condensation of the raw data, organized, classified, and edited into a manageable and accessible file" (Patton, 2002, p. 450). The case record 'cleaned up' the transcript's verbatim record of spoken language, typically full of false starts, repetitions, and interruptions, as well as integrated the my notes into the transcript. For example, if I had made notes about the body language of the respondent, this was the point in the analysis process where those notes were placed alongside the actual words that had been said at that time.

I used the case record, especially the first part of the interview guide, to note how the responses compared with the respondent's self-assessment of the three dimensions of

the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation: language, behavior, and cultural identity. It was during this phase, for example, when I made notes about which examples of incorrect English usage helped illustrate typical errors of English proficiency on the part of the respondent.

Finally, I used the case record to write a case study, being absolutely faithful to the narrative of the respondent, but editing and selecting passages in order to create a readable account of the respondent's experience. Most of this process was a culling of the mass of data into a coherent narrative, but explanations of special circumstances, especially cultural context, could be added as needed.

I tried to continually hold in mind Patton's terse dictum: "description comes first" (2002, p. 438). Each case study had to be written as a narrative, keeping in mind the centrality of culture, the importance of individual stories, and the commitment to let the respondents' voices be heard clearly. Throughout the writing of each narrative, I worked from a case study perspective, taking care to provide a thick, rich description of recounted events, the subjective experience, and the cultural context. Each narrative generally followed the interview guide, except that the 'flashback' technique of starting with present circumstances was eliminated. Each narrative started with a short introduction followed by the chronological story of Ethiopia-immigration-United States. The account concluded with the respondent's reflections about acculturation, including a graphic representation of the respondent's self-assessment along the three dimensions of acculturation.

I originally did not intend to provide respondents with a numbered scale, say, percentages for each dimension, but it quickly became apparent that respondents without

that framing tended to be confused, so respondents were encouraged to respond with a percentage rating, so long as it was clearly defined what the numbers represented. I did not originally decide what graphic depiction would be used, but it turned out that a simple bar graph was adequate to represent the responses.

During the writing of each case study, I attempted to 'forget' most of what he knew about education. I, of course, retained some sensitizing concepts, which provided a general frame of reference, but I was committed to avoiding forcing narratives into compliance with a theoretical underpinning at this initial stage. In the same way that a member of an audience watching a play willingly suspends awareness of spotlights, curtains, and make-up so that the play can be witnessed as if it were a reality, I focused exclusively on this single, brilliantly lit narrative. Whatever meanings arose were grounded in the narrative's script, and I attempted to understand the action of the play from the perspective of the respondent, the performer in this drama. Patton states—in bold-face type—that "the analyst's first and foremost responsibility consists of doing justice to each individual's case. All else depends on that" (2002, p. 449). Any researcher, of course, makes choices about what material to include and how to describe it, and that activity implies some imposed constructs, but as far as possible I attempted to provide only those constructs which aided the reader in understanding the actor and the play, and which grew from the respondents' interpretations of their experiences. Ultimately, the essence of this study resided not in my explanations but in the descriptions of the events, including their subjective elements, which the respondents have experienced and reported.

In the writing of successive case studies, I attempted to 'forget' each of the preceding ones. Each play was produced on its own stage, with its own characters and plot, independent of those that went before. At this point, I was seeking descriptive and interpretive patterns only within each case study, and it was my duty to be conscientious and trustworthy, treating each narrative with respect and balance.

Cross-Analysis Stage

Once the collection of case studies had been completed, I became a drama critic instead of a member of the audience. I moved beyond description to interpretation. While it is true that careful description is a hallmark of science, and absolutely foundational for this study, interpretation was also necessary in order to understand the structure and coherence of the initial description. I recovered from *almost all* (explained below) of my self-induced amnesia and started looking at the behind-the-scenes themes.

Patterns or themes existed within each case study, and their analysis was aided by cross-checking those data with the respondent's self-assessment in the reflective part at the end of the interview. Themes were also shared between the different cases, and compared and contrasted with each of the other case studies in an attempt to see patterns (descriptive findings) and themes (more abstract categories) emerge from the different stories. This stage of the data analysis drew extensively from grounded theory in an attempt to see exactly what common themes presented themselves from the case studies.

When those themes converged into a particular composite portrait of an immigrant from Ethiopia, they were seen and reported as reinforcing each other. When it turned out that the different stories unanimously displayed commonalities, keeping in

mind the need to refrain from over-generalizations from such a small sample, I presented

them only as commonalities for this set of respondents.

When the themes displayed remarkable divergence, with few similarities beyond

the ones forced upon them by the limitations of the pool of potential respondents, I also

reported those findings. At some level, every story is unique, notably different from each

other case. When the study did not produce convergence, and the separate dramas

resisted attempts to fit them into any single genre, that finding in itself was accepted as

valuable, especially as it related to the final stage of data analysis, the theoretical

construct stage.

The integrity and credibility of this cross-analysis stage of data analysis was

enhanced by my awareness of the value of deviant or negative cases, but it turned out that

it was possible to create and analyze the graphic representations from the case study stage

in order to portray substantial similarities between the respondents.

Just as in the use of snowball sampling to creating a pool of respondents, the ideal

cross-analysis is carried out until redundancy is reached. Once the researcher has

completed this comparison/contrast stage and reached this point of saturation, where no

new insights are being discovered, this stage of the data analysis is concluded. Again as

in snowball sampling, that ideal situation was not reached. Even working with a sample

of only five respondents, because of the wealth of description attained and the

complexities of individual life histories, a researcher will never reach the point of being

able to assert that all patterns have been discovered, labeled, and examined. Keeping in

mind that complete understanding is not possible, I trusted that given a good description

of an experience, including both the subjective aspects and the context, at least some

understanding is possible. I integrated the different themes from the case studies and organized them into a coherent picture of the common experience of the respondents.

I was described above as having recovered from 'almost all' of my self-induced amnesia for this cross-analysis stage in the data analysis. There is still one area during this stage where I had 'forgotten' something important: the theoretical underpinnings of the study, the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation. This theory was 'forgotten' until now in order to provide a greater chance of developing an analysis based on the respondents' perspectives, as well as to avoid seeing everything through the theory's categories and classifications. The time came for me to recover my full memory.

Theoretical Construct Stage

At this point in the data analysis, I had created case studies that described the acculturation of each respondent along each of the three dimensions of acculturation described in the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation. These three categories, language, behavior, and cultural identity, were included on the Interview Guide. Each respondent had been asked to self-assess in each of those dimensions, and each case study reported those self-assessments, along with my observations.

I also created, in the cross-analysis phase, a comparison of those self-assessments between the respondents. I examined them to see if there were similarities in the acculturation of the respondents, such as reporting higher acculturation in the language area than in the identity area.

Finally, in the theoretical construct stage, I looked at the cross-analysis results to see if they confirmed the two main predictions of the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation: that acculturation for an individual takes place at different rates

along those three dimensions, and that acculturation patterns between individuals exhibit differences. I explained how the data from this study confirmed or disconfirmed these predictions and, as described above, showed the differences graphically.

Criteria for Evaluating the Study

There are varying perspectives for judging the quality of a qualitative study, and each of those perspectives has its own criteria. This study, as determined by its two research questions and its dual position on the continuum from theoretical to action, might be appropriately evaluated according to two alternative sets of criteria created by Patton (2002, p. 408-9). Because the study positions itself in both basic and applied research, criteria from either of those purposes are insufficient by themselves to judge the worth of this study.

It would be fitting to evaluate the sphere of the first research question, which deals with the sense-making of the Ethiopian immigrants, according to Patton's Social Constructivist Criteria, which emphasize the capturing of multiple perspectives, authenticity, and contributions to dialogue. It would be fitting to evaluate the sphere of the second research question, which tests the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation, according to Patton's Traditional Scientific Research Criteria, which emphasize credibility, dependability, and confirmability.

Summary of Chapter Three

This chapter has specified the research questions that guided the study and has explained the investigative framework of the study, as well as its theoretical underpinnings. The chapter went on to explain the two phases of the study, data

collection and data analysis, and suggested two perspectives which, taken together, might

be used in evaluating the study and its conclusions.

CHAPTER IV

INDIVIDUAL CASE STUDIES' RESULTS

Introduction

Organization of Chapter Four

As explained in Chapter One, when the organization of this research paper was summarized, Chapter Four presents the results of the interviews as separate case studies. Chapter Three explained in detail the methodology that would be used in developing the case studies, and also mentioned that each case study would initially stand alone, as if it were the sole content of the research project. Chapter Three also outlined a two-stage process for data analysis: analysis of the individual case studies, followed by cross analysis between the case studies. So that each case study can genuinely stand alone, the initial analysis of each case study is included in Chapter Four, immediately following the narrative itself rather than separated into a separate analysis section either following the set of narratives or in Chapter Five. The second stage of data analysis, the cross analysis of the case studies as a group, is addressed in Chapter Five.

Chapter Four, then, consists of five case studies. Each presents the narrative of a single respondent, followed by the initial analysis of that particular case. The interviews are presented chronologically, in order as they occurred, to avoid imposing any pattern which might influence the cross-analysis phase in Chapter Five. As described in Chapter

Three, some identifying information, such as place names, has been obscured to protect the confidentiality of the respondents, but gender and ethnic identity have been accurately reported. Pseudonyms have been supplied, appropriate to the gender and ethnicity of each respondent, so that the first respondent's 'name' begins with the letter *A,* the second with *B,* and so on.

Organization of Case Studies

As explained above, each case study contains a respondent's narrative followed by an analysis of that narrative. The narrative portion has three components. The first component is an introduction, which serves to acquaint the reader with the respondent and to establish the context for this specific interview. The second component retraces the respondent's life story. It contains three sub-sections: pre-immigration life in Ethiopia, immigration, and post-immigration life in the United States. The final component of the narrative section focuses on the parts of the narrative which directly relate to the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation. Since there are three dimensions to the model, this component also has three sub-sections: language, behavior, and identity.

Each respondent's individual narrative is immediately followed by the data analysis for that particular respondent. This data analysis also has three components. A short introduction is followed by an analysis according to the theoretical model. This analysis, again, has three sub-sections, one for each dimension: language, behavior, and identity. The final component of the individual analysis begins to address the research questions posed by this study. Since the large, primary research questions are addressed in Chapter Five in the cross-analysis stage of data analysis, only three of the smaller,

secondary questions are addressed in Chapter Four. Those three secondary questions,

which constitute the sub-sections of the individual analysis, are:

Research Question (1a): How do Ethiopian immigrants evaluate their Ethiopian

education in preparing them for acculturation?

Research Question (1b): How do Ethiopian immigrants evaluate their U.S.

education in helping them in acculturation?

Research Question (2a): Do the respondents' self-assessments, viewed

individually, show that their acculturation is differentiated among the three dimensions of

the theory?

In summary, then, each case study follows this outline:

Individual Narrative
    Introduction
    Life Story
        Pre-immigration Life in Ethiopia
        Immigration
        Post-immigration Life in United States
    Focus on the Theoretical Model's Dimensions
        Language
        Behavior
        Identity
Individual Analysis
    Introduction
    Analysis According to the Theoretical Model's Dimensions
        Language
        Behavior
        Identity
    Initial Research Questions
        (1a): Ethiopian Education in Acculturation
        (1b): U.S. Education in Acculturation
        (2a): Differentiation Across the Three Dimensions

Quotations

Since both the narrative section and the data analysis sections of each case study

require extensive documentation, they contain many quotations from the interview itself.

In order to avoid a constant repetition of identical references, all quotations in each case study are from the interview with the featured respondent. In the same vein, errors in English in quotations from the respondents are not marked with the customary notation [*sic*]. The errors have been preserved in order to provide an accurate sense of the precision of English employed by each respondent, but the [*sic*] notation would be highly distracting if included repeatedly, sometimes several times within a single sentence.

Numerical Ratings

The numerical ratings, given by respondents when asked to evaluate their acculturation, have been manipulated when necessary in three ways. First, if a respondent gave a figure such as 'three out of ten,' that number has been converted to a percentage, in this case, 30%, so that it can be compared easily with percentage answers from other respondents. Second, if a respondent gave an answer such as 'I am 30% Ethiopian,' that response has been 'flipped' to '70% American.' In this way, the recorded ratings are all parallel, showing the degree of acculturation to the respondent's new culture, even if the response was originally phrased in terms of the old. Finally, in cases where a respondent refused to assign a specific number to a dimension, I interpreted such statements as, "I always think of myself as an Ethiopian. Always. If you cut this skin, you would smell Ethiopia," as meriting a score of 0% American in the identity dimension for acculturation. In situations such as this, when there could well be questions about the accuracy of my interpretation, the decisions to manipulate the data are explained in the appropriate paragraphs of the data analysis.

It is important to note, especially in light of the above statement about the manipulation of scores, that this is not a quantitative study. The practice of asking

respondents to assign numerical values to their acculturation along the three dimensions is simply a quick exercise to get the general 'lay of the land,' like an early explorer might sketch an unfamiliar landscape. This study attempts to show, through the individual graphs, where the mountains and valleys lie for each respondent in their respective settings. It does not purport to measure those elevations exactly.

<center>**Case Study One: Alimitu**</center>

<center>*Individual Narrative*</center>

Introduction

I met Alimitu at an international festival in the Midwestern city where we both live. She was sitting behind a table in a booth, handing out literature about a non-profit organization which she had founded to provide an orphanage in Ethiopia with second-hand shoes. Alimitu is obviously Ethiopian. She is small, with the delicate, sharp features, large, bright eyes, and brown complexion of a typical highlander. Her hair is dark, thick, and wavy, unbound as it flows to almost shoulder length, giving her head a shape reminiscent of a sphinx. She was wearing a traditional white, cotton dress with red and gold embroidery, and she was shivering in the fall wind that flapped the booth's canvas cover. She talked about her dreams of providing shoes for Ethiopian orphans, asked for help through donating either shoes or money, and offered a pamphlet. It was natural to ask if she herself was an Ethiopian immigrant to the United States, explain about this study, and invite her to take part. She was happy to agree. We talked several times by phone and agreed to meet at my office in a downtown company headquarters. In order to fit our schedules, this interview took place over two separate lunch times within the same week. Alimitu appeared for both interviews dressed in slacks and a blouse, and wearing a warm winter coat.

In spite of being asked to sign in at the front security desk and to wear a visitor's badge, Alimitu appeared at ease in the office, which is decorated with several artifacts from Ethiopia. She admired a large photo of an Ethiopian mother and child, plucked a traditional stringed instrument on display on a shelf, and appeared to make herself at

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home. Alimitu ate lunch while answering questions, sometimes forgetting to eat as she became involved in telling about some aspect of her life.

Life Story: From the Northern Girls' School

Ethiopia: "a rich way of knowing." Alimitu explained that she is 42 years old, Amharic in ethnicity, and Orthodox in religion. She was born in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia's capital city, and lived there for the first few years of her life in a private home in a family compound. She attended first and second grades at a private girls' school which she described as a "kind of middle, upper-middle class setting." They had homework, even in the first and second grades, and Alimitu remembers her school uniform: "burgundy red with white shirt. We wore white socks. I always had black shoes, these cute little black shoes." The school was very highly-regarded, and it was "guaranteed that you will graduate from it and go to the university."

When Alimitu was in second grade, though, the family was moved to Gondar, a Tigrinya-speaking area in the northern part of Ethiopia. This was in the early days of the regime of the communist Derg, following the fall of the empire of Haile Selassie. The Derg simply placed workers where they were needed, and Alimitu's father was ordered to relocate. The family moved to follow her father's job as the branch manager of a bank, and her mother became the secretary of the Gondar Medical College.

Alimitu remembers her childhood in Gondar fondly. She and her family lived in a "huge apartment compound. It is the best place to spend your childhood. When you come home from school, you drop your backpack and play outside until 10 o'clock or so." She attended an international school that was run by Indians, with instruction in both Amharic and English. She was a bright student, and skipped two grades. But the school was closed

when the British and Indian teachers fled during one of the Derg's recurring upheavals. Alimitu's family found another private school for her, a Catholic school which was still tolerated by the Derg. She attended it until the eighth grade, so that most of her childhood education was in a parochial Catholic school. "Even though I was raised an Orthodox, the [Catholic] foundation was very strong even to this day."

Alimitu became very animated while describing her years in the Catholic school. Her lunch forgotten, she gestured and smiled freely. "We had a small, mini school bus. It would come to our house and take us to school." She also remembered how sometimes her father would drive, as if that were a special treat. She loved the school, and the emotional support that it afforded. "We had the fathers, the sisters, music class, and playing." She described how the school included students from both the city and the surrounding countryside. "At recess, one of the things we do, we bring yarn from our house and the students from the rural areas bring wild berries, very juicy, things you don't buy from the store." She described how they learned to barter, and laughingly explained, "That is also a part of the educational system." Alimitu reflected on her years of mixing with children from different backgrounds, and mused, "for us that was rich—a rich way of knowing." Alimitu also commented on the atmosphere of the school and its learning environment. "Every parent, if they get the chance, wants to send the child to a private school. You have the discipline." Alimitu thought about her statement for a moment, and then explained, "The discipline is not only the religion part, but to keep you motivated, to want to go to school. That's the big difference." Then she thought some more, probably comparing her experiences to her children's schooling in the United States, and added, "Not that they made it exciting with video, or nowadays like they do."

She smiled, and summarized her experience by saying, "It's just that we loved our teachers, the pastors, the fathers. They were all nurturing. They help you grow as a person, as a whole."

As the Derg consolidated its power in the north, the Catholic school was eventually closed, too. Alimitu had to move from her private school with a few hundred students to a public high school with three or four thousand students. "No school bus. You learn to walk to school, a few kilometers, in a group, a pack, so you don't feel it." Alimitu explained that the school was so crowded that it had a morning shift of students and an afternoon shift. She was reluctant to dwell on those two years, beyond the cursory summary, "That was an experience. We'd go to school and come back. Ninth and tenth grade."

Alimitu's father was then transferred back to the capital city. Her parents tried to enroll her in the highly-regarded private school which she had attended so many years before, but she failed to achieve the required test scores. "The competition was very high." Alimitu attended a public high school near her home, another school with a large student body. She commented, "In the public system, it is more of your effort. There is no easy way for it."

Though she had failed to be re-admitted to the prestigious private school, Alimitu found that the public school was not difficult. "I'm the firstborn in the family. I'm the icebreaker. There was no way I would not pass the university entrance." She went on to explain that this level of expectation was "for everyone, boys and girls, at the time," because "if you get to a university, you are guaranteed a job. It is a clear way of getting somewhere to earn your living." In rural areas at this time, a girl would still have been

expected to help with chores or with younger brothers and sisters, and "most priority would be given to the boy." Alimitu smiled, and reflected, "I was fortunate to be raised in my family. We could afford to hire someone to work in the house. My parents' goal was that we had to be educated."

Alimitu was admitted to the University of Addis Ababa, at the time the only functioning university in the country. She explained, "Freshmen, you have six months for common courses. Then you pick your major." Students with top scores, a GPA of 3.9 or 4.0, became doctors or engineers. "It doesn't matter if you want to be a doctor or not. You have the grade for it." There were only two majors open for students with Alimitu's test scores: pharmacy and statistics. Alimitu expressively told the story of how she made that choice. "Once I got to the university, I had no clue what to do." She invited her classmates to "a debate" to discuss her future. "I said, 'Tomorrow I have to choose my major.' At the time I should realize this would determine my life, but you don't think of it that way." A girl majoring in statistics said that there was too much memorizing in pharmacy, and "the girl from statistics won my heart, because I don't like memorizing." It took Alimitu two years to actually get to know the basics of statistics and understand the choice that she had made, and then "in the third and fourth year, I finally caught up to it."

When asked about other differences between Ethiopian education and U.S. education, Alimitu said, "I think a big difference, generally, is the fear of authority. [In Ethiopia] you are afraid of the police, afraid of the manager, afraid of whoever is in authority." She went on to explain that the teachers actually want students to be afraid of them, and so students avoid confrontation at all costs because "it might cost you a grade

or two as a result." She went on to illustrate her point. "If I'm sitting here talking to you, I am not expected to have eye contact with you. That is a way of respect. I cannot maintain eye contact with authority." And she lowered her eyes, only glancing up sideways from under her lashes. When asked if this expectation would have been different, depending on whether a teacher was a man or a woman, Alimitu emphatically explained that it was the same for anyone in authority. "No, no! Since they are the lecturer, you have to be afraid of them!" She half rose from her chair, saying, "If you are waiting for your teacher or lecturer, if you see them coming, you better make sure you are out of their way." She pantomimed the presence of a friend beside her as they saw a teacher approach. "I remember saying, 'Martha! She is right over there! Go hide!'" Alimitu sat back down and shook her head. "You don't want to get on the bad side of a teacher." She leaned back and ruefully commented, "On the campus, it was really messed up. That does not encourage learning, if what you do is based on fear."

Alimitu then added a second major difference in education between Ethiopia and the U.S.: libraries. She likes to read, and "always" has a book with her, but that was not an easy habit to develop in Ethiopia. "The British Consul in Addis, they have enough books, they have magazines, they even have videos. This was like heaven for me. There was no other place you could get books." She explained that "The British Consul was my hangout place on Saturday afternoon. I would check out magazines and books and make copies."

Immigration: "Neighbors shooting each other." After many years of diverging histories because of their ties with Italy, the Tigrinya-speaking coastal provinces in the northern part of Ethiopia declared their independence and established the nation of

Eritrea. A civil war ensued. There was no clear border defining the breakaway provinces, though, and people's lives were entangled on both sides of the dispute, much like the U.S. Civil War embroiled families with complex ties to both the North and the South. As years dragged by with neither side able to reach a decisive victory, the Ethiopian government moved to consolidate its power by 'cleansing' itself of people with ties to Eritrea.

Alimitu's family, of course, had lived in the north during her childhood, and she had learned Tigrinya from her friends. "Growing up, we had Eritrean neighbors, you ate the same food." And to make things more complicated still, Alimitu had married a man with a father from Gondar (still part of Ethiopia, but now a border area) and a mother from Eritrea (at this time in open rebellion). "We heard that rumor coming from another area that they have started deporting people by relation. We did not want to take a chance. It might not have happened, but if it happens, we don't know Eritrea." Alimitu smiled somewhat sadly, looking down at the table. "What was the better choice, go to Eritrea or go to U.S.?" She looked up, making direct eye contact. "That was a no-brainer."

Alimitu and her husband had the chance to escape their impending deportation because he worked for Ethiopian Airlines. He not only had free tickets to travel out of the country, but the young couple had actually visited extended family in the United States earlier, so they both had exit visas. "It was a quick decision we made. It was a shock for family when we told them." After considering several different options, such as having her husband leave first to get established in the new nation, or having the couple go first

to be joined later by their infant son, they decided to go together. "I said no, it is a pack. So we have to move together."

Alimitu, her husband, and their six-month-old son arrived in Washington DC in 1999 and applied for asylum. "It was January and it was very cold. My son was getting sick a lot." They stayed with her husband's uncle and aunt "until we got used to everything, got used to the lifestyle." It took just about one year for their asylum request to be granted. Alimitu summarized the experience by saying, "We did not have to wait years for approval. It was a very smooth transition." She emphasized the point, "We were lucky. If you don't have complete documentation, if your story doesn't fly, it can take longer. Sometimes it takes four or five years."

One evening, Alimitu wanted to help her husband's uncle and aunt by making dinner. She cooked some potatoes and carrots, along with what she thought was cabbage. "I cooked it and it became so translucent! They ate it, because they did not want to embarrass me." Later, when she became familiar with shopping on her own, she realized that she had cooked and served iceberg lettuce.

Alimitu considered working stuffing envelopes for a mail-order company, but instead found a job at the World Bank speaking French, which she had studied in university. Then her husband was hired by UPS, and they transferred to the Midwestern city where she still lives.

In reflecting about her immigration, Alimitu remembers being surprised by how simple life is here. "It looks complicated, but it is really simple. Basically, you can get everything you want as long as you have the money to get it. The convenience of the grocery store. Having fresh vegetables, fresh fruit."

"So many things, I take for granted now. I don't pay attention to it." Alimitu shook her head. "The transportation system was amazing to me. You can get on your bus and can actually sit down. You don't have to stand. To be able to ride the bus, going from A to B." She laughed and flung her hair back. "If you want to get to C, you can transfer! Or if I want to ride the bus to the destination and come back, I can do that, too!" She laughed again, a little self-deprecating this time. "Those little things were very exciting."

"People are helpful if you are friendly and helpful," Alimitu explained, and then added, "Personally, I try to adapt to things easily, so it was not difficult for me." She illustrated by pretending that she was being instructed to do something. She 'listened' intently, and then replied to her imaginary teacher, "Is this the way you've got to do it? OK!" And she gestures as if she is now performing some newly-learned task, perhaps typing on a keyboard.

Alimitu remembered the difference between living in Ethiopia, as part of a large household with an extended family, and the way she lives now. "Most of the time, in our household we would probably have thirteen or fifteen people. My parents would bring family members from the rural areas." Alimitu explained that not all the people in the household were relatives. "It is a spoiled life, even though the country is poor. We had maids there. You can afford it. It is not that you are rich. Everyone can afford to hire someone who has less income than you." Alimitu laughed at a sudden memory, and then explained, "I remember when I turned thirteen, I had a fight with my mother because she said I had to start to make my own bed." Her mother had wanted Alimitu to know how to do chores, in spite of having relatives or maids to help. Alimitu then described how she now has a washing machine and dryer in her house in the United States. "You don't have

to do anything! But then I caught myself complaining about folding laundry. I had to laugh because I used to have to wash it by hand!"

Becoming more reflective, Alimitu commented, "The thing is, the things did not give comfort." She then recounted living on 13th Street in Washington, DC. "The first night, I was shocked. I could hear gunshots, and ambulances." She looked up, her face mirroring some of the astonishment she felt as a new immigrant. "The poverty, you don't think coming from a poor country. When you think of America, you don't think that there will be street people, that the streets would be dirty, that people would be mean." She shook her head and hunched a little smaller in her chair. "One night, I would think that I am in the government change in Ethiopia. But it's just neighbors shooting each other."

United States: "We live a modest life." Alimitu took an online course to finish her Master's degree. She explained, "I wanted to be close to my daughter and have my own schedule." Then, not content with a superficial explanation, she added, "In a way, I took it as a shelter. I didn't have to be exposed. I didn't have to be out there facing the instructor. Whatever educational system is here, I wanted it, but at the same time I did not want it." Her online advisor for the course, a woman from the Caribbean, was very helpful. "She listened to my fear. She remains my mentor."

Alimitu would put her daughter to bed at 7:30, and then work until 11:00 every evening. She would also use her daughter's nap time, and try to spend five hours of studying every day. "There is no way you can slack off. You have to be disciplined about it."

Alimitu found her English up to the challenge of writing—and chatting online—for the internet course. "English was not a problem," she said, and then added, "I'm still

practicing English grammar. That is an issue!" Commenting about the online course, Alimitu said, "One thing I like is that only the minds are connected. I don't care if you are white, black, in your pj's or not. There is no judgment of your personality. You discussed the issue that you have."

Alimitu finished an MBA in Health Care Management, and then quickly realized several things about the online course. First, it had given her no practical experience; she had avoided taking an elective internship because she did not want to put her daughter in daycare. Second, she had no experience in the actual culture of the American workplace. "I should have taken two, or three, or six weeks of public speaking. I didn't know people's dynamics." Alimitu suggested that such courses require a live component, some sort of internship to complement the actual course work. Otherwise, "It leaves a very big gap that you don't know how to fill after."

Focus on the Theoretical Model's Dimensions

Language. Alimitu initially raised her two children to be bilingual. The children were introduced to Amharic as their native language, and Alimitu still speaks mostly Amharic at home. "But they also grew up watching Sesame Street and Barney. It's very easy for a little kid to catch up with English words." As the kids got older, they became more and more reliant on English, so that now, "You speak to the child in Amharic and they reply in English." She brushes her hand through her hair, as if trying to straighten things out, and explains that both children are entirely fluent in English, with completely American accents. But their loss of Amharic still rankles. Now that the kids are busier, at ages ten and fourteen, "it is more of catching up. They have the foundation. They have a chance to develop Amharic." Then she explained the value she attaches to Amharic. "The

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most important thing was to know that they are Ethiopians. They have a language, a culture, everything. I do not want them to have confusion. 'Am I American?' 'Am I African-American?' 'Am I Ethiopian?' That is always a question in a child's mind."

Alimitu reported that she understands English well, unless "it is a strong accent, say, if someone is from the South or New York." She added, "Or African-American, also. They have a slang I have difficulty with." When she first arrived in the Unites States, she would hold a conversation by internally translating to and from Amharic, but now "it's automatic conversation."

"I like the fact that I have a distinct accent," Alimitu responded, when asked to comment about her English speaking ability. "I have some mix of British and Ethiopian accent. I am glad that I am able to keep that." She can read anything, but "I still make errors in some of my grammar" while writing. She smiled, and said, "My kids once in a while correct me. The word 'equipment' I can never say the way they want me to say." Alimitu laughed, and repeated "equi-pa-ment" to show her typical pronunciation.

I asked Alimitu if she dreams in Amharic. She was startled by the question, frowned, and then delightedly smiled. "Oh, oh, yes, I do!" she beamed. "Very good question!" She then explained that she hadn't realized that before, and she was "surprised that dreams are in English."

In talking with friends, Alimitu speaks a mixture of Amharic and English. "Nobody likes that. We don't like to do it, but we are victims to it. It just comes natural."

Alimitu has traveled back to Ethiopia several times, and described the culture as changing. "The people want their children to speak English now, even in Ethiopia. They don't encourage Amharic. Here we're trying to enrich our children, to know their culture.

To dig deeper about their roots. You go back, and their cousins are ashamed of speaking Amharic."

When asked to assign a percentage to describe her use of the English language, Alimitu chose 85%.

Behavior. In commenting about the degree to which she behaves like an American, Alimitu showed some confusion. She talked first about how someone looking at her would know right away that she was not from the United States, just because of how she looks. Then she described how if they heard her speak, they would know that she was from a foreign country. When asked to reflect about her likes and dislikes of American culture, she hit upon child-raising as an example of how American behavior and Ethiopian behavior differ. "If a baby cries in our culture, you pick up the baby all of the time. There is no such thing as letting the baby cry and get used to being alone. I always say it is peace of mind for me, peace of mind for the child."

Alimitu then talked about American eating habits, how there are "aisles and aisles, rows and rows of processed food," but that "organic food is too expensive." Then she laughed, and said, "When we go back to Ethiopia, we are used to lifestyle here. Have to be careful about eating raw. There is always a contradiction."

She commented that the United States has "too many unnecessary TV shows," and then said, "You don't have rich American culture. They say, 'I'm proud to be an American,' but mostly I see that pride as patriotism. Being number one in the world. To fight." She then contrasted U.S. culture with European, saying that U.S. culture "is around you to work hard. It doesn't matter, just work, work, work. Get money for retirement. When you go to Europe, you enjoy your day. You have time after work."

She liked that in the United States we are free to be who we are, but "as an immigrant, you're always censoring." When asked to explain, she added, "I have to censor myself because I did not grow up in a free society. Growing up in a socialist regime was my childhood. You have to be very secretive. We don't have the luxury of saying things we want." She found Americans very outspoken and very straightforward. "I had difficulty with that. They would say, 'You have a beautiful accent. Where are you from?'" She widened her eyes, remembering her astonishment at such candid questions.

When asked to reflect about Ethiopian culture in a parallel way, thinking about her likes and dislikes, Alimitu said that she valued that Ethiopian culture "is deep-rooted and family value is instilled." She cherished that people "can enjoy life with the little that they have." She also said that there are many things that need to be improved about Ethiopian culture, mentioning corruption, the need for better education, and the huge gap between the rich and the poor. She then pointed out that, "We don't have volunteerism. People say, 'Why would I do that for free?'"

Alimitu said that the experience of living in the United States contributed in two ways to the breakup of her marriage. To explain the first contribution, Alimitu said that "in every marriage you have disagreements," but in Ethiopia those disagreements are discussed between family elders and negotiated in a "community discussion." She noted that it is not really a free discussion, since the negotiators are men, and in most cases, "the woman will be told, just for the sake of the children, for the sake of the marriage, just tolerate it." Living as immigrants, without the support of a wider community around them, Alimitu and her husband lacked those traditional structures to help them negotiate their differences.

To explain the second contribution that living in the United States made to her divorce, Alimitu said that "as a woman, I can be assertive and say, 'I don't like this, I don't like that.'" When her husband decided that he wanted to return to Ethiopia, he simply arranged a new job for himself back in Ethiopia without consulting her at all. He assumed that she would follow him. "That was a shocking thing," Alimitu recalled. "He was a university graduate. We were both very liberal. Then all of a sudden he became very conservative." She rubbed both hands along the sides of her head, smoothing her hair. When he announced that he had accepted the new job in Ethiopia, "At that point I was really tired of packing and following. That's what I'd been doing since the move."

It has now been five years since her husband returned to Ethiopia. "My goal was to keep the routine that he and I established with the kids the same. The children were not that much shaken by it because I was buffering much of it so that their routine was kept."

She became a U.S. citizen in 2011.

Alimitu typically gets up at 5:30 to make breakfast for her son, now 14, before he catches the bus to school. She drives him to the bus stop, and then returns home to wake her daughter, 10. She then gives her daughter breakfast and helps her get ready for school. Alimitu then spends mornings working with her non-profit organization. It does not pay her a salary, but she hopes to help it reach the point where it might. "When I went last year to Ethiopia, I was able to visit the orphanage, and the school, and little kids. Their smiles, the way they were hugging me. That is a big motivation for me." She returns home to spend time with her children after they get off from school. "In the afternoon, it would be carpool time" for her daughter's volleyball or dancing and her son's marching band. Alimitu supervises their homework each evening, and they spend

family time together. She also volunteers as an interpreter for immigrants through Catholic Charities, which she recognizes as repaying a debt for her early education in Gondar.

Alimitu summarized her family life by saying, "We live a modest life. We try to enjoy each other's company. We have a dog, so that helps keep the kids happy."

When asked to assign a percentage about how much of her behavior is now American, she chose 70%, explaining, "I still have the Ethiopian root. I decipher between what is good for me and what is not good for me."

Identity. When asked to assign a percentage for her identity, Alimitu leaned forward, made very direct eye contact, and replied, "I think that I am 100% Ethiopian."

Individual Analysis

Introduction

Alimitu's narrative is an example of how the three modern strands of Ethiopian education, as explored in Chapter Two, can weave together in the fabric of a single person's life. In her education, Alimitu experienced the influence of the mission school movement, both in its 'pure' version in the Catholic school in the North and in the Ethiopian education system which it influenced under Haile Selassie. She also experienced schooling during the regime of the Derg and for a few years under the post-Derg government. Her experience, then, is a reflection of the experience of many Ethiopians of her generation, as well as a reflection of the history of Ethiopian education itself.

Alimitu's life story is also a personalized version of the recent political history of Ethiopia. History books objectively recount how the Derg assigned workers to jobs and

moved to consolidate its power by closing schools with foreign influences, but Alimitu's experience brought these events to vivid life. Her life started in a middle-class family in the Empire's capital city, with the security of a family compound and the convenience of private schooling for their daughter, complete with a uniform including "cute little black shoes." But her father was transferred to the northern province of Gondar. First the Indian and British educators were expelled, and then the Italian Catholics. Alimitu recalled this time in her life, her family exiled within her own country, as "the best place to spend your childhood." Schoolgirl memories managed to transform privations such as a lack of fresh fruit in urban areas into adventures in barter, and she wistfully remembered "music class" with the sisters and the fathers before her education narrowed to a forced choice between pharmacy and statistics. Even such a personal event as Alimitu's failure to pass the entrance exam to the elite high school in Addis Ababa is a reflection of the larger educational themes of the nation. Alimitu's observation that "the competition was very high" summarizes the entire nation's educational experience: the Derg decreased the opportunities for education by expelling foreign teachers at the same time that they raised the demand for education by requiring girls to attend school for the first time.

There are large doses of irony in Alimitu's narrative. One Ethiopian government forced the family to move to the north, and another Ethiopian government later threatened them with exile because of their ties there. Though Orthodox, Alimitu was shaped largely by her Catholic education, which prepared her for Western schooling in the United States. And her husband, whose side of the family was most closely tied to Eritrea, and therefore was most responsible for the family's emigration to the United States, has now returned to Ethiopia, evidently without reprisal.

Allimitu's life story also demonstrates the continuing impact of two of the three troubling topics, which were introduced in Chapter Two as persistent issues in Ethiopian history, continuing to the present. Alimitu, with close ties to Eritrea and the Tigray culture, along with her husband's even closer ties, came under the scrutiny of the Amharic government simply because of her association with a minority suspected of disloyalty. And she persists in seeing the importance of passing on a sense of ethnic identity for her children, both in their education in Amharic and in the 'modest' life that she has shaped for them. Alimitu's entire narrative, if seen from a feminist point of view, illustrates the trajectory of a woman from the traditional role, where she was told to "just tolerate it" when disagreements occurred with her husband, to a modern, independent role, where she can state, "I was really tired of packing and following," and summarize her new-found identity as an individual by asserting, "I can be assertive."

Just as the story of Alimitu's early life illuminates larger events in Ethiopia, the story of her immigration to the United States casts light on the overall experience of immigrants. The three dimensions of the Differentiated Muti-Dimensional Model of Acculturation provide a framework for examining Alimitu's acculturation.

Analysis According to the Theoretical Model's Dimensions

Language. After 14 years in the United States, Alimitu knows that she cannot be mistaken for a native English speaker. She enjoys her "distinct accent." She unselfconsciously admits to difficulties pronouncing such words as 'equipment' correctly, and laughs about her children's efforts to correct her pronunciation. She often makes errors in the correct use of tenses, such as when her descriptions of her childhood waver between present and past tenses, and she sometimes speaks in sentence fragments.

From time to time, her word choice reveals that English is not her native language. For example, in describing her feelings about staying together as a family while immigrating, she said that her family was "a pack," while a native speaker might have said 'a package deal.' She admits freely to speaking a mixture of Amharic and English with her friends, though she does not like this practice. In spite of such evidence of a lack of fluency, she reports that learning English has not been a problem for her. As shown in the quotations scattered through the case study, Alimitu can fluently and correctly use such colloquial expressions as 'no-brainer,' and can make herself understood even when discussing issues of depth and emotional impact. I can vouch for the ease with which Alimitu's English can be understood, and sees no reason to disagree with Alimitu's self-evaluation of 85% proficiency in English.

Behavior. As noted above, Alimitu had some difficulty in addressing questions about how her behavior was typical of either Ethiopia or the United States. She described with enthusiasm her earlier stages of acculturation, when simply riding a bus gave her a sense of joy and freedom, and she now recounts the experience of cooking lettuce as a funny story, a part of family lore. Alimitu, then, sees clearly that she has come a long way in becoming comfortable in the U.S. culture. Part of that transition has been made possible by her personality; as she puts it, "I try to adapt to things easily." Part of that transition has been made possible by the material comfort of life in the United States. Alimitu commented how "life is simple here," and went on to give examples of the opportunity to buy material goods. She finally settled on two aspects of U.S. culture to address at length: her personal disagreement with letting children cry before comforting them, which can be seen as a criticism of U.S. child-rearing practices, and the

omnipresence of food and the effortlessness of buying it, which can be seen as an endorsement of U.S. culture. The ease with which Americans secure food is not likely to be taken for granted by someone who remembers bartering for fresh berries at recess!

Alimitu made one unique observation about U.S. culture, exhibiting the kind of new perspective that only an outsider can bring. Her wonder at the U.S. tradition of volunteerism was quite evident, and accompanied by a question typical of any foreigner when confronted with an unfamiliar local practice: "Why would I do that for free?" It is striking that the main passion in Alimitu's life, outside of raising her children, is her volunteer work for her non-profit organization to provide shoes for Ethiopian orphans. This charitable activity, completely focused on Ethiopia, is being carried forward by a practice foreign to traditional Ethiopian culture: volunteerism.

Alimitu made several comments which pose direct challenges to U.S. culture. First, while still celebrating the availability of material possessions, she commented, "The thing is, the things did not give comfort." Second, she quite openly criticized the U.S. work ethic, which tends to denigrate all other uses of time. Finally, she described, in a hushed, appalled voice, the endemic violence of the poor area of Washington, DC where she first lived after immigrating.

Alimitu also exhibited several signs that she is now extensively 'American' in outlook. For example, though she was reluctant to discuss the experience in any detail with me, her divorce is a reflection of current U.S. values in two ways. First, just as typical U.S. citizens have left behind the social structures of extended families or small towns, Alimitu and her husband went through the stress of immigration largely on their own as an isolated, nuclear family. Second, Alimitu's refusal to simply follow her

husband back to Ethiopia was an example of her adoption of a more assertive personal style than the traditional Ethiopian models for femininity with which she was raised.

Given this mixture of behaviors, it is reasonable to affirm Alimitu's self-assigned score of 70% American in her behavioral acculturation. I observed Alimitu's ease with the security procedures of a modern urban office building, her comfort in adapting to schedule changes requiring extensive use of a cell phone, and her successful parallel parking of the large mini-van that she uses to chauffeur her children to their after-school activities. She may wear traditional Ethiopian clothing to highlight her booth at a cultural festival, but the rest of the time she stays warm with a winter coat.

Identity. Alimitu flatly declared herself 100% Ethiopian. Since identity is an internal attitude, not readily available for confirmation from external observers, it's somewhat problematic to challenge whatever score that Alimitu assigned herself. And the bulk of her life confirms her assessment. She dedicates many hours each week to her work for Ethiopian orphans, she serves newer Ethiopian immigrants as a translator, and she holds the goal of raising her children to identify themselves as Ethiopians. "The most important thing was to know that they are Ethiopian," Alimitu asserted, and then described with scorn her children's Addis Ababa cousins, who were ashamed to speak Amharic. There are only two small instances that I find to question Alimitu's statement of her identity as 100% Ethiopian. First, some of her criticism of Ethiopia seems to place her outside complete identification with the country, such as when she commented that "it's a spoiled life, even though the country is poor." This stance appears to reach beyond simple complaints of corruption or poverty, which would seem more typical of an Ethiopian. The second evidence that her self-identification as an Ethiopian may not be

100% complete was from her story about catching herself complaining about having to fold laundry, as if such a chore were onerous. She then described catching herself, and remembering how in Ethiopia she had to do wash by hand, at least when servants were not available. This story suggests that, at least for a moment, Alimitu was aligned with perspectives that a modern American might be likely to have. These are minor points, however, and I believe that Alimitu was 100% sincere in declaring herself 100% Ethiopian, at least at that particular moment.

Initial Research Questions

Research Question (1a): How do Ethiopian immigrants evaluate their Ethiopian education in preparing them for acculturation?

Alimitu credited her education in Ethiopia with giving her a foundation which served her well during the stress of immigration. She is grateful to her family for providing her with an example of the importance of education. They lifted up education as a priority in their children's lives, and left Alimitu feeling lucky to have the chance to pursue an education, especially in her early years, when she was well aware that many girls, especially in rural areas, would not have been able to attend school. At each stage in her life, Alimitu's parents sacrificed to provide her with the best education available: the exclusive school in Addis Ababa, the Indian/British and Catholic schools in Gondar, and then the best public school back in Addis Ababa when Alimitu was not admitted to the elite high school.

Part of Alimitu's foundation was curricular, such as studying English or having the experience of preparing for—and sometimes failing—examinations. Part of her experience, though, and the more important part, as determined by both her explicit

statements and her emphasis in making those statements, was outside the regular curriculum. She remembered that her school in Gondar provided her with the opportunity to mix with children from different backgrounds, and declared it "a rich way of knowing." It was this rich mixture, of course, that gave her the experience of bartering urban yarn for rural berries, which she explained as "also a part of the educational system."

Alimitu also repeatedly commented that the fathers and the sisters who taught at her Catholic school were much more than mere dispensers of subject matter, but that they nurtured her entire personality. Even though this experience was followed by years of large classes in public schools, the memory and ideal remained. Later, when Alimitu was alone in a foreign culture, that memory seems to have prompted her to seek out a mentor, the woman from the Caribbean, who continues to remain a strong influence.

Alimitu's difficult experiences in her middle school and high school years, with large classes, curricula based on standardized tests, and teachers who relied on a system of ingrained fear, created a counter-example to the idyllic memories of her early years. When she came to the United States, she sought alternative experiences, in some ways a return to the private schools of her childhood. Her online courses relieved her of the pressure of performing in front of a large class and gave her the security of comparative anonymity. At the same time, though, the online courses allowed her both to seek a mentor who nurtured her and to move beyond that sheltered stage when she was ready.

Alimitu's education in Ethiopia, then, can be seen as sowing good seeds for her successful acculturation to her life in the United States. It gave her an appreciation of the importance of education, many experiences of the joy of learning, including multi-

cultural and extra-curricular learning, and taught her the importance of seeking mentors. Her later education in Ethiopia contributed counter-examples which strengthened her, along with the experience of academic failure followed by success.

Research Question (1b): How do Ethiopian immigrants evaluate their U.S. education in helping them in acculturation?

Alimitu's education in the United States has been very freeing, with many choices possible both in content and in format. As already pointed out, her online courses helped in scaffolding both her academic and social progress, and balanced at least partially the need for anonymous protection with the need for a personal relationship with the online mentor. Suggestions for improvement which might be gleaned from Alimitu's narrative include a more intentional approach to mentoring. Alimitu was well-prepared by her culture and her earlier academic experiences to seek a mentor. She was so immersed in a communal culture in Ethiopia that she even had her classmates debate her major! But there may be immigrants who are not so equipped, possibly because of less experience with mentoring, less familiarity with available resources, or less proficiency in English. Another suggestion explicitly came from Alimitu herself, who found to her dismay that the lack of an internship experience in the workplace seriously handicapped her further achievement. It is reasonable to suggest, then, that any program specifically designed to help acculturation include both an academic component and a 'real-world', hands-on component which requires social interaction.

Research Question (2a): Do the respondents' self-assessments, viewed

individually, show that their acculturation is differentiated among the three dimensions

of the theory?

By assigning herself scores of 85%, 70%, and 0% American on the three dimensions, Alimitu shows that she sees her acculturation as differentiated among the three dimensions. This finding of dissimilar scores fits the theoretical model's prediction of variation across the three dimensions within a single individual, as shown in Figure 9.

dimension		language	behavior	identity
	100			
	90	▓		
	80	▓		
	70	▓	▓	
	60	▓	▓	
	50	▓	▓	
	40	▓	▓	
	30	▓	▓	
	20	▓	▓	
	10	▓	▓	

Percent Americanized, to the nearest 10%

Figure 9. Alimitu: Self-Report of Americanization
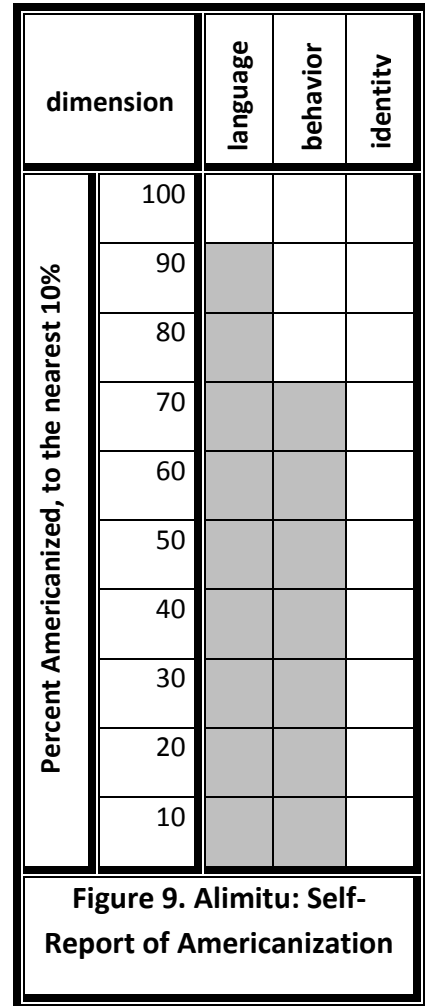
Introduction

The initial contact for this interview was made through a friend from West Africa who lived in California. I mentioned that I would be visiting the area and asked if it would be possible to talk with Ethiopian immigrants. The West African friend phoned Badaka, who agreed to meet with me. The interview took place in early evening at a church compound which had recently been purchased by the local community of Ethiopian immigrants. This is Badaka's congregation, his turf. He had arranged for permission to use the church, he had unlocked the door and turned on the light, and he decided the room arrangements, such as where the video tripod was to stand and where he and I would sit.

Badaka is a tall man for an Ethiopian from the highlands, about average height for most Americans. His skin would probably be categorized as brown by most Caucasian Americans, but it is a lighter shade than most Ethiopians' skin. His shoulders are slightly rounded, and he shows a little softness in the belly just above his belt-line. He has a thin, black mustache, wire-rimmed glasses, and a calm, reserved expression. His hair, though receding, is still dark. It is cut very short. He looks like an accountant, very controlled and precise. For the interview, he wore a casual, collared T-shirt with black and white stripes, khaki slacks, and brown leather shoes with pointed toes, slightly turned up at the end in Ethiopian fashion.

At the start of the interview, Badaka was obviously distracted by the video camera. He adjusted his glasses and touched the collar of his shirt, checking to see if it

was neatly arranged. He crossed and uncrossed his arms several times before selecting a pose: leaning back a little in his chair with his hands clasped at the table's edge. As the interview progressed, though, he became caught up in his stories. He lost his reserve, and his face became quite animated. His gestures were graceful and expansive, whether showing with a wide sweep how high his village was in the mountains, or outlining on the table top exactly how the highway reached the main town of his region.

Life Story: From the Highland Village

Ethiopia: "Education. That is the only way out." Badaka is 53 years old, "at least by what I know." He isn't sure. He was born in the southern region of the Ethiopian highlands, in a little village at an elevation of perhaps 10,000 feet. In the half century since he was born there, the village has grown into a small town, and a gravel road now connects it with the main highway between Addis Ababa and the capitals of the southern provinces. In Badaka's earliest memories, however, the village was extremely isolated, and it was a rare adventure for anyone in the village to walk the fifty kilometers to the town of Tulu Bolo, on the main road, which was simply gravel in those days.

Badaka's ethnicity is Gurage, one of the many smaller ethnic groups that have been incorporated into the province of Oromia. He learned the Gurage language, the language of his heart, as a toddler. Badaka was by far the youngest child in the family; his brothers and sisters were all grown when he was born. His mother died when he was about four, and one of his older sisters came back to the family home to help their father and to raise Badaka alongside her five children. She was married to an Oromo man, so Badaka learned Oromifu, the language of the Oromo people, from his sister and her

children, his cousins, starting at about age five. He grew up bilingually, then, in a village which had no school.

Badaka lived in a traditional, circular, one-room house with short mud walls and a high, conical roof thatched in native grass. "We shared that small hut with domesticated animals and dogs, horses, cows. Everybody slept together. So that is what our life was like. But we loved it. We were not depressed."

Badaka's father eventually remarried, again to a Gurage woman. His older sister moved with her Oromifu-speaking family to Addis Ababa, the nation's capital city, and his father's new wife raised him in Gurage, his native language. When Badaka was about 11, his father's second wife adopted him as her own child. Noticing that Badaka appeared intelligent, she then encouraged Badaka's father to make arrangements through their extended family for Badaka to go to Addis Ababa for education. "I had to walk twelve hours, from sunrise to sunset, to get to Tulu Bolo. That is a long day for a young man at the age of twelve."

After riding an over-crowded bus for days to reach Addis Ababa, unimaginably far away from home, Badaka lived with his sister in a house that was nearly traditional, but with a corrugated metal roof instead of thatch. "We were poor, dirt poor." Badaka straightened his glasses and shook his head. "It is very hard to talk about." He stroked his mustache, covering his mouth for a moment, and then crossed his arms. "I didn't have enough to eat. Just put it that way." He quickly adds, "Not her fault. I remember at times asking her to split my lunch in half so I could eat something for breakfast, something for lunch."

"What I did, I remember, was to look up to my brother, who worked for the Ethiopian Airlines." Badaka looked intently at me, making sure that the significance of this explanation was understood. "I wanted to be like him. I wanted to get out of my poverty. I decided to work hard. Education, that is the only way out."

At the age of about 12, then, in Addis Ababa, Badaka started his formal education in kindergarten—"They call it Zero Grade in Ethiopia"—alongside a variety of other children, some only half his age. "It was a small, private school, run by an individual who wanted to make a profit." Badaka explained, "It was fifty cents a month that I paid, and finding that fifty cents was a challenge." Badaka sat back in his chair, looked at the ceiling for a moment, and added, "That's where I learned the Amharic language." He smiled, but with his mouth closed. "I guess I was smart at the time. Within three years I was in sixth grade."

When Badaka was in ninth grade, the government of long-time Emperor Haile Selassie was overthrown and the Derg, a ruling committee of communist revolutionaries, came to power. "The education system went down south in one night, you could say." He offered a detailed description:

> Haile Selassie brought a lot of Indians to our country. They taught really well, so smart kids came out of the system and joined colleges. Then he sent a lot of them outside the country, like France, America, Britain. He sent them all over the place. One hundred percent of them during his time went back to Ethiopia to serve. They became prime ministers and all kinds of high class citizens.

Asked to explain why the students who had experienced these foreign studies didn't stay overseas, Badaka suggested that it was because they wanted to serve their people, as well as knowing that "they can live better than the average person in Ethiopia."

He then explained the changed situation after the Derg came to power. "The Indian teachers they used to teach us were being rebuked if they taught the right lessons. So they just did minimum work and went home." Badaka summarized the feelings of much of the nation: "It was a terrible time." He continued attending the public high school until his senior year, and then realized that he couldn't follow that course of study and still expect to pass the national exams to enter university. He dropped out, enrolled in a Catholic night school, and worked all day in order to afford the tuition fees. He passed the admittance exam for university with the minimum acceptable score, 2.6 on a four-point scale. He found a job as an accountant at a hotel chain, but it was very difficult to work full time and attend school, too. He dropped out after only a single semester. "I wanted to focus on school, just on school." Besides, he was becoming aware of just how far the living situation had deteriorated. "The country was becoming unbearable to live in. People were being killed left and right. In order to travel to my village, I had to get a written visa, even within my own country."

About three months after Badaka dropped out of school, his older brother came from Lagos, Nigeria, where he was based with Ethiopian Airlines, to stay for a short time in Addis Ababa. He phoned Badaka, who explained that he had dropped school in order to work full-time. Badaka then said to his brother, "'I know if I was one of your sons, you would have taken me to America.' By that time, his kids were here [in the United States]. I said, 'You raised me with your sons, but not anymore.'" Badaka smiled at the memory. "Then I just kept quiet, both of us on the phone. It was his turn to say something. He said, 'Save your money for another year. I'll take you to Nigeria and then to America.'"

Badaka leaned back in the chair, his hands at rest on the table in front of him. "That was 1983. January 17 was the day I left. I came here May 23 and I've been here ever since."

Immigration: "How can he not know this?" Badaka came to California because his cousins were already in Los Angeles. "Oh, my goodness!" he recalls. "It was more than I could imagine or grasp. Mostly, I was very, very happy to see all of these technologies." As Badaka recounted this experience, his face was lively, his eyes opening so widely that his forehead wrinkled. "At the time, there were these huge cars. I guess the fuel was very inexpensive. The freeway system. Then the skyscrapers. Just incredible. I was at a loss."

One of his earliest impressions was being a pedestrian in LA. He had to walk about two miles along a major street to go to church on Sundays. "On this street where I was walking, everyone was driving. I felt like a sinner."

After becoming accustomed to public transport, he usually rode the bus. "It broke my heart at some point to see older people hang on to dear life while the younger people are sitting, putting their feet up like this . . ." Badaka mimed the act of crossing his legs and then pretended to put his feet on the table. His shoes never actually touched the table top.

> They were enjoying their life, putting music on their ears. I felt sad for the older people. I soon learned that the older you get the less respect you have. Which is just the opposite in Ethiopia. You are more respected the older you are.

Badaka then recounted a story from the school where he attended evening classes, where his classmates were mostly Hispanic. One evening, his history teacher, who was African-American, mentioned the Ku Klux Klan. Badaka had never heard of the KKK, so

he raised his hand and asked what it was. "Everybody just laughed. That was a stupid question apparently. Everyone else knew." He explained, "Here is this guy who looks like an African-American; how can he not know this?" After the teacher explained the history of white dominance in the United States, and the continuing prejudice against blacks, sometimes including such acts as cross-burning, "That was the day I was scared. That was not a pleasant thing to hear in this wonderful land where I thought everyone was getting along."

Badaka also recollected many fun times in his early days in the United States, such as going to Catalina Island with a group of young people from his church. Still, there was a definite learning curve. "They wore jeans. I wore a suit." His Baptist church community, primarily Caucasian, served as his support group as he was learning about American culture. Later, the Ethiopian immigrant community bought its own building and formed its own congregation. He met his wife at a youth gathering in the Ethiopian church. She is a native Amharic speaker, born in Ethiopia. She came to the United States at age 15 or 16, and "We were attracted to each other. We got married. It's been 25 lovely years." They have four sons, two of whom recently graduated from college. The third son is still in college, and the youngest in high school.

Badaka shared two stories of racial discrimination; they were clearly important experiences for him. One evening in the late 1990's, he entered a restaurant with his wife and children and waited in line. They were ignored by the woman at the counter, who started seating the people behind him. He confronted her. "I said, 'Excuse me, am I invisible or something? Here are my kids, I'm here. Why don't you ask me instead of him?'" While retelling this story, Badaka leaned forward, his face revealing his emotions,

his hands outstretched in a pleading gesture. "It was difficult. She was embarrassed." A grim smile on his face, Badaka leaned back in his chair and clasped his hands again. He explained, "[This town] is getting better, much better now. But there are still pockets you want to avoid."

He then recounted another example of standing up to prejudice, when the Human Resource Office of his company put on a training exercise for the staff. There were about 19 employees, three of whom were black. The facilitator directed the employees to separate themselves into three groups: white men, white women, and colored people.

> I was furious about this. I raised my hand and asked, "What do you mean by colored people?" She said, "Everyone but white."' I said, "You mean white is not a color?" Everyone laughed. I said, "I am not willing to participate in this exercise. I'll wait outside. When you are finished, I will come back." Everyone was shocked. I was taking a risk. My boss was there. My boss's boss was there. But I should not be identified by my color.

> So another person raised his hand and said, "In the year of 2002, I'm surprised that we're still talking about this issue. We should pass this wall." And he goes, "I completely agree with Badaka. If we need to practice this, we should all do it together." These kind of issues, I can't handle. Because I didn't grow up in this kind of environment. It is hard for me to take it in and be quiet about it.

When asked to reflect about discrimination in Ethiopia, Badaka explained that he wanted to be honest. He admitted that yes, there had been some discrimination. He then talked extensively about his ethnic group, the Gurage, who are famous as entrepreneurs. "We go out there and make money. We will clean your shoes. We will do anything. If a Gurage was in power, Ethiopia would not be begging today." Badaka then finally circled back to answer the question of racial discrimination in Ethiopia. "I have never been discriminated against, but I know people who have been. Dark faced people. Anyone who does not have a straight nose, or the facial structure that I have."

United States: Education, "the basis for all of the things that happen." When Badaka first came to the United States, he went to a school for adult immigrants and studied English and history. He explained his choice to focus on history by saying, "I wanted to assimilate with the country, with the people. I wanted to learn how Americans, in 200 years, got where they are." Ever since he arrived in the United States thirty years ago, he has listened to only one radio station every day: National Public Radio. "This English accent were improved from the training I've received and listening to the radio programs."

After his evening classes for immigrants, Badaka went to Santa Monica College. "It's a two year college, but it took me three years because I was supporting myself and going to school at the same time." Then he went to San Jose State, where he earned a business administration degree, which landed him a job as an accountant.

Badaka expressed two regrets about his progress in the United States. First, he took a year and a half off 'between the time I was married and the time I joined San Jose State University. I regret that to this day." Second, he regrets not applying for government help for his education. "I paid for my school, my place to live. It was a matter of principle. Looking back, I would have taken the bone, taken the grants, to go to school. Now my kids are."

In Badaka's opinion, U.S. schools are doing "a marvelous job" of training immigrants in this country. He sees the main difference in education between Ethiopia and the United States in the approach to mastery. In Ethiopia, memorization is emphasized, while in the United States, "You help them understand how . . ." Badaka looked around, searching for some item to use to illustrate his point. ". . . this piece of

paper is made. You teach them from start to finish, the number of trees that were cut, all step-by-step." He then added, "You can memorize history, but even history, there are things, the story, going back and learning those reasons, the background."

Badaka also commented on the rising costs of university education. "College is becoming out of reach for the average person." As he warmed to the subject, he pointed out, "You need to do something about education. That is the basis for all of the things that happen in this country." He gestured with both arms to include the entire room where the interview was being held. "You can't build this house without good education, technology, engineering. Everything that came together to build this house came as a result of education. It is because we [Ethiopians] don't have education that we build our house with mud and sticks." He then compared U.S. education to Germany's.

> I have a brother who is a German citizen. He told me that higher education is free in Germany as long as you pay for your food and shelter. Why can't we in America do that? How on earth these senators and house of representatives cannot see the danger that is happening in their own eyes right there. I just don't get it.

Badaka works as a financial system analyst for a large publishing corporation. "I feel blessed about my job. Accounting work becomes repetitious. So God gave me this opportunity." He sees his job as helping people, which he loves to do. "In this case, I'm paid doing what I love to do, not only the helping aspect, but the systems, how things work together to bring you this nice report at the end of the month."

He described himself as heavily involved with his church. In 2005, Badaka and his wife went to Ethiopia with seven Americans from his church. They went as translators, as cultural interpreters, and as coordinators for a church mission project. On the way back from the mission site, he asked the group to take a detour to visit his home village. After spending the night in the village guest house, "The next morning we saw

this little boy fetching water. It was very dirty water. No one in his right mind would wash his feet [in it], let alone drink it." Badaka paused for a moment, remembering the scene. He then continued, "So, that's the same spring water I use to collect when I was growing up. I was a little depressed, to say the least. I decided to do something about that to help."

Badaka returned to California and raised money. He smiled while telling the story, a Gurage in his element. "I washed cars. I had some garage sales. I sold all my African collections. Did some begging at the church." His smile became a grin. "I collected about six thousand dollars." After six months of fund-raising, Baraka and his eldest son returned to Ethiopia, to his native village. "It was a great experience. I got that water fixed, the spring protected. They have a big tank now, and out of that tank comes water, really clean water."

He continued the story, describing how he then got the idea of bringing education to the village. The village elders gave him 10,000 square meters, and through more fund-raising in both Ethiopian and Anglophone churches in California, he funded and oversaw the building of an elementary school in the village. He then set up a scholarship program that sent 43 students from the village to Tulu Bolo for high school. "Those same students today have graduated from college, believe it or not." Badaka leans back in his chair, his eyes shining behind his glasses. "I'm just happy. I used to say, give me 80 good years of life to live, I'll be happy and say good-bye. But I'm now begging for 120 years to do more."

Badaka started his own association, called African Village Outreach, which has become a registered charitable organization. They have hired a full-time employee, and

currently support 120 high school students and 23 college students, all from his home village. They have also recently reached out to three neighboring villages to start programs to improve both health and education, similar to the work that Badaka pioneered in this home village.

Focus on the Theoretical Model's Dimensions

Language. Badaka studied English starting in seventh grade, but the students never spoke the language outside the classroom. "I had to start from scratch here." The easiest part of learning English was saying the words, and he doesn't really feel that there is a particular part of English that was difficult for him to learn. He recognizes that he has an accent, and that a native English speaker knows that he is foreign. He sees this as a result of his immigration at the age of 23. "To me, it is somewhat difficult, because I came a little bit late. But still I can communicate. People can understand what I say." Americans, Badaka confided, tend to think that he is from the Middle East or somewhere like the Bahamas.

Badaka and his wife speak Amharic in their home, and their children were raised to understand spoken Amharic. The children, however, never became fluent in Amharic, and tended to reply in English to questions asked in Amharic, even at an early age. They neither read nor write Amharic. Badaka explained at length.

> I pushed my kids, on purpose, don't ever speak any different way of speaking the English language, but proper English. There was a time in Oakland, they were trying to introduce Eubonics, a black American English as a language of its own. I detest that language. If my kids spoke that language, they would not be successful in the workplace. All my kids speak fluent English.

Badaka does not know what language he usually dreams in, but reported that he usually thinks privately in English. There is only one place outside his home where he regularly speaks Amharic, and that is at church.

Behavior. Badaka was openly puzzled by questions about whether his behavior was more influenced by Ethiopia or the United States. The only specific observation that Badaka offered about behavior, stating that it was true for both himself and other immigrants, is that "I can tell an Ethiopian by the way he walks." He summarized his acculturation by saying, "I think that I have assimilated very well to this country." When asked to give an example of some aspect of Ethiopian culture that he would want to keep, he talked about the respect which he feels that people should give to others, "Just because he is a person that God created in His own way." He went on to add, "There are so many things I love about my country." Badaka touched both hands to his heart. "The love we share with each other. The culture of the home, the family environment. Those kinds of things I want to keep, to pass on to my kids."

One of the things that Badaka does not like about Ethiopian culture is the amount of gossip among any given group. He also spoke with some disdain about current immigrants. "They are not willing to drop what they've brought with them and assimilate with the culture in American. They live in America but like they are in Ethiopia."

Badaka is in constant contact with people in Ethiopia by both phone and email, and visits regularly. The first time he visited Ethiopia, "It felt strange. The situation wasn't the same as when I left it. But not anymore. I can become just like them. When I go to my village, I wear what they wear and become like them." He has no problem moving back and forth between the two cultures.

Identity. Badaka reported that acquiring language was the fastest aspect of assimilation for him, while cultural identity was the slowest. He rates himself as earning an eight out of ten on English language ability, and a five out of ten in American behavior. When asked about his cultural identity, though, he did not provide a number. He simply replied, "I always think of myself as an Ethiopian. Always. If you cut this skin, you would smell Ethiopia." This statement is supported by various phrases which Badaka used throughout the interview, including, when talking about Ethiopia, "There are so many things I love about my country." Though he left Ethiopia thirty years ago, he still refers to it as "my country." In addition to simply stating that he loves Ethiopia, Badaka has devoted his life to actions which demonstrate that love, such as initiating his work in education and health for his native village, and then expanding that work to reach out to neighboring villages.

At the end of the interview, in response to being asked if there was anything else that he would like to add, Badaka gave a long description of the different ministries of African Village Outreach and proudly displayed a small, trifold brochure about the ministry. The brochure was professionally produced, and showed full-color photos of his village, including the traditional houses, the well and water tank, and smiling students in clean uniforms. Badaka enthusiastically described all the good work that they have already done, as well as his vision for further work in the neighboring villages, and invited me to contribute to the work of African Village Outreach.

Individual Analysis

Introduction

The narrative of Badaka's life starts in a tiny village in the Ethiopian Highlands, then shifts to Addis Ababa on the Ethiopian Plateau, and eventually reaches the Central Valley of California. While physically a long journey toward sea level, his life story constitutes an equally dramatic journey of upward mobility. This single lifespan traces a journey from sharing a one-room hut with farm animals, like European peasants did in the Middle Ages, to modern urban life, replicating a journey that has taken most of the Western world several centuries to complete.

This life trajectory also includes three of the historical strands of Ethiopian education. Leaving his non-formal (though in his case, multi-lingual) education in a traditional village, Badaka took part in modern education, first in schools patterned on those started by the modern missionary movement and then in dramatically altered schools after the takeover by the Derg regime.

Badaka's narrative also shows the persistence of the troubling topic of ethnic identity. Though he now identifies himself as "Ethiopian," his behavior continues to be stereotypical Gurage, complete to the point of attempting to raise money during the interview. More telling is his emphasis on helping the Gurage villages of his childhood region, not villages in other, perhaps more impoverished areas of the country.

In spite of enduring dramatic hardships, Badaka is quick to avoid even the appearance of blaming anyone for the difficulties of his early life. For example, when describing the grim days of hunger when he lived with his sister in Addis Ababa, he was quick to point out that their poverty was "Not her fault." In one sense, it is fitting that

Badaka does not know his exact birthday, or even the year that he was born. Though he has not (yet) been granted the 120 years of life that he would like to see, he has already lived two vividly different lives. His current incarnation started with his travel to the United States, and he remembers the dates of both his departure from Ethiopia and his arrival in California as well as most U.S. citizens know their birthdays.

Analysis According to the Theoretical Model's Dimensions

Language. Badaka was bilingual (Gurage and Oromifu) before he ever set foot in a classroom, and has learned two additional languages (Amharic and English) since he started his formal education. He thinks in English, his fourth language, most of the time, speaking Amharic only in church. Oromifu and Gurage are typically only used on his trips to Africa. He is aware that he makes errors in English, and explains that this difficulty with the language is because he "came a little bit late" to the United States at age 23. His most common errors are in word choice. Several examples are reported in the case study above, such as using 'house' for 'building' when describing his church, "I use to collect . . ." instead of 'I used to collect . . .' when talking about the water in his village, and "these senators and house of representatives" instead of 'senators and representatives' when discussing elected officials in the U.S. Congress. He also makes occasional errors in verb usage, such as "This English accent were improved . . ." Badaka accurately assesses his fluency, though, when he observes that "people can understand what I say." Badaka gave himself a rating of 80% in English. I agree with Badaka's self-assessment of his English-language skills, and found him a fluent and articulate respondent. His English, while accented, is easily understood, and he uses such informal

English words as 'kids.' His step-mother was prescient in identifying him as someone willing and able to learn.

It is also worth noting that Badaka's goal, both for himself and for his sons, is assimilation into the society of his adopted country. The purpose of English language learning is straight-forward, and very Gurage: speaking "proper English" is important in order to "be successful in the workplace."

Behavior. Badaka was quite articulate about his early impressions of the United States, and openly described his amazement at Western technology. His sense of isolation in his new homeland was eloquently expressed by his description of himself as a pedestrian in Los Angeles: "I felt like a sinner." Those times are clearly far behind him now, though, and he has a quiet command of modern life in 21st century California. It is puzzling, then, to see that he rated himself at 50% acculturation in behavior.

It is important to note that his narrative description does not describe him as half competent in a U.S. setting and half competent in an Ethiopian setting. He admits that the first time that he traveled to Ethiopia, the cultural shift felt strange, but now "I can become just like them. When I go back to my village, I wear what they wear and become like them." His score of 50%, then, might be interpreted as able to move smoothly between the two cultures, just as he can switch with ease from one language to another. He acknowledges that he acculturated more slowly in behavior than in language acquisition, and gave himself a correspondingly higher number.

Identity. Badaka was uninterested in talking about his identity, which to him was a simple, yes/no answer. In his case, his answer was memorable, and absolutely clear even in the face of his refusal to assign a number to his acculturation: "I always think of

myself as an Ethiopian. Always. If you cut this skin, you would smell Ethiopia." In light of this statement, I have assigned a score of 0% American for Badaka's acculturation in the identity dimension.

Initial Research Questions

Research Question (1a): How do Ethiopian immigrants evaluate their Ethiopian education in preparing them for acculturation?

Badaka did not share many details about his education in Ethiopia. He was content to generalize, and expressed only understated summaries such as, "I guess I was smart at the time." It is possible that his reluctance to provide rich detail was merely a function of elapsed time; he has lived in the United States for thirty years. It is more likely, though, that he simply considered the details unimportant. After all, he identified education as his central concern, "the only way out" of poverty, and pursuing education became the entire focus of his life. When he described the results of the downfall of Haile Selassie, for instance, he only briefly mentioned the increasing violence in the nation, and such inconveniences as the requirement of a written visa to visit his native village. In contrast, he described in detail the changes in education wrought by the Derg, as well as his desperation to continue his education. His attitude toward his Ethiopian education, then, can best be determined by his actions, which show a series of sacrifices to continue his education. First, of course, was the sacrifice of leaving his native village at the age of twelve and traveling to Addis Ababa so that he could start 'Zero Grade.' Second, he quit public high school and enrolled at a private night school, even though he then needed to work all day in order to afford the school fees, in order to increase his chances of being admitted to the university. Finally, he was so dedicated to education that, ironically, he

was willing to drop out of school in order to earn enough money to become a full-time student in a later semester.

The only specific remark that Badaka made about Ethiopian curriculum was negative, when he observed that he had to "start from scratch" at learning English in the United States. He attributed this lack of preparation to never really practicing the language outside the classroom. This observation, then, might be interpreted as a suggestion for immersion as a better way of teaching language than simply relying on rote work in the classroom.

Badaka appears to make sense of his Ethiopian educational experience as part of the overall trajectory of his life: an opportunity from God which requires human work to be realized and is meant to be used for service. When Badaka explained why the foreign exchange students of Haile Selassie's day returned to Ethiopia, he saw no conflict between their desire to serve their country and their wish to "live better than the average person in Ethiopia." In the same way, his hard work finding the 50 cent monthly fee for his primary school led to educational success, which allowed him to be hired for a job. Sometimes the two sides of his life, education and work, interfered with each other, such as when he dropped out of the education he loved in order to earn enough money so that he could focus solely on learning when the time came. That time came, of course, when his brother agreed to send him to the United States, but only on the condition that Badaka save money for an extra year. Education lead to opportunity, which lead to more education and yet more opportunity, and hard work fueled both sides of the equation. Badaka's education was simply one more arena in which to work, and to work hard.

Research Question (1b): How do Ethiopian immigrants evaluate their U.S. education in helping them in acculturation?

Once he arrived in the United States, Badaka continually sought educational opportunities. From his first evening classes for adult immigrants, where he studied history with the goal of understanding his new culture and assimilating into it, to the three years of study for his associate degree at Santa Monica College, and then through his work at San Jose State University, Badaka held to his upward trajectory of learning. The only break in this years-long regimen, the 18 months taken off from school after he married, he regrets "to this day." Badaka evaluates his U.S. education with a general word of praise saying simply that U.S. schools are doing "a marvelous job" of educating immigrants. In contrast to his account of Ethiopian education, Badaka openly expressed joy in learning in the U.S. system, especially in the U.S. practice of teaching in-depth mastery rather than simply memorizing for exams. He offered no specific suggestions for improvement, but instead voiced extensive concerns about the increasing cost of education. As with his Ethiopian education, the final summary of his opinion is more evident in his actions than in his words; he has used the income made possible by his U.S. education to enhance educational opportunities for others in his home village.

Research Question (2a): Do the respondents' self-assessments, viewed individually, show that their acculturation is differentiated among the three dimensions of the theory?

There is admittedly confusion about how to best interpret Badaka's assigned score of 50% in behavior. But whether the number is recorded as he assigned it, 50%, or as 100%, showing him completely at ease in his adopted culture (as well as in his native

culture), the score fails to match the scores of the other two dimensions. Since either score produces the same answer to the research question, it doesn't really matter which numerical value is used in order to address this research question. I have decided to use the score that Badaka reported: 50%.

As noted above, Badaka also failed to provide a specific score for his identity dimension. I interpreted the statement, "I always think of myself as an Ethiopian. Always. If you cut this skin, you would smell Ethiopia." as meriting a score of 0% American in the identity dimension for acculturation.

By assigning himself scores of 80%, 50%, and 0%, Badaka shows that he sees his acculturation as differentiated among the three dimensions. This finding of dissimilar scores fits the theoretical model's prediction of variation across the three dimensions within a single individual, as shown in Figure 10.

dimension	language	behavior	identity
100			
90			
80	▓		
70	▓		
60	▓		
50	▓	▓	
40	▓	▓	
30	▓	▓	
20	▓	▓	
10	▓	▓	

Percent Americanized, to the nearest 10%

Figure 10. Badaka: Self-Report of Americanization
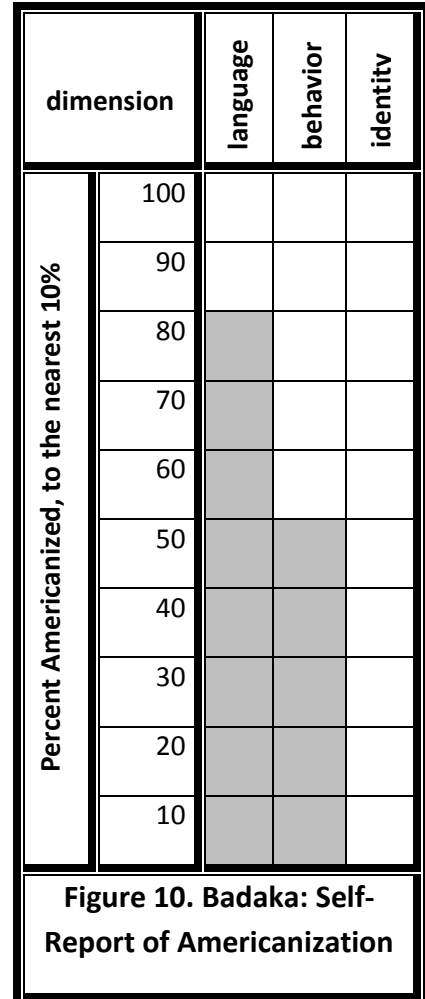
Individual Narrative

Introduction

This interview, which took place in the local Ethiopian Church in a town in Central California, was arranged by one of the church elders, who had invited Camachu to take part. The interview took place in one of the small meeting rooms of the church. The church was recently purchased by the congregation from a mainline Protestant congregation which had closed. Walls were clean but bare of decorations. Directly under a florescent light fixture, Camachu sat across from me at a heavy, wooden table.

Camachu is a classically handsome young Ethiopian man, with a profile like Alexander the Great on an ancient coin. He is taller than a typical Ethiopian highlander, nearly average height for an American, and solidly muscled. He has medium-brown skin and large, expressive eyes. His hair is completely black: a rough cap of loose curls, heavy eyebrows, and a tentative patch of beard along the underside of his chin. Camachu was dressed for the evening interview in well-shined leather shoes, jeans, and a long-sleeved T-shirt with horizontal black and white stripes.

After the first few minutes of the video-recorded interview, Camachu appeared completely relaxed. He laughed easily and at times bantered with me. His gestures were graceful, often employing the entire length of his arm. He has restless hands, and often drums his fingers lightly on the table. Sometimes his gestures use the entire hand as a single unit, like a mitten. More often, though, his separate fingers encompass a wider area. A characteristic gesture is for him to reach forward with his right hand, pink palm down, the fingers spread like drooping leaves. If he wishes to particularly emphasize a

point, the same gesture results in his fingers tapping in unison on the table top, like a bouncing tipi.

Camachu is 30 years old. He laughed when I commented that he didn't look 30. "Younger, huh?" Camachu asked, and laughed again. He had heard that observation before.

Life Story: From the Secret Police

Ethiopia: "You might not get what you deserve." When asked his ethnicity, Camachu replied that he is Gurage, one of the larger minority ethnic groups from the southern part of the Ethiopian highlands. The Gurage people, though currently maintaining their language and identity, are a minority within the province of Oromia, with its majority Oromo ethnic group. "My ethnic is Gurage," he stated, and then added, "My dad is from the Gurage. My mom is from the Amhara tribe." He was born and raised in Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia, where Amharic is dominant. He learned to speak Amharic as his first language, both from his mother and from his surrounding community. Since his father spoke with his mother in Amharic, Camachu never learned to speak Gurage. He speaks Amharic and English.

Camachu's father "was in a lot of sectors." He worked as an entrepreneur, owning a series of small businesses including a restaurant and a small travel agency. "Because of the war that happened in Eritrea, it was very hard to continue that business." When his travel agency failed, Camachu's father got a job with an Ethiopian package delivery company and later moved to FedEx, where he was a company manager. The company did not do very well, so he started another small business for himself, and then went back to

school for his Master's degree. Meanwhile, Camachu's mother was a homemaker, with a part-time job as a secretary in an attorney's office.

Camachu was the oldest of four children. The younger three are all girls. "I used to kind of feel like I was alone. Give me one brother, any brother!" They grew up together, along with one of his father's younger sisters, in their small household in Addis Ababa. Camachu is the only member of the family to have emigrated.

Camachu started kindergarten "very early because I was so active." His father was enlisted to work by the Derg, the ruling communist government, and disappeared from the family for a year. "When he came back, I had missed him so much, so I stayed [home] with him for a year." Then Camachu re-started school, at about age six. He attended a private school and did well as a student. "We got a very good education. The payment was good, too!" Camachu laughed at his wry statement about the cost of school at the time, and continued the story of his education. "I was doing good until . . ." Camachu paused, looked away, and then raised his eyebrows and shrugged. "I really loved soccer. I wanted to be a good soccer player, so I gave up everything for that." He then described his father's support of this interest in soccer, even though he knew his father was disappointed when Camachu's grades suffered. "He was a really good dad, a model for me. I can say he is my hero." Camachu's father recognized that Camachu had the potential to be very good at soccer, and helped Camachu explore possibilities for advancement to higher levels of play. At the time, Camachu was grateful for his father's support, but he now admits that he was not old enough to see the long-term consequences of the choices he was making. When Camachu was a senior in high school the soccer program was closed. "I was so frustrated! Looking back, I can say that it was my turning

point. I think that was God's plan. I woke up, and determined to go for my education."

Camachu frowned. "I could have achieved a lot of things in education when I was in high

school. I kind of regret that I was not able to do that at that time." He then smiled,

irrepressible. "But at the time, soccer was everything!" After frittering away several years

of study, Camachu was not well-prepared for the college entrance exam. "They were only

taking high level students, those who scored three and above. I didn't score high

enough." Camachu's hands rested on the table, with no movement at all for a moment.

He went on to explain his dad's belief in education for the entire family, and his efforts to

support that belief.

> We all went to college and university. I can say we are successful. My dad is very
> happy about that. He was so determined to give us whatever it takes to give us an
> education. He worked very hard. It was not easy, especially for me. He sacrificed
> a lot, because I went to a private college.

Camachu's three sisters all passed their exams and were admitted to the public

university, but "you still have to struggle to stay there, to graduate." He added a comment

about the lack of academic support, compared to U.S. education. "In Ethiopia, you learn

things the hard way. It is really frustrating if you are not determined, if you don't have

the courage to go for it." Camachu completed a bachelor's degree from the private

university in Addis Ababa, where he graduated in accounting and management.

Camachu spent a lot of time discussing the current state of education in Ethiopia.

He leaned on his elbow, with his hand on his forehead, as he considered his comments.

At the high school level, "There is tremendous change, and it is a good thing." He

commented admiringly on the way that the private schools are becoming more attentive

to the curriculum, aligning it more closely with the university entrance exams. But he

added, "I can say that everything is connected with politics at the same time." The

government continues its attempts to gain more influence over all schools, public and private, and "the minister of education controls even private universities."

Camachu explained that there is stiff competition for spots in the university programs, and that the competition is entirely based on exam scores. "Sometimes you fill out the forms. They give you first choice, second choice, third choice. You might have like ten choices, and you might get your tenth choice."

Camachu then commented on his former classmates, who scored very well on the exams. "Most of them are in New York working for big companies. It is not because they could not go to the state universities, like me. They were not able to study what they wanted."

Camachu then commented on two additional problems with education in Ethiopia. First, he explained that the system, nationally centralized under the Ministry of Education, is slow to adapt to new ideas, such as the inclusion of courses on the management of information systems. "This was a new problem. In order to get it approved, it was a struggle for them. They have that problem all the time." Second, universities continue to grade on a strict curve. "They scale you, like if there are five students to get A, there should be two students to get F." In private schools, such as Camachu's, "If you work hard, you get what you deserve." In state universities, such as his sisters', "even if you work hard, you might not get what you deserve."

Immigration: "They were following me." Camachu decided to emigrate because he had attracted unwanted attention from the Zenawi government, which had replaced the Derg through a violent revolution. The country, following the 2005 elections, "was a huge mess there. That was so upsetting and sad." He frowned, and scratched his sparse

beard. "I didn't see any better things [coming] after that." He added, "There was a political problem at the time. They were following me, so I somehow had to just leave the country." When asked for further explanation, Camachu declined to provide details about exactly which agents of the government were following him, or how he knew about their scrutiny. "They were following me and following some of my friends. So we were just afraid that we might end up in jail."

Camachu heard that the government was granting visas for young men to attend a pilot-training program in Oklahoma. He applied, and was surprised when he was accepted. He came to the U.S., then, on a vocational-training visa for a program which didn't even interest him, except that it got him out of the country and away from political surveillance. "I was lucky," he said. "I think God heard my prayers."

Camachu never even visited Oklahoma. He went to California because he had some distant relatives living there, spent about six months with them, and then applied for asylum as a political refugee. It took another six months for his application to be processed and approved. "To come and sit here for one year was really hard. Somehow God showed me, and taught me."

Camachu remembers being surprised by the people in the United States. "I was afraid that it would be really hard for me to get started with different people, different cultures, different language." But he found it easy to fit in. "I think it is because California is really mixed. I was able to talk to different people." He shrugged, and smiled. "We were just expecting the stereotype that white people are not open." He was pleased to discover that stereotype was inaccurate.

United States: "All the means and chances are there." Camachu summarized his impression of American culture by saying, "Individualism is really popular, individual differences important. Everyone is for his or her privacy." The other thing that amazed him, especially after his experiences in education in Ethiopia, was the degree of opportunity in the United States. Camachu explained, while tapping the table top for emphasis, "It is encouraging for people to go for what they dream. If you really want to do something, if you are determined, if you sacrifice everything for what you want to do, you can do that."

During the three years that he has been in the United States, Camachu has relied on older Ethiopians in the immigrant community to act as mentors. They counseled him and helped him find the program of study that he really wanted: a hybrid program in accounting information systems through the University of Maryland. Camachu spends one semester taking classes on campus in Maryland, where he shares an apartment with another student, and then the next semester studying online from his own apartment in California. This much reliance on online courses is "a little bit challenging," he comments. "It really demands a lot of time." He is required to post assignments online each week, as well as write papers and exams. He adds that this regimen requires a lot of discipline, especially since he works full time as a taxicab driver. That job allows him to manage his time around his class requirements, and provides enough income to supplement his student loans. His current course will not only gain him certification in information systems, but will prepare him to take the Certified Public Accounting exam. He hopes to live in California rather than Maryland because of the familiar community of Ethiopian immigrants there, as well as the gentle climate. He found winter in Maryland

very cold. He also noted a difference in the lifestyle between the immigrant groups in Maryland and California. He found the California immigrant group more integrated with the larger culture. "Whether we like it or not, we have to associate ourselves with this culture, the American culture." Camachu found the Maryland group more insular. "They are pretty much living the same lifestyle they have back home."

After graduation with a Master's degree, Camachu plans to look for either a job in Silicon Valley or an internship of some sort to further his education. He looks at the future with optimism, and comments on opportunities in the United States by saying, "Here, once you find out what you want to learn, once you learn what you want to be, all the means and chances are there." Because of his official status as a refugee, who has broken the provisions of his initial visa and sought political asylum, Camachu cannot return to Ethiopia. Still, he dreams of doing "something to help really long-term" for his community "back home." He then explains, "In order for me to do that, I have to be capable of doing that financially."

When asked to reflect on his education in the United States, Camachu was quite complimentary. "The system is designed to accommodate people from different backgrounds. It wasn't hard for me to understand the school policy, the curriculum." He has not found any "specific area that should be changed." He added that "everything is hard. It requires a lot of work, but if you do what you are given, you are going to get credit for it."

The Ethiopian community, centered on the life of the church, has been an enormous help to Camachu. "I can see that we have a really deep relationship, deep love, and shared experiences." He also recognizes his debt to them for their mentoring during

the experience of immigration. "They have helped me a lot," he said, and added, "It was not really easy for me to be by myself." Because of the closeness of the Ethiopian congregation, he hasn't really had the chance to meet Ethiopians from different backgrounds. He is part of a pick-up group of soccer players who meet every Saturday to play informal games. This group includes Ethiopian immigrants from other ethnic groups.

When asked about his social life, Camachu smiled, shifted in his chair, and said, "I'm dating an American girl, a white girl right now. We have a relationship." He then glanced toward the closed door of the church meeting room. "But no one knows that." He laughed. They have been together for one year and six months, and the relationship has survived a semester of separation due to Camachu's studies on the East Coast.

He has had little contact with the local African-American community.

Focus on the Theoretical Model's Dimensions

Language. Camachu has studied English since elementary school in Addis Ababa, but commented, "Even if we know the language, the grammar and everything, it is not like speaking it. We don't exercise it. And since we don't speak in English, we don't really know it." It was challenging at first, then, in the United States, to communicate fluently. Because of his travels to both the east and west coasts, he has come into contact with many different accents. "Southern accent is different," he observed, and "When I go to Maryland, some parts of New Jersey and New York. That's different, too. It was not hard, but it wasn't easy." Camachu recognizes that he has an accent, and that a listener would instantly identify him as an immigrant. But his English can be easily understood, and he credits his girlfriend with helping him. "It wasn't hard

for her to understand me. But she would say, 'That is not the way you say it in English' sometimes. It was hard for me."

As a Master's degree student, Camachu reads in English incessantly. "It is not hard because of my English ability, but it is because of the subject matter that I am reading." He admitted to some difficulty in writing essays, but was helped by a writing course which was a requirement of his Master's program.

When asked about the language in which he dreams, Camachu became introspective, and paused a moment before answering. "I think now it is both." He nodded, as if satisfied with that answer, and then added, "After I came here, I have mixed. I dream in Amharic, I think. The setting is back home, but I'm here with white folks. It mixes."

Camachu said that he thinks mostly in Amharic instead of English, but that he splits his time about equally between the languages. "I hang out with Ethiopians. At the same time, I go to school and read English subject matter." He also pointed out that as a cab driver, he meets "different people who speak English, so I think I can say It is 50/50 or 60/40 [English : Amharic]."

Behavior. When asked about his behavior, Camachu said that someone looking at him would not know that he was not American until they heard his accent when he spoke. He added that his behavior is changing. "Every day is change. It is a kind of transformation somehow to the American culture. Because I am going to be here a long time, I have to be associated with the people, the language. I have to learn the system." He saw a lot of change in how he behaves and thinks, and gave himself a score of 60

percent American in behavior. "The things that I was not very confident about two years ago, are now OK. I understand now."

It is evident how closely tied language and behavior are in Camachu's mind, since he mentions language both in his initial response to the question about his behavior and again in thinking about the future implications of his "being here a long time."

Identity. Camachu spoke at length when asked what part of Ethiopian culture he would like to pass down to his children. He started by commenting about "The family culture. How you live your family life, spending time with your family." Then he moved to the idea of respect, gesturing with two fingers of each hand to mime quotation marks around the word. "The way we [Ethiopians] think of 'respect' is a little different than the way they [Americans] think of 'respect.'" He explained that he was mostly talking about respecting adults and elders, and provided an example. "If you are a kid, and a guest comes to your house, what we do is we stand and shake hands, welcoming them. If they don't know each other, they introduce themselves and say 'hi.'" He contrasts that Ethiopian ideal with how children behave in the United States. "Even the Ethiopian kids that were born here, raised here, they are Americanized. So when you go to their house, they don't stand up, they just sit there." He also gave another example of the difference between the two cultures as he sees it. In Ethiopia, "If you saw someone falling on the street, you can help him. But here what you can do is just call 911."

"I want to show my kids how things are," Camachu said, "but it is up to them. I want to give them the choice. Just sharing." He paused, unsure of how to continue. "I just want them to feel . . ." He touched his chest with both hands, and then gestured outward with his fingers spread, as if the ideas were being born from his heart. " . . . I'm their dad.

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I'm going to be there. At the same time, I want to be friends so that we can discuss

everything openly, because my dad was like that." Camachu said that, because of his

dad's approach to child-raising, "I've learned a lot of things. When I was a little kid, I

was given the option to do whatever I wanted. He would tell me 'this is going to hurt

you.' He would tell me there was a consequence." Camachu rapped the table with the

sides of his hands, outlining the boundaries with small, clear karate chops.

> He always wanted to show me things from his perspective, from God's
> perspective. I was raised like that and I really loved it. I realize that this was a gift.
> I want to do the same to my kids. I want to give them their freedom, but there has
> to be a limit to their freedom. A lot of family situations, family problems that we
> are facing right now in the American culture, I think the freedom is too much for
> the kids.

When asked which parts of U.S. culture still seem strange to him, Camachu

replied, "The culture is not strange, but it's because of our backgrounds. We were not

raised like this." He then commented, "There is too much individuality. They have their

opinion, you have your own opinion. They don't want to judge your opinion. They want

to accept your opinion." His hands flopped back and forth, over the table, first one palm

up and then the other, as if searching for reliable anchor points.

Camachu maintains contact with his sisters and father by video-conferencing. He

Skypes most frequently with one sister, who works for Ethiopian Airlines as a hostess,

because she has the best internet connection.

When asked about his cultural identity, Camachu replied flatly that he thinks of

himself as an Ethiopian. "I can't change my identity even if I wanted." There was no

need to elaborate.

He then returned to the subject of his girlfriend, and explained at some length, in a voice lowered so that it could not possibly reach beyond the interview room, the potential he sees for hardship in a cross-cultural marriage.

> There might be a problem raising kids, sharing stuff. I still have some difficulties with that, some awkward things. She is so respectful. She doesn't judge me because of my background. At the same time, there are things that she cannot change because that is her identity. That is why I'm trying to learn to control my life to some extent: the community's reaction is different. They fear that our cultural differences would somehow be a problem in the future. Different lifestyle, different purposes, different goals. Like I said, I want to do something for my family. She might not want me to do that. Sometime in the future that might be a problem and I would have to sacrifice a lot.

At the end of the interview, when I asked if Camachu had any other questions, he asked a series of in-depth questions about the possible outcomes of this study. He was interested in what the results of this study might show about different patterns of acculturation, and how those results might differ among immigrants from different cultures, if a series of similar studies were carried out in the future.

Camachu was also interested in possible insights into U.S. education that might be glimpsed through educational research. He recounted the story of one of his professors in Maryland who commented in class one day that the American education system had failed.

> It struck me, like what do you mean? I always wanted to ask him and discuss about it. We didn't have time. Now, I plan to email him and ask him his opinion. Why has it failed? What makes him say it has failed? I haven't seen that much problem. I have a lot of friends who go to community college. They have the same opinion; they are happy with the school. That is why I am wondering why he [the professor] said that.

Individual Analysis

Introduction

I initially wondered if a young man such as Camachu would be a helpful respondent, or if he would be hesitant to share personal information with a stranger who was not only separated from him by race and culture, but also by age. This anxiety was laid to rest, however; as it quickly became apparent that Camachu was quite open about sharing. By the end of the interview, for instance, he was confiding concerns about his cross-cultural relationship with his girlfriend, a relationship that his community of fellow immigrants was not even aware of. It is usually the interviewer's task to set the respondent at ease; in this case, we set each other at ease.

There was only one area which was clearly off-limits to the discussion: Camachu's political activity before his emigration. Many unanswered questions remain: What was the extent of Camachu's political involvement? What evidence did Camachu and his friends have that the government was keeping them under surveillance? What was the risk of imprisonment—or worse—that the group of young students faced? Was the government inept in granting an exit visa to a student under surveillance, or was the possibility of temporarily 'exporting' a young trouble-maker (and then permanently banishing him when he violated the terms of his exit visa) an attractive option for the government? Such speculation is futile; we don't know the answers. It is well-documented, however, that the current government, like the Derg before it, is acutely aware of the potential for unrest which university students represent. The revolution which overthrew the empire of Haile Selassie began with student unrest, and the current government, like the Derg before it, accordingly controls and censors student media and

publications. The regime's oppression of all opposition in the elections of 2005 is also a matter of historical record. In light of those facts, I suggest that Camachu's version be accepted at face value. His observation that "Everything is connected with politics . . ." may be taken as both a general description of the current situation in Ethiopia, and as an example of the attitude that brought him to the attention of the government.

There is one other political explanation that might be useful to place Camachu's narrative in context. His father was conscripted for a year's labor, when Camachu was very young, by the ruling communist Derg. By the time that Camachu was old enough to apply for university, the Derg had been overthrown. Some things had changed: the new government was beginning to allow private colleges to re-open, so the government-controlled University of Addis Ababa was no longer the only institution of higher learning in the country. This change granted Camachu the chance for higher education, even though he failed the admission exam for the University of Addis Ababa. But some things remained the same: the new government continued to oppress the population and stifle dissent, which makes Camachu's story of his need to leave Ethiopia credible.

Camachu's education also traces three of the strands from the educational history of Ethiopia. Educated under the Derg and the post-Derg government, he was able to fall back upon the private school tradition, tolerated under the new government even though it constitutes the continuation of the old missionary school tradition.

Camachu was invited to take part in this interview by one of the elders in his church. This was an older man who had presumably acted as one of Camachu's mentors during his adjustment to his new culture, which Camachu described as a time when "It was not easy for me to be by myself." Because of the respect elders are afforded in the

diaspora community, it is possible that just making the invitation carried some element of coercion, such as when a supervisor 'invites' an employee to a meeting. I raise this issue as a possibility to be considered, but I don't feel that it renders the interview invalid. Camachu appeared engaged and responsive throughout the interview, and actually prolonged the interview by asking many questions at the end.

Analysis According to the Theoretical Model's Dimensions

Language. Camachu's English is very good, especially considering that he has been in the United States for only three years. For example, his reply when I commented that he didn't look thirty years old, "Younger, huh?" is not textbook English, but it is fluent and colloquial. Camachu also uses the youthful slang 'like,' such as in his comment when describing selecting schools in Ethiopia, "You might have like ten choices . . ." He makes some errors in word choice, such as saying that his father was involved in a lot of 'sectors' instead of 'businesses' or 'business ventures.' From time to time he will make a word-choice error and then rephrase his statement with a simpler vocabulary. For example, he said (incorrectly), "My ethnic is Gurage," and then restated the thought (correctly) as "My dad is from the Gurage." He also commonly makes errors in using verb tenses, as when he described his father as having been "determined to give us whatever it takes (instead of 'took') to give us an education." These are minor errors, though, and he has made marvelous progress in speaking English. He has studied English since elementary school in Addis Ababa, but that study concentrated primarily on vocabulary and grammar. "It is not like speaking it. We don't exercise it. And since we don't speak in English, we don't really know it."

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He credits his girlfriend, or course, with improving his English a lot, both by simple conversation and occasionally through direct instruction, as when "she would say, 'That is not the way you say it in English' sometimes." Camachu says that though he still thinks mostly in Amharic, he splits his time about equally between the two languages. "I hang out with Ethiopians. At the same time, I go to school and read English subject matter." As a student in both California and Maryland, he has experienced a wide variety of American accents, and as a cab driver, he also meets "different people who speak English."

He gave himself a numerical rating of his use of English and Amharic as "50/50 or 60/40." This approximation, while entirely appropriate for a qualitative study such as this, required a choice on my part about how to record it as a single number for purposes of comparison. I decided to record Camachu's language score as 60, the second, 'corrected' version of the scores that he mentioned.

Behavior. When asked about the degree to which his behavior now reflected his new culture, Camachu evidenced some confusion. He initially said that someone would not know that he was not American until they heard his accent, which suggests that he considers language a subset of behavior.

Camachu had no cute stories to tell of his amazement or confusion upon reaching the United States. It is possible that those stories are too fresh or too embarrassing to share, but it's more likely that such stories simply don't exist because of his ready access to an entire community of mentors. His comments about his initial period in California centered on the American penchant for individuality and privacy, and on his surprise when he discovered that "the stereotype that white people are not open" was not true.

He added that his behavior is changing. "Every day is change. It is a kind of transformation somehow to the American culture. Because I am going to be here a long time, I have to be associated with the people, the language. I have to learn the system." He saw a lot of change in how he behaves and thinks, and gave himself a score of 60 percent American in behavior. "The things that I was not very confident about two years ago, are now OK. I understand now."

Identity. Camachu reported quite bluntly that he thought of himself as an Ethiopian, so I decided to score this simple statement as 0% American in acculturation in the identity dimension. This decision seems justified by Camachu's further statement, "I can't change my identity even if I wanted." This perception of the immutability of identity is completely consistent with how he described his girlfriend: "There are things that she cannot change because that is her identity." Given a belief this absolute, Camachu's fears about how the young couple might successfully adapt to living together seem well-founded. "Different lifestyle, different purposes, different goals."

There is one small hint in Camachu's interview which suggests that perhaps identity—for Camachu, at least—really is immutable. When explaining his ethnicity at the very beginning of the interview, he stated, "My dad is from the Gurage. My mom is from the Amhara tribe." The father's people group is identified simply by name, while the mother's people group is identified by name with the addition of the word 'tribe,' traditionally a marker of otherness and inferiority. How fascinating, that an age-old distinction between 'us' and 'them' should come so naturally to the lips of an immigrant, especially a young immigrant who fully realizes that he has to successfully "learn the system" of his new culture!

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There are two other observations to offer about Camachu's identity as a Gurage. First, this identity has nothing to do with language or association. Camachu has never spoken the Gurage language or lived in a community where the Gurage are in the majority. Camachu's identification with traditional values of Gurage culture, including hard work as money earners and entrepreneurs, comes from his father, whom he greatly admires. His father, even while in a series of failing business ventures, still managed to earn enough money to put Camachu through an expensive private college. Camachu, mirroring the same kind of values, hopes to help somehow in shaping Ethiopia's future, but recognizes that first, "I must be capable of doing that financially." Financial resources, an important part of Gurage identity, are seen a prerequisites for behavior which contributes to the welfare of the society. This entire aspect of Camachu's identity is a telling example of the persistence of ethnic identity, one of the three troubling topics identified in Chapter Two as an important—and sometimes puzzling—aspect of Ethiopian history.

In further discussion about identity issues, Camachu was quite expressive about what values he wishes to pass down to his (as yet unborn) children. He talked extensively of the importance of respect, especially for elders. This seemed a striking area to emphasize, since he himself is a young man. He lifted up his father's approach to child-raising as an ideal balance between giving the child "the option to do whatever I wanted" and the warning of consequences: "This is going to hurt you." Camachu hopes to replicate that same balance between freedom and boundaries when raising his own children. His attitude is further illuminated by his statement about "family problems that

we are facing right now in the American culture, I think the freedom is too much for the kids."

A final observation about Camachu's identity concerns the role of his mother in his life. This interview included multiple examples of his father's sacrifices for the family, multiple statements of Camachu's approval of his father's approach to child-raising, and multiple expressions of Camachu's respect for his father and his hopes to follow that example. Camachu mentioned his mother only twice, and each time only briefly. He labeled her as "from the Amharic tribe," and identified her as a homemaker with a part-time job as a secretary. His brief comments about her included no discernible emotional components, simply factual observations.

Initial Research Questions

Research Question (1a): How do Ethiopian immigrants evaluate their Ethiopian education in preparing them for acculturation?

Camachu reported that his Ethiopian education in private schools was 'very good," and he reports that he "was doing good" until his love for soccer was allowed to interfere with his studies. He sees great progress in education, especially in how the private schools are working to more closely align the curriculum with university entrance exams. Camachu reported only one problem with Ethiopian education as far as it impacted his ability to acculturate smoothly to the United States. This concern has already been noted above in the language section, that the teaching of English encourages the study of grammar over actually speaking, "and since we don't speak in English, we don't really know it."

Camachu reported two other problems in the educational system which did not directly impact him. First was the inability of the nationally-centralized education system to adapt to new needs, such as including courses on computing or other information systems. In fact, Camachu reported a 'brain drain' of his bright, university-educated friends, who tend to be "in New York working for big companies. It is not because they could not go to the state universities, like me. They were not able to study what they wanted." The final problem that Camachu reported was that the state universities continue to grade on a strict curve. "They scale you like, if there are five students to get A, there should be two students to get F."

Research Question (1b): How do Ethiopian immigrants evaluate their U.S. education in helping them in acculturation?

Camachu was amazed at the degree of opportunity in the United States. "It is encouraging for people to go for what they dream. If you really want to do something, if you are determined, if you sacrifice everything for what you want to do, you can do that."

He also commented on the particular courses for immigrants, saying, "The system is designed to accommodate people from different backgrounds. It wasn't hard for me to understand the school policy, the curriculum." He has not found any "specific area that should be changed." He added that "everything is hard. It requires a lot of work, but if you do what you are given, you are going to get credit for it."

In thinking back to the time that he heard a professor comment that the American education system had failed, Camachu's reaction was disbelief. "What makes him say it has failed? I haven't seen that much problem. I have a lot of friends who go to community college. They have the same opinion; they are happy with the school."

Research Question (2a): Do the respondents' self-assessments, viewed individually, show that their acculturation is differentiated among the three dimensions of the theory?

As described in the language section above, Camachu gave himself a numerical rating of his use of English and Amharic as "50/50 or 60/40." I decided to record Camachu's language score as 60, the second (corrected?) version of the two numbers mentioned.

As reported in the identity section above, I decided to score the identity area as 0% American in light of Camachu's clear affirmation that he thinks of himself as Ethiopian, as well as his other statements about identity such as, "I can't change my identity even if I wanted."

By assigning himself scores of 60%, 60%, and 0%, Camachu shows that he sees his acculturation as differentiated among the three dimensions. This finding of dissimilar scores fits the theoretical model's prediction of variation across the three dimensions within a single individual, as shown in Figure 11.

dimension	language	behavior	identity
100			
90			
80			
70			
60	▓	▓	
50	▓	▓	
40	▓	▓	
30	▓	▓	
20	▓	▓	
10	▓	▓	

Percent Americanized, to the nearest 10%

Figure 11. Camachu: Self-Report of Americanization
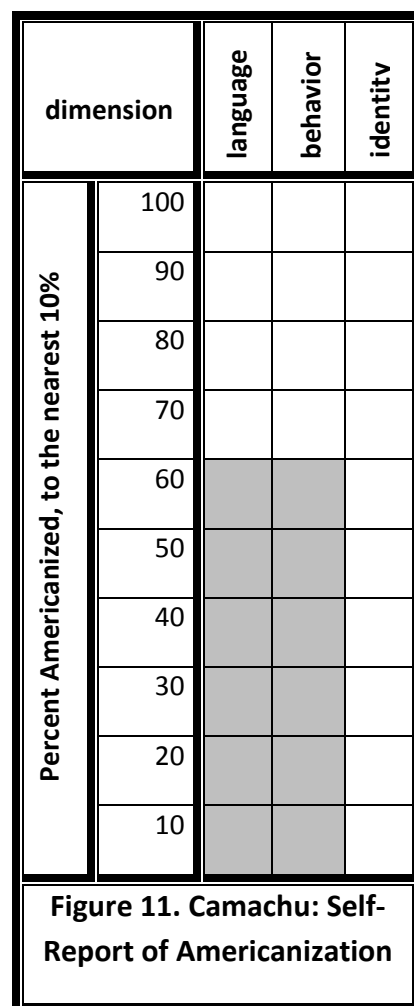
Case Study Four: Dalmade

Individual Narrative

Introduction

The interview with Dalmade was difficult to arrange for two reasons. First, he is very busy with research studies at the hospital associated with the metropolitan university in his Midwestern city. Those research projects, dealing with clinical studies, demand unusual and unpredictable hours, which makes scheduling an appointment—and successfully keeping it—challenging. Second, as a professional researcher, Dalmade had many initial questions about the study. Some of those questions were related to specific concerns, such as the formulation of research questions or establishing validity through triangulation, and some, asked from his perspective as a researcher in quantitative research, were related to suspicions about the value of qualitative research. Dalmade asked for a copy of the interview script in advance, reviewed the IRB documents carefully, and asked many questions about the protection of confidentiality. Shortly after beginning the second session of interviewing, for example, even after having completed more than half of the interview protocol, Dalmade asked that the recording be stopped so that he could reassure himself of some of the procedures regarding the use of the recording, even though those procedures had been explained in both preliminary meetings and in the previous session. I met with Dalmade twice for informal lunches before obtaining his agreement to participate, and then, after his preliminary questions were sufficiently answered, met twice more for long lunch periods—separated by two weeks—to complete the actual interview. There was also a final lunch meeting to review

and discuss the data from the interview, as well as to share a copy of the interview recording.

In explanation of why he was willing to devote such extensive time to the interview, in spite of his busy schedule, Dalmade explained that he had once been "working for a physician, and I was preparing a lot of questionnaires for people. I know I was hoping someone would return that. It was a lot to me at the time, so I know how much it is for you."

Dalmade is a 46-year-old man, slight and precise. He looks like a stereotypical Ethiopian highlander. He has light brown skin, closely-cropped black hair receding from a broad forehead, and a thin moustache. His elfin face, triangular and tapering to a pointed chin, is animated and intelligent, and his wide, dark eyes are intent and direct. His A-frame eyebrows are constantly rising in surprise or clenching in puzzlement. From time to time, his tongue flicks out to lick his lips. He is quick to smile and laugh, and very responsive to me, his interviewer and listener. For example, he used the word 'adjuvant' in describing his medical research, noticed that I did not know the word, and paused to define it even before a clarification question could be asked. He typically dresses in an 'academic casual' style, with slacks and either a sweat shirt or a fleecy pullover.

Dalmade's gestures are expansive, not confined to a narrow frame close to his chest. For example, when describing the layers of government in Ethiopia, his hands stretched from as high as he could reach (while sitting down) to below the level of the table. A typical gesture for Dalmade is to hold one or both hands with thumb and forefinger together, as if pinching a needle. Occasionally, to emphasize a particular point,

he will hold his hands in that configuration and tap both hands on the tabletop several times, as if defining the corners of a rectangle.

Life Story: From the Malaria Camp

Ethiopia: "What am I doing here?" Dalmade was born in Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia, a member of the dominant Amhara tribe.

> I lived with my family. I am blessed. My father, my mom, and eight of my brothers and sisters were extended family. I came from a loving family. We were not rich, we were not poor. What my family gave us was the love to each other. That is the most important thing.

When asked to tell about his early family life, Dalmade explained that his mother was the key figure in shaping his future, much more so than his father.

> I can say that who I am today is most of her work. We loved our father, but in Ethiopia the father does not have that much contact with us. He is there, he loved us, he supported us. He doesn't spend time with us because he has his own job.

There was little that Dalmade had to say about his early education, as if it were simply a prelude to the later, more important events of his life. He attended government schools in Addis Ababa and did well. Beginning in high school, all subjects except Amharic itself were taught in English, so Dalmade had extensive experience studying English. "The problem," he explained, "is you go out of school and you don't practice. We can write good English. We can read and understand good English. But talking is different." He pointed out that "speaking is spontaneous. You don't get a chance to re-write it. Then you have more chance of making a mistake." Dalmade commented on the difficulty of English spelling, and contrasted it with Amharic, which he sees as phonetically predictable. "Our language is beautiful. Say it, write it; the same thing! Once you know the alphabet, you can easily read a book or write anything you want."

Dalmade then explained that his first degree was in statistics, from the University of Addis Ababa, partly because that was a highly regarded specialty among students. His peers tended to comment, "'Wow, he is a mathematician!' That was the trend, and I followed the trend like any other person." He loved all mathematics, but he focused exclusively on statistics because in those days, under the government of the communist Derg, students in math—like those in biology, chemistry, or physics—became teachers, and were usually assigned by the government to rural areas. "Like a human, everybody wants the best thing," and for Dalmade that meant living in the capital. Statistics "keeps you in the city, where there is a government office. Where there is a better life." So he graduated in statistics, and got the government job that he had hoped for in Addis Ababa, close to the center of government power. He was assigned to the research and planning department of the Ministry of Finance. Dalmade explained at length how the statisticians in the department, including himself, were responsible for tracking taxes and collecting revenue for the government. It turned out, however, that local officials in the rural areas were not sufficiently trained to collect the needed data, "so we have to go out to the countryside to train them." His job came to include visits to provincial offices, where he would stay for a day or two to teach local officials how to collect, categorize, and track taxes so that the figures were easy for Dalmade's central office to compile.

On one of those trips to a provincial area, one of the pivotal moments of Dalmade's life took place.

> When you go to the locals, it is not like this [in Addis Ababa]. There is one health station, one small office. It is small, three or four houses. The nurses' office. Maybe there is a store for the medicine. There is a guard office. The rest is a field fenced in by wire. A lot of people are coming there and staying there. I asked them, "What is that?" They told me there was a malaria epidemic, and that is the malaria treatment section. So children, pregnant women, from all places, they

bring them to the local health office. They put them on the ground and they stay there. There are about two or three health officers for 300 or 400 people. When they see me, they thought that I would help them. But I'm helpless. I can't do anything. And when I see the children, you cannot touch their head. It is hot, like a stove. So I say, "What am I doing here? How can I help these people? I am a college graduate, but I can't do anything. If I want to help people, I have to be where I can help them." They [the health workers] were giving them tablets, chloroquine. It doesn't matter that she is pregnant, that she has a child, what kind of parasite it is. It is the only thing you can do.

That image, of the overwhelmed health workers in the malaria epidemic, has stayed with Dalmade for his entire life. He continued working with the Ministry of Finance, but he quietly had determined the course of his life: "When I get the chance to try to go to graduate school, I will do this thing."

But during this period of his life, as a single young man in the capital city, he started a period of "going out. I start drinking, spending time in bars. I kind of regret it, but that is the life I passed." He recognized the need to keep himself busy, and decided to enroll in an extension course through the English department of a local business school. The students practiced their English by reading fiction and then discussing it in class.

Immigration: "That is the road that God chose for me." Dalmade got the chance to advance his dream in 1994, with the overthrow of the Derg and the establishment of a new government. A hopeful international community was pouring money into Ethiopia through the International Monetary Fund (IMF), hoping that the newly formed government would be pro-Western and would have "better things to do for the country" than the communist Derg before it. In this time of upheaval, when most of his superiors were attached to the old government and therefore neither wanted nor trusted by the new, Dalmade discovered that "All of the upper level are gone. So I start working with the higher-ups." One day, he was called to the office of the Minister of Finance.

I said, "God, what wrong did I do this time? I was so afraid! When he asked me if I had a passport, I couldn't understand the word 'passport' at first. I asked him, "What?" He said, "Do you have a passport? Have you ever traveled?" I said, "No. I have a residential ID." "OK," he said. . . . Within two weeks I was on the plane to come here [to the United States].

Near the end of June, 1994, then, Dalmade arrived in Washington, DC, for a six-week course in government financial statistics. He remembers arriving at the airport at about 10:00 in the evening, and being amazed and disoriented by seeing the sun still shining. "I thought maybe that my watch was wrong."

Dalmade was also startled to see homeless people and beggars in the United States. His previous interactions with Americans had been "with higher people," such as IMF officials. Lacking any experience of a more diverse American, he just assumed that the men he met at the IMF were average Americans.

While Dalmade was taking his course in Washington, there were conflicts in the fledgling Ethiopian government from ethnic rivalries. The Minister of Finance, an ethnic Amhara, was replaced by a Tigray, who declared that previous selections for advancement had been biased in favor of the Amhara. From that time onward, the new minister announced, advancement would be fair among all ethnic groups. Dalmade felt that he would never again get a chance for further education, so he decided to stay in the United States past his return date. Upon receiving this news, the new minister announced that Dalmade had, in effect, resigned his position, and he appointed a new man, a Tigray, to fill it. Dalmade applied for asylum in the United States. "There is nobody I know," Dalmade explains. "I went to New York. I was giving out flyers for MacDonald's. I had no work permit, so that is the only job I can do." He eventually found a cousin in New York who helped him pay lawyers to work on his application for asylum. It was granted

in early 1995. Now able to work legally, he went back to Washington, DC, where he found jobs at a liquor store and a Kinko's shop before being admitted to the University of the District of Columbia. He worked the two full-time jobs and went to school part-time. But he received word that his father had died, and he was obliged to send money back to help his family in Addis Ababa.

After some months, he was able to sponsor one of his sisters as an immigrant, too, and they attended an introductory chemistry class together. Following one test, the teacher failed to return Dalmade's test paper. When Dalmade went up after class to ask about it, the teacher told him that he had done very well, but wanted to invite him to his office to talk. "He asked me a lot of questions. 'What do you want to do in the future?' I just came to get my paper, and he is asking me all of these things!" Dalmade confided his long-held dream of studying chemistry so that he could eventually do medical research to help in Ethiopia, and the professor offered him a scholarship, including a work-study position in the chemistry lab. Dalmade explained that he had never expected such an event. "That is the road that God chose for me."

It was difficult for Dalmade to understand English, even after his extension classes. African-American speech was especially challenging. That was the reason why he started college with a basic chemistry course, an area where he had a lot of confidence, instead of starting directly with the advanced chemistry and biology courses which would allow him to pursue his dream. It was helpful to him that the courses were for immigrants, so that he was not in competition with native speakers. "It gave me confidence. I see that I am not way below, but I am a top-level student."

"Language," Dalmade said, "is the most important thing, it opened the door." In meeting a person who does not speak someone else's native language, "You are equal distant; you don't know his language and he doesn't know yours."

Dalmade volunteered some advice for teachers of immigrants.

They [American teachers] should respect the education outside America. They [foreign schools] give good teaching in maths and physics. Any science-based teaching except biology, which requires a lot of resources. It is not the science we lack, it is the money that we are behind. Otherwise, it requires personal effort like studying or reading a book. We are as strong as they are.

Dalmade told an additional story of passing a test in an ESL class, and then having the teacher doubt the validity of his score and require him take it again.

That teacher may not be good enough to understand what is being taught over there [in Ethiopia.] When you get a degree there, it is not something you buy from the store. We have one university for sixteen million people. They should understand how competitive it is to go there.

Dalmade went on to add that in the United States today, "most engineers, most programmers, most scientists are foreigners. America is the land of opportunity; I don't deny that. But they have to accept us. We are capable of competing here, too."

United States: "Just speaking your own language can give you comfort."

Dalmade finished his undergraduate degree in chemistry in four years. He then went to Drexel University in Philadelphia for one year in biochemistry, and then to Howard University, back in Washington, DC, where he finished a PhD in parasitology in five years.

A mentor teacher from Howard University arranged the paperwork, including transportation and a living stipend, for him to return to Ethiopia for a short-term research project in parasitology. "I saw my mom for the first time after nine years, not with my money. So, I'm testifying to God's miracle."

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One week after arriving in Ethiopia, his niece took him out to dinner one evening. After the meal, they decided on the spur of the moment not to take a cab as they had planned. They walked home instead. As they were walking, they met one of Dalmade's classmates from the English extension class which he had taken years before.

> After nine years, we don't see each other, we don't have contact. "Are you somebody?" I thought. Then I called her name, and she called my name, too. I gave her my number. From that time on, we start keeping in touch.

Five years later, after he had become a U.S. citizen himself, Dalmade was able to sponsor his former extension school classmate as an immigrant to the United States, and they were married.

> It is all going in circles, when I sit down to think about my life. The thing is, when you do the statistics, it is very, very unlikely to meet my wife on the street after nine years. My niece and I, we didn't take a cab. We walked on that street, and she did, too. All the conditions. It is totally unlikely. For me it was hard to say it was by accident.

Dalmade spent a substantial amount of time discussing the role of women, and then added, "One thing that my mother put in our mind is that we have respect for our father. That has a very big, significant role." He explained that his wife has a much more significant share of raising their daughter, now three, than he does. He then commented about his daughter, "When I see her, I can see my wife inside my daughter." He went on to explain that what his daughter "is tomorrow is highly dependent on what her mother is today." He then augmented that statement by observing that this current period of watching his wife raise their daughter helps him to understand his own mother. "She was planting me," he said. "It is more than significant."

Dalmade did not recall any incidents of discrimination against him here in the United States, and he does not have any significant relationships with African-

Americans. "I can interact with anyone, like Hispanic, Caucasian, Africans, Chinese, or Indians. America is a collection of lots of cultures, a lot of populations. I don't have any preference, except my own." In thinking about prejudice, though, he recalled one incident when he had invited a Caucasian-American friend to an Ethiopian restaurant. After the delicious meal, his guest admitted that before coming, his wife had asked him to make sure he ate something before going. In their minds, Dalmade explained, "Ethiopia is associated with hunger," and his guest had been afraid that he would go hungry at an Ethiopian restaurant.

Dalmade values his Ethiopian community here in the United States, which is centered on the Orthodox congregation that he attends. "Going there will give me comfort. Just speaking your own language can give you comfort."

Dalmade passionately described his current work as doing research in parasitology for the Department of Microbiology and Immunology at the University hospital. He is a specialist in parasitology, searching for adjuvants, which are "additives to vaccines to help the human immune system to respond faster and most effectively."

Parasitology is not just 'book learning' to Dalmade. "I can't deny it," he elaborated. "I grew up in a third-world country. I was very used to parasite infections." He went on to explain that in a normal lifespan, a villager in Ethiopia "may be infected with at least five or six different infections." Again, as a lead researcher, used to working in teaching and mentoring situations, he explained that statement to me without being asked. "We walk in our bare feet. We drink from the river, we swim in the river. We eat some uncooked food, some bad fruit. That is our culture."

Focus on the Theoretical Model's Dimensions

Language. Initially, Dalmade refused to assign a number to his English achievement, inviting me to judge that progress instead. He did, however, state that people can usually understand him. "The more I have confidence in myself, the more it is easy for me to speak." He usually has no trouble understanding standard English. The only time he has had serious trouble communicating was on a trip to the Mississippi Delta. He went on a boat tour with a local guide, and "I didn't understand 40% of what he said." When Dalmade hears an unfamiliar scientific term, at a conference, for example, he asks the speaker to repeat it and spell it for him, and in this way he continues to add to his vocabulary. He has no problems reading anything written in English.

He tends to dream in English unless the subject of his dream is "home," that is, Ethiopia. In privately thinking to himself, he is bilingual. "When I think about my future career, my goals, I mostly think in English. But when I think about my family, about going back home, I mostly think in my own language."

Dalmade and his wife, also a native Amharic speaker, minimize their use of English with their three-year-old daughter. The daughter is fluent in Amharic, making her own sentences and asking questions in Amharic, but is also beginning to speak English as well. She attends an English-speaking pre-school, and English is beginning to creep into her home, too. "Some things, especially technical things, don't have words in Amharic, so we have to use English," Dalmade somewhat ruefully explained. "If you live in American, there is no way you cannot use English."

Behavior. When asked to reflect about his behavior, Dalmade commented that he was losing his Ethiopian side. "I don't see it, but my friends see it." He describes the

process as a "gradual thing. You don't know you are changing, but you are changing. Whether you like it or not, gradually it shapes you."

Dalmade eloquently described the things that he would not like to lose about Ethiopian culture, mostly centered on respect. He values respect for the elderly. "It doesn't matter who he is. If he is older than me, I should have to give him respect." He also talked about being kind and helping others. "The community has to survive for me to survive. Even if it costs me, I have to contribute something to that community." In talking about the difference between the sense of community in the United States and Ethiopia, Dalmade repeated an Amharic proverb: "The tree must grow first before it can support a vine." He interpreted this saying to mean, "You have to live first, to support others. If it's always 'me, me, me,' it's too much. It becomes selfish, I think." Dalmade then added,

> If you have two good clothes, you don't buy the third one before you help your brother to eat bread. If you don't have bread for yourself, you cannot give bread to your brother. My point is, my culture is like that. If you have two, you bring some other people to your table to eat with you. I don't want to be totally diluted from that attitude.

Identity. When asked about his cultural identity, Dalmade commented, "Identity is the way you grow up." He then explained that since he had grown up in Ethiopia, his identity is still mostly Ethiopian. "My culture, my holy days, all those things, the way you think . . . Identity is not one thing; it is so many things come together." He offered the example of Christmas, celebrated in the United States on December 25 but in Ethiopia on January 7. He stated that for him, January 7 would always be Christmas, though he celebrates now on December 25, too. For his daughter, he "can't take out of her mind December 25. That is true Christmas for her."

When asked to comment about the differences between his early education in Ethiopia and his daughter's education now, forty years later, Dalmade observed, "It's not only a place, United States and Ethiopia. It's also time that matters. During my time, one computer was a big deal in the university. But now, every child has that." He commented on how the availability of the internet is changing the way knowledge is being acquired, and then defined his role as a parent in his daughter's education: "The only thing that I have to put on her is the willingness to learn. If she is willing, then she can do it." He summarized by stating that being born in the United States gives his daughter an immense advantage in education, over both her age-group peers in Ethiopia today, and over him, back when he was a student in his youth. America, he said, is the "land of opportunity, land of privilege." He contrasted that situation with the environment that he grew up in. "We were sharing one book for seven people" at the University of Addis Ababa. The college only had one calculus book, and students had to take turns signing it out overnight to study. They formed study groups in order to work together, all using the same book each evening.

Dalmade said that language was the facet of acculturation that came most quickly for him. "Still, my behavior and identity are lagging behind, because changing your behavior means changing your attitude, changing yourself." He smiled. "I told you," he said, tapping his fingertips on the table, "I came late. I didn't come while I was a teenager, when I'm trying to grasp everything."

"Identity," he concluded, "is the last one."

Dalmade summarized his acculturation by saying that about 80% of his language use is now in English (finally assigning the number which he had originally refused to

give), and said that his behavior is close to that, maybe 70%. He then talked for quite

some time about his identity, to which he assigned a value of 50%.

> If I'm losing myself, it is really scary. Sometimes when I have time with her [his
> daughter] or see her playing, we are losing it. I have to take her [to Ethiopia]
> physically to give her all of what I want to give her. Here she is playing with toys.
> But I grew up playing with mud. That gave me some satisfaction, but I can't give
> her that. I want to see her running with her bare feet on the grasses. I couldn't do
> that here. But I love it here. I couldn't give it up. I try to give her as much as I
> can. The only thing: I will try to show her. That is my goal. Within these five
> years, I have to take her back. I have to show her how I was raised so that she can
> understand how she is lucky being here and what she loses there, too.

When asked if there was anything he wanted to add to the record, as the second

interview session neared its end, Dalmade returned to a question from the beginning of

the first interview. He had originally answered a question about his age by simply stating

that he was 46. But now, a full two weeks later, he chose to comment extensively, as if he

had been pondering this statement during all the intervening time.

> When you asked me about my age, I don't want to hide it because it is a gift from
> God. I know I am fortunate to live this long. I pray to live longer, maybe to my
> 80's or 90's. But I have friends, family, who are not so lucky to live as much as I
> do. I know classmates who sat next to me, who died the next day. I had a good
> life, up and down. But that is the way God chooses it. God put Joseph in the well
> before He put him on the throne.

> As the interview came to a close, I thanked Dalmade for taking part. He replied,

> I just want to thank you, too. Because you take me back. It is not common. You
> mostly see where you come from, what you pass through, and where you are now.
> You gave me a change in time, a chance to think about myself from my childhood
> up to where I am and to pass through all that. And how lucky I am, and how much
> God likes me.

Individual Analysis

Introduction

Though it was challenging to schedule this series of meetings with Dalmade, I

hold the opinion that the difficulties were worth surmounting in order to have the

opportunity to interview such an articulate, insightful, and passionate respondent. I am also grateful for the extensive preliminary conversations with Dalmade, which were valuable contributions to my ability to verbalize and defend the goals and procedures of this study. Dalmade's deep understanding of research, even though his experience is grounded in quantitative medical research, made him a valuable contributor.

Dalmade's over-riding explanation for his life's trajectory is that it was the will of God. A more secularized explanation of this unique journey might label Dalmade a gifted student whose talents were recognized and developed under the Derg, the godless communist government. Those talents were first selfishly focused on his own comfort and status as a government employee in Ethiopia's capital city. Due to an unexpected confrontation with profound need in a camp for the treatment of malaria victims, Dalmade chose a goal of directing his talents toward helping the poor in medical emergencies. That goal lay latent until a series of circumstances opened the door to his dream: a change of government elevated him to the notice of officials in power; those officials sent him to the United States for further study; internal conflict in the government gave him the stimulus to violate the standards of his visa; he sought further opportunities for learning; and he finally came to the attention of a teacher with sufficient compassion to reach out to Dalmade, and with sufficient authority to set his long-awaited higher studies in motion. If a reader does not wish to use the term 'miraculous' for such a story, it still might not be too large a leap to join Dalmade in declaring such a biography "statistically unlikely."

Dalmade's narrative illustrates the impact of two recent strands of Ethiopian history, the Derg and the current government. It also provides a fascinating perspective

on two of the troubling topics discussed as persistent aspects of Ethiopian history: ethnic identity and the role of women. Ethnicity in Dalmade's life, as in much of Ethiopia's history, is entangled with issues of language and place, but it appears that Dalmade has surmounted the narrow identity of ethnicity, in his case, Amharic, and replaced it with the broader identity of Ethiopian. The driving vision of his life, for instance, is helping people like the desperate crowd in the malaria camp, with no reference whatever to their ethnicity, and he hopes to introduce his daughter to Ethiopia, not to a specifically Amharic experience. Dalmade, then, may well exemplify Haile Selassie's dream of developing a nation of people with their primary identity as citizens of Ethiopia. In his open admiration of his wife's predominant role in shaping the personality and development of his daughter, and in his wish to see his daughter "running in her bare feet on the grasses" of Ethiopia, Dalmade appears to have also left behind many of Ethiopia's traditional stereotypes about the role of women. It is worth noting that the achievement of this modern stance has come at the cost of losing part of his identity as an Ethiopian.

Analysis According to the Theoretical Model's Dimensions

Language. "Language," Dalmade said, "is the most important thing. It opened the door."

Dalmade studied English for about a dozen years in Ethiopia, including all subject matter except for Amharic language study from high school onward. He commented on the inadequacy of Ethiopia's book-centered approach to language-learning, saying, "The problem is you go out of school and you don't practice." Though students graduated being able to read English, write English, and pass exams in English, they could not speak it.

Dalmade declares that Amharic spelling, unlike English, is phonetically predictable. It is true that Amharic is more phonetically predictable than English, which has drawn its enormous vocabulary from many different languages, but commenting as one who has studied Amharic at a basic level, I can vouch that there is not a one-to-one correspondence between every sound in Amharic and every character in its syllabary. As described in Chapter One in the section 'Amharic Spelling,' it's not quite as predictable a language as Dalmade maintains.

Dalmade speaks English well, to the point of using scientific and medical terms—such as 'adjuvant'—which were unfamiliar to me. Sometimes he makes errors in word choice which would instantly identify him as an English language learner, such as, "What my family gave us was the love to each other." To be fair, sometimes such errors are the result of his study of English under teachers who were not American. An example of this type of 'error', which is really simply a difference in dialect, is his use of the British word 'maths' instead of the American 'math.'

Dalmade's most common error is in the use of verb tenses, such as his mix of present and past tenses in this explanation of his early days in the United States: "There is nobody I know. I went to New York. I was giving out flyers for MacDonald's. I had no work permit, so that is the only job I can do."

Dalmade is a rapid thinker and a rapid talker, and it may well be that he is more concerned with being understood than with exhibiting correct grammar. He never paused while struggling to choose a particularly apt word, and he never seemed to worry about whether his English was standard or not. As he phrased it, "The more I have confidence in myself, the more it is easy for me to speak." It appears that after 18 years in the United

States he has reached a level of English proficiency which allows him to communicate quickly and fluently, and he simply doesn't care to spend time in honing his English further. On the other hand, Dalmade reports that he is continually improving his scientific vocabulary. When he hears an unfamiliar scientific term, at a conference, for example, he asks the speaker to repeat it and spell it for him. He works hard to improve the vocabulary necessary to communicate very accurately with fellow professionals, but for people outside his professional circle, merely understanding him is sufficient.

And Dalmade has no trouble understanding the spoken, standard English of others, although he reported difficulty in understanding the local guide on a trip to the Mississippi Delta. True to his background as a statistician, he reported the trouble in numerical terms: "I didn't understand 40% of what he said."

Dalmade assigned himself a score of 80% on his English use, and then offered two specific pieces of advice to teachers of ESL courses. First, he affirmed the U.S. practice of teaching initial courses for immigrants only, so that they do not see themselves as losing a competition with native speakers. "It gave me confidence. I see that I am not way below, but I am a top-level student."

Dalmade also offered a warning, though, that ESL teachers "should respect the education outside America." This challenge is a good reminder that the teacher is not superior to the student. "You are equal distant;" Dalmade stated. "You don't know his language and he doesn't know yours." He also offered what amounts to a challenge to all teachers of immigrants, especially superficially trained volunteers teaching in community-based ESL programs:

> That teacher may not be good enough to understand what is being taught over there [in Ethiopia.] When you get a degree there, it is not something you buy from

the store. We have one university for sixteen million people. They should understand how competitive it is to go there.

Behavior. The first thing that Dalmade said, when asked about his behavior, was that he was changing and becoming more American. He then moved to a discussion centering on respect, which he sees as a matter of behaving, of "being kind and helping others." That is especially important for anyone older than he is. "It doesn't matter who he is. If he is older than me, I should have to give him respect."

Dalmade sees his mother as the most important factor in shaping his life, and he identified one of her key roles as teaching the children to respect their father. Dalmade is quite consciously recreating this pattern in his own family, where his wife is the primary care-taker for their three-year-old daughter.

To illustrate one of his opinions about respect and how it supported relations across the wider community, Dalmade behaved in an entirely Ethiopian fashion: he repeated a proverb to express his point. "The tree must grow first before it can support a vine." He then interpreted this proverb as meaning, "You have to live first, to support others. If it's always 'me, me, me,' it's too much. It becomes selfish, I think." Dalmade then added,

> If you have two good clothes, you don't buy the third one before you help your brother to eat bread. If you don't have bread for yourself, you cannot give bread to your brother. My point is, my culture is like that. If you have two, you bring some other people to your table to eat with you. I don't want to be totally diluted from that attitude.

I found it interesting that Dalmade included such statements, which revolve around attitude and values, in a discourse on behavior. This raises the question of exactly where the line is between behavior and identity. Behavior is usually described as how one

acts, but since the actions are rooted in values and meaning, perhaps the boundaries are unclear. In any case, Dalmade assigned himself a score of 70% American in behavior.

Identity. Those boundaries between the dimensions of behavior and identity in the theoretical model of acculturation became even more unclear when Dalmade talked about identity. "Identity is the way you grow up," constitutes a clear statement, but it's so broad that it includes almost everything. Dalmade then affirmed that wide sweep, by stating that "Identity is not one thing; it is so many things come together." Finally, as if offering a specific example of just how many things might be included in the dimension 'identity,' he talked about celebrating the Christmas holiday, which might also be viewed as a behavior. For Dalmade, January 7 will always be Christmas, but for his daughter, December 25 "is true Christmas."

In Dalmade's long description of the things that he would like to share with his daughter "within the next five years" so that she will have a more Ethiopian identity, he lists various activities, such as, "playing with mud" and "running with her bare feet on the grasses." It is clear that he sees identity rising from experiences. "I have to take her [to Ethiopia] physically to give her all of what I want to give her." Behavior, then, for Dalmade, is critical in developing identity. The date when Christmas is celebrated, and even the simple fact of wearing shoes, helps shape the person his daughter will become. And somehow those actions will have an impact on his daughter's perception of both cultures. "I have to show her how I was raised so that she can understand how she is lucky being here and what she loses there, too." For Dalmade, who identified language as the first dimension of acculturation, the one which opened the door, behavior is the central dimension which eventually forms identity.

"Identity," he concluded, "is the last one," and assigned a score of 50% to suggest that his identity is now about as American as it is Ethiopian.

Initial Research Questions

Research Question (1a): How do Ethiopian immigrants evaluate their Ethiopian education in preparing them for acculturation?

Dalmade had little to say about how his specific course of study in Ethiopia helped his later acculturation in the United States. Beyond the criticism of language-teaching methods which were based too much in reading and writing while short-changing conversation skills, it appears that he just took his courses (and the resulting degree in statistics) for granted. He was a gifted student attending the best available schools for his entire education, and that education led him exactly to his desired goal, a job with the government in the capital city. What could be criticized?

In evaluating differences between his education , which started some 40 years ago in Addis Ababa, and his young daughter's current education in the United States, Dalmade made an interesting observation: "It's not only a place, United States and Ethiopia. It's also time that matters." He went on to point out that education in Ethiopia has changed immensely from his days at the university, when students formed study groups so that they could share the single calculus book that the college owned. He also contrasted his undergraduate days, when the university owned only one computer, with his daughter's current U.S. environment, where computers are ubiquitous, even in pre-schools. He sees one similarity across time and space: the need for the student to be motivated to succeed. "The only thing that I have to put on her is the willingness to learn.

If she is willing, then she can do it." Whatever the shortcomings of Ethiopian schooling, they did not quench Dalmade's burning desire to learn.

Research Question (1b): How do Ethiopian immigrants evaluate their U.S. education in helping them in acculturation?

In summarizing his daughter's educational advantages, Dalmade said, "America is the "land of opportunity, land of privilege." As discussed above, he has harsh criticisms for teachers who fail to respect the quality of overseas education, but he recognizes that he has achieved greatly since immigrating to the United States: a Bachelor's degree in chemistry, a Master's degree in biochemistry, a PhD in parasitology, and the long-awaited chance to use the facilities of a metropolitan research hospital to study tropical diseases. He still remembers the patients in the malaria compound so many years ago, and he is still struggling to help them. Just as his English fluency has become irrelevant except for continuing to develop his professional vocabulary, more fully realized acculturation to his adopted country has become irrelevant, too. Dalmade is not really interested in further acculturation, just in pursuing his dream. Perhaps this is the true meaning of being a free human in the "land of opportunity, land of privilege."

Research Question (2a): Do the respondents' self-assessments, viewed individually, show that their acculturation is differentiated among the three dimensions of the theory?

By assigning himself scores of 80%, 70%, and 50%, Dalmade shows that he sees his acculturation as differentiated among the three dimensions. This finding of dissimilar

scores fits the theoretical model's prediction of variation across the three dimensions within a single individual, as shown in Figure 12.

	dimension	language	behavior	identity
Percent Americanized, to the nearest 10%	100			
	90			
	80			
	70			
	60	▓	▓	
	50	▓	▓	
	40	▓	▓	
	30	▓	▓	
	20	▓	▓	
	10	▓	▓	

Figure 12. Dalmade: Self-Report of Americanization

Individual Narrative

Introduction

Father Efrem is a priest in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. That is the central fact of his life, the light that illuminates his life story: his clothing, his language and behavior, his relationships, everything about him from the daily patterns of his life to his overall identity.

It was difficult to arrange an interview with Father Efrem. His schedule is full, and his focus is on serving the immigrant community in the Midwestern city where he lives. After several requests by phone for interviews were put off with vague promises to follow-up at more convenient times, I simply stopped by the church, asked a startled member about schedules, and visited a Sunday morning worship service. A description of that visit is attached as Appendix E. While not an integral part of this research, it helps provide a more thorough introduction to Father Efrem's worshipping community, and therefore a more thorough picture of the context of his work, than the interview report does while standing alone. I met Father Efrem at the community dinner following the service, and Father Efrem was then quite gracious in extending an invitation for an interview. Even then, it was difficult to find a time to meet. Several visits were scheduled and then canceled before finally succeeding in meeting. Even when the interview eventually took place, it required two sessions, fit in between Father Efrem's duties as a priest and as a father. During the actual recordings of the interviews, there were several interruptions from Father Efrem's cell phone, which I encouraged him to answer if necessary. Sometimes Father Efrem would look at the caller identification, and say, "I

can get this later." But sometimes he considered the call important enough to warrant an interruption, so the recording of the interview stopped while he answered the phone and replied to the caller, always in Amharic.

Father Efrem's church was the site for both interviewing sessions. The first conversation took place in an upstairs classroom with off-white bare walls and a whiteboard bearing a few words in Amharic, scribbled in faint blue ink. We sat on folding chairs at a folding table. The second interview took place in a downstairs meeting room next to the church office. It was a warmer environment, with wood paneling, a large picture of Jesus (from the original, Anglican congregation which had sold the building to the Ethiopian Church), and a welcoming clutter of filing cabinets and coffee pots.

Father Efrem is 43. His face shows his heritage—and Ethiopia's history—as a mixture of several different lineages. His appearance is more Sub-Saharan than a stereotypical highlander: rounder visage, darker complexion, larger nose, lips, and ears. His face is reserved and attentive, with two vertical creases between his brows. His eyes are large and calm, but typically wander when he is pondering a question, as if he might find the answer to the right or left, or up on the ceiling. He was usually reserved and undemonstrative, especially in the first interview, but he smiled generously when at his ease, showing a slight gap between his front teeth. His kind, matter-of-fact voice is surprisingly high-pitched, but his rare laugh is deep and infectious.

During the course of the interview, he often touched his upper lip, or his lips, or the side of his nose with one finger, or stroked his chin with his thumb and forefinger. He tended to sit in a relaxed but attentive position, not erect but not slouching, sometimes with his chin resting on his hand. Otherwise, his hands were still, resting quietly in his

lap. His gestures were restrained and usually close to his body, except when he wanted to illustrate a particularly important point. He sometimes used hand gestures to prompt himself. For example, when searching for the word 'drawing,' he made small sketching movements with his right hand until he found the word that he wanted. He often nodded, either in agreement with some statement or in confirmation that he understood a question. He is of average height for an Ethiopian, and perhaps a little soft and overweight, though that is hard to tell from his loose vestments.

Father Efrem's clothing is the garb of an Orthodox priest: a long cassock, buttoned up the front, usually white but occasionally black; a short, cylindrical, black hat with a pleated top; and a heavy gold chain holding a large, gold, Ethiopian cross with ornate bulging knot patterns at the end of each arm. While officiating at worship services, he wears a thigh-length cape, heavily embroidered in gold-colored thread, over his cassock. He explained that priests usually wear white for an ecclesiastical reason: "Because we are trying to preach life. We are messengers of life, so after the resurrection of the Lord Jesus the angels came to his tomb and they were dressed in white because this is like hope, and life." He also explained the historical reason for wearing black from time to time. "For a long time, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church was getting the bishops from Egypt. And they have a problem [in Egypt] because they are not free to worship, as the Copts are very much in the minority. In protest, they always dress in black."

Life Story: From the Four-Eyed Master

Ethiopia: "Hoping for the best." The sixth of eight children, Efrem was born and raised in Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia. His mother was a member of the Amhara people, the dominant ethnic group, while his father was "half from Amhara and

half from Oromo," the most populous ethnic group in the country. The Amhara are a Semitic group, slight and brown, while the Oromo are Bantu, tending to be larger and darker. He was raised speaking Amharic as his native language, and does not speak Oromifu—the language of the Oromo—at all.

The family lived in the upper-class northern part of the city which rises toward the slopes of Mt. Entoto. His father "works for a company which imports Mercedes cars and spare parts from Germany to Ethiopia." Since his father fluently spoke both Amharic and English, he was "instrumental" to the company even though he did not speak German. With so many Germans studying English, and so few Germans who knew Amharic, it was easier for the company to rely on German-English-Amharic translations than it was to find someone fluent in both German and Amharic. Efrem's mother was a "housewife."

Shortly after the Derg—the communist revolutionary party which overthrew the regime of Haile Selassie—came to power in Ethiopia in 1974, Efrem started his education at a neighborhood private school run by the Orthodox Church. Classes were held from 8:00 to noon, when the students walked home for lunch. They returned to school for the afternoon session, held from 2:00 to 5:00. Efrem slipped smoothly through the educational system, skipped one year of elementary classes because of his high test scores, and attended a nearby high school. By then, the Derg was beginning to open high school to poor children, too, so high school was held on a half-day schedule to accommodate the increased demand. Father Efrem attended high school from 8:00 in the morning until 1:00 in the afternoon, when the second shift of students started class. "When we go out, the other batch is coming in. I'm hearing now that they have the whole day of classes, but when I was in high school, we had the half days." He was an able

student. "I was given a chance to complete the ninth and tenth grade in one year. I was so proud! They gave me this chance, and it was only four students from the high school."

At eight years old, he started to also attend after-school training in Ge'ez, the ancient language of the scriptures and liturgy of the Orthodox Church. He would spend an hour each evening with his teacher, a priest at the church.

> It's not like formal school, but you hear and participate in the service and you always hear what they are saying and try to say that. That's from eighth year until now. I'm still learning. You go to one church and you find a teacher and spend some time with him.

Father Efrem added, "They make you read the Psalms in Ge'ez. You read it in front of your teacher, loudly, and also in the meantime tell what the translation is. Ge'ez, by reading in front of your teacher, they teach you everything."

In response to a question about his regrets about his education, Father Efrem responded with a memory not from elementary or high school, but from his education through the Orthodox Church.

> Most of the things back home are in the minds of the teachers. They have been living with it and working with it, and their lives become books: living books. The teachers are like libraries, and my teacher was asking me to take a course on prayer. It's not really a course, but a study. I was more inclined to do [only] some prayers and study other things. He was begging me to do that, and I know that he was the only person to know these things. Before I finish what I'm studying and come back to him, he passed away. So that's what I always regret. I could have written some of the things that are going on . . .

When I asked if this teacher had been a Four-Eyed Master, one of the monks who become expert at all aspects of church life over the course of more than 30 years of education, Father Efrem smiled widely, pleased at this small display of familiarity with Orthodox education. He delightedly nodded and affirmed, "Yes, he was!" He then revealed a second regret about his education. "It was not possible for me to do that, but I

wish I could have done that, to be honest. But I was lucky to have a teacher who spent all that 35 years in those schools, so I was getting what I could." He then explained that the main difference in his church education and the traditional education of a Four-Eyed Master was "the life aspect," the living in community with other monks and students. "There were like 24 hours in the day in this school, but in my case I was just spending one hour per day."

When Efrem was in high school, students had only two choices of curriculum: social sciences, including accounting, and natural sciences, such as biology and chemistry. "I end up in natural science because I love biology."

Upon graduation, Efrem was assigned by the government to study for a degree in accounting at Addis Ababa Komesh College, a newly opened junior college under the administration of the University of Addis Ababa. After two years he graduated with an associate degree and was assigned to serve as the accountant for the government-run gold mine in Sidama, in the southern part of the country. "You have to go where they send you because [otherwise] you are not going to get your documentation from the university. You have to work at least two years."

Efrem then described his situation, showing more emotion that previously. "I didn't stay for two years because I was very young." He was only 19 when he graduated with his associate degree and the Derg assigned him to the south. "I was very homesick," so he came back after serving only eight months of his assignment. Fortunately for him, the Derg regime was overthrown before they could reprimand—or possibly execute— him. "Everything changed, so we have every possibility, and we have new documentation." Father Efrem described this time in detail.

To be honest, it was frightening, because the military was just coming into the city. They have their weapons, and everyone was having a gun and just practicing at night. It was a very dangerous time. At the same time, I was thinking that it might be a very good start for Ethiopia. During the Derg, I have two brothers which are older than me, and my mom was always crying whenever they spent all the working time not in the house. She was thinking maybe the military has taken them to be tortured or something like that. [At the Derg's overthrow] I was scared, but at the same time I was hoping for the best.

Though Efrem's father died two years ago, his mother and all of his siblings are still alive. Efrem is the only family member who has emigrated.

[My mother is] not much happy with the change she's seeing. In some ways, living under Haile Selassie, they come by lots of things [and now costs have risen]. She's complaining, saying "What's going on?" But at the same time, she's happy because now the kids can go out and come back without any fear that they might be taken by the government.

When asked to reflect on the differences between the education that he received in Ethiopia and the education which his children are now receiving in the United States, Father Efrem responded at length, after first telling me, "Please don't have this conversation with my kids." He went on to explain that he wasn't too happy with some of the things that they are learning, "because I thought it was some kind of playing or something." He sees that "they're reading a lot, but the way they think, the questions are raised . . ."

Following an interruption caused by a call on his cell phone, where he conversed in Amharic, Father Efrem continued the interview in English as if there had been no interruption at all.

In Ethiopia a teacher is like a parent. They can even whip you, so we always respect and fear others. There is something like a social character which always makes you respect elders. There [in Ethiopia], a stranger can shout out if you do something and you say 'I'm sorry,' but here even your parents don't have that right. I'm not saying that parents have to like to whip their children, but I'm saying sometimes even giving them some kind of discipline is hard here because they were told that you're free.

Efrem was ordained at age 16 as a deacon, the first step in becoming an Orthodox priest. "They give you a test, but at the same time, now I understand that they were also seeing quality in you that you can become a priest, someone who can be willing to help and even sometimes lose what you have for the church. They just nurture us." He explained that a deacon has a choice whether to remain a deacon or to become a priest, a step he can only take after he is married. In contrast to the Catholic tradition, where priests cannot marry because that commitment is seen as interfering with the priest's obligations to the congregation and to God, the Orthodox tradition sees marriage as a necessary step in order to fulfill those twin commitments more empathetically. Efrem met his future wife through the church. "We are going to the same Sunday school, and we have been friends like eight years before we got married. I know her family, she knows my family, we know each other well, and we end up being perfect." Once he had married, he moved from being a deacon to being ordained as a priest. They now have two children, a daughter who is age eight, and a son, almost six.

Father Efrem was not aware of any interference from the Derg in church affairs at the local parish level. "Even the Derg, I think that they were also fearing the church because the church has a lot of power, and at the same time I think that the church was fearing the Derg."

Immigration: "It was a very difficult decision." The last employment that Father Efrem had in Ethiopia was as the office manager for a development corporation, the Population Council, organized and managed by the post-Derg government. As an English-speaking employee of this council, Father Efrem attended various conferences both in Europe and in New York. On one of the trips to the United States, he met the

archbishop [of the U.S. Orthodox Church] in New York. "He was telling me, 'Why don't you come here? I'll send for your family. You can serve the church and at the same time help us with our administrational tasks.'" The archbishop was looking for someone who could lead the congregation in New York City, which at the time was about half English-speaking. After discussing the choice with his wife, Father Efrem applied for a visa and came to the United States in 2008. It took one and one-half years for his wife and two small children to get visas approved so that they could join him here. "It was a very difficult decision. When I came from Ethiopia I have to dismantle everything I have been doing there." He leaned back in his chair, touched his palms together almost in a prayer gesture, and continued.

> I had always wanted to serve the church and the community, and at the same time we thought that it might be a very good learning opportunity for the kids to be in the U.S. But coming from a socialized community, it's very hard to decide.

United States: "My son is leaving me here today." Father Efrem recalled his first taxi ride after his arrival in by plane in New York City. "I was trying to see white people. Where are they?" Father Efrem recalled his astonishment at the number of African-Americans he saw, and laughed.

> Back home we think it's all white in the US. That made me happy to see [diverse] people living with their own culture, their own language, at the same time in one country. The other thing is that it was summer, and so the weather was beautiful. People were eating on the streets. That's not how it is in Ethiopia.

He recalls being frightened of his first rides on the subway system; and wondering how he would escape in case of an emergency.

> But then I was laughing at myself. How can anything happen here? Because I can see the people are protecting each other. If you see something bad, everyone seems to act and protect others, [even] strangers who they never knew. I saw an accident in the Bronx. It was a car accident, and fortunately no one was hurt, but I saw everyone was running to do what they can to help. I was amazed.

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But he also witnessed a small house fire, and the response of the neighbors was far different, leaving him puzzled by such variation in U.S. behavior.

> Only three people go out to do what they can to extinguish the fire. They extinguish the fire, but the lady next to the burning house was just doing her own business in the kitchen. You could see her from the outside. That was really strange for me to see."

After one year in New York, before the rest of Father Efrem's family could join him, the archbishop received a request from the growing Ethiopian immigrant community in a city in the Midwest; they wanted a priest. He sent Father Efrem.

> Here in [the Midwestern city], the other thing that pleased me was [though] the members of the church are mostly working on a lower income, the bank system was trying to help us to have our own space. I'm always pleased by the way people try to help you here.

Father Efrem recalled the first day of school for his son, and recounted the story with enthusiasm.

> I was worried because he doesn't know any English words or numbers. We took him there, and I was expecting that he might be crying. In school in Ethiopia, he has to cry and I have to comfort him and give him to the secretary. But here, the teachers were so amazing that he forgot everything in a minute and said "Bye!" to us and waved. I remember standing and telling my wife, "What just happened?" When they say "Bye!" and go join hands with the teacher, I thank God and I said, "OK. My son is leaving me here today."

When asked to comment about challenges in moving to the United States, Father Efrem replied, "It's very hard to say some things are difficult because I always try to lean on God, and I believe that there are reasons for everything that's happening." He then admitted that there had been several things that were difficult, primarily with his wife's lack of a work visa. "She has a bachelor's in accounting and she has been a really good accountant, but the system is not allowing her to work." It was difficult for him to see her

"sit at least for a year in the house without working or anything." And during this period

in their lives,

> "my kids don't have insurance and they don't get medicards or something like that. But I'm seeing God's work through here, because they have never been sick. I'm just trusting God and He's showing me a lot of things, so I'm very much happy now.

He then contrasted his wife's situation with his own. She does not have a work

visa, and is "trying to spend her time going to language schools, and just raising the kids

with me." He then went on to be quite eloquent about his current work.

> It always amazes me how the government has given me an R1 visa, believing that I might help citizens here in their spiritual needs. I believe that spiritual help is something which the U.S. needs right now. Everyone can work outside and follow their dreams and lead whatever life they want, but I see a lot of problems even with the worthy people. They have stress.

> To be honest, it doesn't matter if you're paid more or less as long as you have a very positive relationship with the community. I told you that I never felt tired in the church because I'm just starting to do what I love to do. I even forget sometimes that I have to eat, to be honest. When your working is filled with your love, you don't want to give it up for anything. You just want to finish it. Being in the church is a very good place to be, because you see God working and that's what keeps me going ahead.

Father Efrem has not taken formal studies here in the United States, mostly

because of the amount of time his job requires. "Now, my head has been opened and I'm

thinking of doing that. I've been taking some interviews and this is just to see where I am

right now." Though not formally enrolled in education, Father Efrem is disciplined in

keeping up his long habit of continuing education as a priest, primarily through reading

the books that he has at the church and through studying sermons that he can reach

through the internet. He dreams of using his continuing education, especially in the

ancient traditions of the church, to be able to offer better courses for the youth of the

church, ideally in English instead of in Amharic or Ge'ez.

In describing a typical weekday, Father Efrem reports that he gets up about 6:00 and helps get his two children ready to catch the school bus. He leads a public prayer service from 9:00 to 10:00 or 10:30 each morning, works in the church office until noon, and then has lunch at home with his wife. He returns to work from 1:00 until 3:00, when he leaves to pick up his children from school. "After that it's the hectic time with my kids, to get them through their homework and answer their questions and enjoy my time with them." Dinner is eaten together as a family, and the children go to sleep at 8:00 or so. "Mostly I stay up until 11:30 or 12:00 because I like to read. I have to reflect on what people are telling me, and what direction they need. I also say my prayers and try to read the Bible."

Both of his children are fluent in English, but Father Efrem and his wife continue to address them in Amharic. "We do that because we don't want them to forget their language," but the children typically reply in English.

> They need help with some words [in Amharic], but kids are kids. They want to play, and they're tired just coming out of school. Right now, they know both languages well, but I fear that they will get to know English better. Amharic is going to go down because they are getting more school in English.

Father Efrem commented about the role of his wife by saying that he wanted to see her get a job, when it's legal for her to work in the United States. "It's good for you to go out and work and come back. I approve for her to work hard because I know her capacity to succeed."

Father Efrem described how Sundays differ from week days. On Sundays he wakes at 4:00 and is at church by 5:00 to start the public, preparatory prayers. They lead into the traditional liturgy, which starts at 7:00 and lasts until about 9:30. Then they have Bible study, which is taught by a deacon, and then "we have some singing and some

preaching and then the last prayer. We will be mostly done, I think, at 11:00." He usually

stays at the church until about 3:00 in the afternoon, "because it's only on Sunday [when]

most of the people can reach me, so I have to stay here and talk to them and spend some

time." In spite of the long day, Father Efrem maintains that it doesn't fatigue him much.

"I was raised in the church starting in my eighth year to do this, and I enjoy it and I live

it, and God is working through us." He smiled, and then added, "I feel tired the minute I

step back home."

He explained how members of the immigrant community "have a lot of things to

take care of" because they are mostly in low-paying jobs. He then explained in some

detail the different issues that church members bring to him, and how he tries to serve as

a resource for them.

> All the community knows is that they go to work and do what they have to do and
> come back and that's it, but there are a lot of things to explore seeing. As I have a
> bit of extra time, I'm trying to get them some information on how to access the
> system, or for the kids the scholarship system. I'm just trying to do what they
> can't."

Father Efrem smiled, and reminded me that in our first conversation, at lunch

following the initial worship service visit, he had asked about the possibility of

scholarships through the university's education department. Father Efrem became

reflective, his finger rubbing the side of his nose.

> In Ethiopia, we don't know psychiatrists. For something [which is a problem], we
> discuss everything together, and kids play outside. When people come here, they
> are faced with something which they have never experienced before. It's a new
> world for everyone, so everyone has their own problems in their marriage and
> then raising the children. So they come to church, and this is the only place where
> they meet or where they can get the happy news, like in Ethiopia. They come here
> when they have stress, when they are sick, and I pray over them and I discuss with
> them, and then they go back, I see that relief and that makes me happy. That's
> what keeps me focused every day, just trying to do what I can for them.

Father Efrem rubbed the side of his nose, sighed, and then described how the U.S. society impacts newly-arrived immigrants.

This is like a confined society here. They don't know, they don't care, and they don't know what's going on next door. In Ethiopia it's not like that. When you walk on the road, whether you know or don't know that person, you have to say, "Hi!" If you see someone having a problem, you don't think "It's a stranger!" You just go try to do what you have to do.

When asked about his home, Father Efrem replies immediately, "I love where we live. It has been more than three years now, and my kids are used to that area. It's peaceful, and it's very close to the church."

Father Efrem reported that he was not typically frightened or worried living in the United States, but he commented about the long-term effects of the way we live.

What is the future going to be for the kids? Most of the parents are working for long hours. In Ethiopia you just feed and clothe and love your child, but you don't worry about their school, because there's a system. Here, you have to always help them because it's very high competition. I'm asking for God's help every day, but I'm not that much worried.

In trying to provide a partial answer to that question about the future of children, Father Efrem runs a part-time school at the church.

We have them at 4:00 on one day in the afternoon, and they stay here for two hours singing. We teach them, and let them learn Amharic, and then we also teach them about Bible stories and like good manners and everything. On Sunday morning, after the liturgy, they come here [to the church classrooms] and we just let them interact with each other, and we just try to teach them how to pray. Not formal school, but just trying to teach them what the church is about.

Father Efrem also leads a summer school for six weeks during school vacation. Children come to the church compound from 10:00 to 3:00. They study the Bible and Amharic, and they eat lunch together.

He has very little contact with African-Americans or with immigrants from other countries besides Ethiopia, but he works extensively with new immigrants from Ethiopia. He commented at length upon this role he plays in the community.

> If you are Ethiopian, the only way you know America is by if you see movies, where you'll see the buildings, people running here and there, beautiful cars. But if someone is coming to [this Midwestern city] from Ethiopia, they are surprised. They never think they will see trees, so people say, "Wow! This is a very different change!" Yeah, they are always shocked when they first move here. The first thing I always try to do with immigrants is to make them feel like we are here. We can share our experiences, they can ask us, and we can show them the way. The second thing I always try to let them know is you are in America, where things are easy, people are here just to help you, and you can do whatever you want here. You can get every opportunity if you explore.

Focus on the Theoretical Model's Dimensions

Language. Father Efrem began studying English in elementary school, simply because "in Ethiopia that's how it is." English is a required subject until high school, when it becomes the language of instruction. "Most of the books, science and everything, the books and materials are in English." That approach continues through university, too. When asked to describe his English-speaking ability now, Father Efrem responded by saying, "I think I can express myself good, not excellent or very good." He reported that reading and writing were no problem.

Father Efrem laughed when asked what language he dreamed in, and after a moment of thought, replied, "I think I dream in Amharic." He went on to say that up until a couple of years ago, he always thought in Amharic. "I'm now forcing myself to think in English, too, because the church members, one third of them are kids who were born here. I feel it is a must to teach them what we believe in their own language." He went on to explain that he is "even trying to come up with sermons in English, because that's a must" for the Saturday school for the congregation's children. When asked if he felt,

then, that eventually the liturgy of the worship services themselves would change from the ancient 'dead' language of Ge'ez, Father Efrem demurred. He feels that "if we go to English, we might lose some of the service, aspects of the church." He hopes that the liturgy itself, the core of worship, will stay as it is, while some of the secondary elements, such as readings from non-sacred texts, could be changed into English.

In considering which language he speaks with his children, Father Efrem said that "we always struggle with them that they have to talk Amharic, because I don't want them to lose that language." He went on to explain that his son and daughter "are appreciating it even now." He pointed out that the United States has accepted more than one language in the past. "Most of the time, I am saying bad English and we are talking in Amharic. They understand what we say, we encourage them to talk in Amharic, but there are things which we have to tell them in English, too."

Most of Father Efrem's communication with the adult members of the congregation is in Amharic, while most of his communication with the children in church is in English.

When asked to give himself a numerical score on his English, he replied, "Amharic, I can give myself ten. But English, I would give myself six, maybe."

Behavior. As pointed out in the first sentence of this case study, Father Efrem's status as a priest influences everything else about him. For example, he wears his traditional vestments all the time in public, so anyone seeing him knows instantly that he is from another place. "To my surprise, some people even know from where I am." He told the story of being in a Starbucks in Nashville, Tennessee, and being approached by a stranger who "came to me and said, 'You are from Ethiopia!'" Most of the time, though,

people recognize that his unique vestments mark him as a priest of some unfamiliar denomination, but they can't identify what country he is from.

In thinking about other aspects of his behavior besides clothing, Father Efrem affirmed that he uses computers, cell phones, and all the other gadgets of modern U.S. society with no problem. He still maintained that his behavior is entirely Ethiopian, though, because he uses these conveniences to further his Orthodox ministry.

> I would say I'm almost behaving Ethiopian because, as a priest, and the only priest, and as most of Ethiopians are missing home, and trying to talk to me and get some relief, I have to just act Ethiopian, and staying almost all of my time in the church, I'm saying I'm always Ethiopian, I think. Always Ethiopian.

Identity. Father Efrem was quite eloquent in describing his love for the Orthodox Church, which in his case—as in the case of untold generations of Ethiopians over the past two millennia—corresponds completely with his love for Ethiopia. He sees himself as not only here in the United States to serve his congregation, but also to serve the United States. He hopes that the Orthodox Church will "be introduced very well in the U.S. community. I strongly believe we have a lot to give and a lot to contribute."

When asked to elaborate about the possible contributions of the Orthodox Church to U.S. society, Father Efrem lectured passionately for a wonderful five minutes about the history of the church and the values that it has contributed over the centuries. This long monologue was clearly heartfelt, something that he had thought about deeply for a long time. He was no longer reserved in his gestures or careful with his phrasing. He just spoke extemporaneously and eloquently, sometimes tripping over the stumbling block of speaking extemporaneously in his third language. For example, he said such things as "Christianity was introduced to Ethiopia in 34 BC," when in reality, it might have been introduced in 34 CE, and "Christianity is more than 800 years old in Ethiopia," when he

might have meant to say 1800, or even 1900 years old. He also said several things which some Westerners might find incredible, even though they were not the result of language difficulties. Examples include "We have [in Ethiopia] part of the cross which the Lord Jesus Christ was crucified on," and "There are more than 80 nationalities in Ethiopia living like one people." But his passion and his sincerity were evident as he extolled the worth of Orthodox Christianity, the institution to which he has dedicated his life.

He then went to some trouble to explain a particular Amharic word, *yulienta,* which he considered both important enough to be repeated several times so that the I could say it (nearly) correctly, and important enough to be written for me in both Amharic and English. Based on Father Efrem's explanation (and phrased by me, not by Father Efrem himself), *yulienta* might be translated as 'ultimate respect, both for others and for oneself, and how we live together in community.' Father Efrem supplied several examples, such as a cigarette smoker refraining from smoking in front of others, especially children. "It's not just hiding, but he's respecting people that he don't want anyone to be in that pollution. So he wants to do these things, but he's sacrificing his freedom so others will not be disturbed." He contrasted this attention to relationships with U.S. society. "Here I am seeing, as long as I'm not touching you, I can do whatever I like."

Another example of *yulienta* might be, according to Father Efrem, the way a thief would treat the target of his crime.

> A thief, a burglar, would not come during the day if he comes. He'll come to your house when you are sleeping during the night, because, [though] he might be having some problems, he might need some money for his food, but he's not going to come during the day to steal from your house. And even if he thinks someone is up, he'll go out, and [be] done. He is doing something, but at the same time he is respecting you. He don't want to harm you.

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He went on to talk about funerals and weddings, and how little respect was shown

for such significant events by taking time off from work. "Life here is just a routine. It's

not interacting with people. It's morning, night, and that's it, and you pay your bills and

that's fine. You live in your house, with no one coming to your door." He contrasted

modern American society with Ethiopian culture. "A holiday for us is just to get together

and everyone eat and laugh and talk the whole day. But here, a holiday is something you

lock your door and you sleep your day away." Father Efrem hopes to help his

congregation of Ethiopian immigrants become a witness of a healthy community to the

rest of U.S. society. "I wish we could at least show the way we are doing it back home,

because this is America, where people contribute what they have. And I love this

country! But I want to show my love by contributing work and the good things that we

have."

Father Efrem took his children to Ethiopia last year for a four week visit with his

extended family in Addis Ababa. He was struck by how many more people have crowded

into the capital city since he left, and how much busier the streets are, both with

pedestrians and cars.

> They [his children] were interacting with everyone, and everyone was showing
> them love. Here they only know us and the church people, but there my son was
> saying, "I can go to a shop and buy and come back by myself, because shops are
> next door and no one is going to bother you." Here [in the United States] they are
> told, "You have to be aware of strangers." But there, there are no strangers. A
> stranger can whip you if they see something you do bad, and everyone is just
> taking care of others. I'm not saying it's like a heaven on earth there, but that's
> how we grow up and that's how Ethiopia is for us. I was having a problem when
> we get ready to come back because both of my kids were crying. "Why are we
> going back?"

Father Efrem likes several things about the Unites States, particularly "the way things are organized to make people's life simple and easy. Like the systems of the bank." He also commented, as noted earlier, that he likes the diversity in the United States.

When asked to comment about things that he does not like in Ethiopian culture, Father Efrem referred back to his work with the Population Council, and explained that "they were trying to improve things for the girls because they were given to husbands very early, like six years." He also commented on the difficulty that rural children still have in gaining education. "When I think those boys and girls who are poor in the rural side working with farm, I always feel sorry we are not helping them."

Individual Analysis

Introduction

In spite of the initial difficulties in arranging time to interview Father Efrem, I am very glad that I was forward enough to attend a worship service to make myself known to this particular immigrant community, including Father Efrem. I am also grateful for the openness with which the community, and particularly Father Efrem, replied to that 'forwardness' with warmth and hospitality.

Father Efrem was a marvelous respondent. He was forthcoming and loquacious, he had a unique narrative, both in the reason he immigrated to the United States and in his role here, and he gave insightful commentary, from the perspective of a recent immigrant himself, on his priorities with new Ethiopian immigrants to the community.

The educational trajectory of Father Efrem's life is likewise unique among this sample of respondents, since his education was a combination of two mutually-

antagonistic—and mutually-wary—traditions: the Orthodox Church and the communist regime of the Derg.

Actually, due to Father Efrem's extensive statements in response to almost every question, there is remarkably little need to clarify themes which are already obvious.

Analysis According to the Theoretical Model's Predictions

Language. Father Efrem, though having studied English for many years in school, has been in the United States for only three years. During that time, a large part of his responsibility has been to lead the formal liturgy of the church, which is conducted in Ge'ez, not in English. He also presides over other functions of the church, including counseling his parish members and helping new immigrants to the community. These duties require him to use Amharic. When he has time to study, as described above, it is typically late at night, after reflecting on the needs of his parishioners and reading the Bible in Ge'ez. English, then, takes a distant third place behind the two languages critical for his work. His comparative lack of fluency in English, then, is easily explained: the past three years in the United States have been an immersion experience in two languages other than English.

Nevertheless, Father Efrem, as shown above, can usually make himself understood in English, even though there are multiple errors in grammar and word choice in nearly every sentence. Assuming that readers of this dissertation are fluent in English, there is no need to list numerous examples from the above quotations. Father Efrem assigned himself a score of 60% in his English usage.

Father Efrem realizes that he must find time to learn English better in order to better serve the children of his parish, and hopes, as described above, to eventually

preach to the children in English outside the formal traditional liturgy in Ge'ez. As he

admitted in describing his communication with his own children, "Most of the time, I am

saying bad English and we are talking in Amharic." It may be that this is an area where

the Ethiopian congregation might adopt the very American practice of granting study

leave to a pastor. Because of Father Efrem's position as the sole pastor for the

congregation, this study 'leave' would probably not entail 'leaving,' but it might be

possible to have some hours every week which were understood by the community to be

set aside for Father Efrem's study of English. In this way, the congregation might invest

in the future of their priest, of their children, and of their community.

   Behavior. Father Efrem had little to say about any other aspect of his behavior

besides his clothing. Since his identity centers around his role as an Orthodox priest, he

seems completely unconcerned whether his behavior is particularly Ethiopian or

American. In his summary statement about his behavior, repeated below, it is worth

noticing how the tentative statement, "I'm almost behaving Ethiopian" evolves into the

declaration, "I'm always Ethiopian."

> I would say I'm almost behaving Ethiopian because, as a priest, and the only
> priest, and as most of Ethiopians are missing home, and trying to talk to me and
> get some relief, I have to just act Ethiopian, and staying almost all of my time in
> the church, I'm saying I'm always Ethiopian, I think. Always Ethiopian.

   Father Efrem is in the United States as a priest. That's his identity. His job is to

serve the Ethiopian community as their priest. That's his behavior. The two dimensions

cannot really be considered independently, and both are completely part of Ethiopian

culture rather than U.S. culture. Father Efrem did not assign himself scores in these two

categories. Instead, he expressed his dedication to living entirely outside those

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dimensions of acculturation. The score of 0% Americanized, then, was assigned by me for both of these dimensions.

Identity. The long discourse about *yulienta* was fascinating, as Father Efrem shared his vision of something larger about his identity than simply serving as the parish priest of a small congregation of expatriates. He uses his identity as the priest of the community to imagine, and to help the community imagine, too, how they might have a reach far beyond their own identity as a small minority of immigrants. "I believe God will give us a way and we can go out and let people know who we are and what we can contribute to the [larger] community." This seems almost a sacred call, a way that a small group of immigrants can contribute their own gifts to the greater good of the United States, as has been done so many times before by so many different ethnicities. Father Efrem, secure in his own identity as 100% Orthodox priest, paradoxically holds the hope of bringing a change of identity to U.S. society, so that it is no longer a place where "people are just confined in their houses and their own understandings."

It is also interesting to note that this sense of call to a broader community not only transcends the troubling topic of ethnic identity, but also surpasses Haile Selassie's goal of a truly Ethiopian national identity. In Father Efrem's vision, as well as in his day-to-day work, perhaps the Christian (and Muslim) ideal of a world-wide community of faith and tolerance is one step closer to being realized.

Initial Research Questions

Research Question (1a): How do Ethiopian immigrants evaluate their Ethiopian education in preparing them for acculturation?

This question is curiously irrelevant for Father Efrem, since acculturation is not really his goal. True, he wants to improve his English language skills in order to better serve the children and youth of the congregation, but as far as behavior and identity are concerned, he would like to 'acculturate' the United States to Orthodox ways of relating as community.

In talking about his public school education in Ethiopia, Father Efrem refers primarily to aspects of discipline and respect, which he admires greatly. His study of English, comprising perhaps ten years, is simply accepted as a given. His specialization in biology in high school and his degree in accounting from the university are parallel: they are simply part of his story, chapters that he has passed through, no longer a central part of the plot.

That's also true in talking about his education through the Orthodox Church. It prepared him for his current job, and prepared him well, by providing years of teaching and practice in shaping his call to serve the community, first as a deacon and then as a priest. Father Efrem's only regrets are that he wasn't able to participate more fully, both in studying prayer under the Four-Eyed Master who died, and in having the chance to become a Four-Eyed Master himself. Those regrets reveal how little 'acculturation' has to do with Father Efrem's life story. He doesn't wish that his education had prepared him more for the United States. He wishes that it had given him more chance to become even more Ethiopian.

Research Question (1b): How do Ethiopian immigrants evaluate their U.S. education in helping them in acculturation?

Father Efrem has not taken part in formal education here in the United States. In a strict sense, then, he should be disqualified as a respondent in this study. I maintain, however, that his inclusion is justified on two grounds. First, Father Efrem's refusal to see U.S. education as necessary to perform his job is, in effect, a 'nay' vote about the importance of formal education for an immigrant who does not seek acculturation. Father Efrem may decide in the future that he needs formal English instruction in order to better serve his congregation, but that would still not constitute an 'aye' vote, since his increased involvement in education would not indicate a change in his motivation: he would still be seeking to help children remain more closely tied to their Ethiopian heritage. Father Efrem, then, would be seeking education not to increase his degree of acculturation, but to better enable him to help other immigrants, particularly children, retain key aspects of Ethiopian culture.

The second reason to include Father Efrem as a part of this study is simply because he constitutes a rich resource for information. As a priest who counsels his congregation through the stresses of immigration and as a critical contributor in creating a shared community to combat those stresses, Father Efrem has insights about immigration and U.S. society to share. He also is familiar with U.S. education, both as a counselor for his flock of immigrants as they seek educational opportunities, and as a father watching his own children begin their schooling. As an outlier in his approach to acculturation for himself, Father Efrem provides an opportunity to appreciate more fully the range of possible opinions about acculturation. If it is true that Father Efrem was not a

typical respondent, it is also true that he was in some ways a co-researcher, reflecting

deeply about the meaning and goals of acculturation for the Ethiopian immigrant

community.

Research Question (2a): Do the respondents' self-assessments, viewed

individually, show that their acculturation is differentiated among the three dimensions

of the theory?

By assigning himself a score of 60% in language, while giving me compelling

reasons to assign scores of 0% in both behavior and

identity, Father Efrem shows that he sees his

acculturation as differentiated among the three

dimensions. This finding of dissimilar scores fits the

theoretical model's prediction of variation across the

three dimensions within a single individual, as shown in

Figure 13.

dimension		language	behavior	identity
Percent Americanized, to the nearest 10%	100			
	90			
	80			
	70			
	60			
	50			
	40			
	30			
	20			
	10			

Figure 13. Father Efrem:
Self-Report of
Americanization
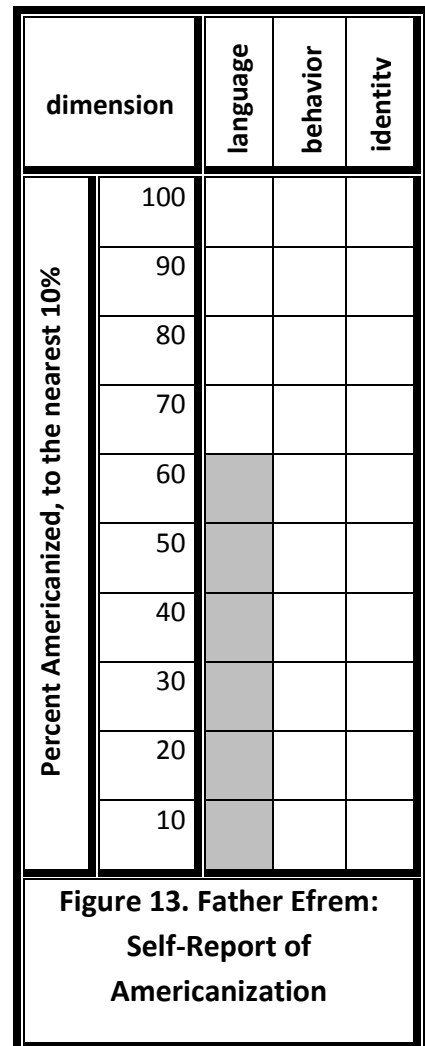
CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Preface: Hiking on the Beartooth Plateau

This study was conducted in partial fulfillment of the requirements to earn a PhD in education, so part of the community which shaped the study was, of course, my doctoral committee. All PhDs themselves, they encouraged me to reflect about the nature of qualitative research and to wrestle with some of the current controversies in the field. They asked me what I have learned.

Please forgive me. I'm from Montana, and spent many youthful days backpacking on the Beartooth Plateau, a high wilderness to the north of Yellowstone Park. On its severe tundra, where pink granite boulders are set in permafrost from the last ice age and 600-year-old willow forests might be six inches tall, I was given a small glimpse of how tentative we humans are in time and space. I have no real feel for the grid-line debates of the plains, where some say "East and West" and others "North and South." Where I grew up, we had East and West, of course, but they were sunrise and sunset more than lines on a map, and they shifted through the seasons, just like day and night. North was the wind along the Rocky Mountain Front, unbroken from the Arctic ice, and South was the sunny side of the boulder, where the pika's hay first turns green. The careful delineations of

Midwestern cornfields mean less to me than the ridgeline and the pathway, and whether there are grizzly prints in the mud along the stream.

My heart lies with story, not with theory. This cannot really be a surprise to you, the reader. You have read my account of a single educational history, Ethiopia's, and my narratives of only five particular individuals. Clearly, I tend to be interested in specifics, not abstractions. And for that matter, you already know that this study is a little personalized and quirky: after all, it's not often that Goldilocks and Colonel Mustard are cited in dissertations. Nevertheless, my community has taken the risk of asking me to reflect on larger issues in qualitative research.

I think that we in the social sciences have been pre-occupied with scientific respectability, in much the same way that the European Christian church responded to the scientific revolution by deciding that it, too, must conform to the new standards of truth and compete with the new methods, as if questions about life's meaning were close kin to eradicating smallpox. So the great myth of creation, for example, which had witnessed to truth for 2000 years as a hymn with the resounding chorus, "And behold, it was very good," was re-interpreted as science so that it could compete with the new paradigm. And the great hymn shrank to fit into seven literal days, and subjected itself to debate, doubt and, ultimately, to ridicule.

I think that we have long followed a parallel path in qualitative research, but have now begun to reclaim our own inheritance. Our history in the social sciences is story-telling, and that tradition is as old as campfires, where the day's fleeting gossip is recounted along with the perennial stories which shape our minds, and which educate the next generation about who they are and who they can become. The gossip will be

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forgotten with the next season, replaced by newer gossip, equally-fleeting, while the old stories will grow deeper and richer with repetition through the years. There is no need to shrink the stories to fit a paradigm demanding hypothesis, validity, or reliability.

In the same way, we have been distracted by competing 'isms.' Positivism and modernism and post-modernism and post-structuralism and thisism and post-thatism: how much distraction can we stand? These are diversions of the plains, where humans can draw lines wherever they choose. The mountains are real. There are routes which can be climbed and those which can't be, and if you don't accept that epistemology, try the route yourself. (But don't go alone, and rope up first.) All the carefully delineated distinctions between these schools of thought become tangled as the rising ridges force them together. The mountain is the teacher. You must accept rigorous discipline; the person who wears ill-fitting boots will have blisters by noon, and the person who cannot tie a diamond hitch will lose their sleeping bag down a thousand feet of talus. But in the same way, the person who misses the story of the stream will never see the little dippers walking in the water, and the person who won't listen to the story of the wind will miss the junco's call. Our job in the social sciences is not to deny rigor and discipline, nor is it to attempt to replicate the same rigor used in quantitative studies. Isn't our job to tell stories, faithfully and well?

Here's a proposal: let's agree that there is reality, and let's agree that we see that reality from different perspectives, like individuals viewing a Montana forest. The logger counts board feet on the gentle hillsides, but the slopes too steep to cut, the margins of the logger's view, are the central focus for the climber, who seeks the most promising ridge routes to the snowfields far above. The rancher sees the river as a water source, true, but a

pond would do as well. The river exists only at the edge of the rancher's meaning, a boundary between meadows where cattle will fatten in the summer sun. The canoeist, though, sees the stream as the center of the scene, and plots the story the canoe will trace through the downward pointing V's between the boulders. These humans become parts of an ecosystem, sustainable through their relationships with the mountain and with each other. The logger uses the canoeist's reports of water clarity to control run-off and avoid pollution fines. The climber uses the logger's rough roads for easy access to the higher paths. The rancher uses the climber's photos from the heights to plan grazing rotations. The canoeist camps in meadows cropped of tall grass—and therefore nearly emptied of mosquitoes—by the rancher's cattle. There is no need to wrestle, but only a slowly dawning recognition of the need to respect the others' viewpoints, and to benefit from the others' perspectives, and to work toward the multiple-use ideal which makes the forest a commons in a democracy where no voice goes unheard.

In this study, I have attempted to balance a rigor of thought, which will keep me safely on the path, with a story-telling that will make the path memorable, and perhaps inspirational, for me, for the respondents, and for you, the reader. Please allow me to discuss three metaphors for that balance.

Bricolage, which is simply the French word for 'quilt-making,' is currently a common metaphor describing qualitative research. The term's implication is that the qualitative researcher does not report reality as it is, but instead collects scraps of reality and "stitches edits, and puts slices of reality together" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p.5), so that they become a new creation. I find this metaphor lovely, since my mother was a quilter, but I also think that it reaches beyond qualitative research. The researcher doesn't

choose just any scrap, no matter how brightly colored, but selects promising pieces from the available supplies and then stitches them tightly and well. There are rigorous standards concerning seam allowance and the number of stitches per inch, the wisdom of past practitioners. Quilts which fail to follow this wisdom are slowly shredded and discarded like yesterday's gossip. Any particular quilt is a new creation, true, but if it is to have lasting value through the years, it must conform to a discipline accumulated over centuries. Research demands both creative choice and the rigor of standards.

I practiced *bricolage* in my above description of the Beartooth Plateau. I have told you of pikas but not of marmots, and of 600-year-old willow but not 8000-year-old aspen. I never mentioned tarns beneath an August sun, arêtes silhouetted against the northern lights, or pink snow. And in my idealized sketch of the multiple-use forest, I left out the real estate investor who only hears the voice of profit, the common enemy of all who love the commons. The plateau, or a forest on a single slope, or even "a flower in the crannied wall" (Tennyson, 1863) cannot be completely described, and the picture that I choose to describe is shaped by my personal history and focus.

In the same way, I practiced *bricolage* in this study. My choices of respondents and which of their stories to include have created patterns that have not existed before. I do not claim they are the only patterns that can be stitched from these chosen scraps. But I have made those choices in a disciplined and transparent way, so the structure can be traced, as if with even stitches, on every page.

A second commonly used metaphor, this time with a history more rooted in quantitative research, is triangulation. The term's implication in research is that a particular claim to understanding is most securely located by reference to other known

points, just as a surveyor works from a known benchmark. Some theorists of qualitative research, such as Richardson and St. Pierre (2005), dismiss the metaphor of triangulation, because a triangle is a "rigid, fixed, two-dimensional object" (p.963), likely to falsely suggest that reality is similarly rigid and fixed. They propose instead the metaphor of the crystal, "which combines symmetry and substance with an infinite variety of shapes, substances, transmutations, multi-dimensionalities, and angles of approach" (Richardson and St. Pierre, p. 963). I suggest that triangulation is still a useful term, but that its understanding might be rotated. It's not so much about surveying and defining a rigid reality; it's about locating us, the researchers, in the landscape.

On the Beartooth Plateau, where the paths climb above timberline, wander among the boulders humped like sleeping grizzlies, and then disappear altogether, hikers have set cairns in strategic places. So you walk to one, and catch your breath, and then survey the landscape. If the winter frost-heaves have been kind and the set of the sun is right, you can spot the next one, exactly the color of the landscape from which its component rocks were plucked, a lonely pile of rocks to mark where someone else has walked. You study the cairn carefully, noting its relationship to the land, and then with luck, you spot the next one, too, beyond the first, and together they lead you onward like flags on wharf and hillside lead a ship entering a harbor. Keep the little cairns in sight, and replace the winter's fallen rocks when you can, so the next wanderers will not lose their way. Triangulation is what keeps you from getting lost, since you know that you cannot rely solely on yourself.

I have used triangulation in this paper, and refer to it specifically below, as a method of assuring myself—and you, the reader, as well—that the direction which I have

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chosen is justified. I chose the route to take among the boulders; that's the creative, free side of qualitative research. But I trust the good will of others who have gone before and shared their cairns, carefully constructed. I follow them carefully; that's the rigorous side. Research is lonely, and humans are welcome company, and the plateau is no place to get lost in the late summer dusk.

Bricolage and triangulation are both well-known, and I consider them useful metaphors for maintaining a balance among the competing voices of methodological disputes. Please allow me to offer a final metaphor for finding balance, this one borrowed not from sewing or surveying, but from taxonomy.

How many species of junco live in North America? Some taxonomists, the 'splitters', claim five, while others, the 'lumpers', claim only one, saying that the five different groups are just sub-species, or races, of a single species called the northern junco. You might be tempted to think that this would be an easy problem to solve, especially in these days of DNA analysis. Either the birds can breed together, or they can't, right? And isn't this just a classic, 'hard science,' quantitative question, answerable in any well-equipped lab? For me, here is where the discussion gets interesting: The quantitative, 'hard science' side can prove that the five groups can breed together. So, the lumpers win. But the juncos don't know that, and they don't' breed together. That's because breeding is also dependent on behavior, and the tiniest variation in a springtime song can override DNA. So the social scientists, stereotyped as fuzzy-thinking theorists, willing to blur distinctions and disclaim sharp boundaries, in this case are the splitters, and describe reality more precisely than any test tube.

The quantitative and qualitative sides need each other, and need to respect each other. Each produces insights which can triangulate, or fail to triangulate, with the other. When their answers are confusing, the researcher must decide which cairns can be trusted, and when to simply stand in awe.

So, when the day is done, what stories will I tell by firelight to answer my committee's question? What have I learned?

1. Tell the story truthfully.

2. Walk with humility. The story is only mine, small and tentative, not the plateau's.

3. Identify yourself. There's no place to hide, anyway.

4. Climb with friends. Trust them and be worthy of their trust.

5. Repair the cairns if you can. Leave a helpful record.

6. All research is preface, a few footprints in a wilderness of fractal rock, soon to be covered by the coming winter's snow.

7. Oh, yes! Don't forget to be amazed.

Introduction

As outlined at the beginning of Chapter One, this study had three purposes. First, it provided a forum for the distinctive voices of Ethiopian immigrants to be heard, with the goal of increasing understanding of their particular perspectives. Second, it explored education as an agent of acculturation for the study's respondents, with the intention of reflecting on elements needed to facilitate acculturation. Finally, it compared the data obtained through the interviews with the two predictions of the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation. The first of those predictions was that respondents'

self-assessments, viewed individually, would show that their acculturation has been differentiated among the three dimensions of the theory: language, behavior, and identity. The second prediction was that respondents' self-assessments, viewed collectively, would show that their acculturation patterns differ from each other across those same three dimensions.

The next three sections of this chapter, then, are focused on each of those purposes in turn: the respondents' distinctive voices, the role of education in acculturation, and the two predictions of the theoretical model. A final section, the conclusion itself, follows.

Distinctive Voices

I invite the reader to agree that Chapter Four provided a forum for the voice of each respondent to be heard. The open-ended nature of the interview protocol allowed respondents to thoughtfully reply to individual questions in whatever detail and depth they chose. The unhurried pace of the interviews and the high level of my respectful engagement invited respondents to examine their life stories carefully and encouraged self-discovery. And the extensive reporting of those narratives as case studies in Chapter Four depicts each journey of immigration in thick, rich detail.

Individualized Responses

Respondents thoughtfully replied to the interview questions in whatever detail and depth they chose, and each respondent had the opportunity to exhibit their uniqueness. Of the uncountable ways that each of the respondents is no doubt unique, some very noticeable differences between them stood out.

Alimitu, the only woman respondent, reminisced in detail about her years in elementary school, while other respondents emphasized later parts of their education. Alimitu was also the only respondent who, though married at the time of her immigration, is now divorced.

Badaka reported abject poverty in the village of his childhood, while other respondents were from middle-class or wealthy families in urban settings. He was the only immigrant in the study who left Ethiopia under the regime of the Derg (The others emigrated under the current government.) Badaka also reported several instances of racial discrimination or prejudice while in the United States, while all other respondents failed to mention the topic at all.

Camachu was the youngest respondent—by a dozen years—and that fact contributes to his uniqueness in several ways. He is the only respondent who has never been married, who has never had children, who has not yet completed at least one college degree, and who is not actively involved at this time in helping Ethiopians, either in Ethiopia or in the United States, though he hopes to do so in the future.

Dalmade was the only respondent to earn a PhD and to devote his life to academic research.

Among the respondents of this study, Father Efrem was the only priest (which also means that he is the only speaker of Ge'ez), the only the respondent to hold a formal position of authority over other immigrants, and the only respondent to be in a position of subservience to an Ethiopian authority. Father Efrem was also the only respondent who has not (yet) taken part in formal education here in the United States, though, as pointed

out above, he has extensive knowledge of U.S. education, both as a counselor for the members of his congregation and as a parent.

This series of interviews, then, provided an experience where the respondents were celebrated for their unique life stories, where those unique life stories were recorded faithfully and accurately, and where the respondents' distinctive voices were heard, speaking authentically with their own accents and emphases.

Self-Discovery

With the exception of Badaka, each respondent expressed that they perceived this interview as providing some experience of self-discovery. The fact of taking part in the interview, then, was not just an occasion of giving me information, but was an opportunity to gain in self-knowledge. For example, Alimitu, Camachu, and Father Efrem were all startled by the question about whether they dreamed in English, and they reacted with delight to the invitation to consider this intriguing aspect of language proficiency.

Camachu, in addition to his new-found awareness of his dreams, was moved to write to one of his former college professors who had announced that American education had failed. Camachu had been puzzled by the remark at the time, but now intends to actively engage the professor in discussion about it, since it conflicts so deeply with Camachu's own very positive evaluation of his U.S. education.

In the same way, Father Efrem not only became aware of the language of his dreams, but during the discussion about the needs of the children and youth of the church, became intrigued by the possibility of actively pursuing formal education to improve his fluency in English.

When I thanked Dalmade for taking part in the study, he expressed his thanks not only for the opportunity to tell his narrative, but also to hear it himself. The interview, which originally had been difficult to schedule, an interruption to his research, was by this time valued as a needed time of reflection, helping him appreciate the long road that he has traveled.

> You take me back. It is not common. You mostly see where you come from, what you pass through, and where you are now. You gave me change in time, a chance to think about myself from my childhood up to where I am and to pass through that. And how lucky I am and how much God likes me.

Each of the other respondents also expressed their thanks for the chance to tell their story. Each respondent requested (and received) a copy of the video recording of their interview. Alimitu, Badaka, and Father Efrem commented that the copy would be a valuable family archive for the future. Dalmade agreed but added that he would find it valuable for himself, and that he looked forward to reviewing it, not at some distant point in the future, but soon. Camachu said that he would share it with his girlfriend, since there were stories on it that she hadn't heard yet.

This study, then, provided a forum not only for the voice of each respondent to be heard, but also for the respondents to examine their life stories carefully and respectfully, with the possibility of self-discovery.

Narratives: Revelation with Limits

The narratives of the respondents, reported in Chapter Four's case studies, depict each journey of immigration in thick, rich detail, abundantly augmented through the use of the immigrants' own words. Alimitu's bartering of yarn for berries with her rural classmates in the north; Badaka's hut in the mountain village of his birth, where he slept with his family and their farm animals; Camachu's appreciation of his father, who

supported him in soccer even while he neglected his studies; Dalmade's description of the provincial malaria treatment center; Father Efrem's vision of the contributions that the Orthodox Church might make to the United States; all are valuable insights into the lives of these immigrants, descriptions that will be treasured for years within the individual families of the immigrants and within my memory, also. I, as the researcher, learned a lot from each of the respondents, and I hope that's true of you, the reader, too.

For the sake of completeness, though, it must be noted that there were omissions in the narratives. This is the flip side of inviting respondents to tell their own stories and to choose for themselves what to emphasize: they also choose what to omit. Sometimes omissions are just a matter of perceived importance. For example, Camachu reported a lot about his father, and Dalmade reported a lot about his mother, but neither took the same care in describing their relationship with the other parent. Likewise, there was a detailed description of Dalmade's meeting of his future wife, but other respondents passed over that sort of emotional history.

Sometimes omissions were openly intentional; I was not the only person who obscured some details to protect confidentiality. For example, this study reported Alimitu's quick sketch of the circumstances of her divorce, but she clearly stated that she would not go into a lot of detail about it. And the exact circumstances of Camachu's political involvement present another instance of such intentional reticence.

And sometimes omissions were merely a function of the impossibility of following every line of inquiry. Alimitu's husband was not a respondent in this study, so his version of their divorce is unknown. Camachu's classmates remain unheard, and so does the Ethiopian government official who spied on them. Knowledge is partial at best.

Most interesting, though, were the circumstances when omissions lead to the revelation of cultural understandings. For example, there was no discussion of personal sex lives or such intimate details as the births of children or the deaths of relatives. Such an omission is 'normal' by U.S. standards, and so reveals that these particular constraints constitute a shared trait between the two cultures. But there was also the omission of the names of all spouses, as well as Camachu's girlfriend, along with the names of all but one of the respondents' relatives. With that single exception, when Dalmade responded to my direct question about his young daughter's name, mothers and fathers, siblings, and offspring, and all other relatives went unnamed. These were not omissions which I imposed; such names were simply not part of the immigrants' responses. Ethiopians tend to identify each other by relationship, not by name.

Another example of such an omission is that, even though this series of interviews began during the presidential campaign of 2012 and continued through the election itself and the ensuing inauguration, there was only one passing mention of Barack Obama. This omission presents a kind of triangulation with the observation that at no time, in any of the interviews, did a respondent express any identification with African Americans.

This study, then, while successfully providing a forum for individual voices and reporting those voices in thick, rich detail, makes no claim to omniscience.

Comparisons of Respondents

It is probably helpful to tabulate some of the widely varying histories of these respondents, in order to easily recognize some of the commonalities of their life stories before examining the stories themselves for common themes. Since humans are complex

beings, I recognize that there are many other categories which could be compared, but

feel that the decision to include these particular categories is warranted.

Summary of Key Context Details of the Respondents

	Alimitu	Badaka	Camachu	Dalmade	Father Efrem
birth year	1970	1959	1992	1966	1970
age at immigration	28	23	27	28	39
years in US	14	30	3	18	4
age at interview	42	53	30	46	43
gender	female	male	male	male	Male
religion	Orthodox	Protestant	Protestant	Orthodox	Orthodox
ethnicity	Amharic	Gurage/ Oromo	Gurage	Amharic	Amharic/ Oromo
languages spoken, in the order they were learned	3: Amharic, French, English	4: Gurage, Oromo, Amharic, English	2: Oromo, English	2: Amharic, English	4:Oromo, Amharic, Ge'ez, English
English study, in yrs	14	10	16	12	10
degrees earned in Ethiopia	BS-statistics	BS-accounting & management	none (1 yr university)	BS-statistics	BS-natural science, MA-accounting
Degrees earned in US	MBA-health care management	Associate-accounting, BS-business administration	BS in progress	Masters— biochemistry PhD-parasitology	None
aided in immigration by . . .	extended family	extended family	extended family	extended family	Church

Table 2. Summary of Key Context Details of the Respondents.

Table 2 serves to underscore some of the observations about the differences among the respondents which have been mentioned above, but it is also useful to begin to explore commonalities among them. These commonalities include:

1. All respondents immigrated as young adults in their twenties, with the exception of Father Efrem, who was 39.

2. All respondents were in their forties or fifties at the time of the interview, with the exception of Camachu, who was 30.

3. All respondents are male, with the exception of Alimitu, who is female.

4. Religion is an important part of the life of each respondent. Badaka and Camachu are members of the same Protestant congregation, and Alimitu, Dalmade, and Father Efrem are members of the same Orthodox congregation.

5. All respondents had earned at least one college degree in Ethiopia, with the exception of Camachu.

6. All respondents have attended college in the United States, with the exception of Father Efrem.

There are several commonalities that require further discussion. First, as Table 2 mentions, religion is a factor in the lives of all of the respondents. This feature is primarily simply a function of the snowball sampling method. For example, one of my friends in California suggested that Badaka become a respondent, and then Badaka suggested that Camachu, from the same Protestant congregation, join the research, too. Another example, actually suggesting that some small level of redundancy had been reached, was that both Alimitu and Dalmade suggested that I contact their priest, Father Efrem. It would be an interesting topic for future research to interview Ethiopian

immigrants who are not connected to a congregation and discover what different communities, if any, provide their mentoring and support.

Another commonality among these respondents is that they have all been very successful in acculturation. They are all 'winners' in the immigration game. They have learned English well, and (with the exception of Camachu, still a full-time student) have finished degrees, found employment, and established themselves as valued members of their communities. It is worth noting, in fact, that all of these immigrants, including Camachu, serve as examples of Ethiopia's 'brain drain,' as described in Chapter Two. It would be naïve to imagine that these respondents are representative of all immigrants from Ethiopia, or of all immigrants from any nation, so this study must simply admit that it shows only a single facet of immigration. These particular immigrants were not irrecoverably traumatized in extreme flights from impending violence. On the other hand, these respondents have also not been immune to the stresses of immigration; they have run among thorns. Dalmade was alone and unemployed in New York City, Badaka was the victim of racial prejudice, and Alimitu suffered a divorce. But somehow, this small sample of immigrants found the resilience to carry on and to triumph over such obstacles.

Since having a support group is an important part of successful acculturation, it seems logical to link the two above points. It would be too much to claim that church membership automatically confers a certain degree of success on an immigrant, but it would also be naïve to ignore the benefit of having a ready-made community whose members are available to translate like Alimitu, eager to provide advice on possible courses of study, like Badaka, and experienced in finding the resources—both physical and spiritual—which new immigrants need, like Father Efrem.

A third commonality of these respondents is their commitment to serve their home communities. Alimitu not only volunteers to translate, but has founded her own organization to provide shoes to an Ethiopian orphanage. Badaka, likewise, has founded his own non-profit organization which has profoundly impacted the lives of people in Ethiopia, starting with the health and education of his own home village, and then extending out to neighboring villages in the Highlands region. Dalmade has devoted his life to finding cures for the tropical diseases which infected him as a boy, produced the horrific conditions of the medical camp during the malaria epidemic, and continue to drain the vigor of the people of Ethiopia. Father Efrem serves the immigrant community here in the United States, both the members of his parish as well as immigrants from other faiths of Ethiopia. Camachu, still a full-time student, hopes to find a way to help Ethiopians in the future.

Membership in a church community may have also played a part in this commitment to service, and it certainly has helped make it productive. Badaka, for instance, "begged" money from his congregation to buy and install the first well in his home village. Indeed, it was through a church mission trip that he got the chance to return to his village and witness the little boy carrying unclean water, just as Badaka himself had so many years before.

This research project, then, has allowed respondents to shape their response in the depth and detail that they chose. It has given them the opportunity to examine their life stories and to engage in self-discovery. And the extensive reporting of those stories has presented their lives in thick, rich detail. They are each unique, and they share striking

commonalties as well. Their voices, then, have been heard both alone and in harmony.

The first purpose of this study has been fulfilled.

As described in Chapter One, I hope that these narratives of running among thorns prove helpful, and even inspirational, to the intended audience, the educational community, especially those administrators, curriculum and program developers, and teachers who work in areas of the educational system which directly impact immigrants.

Education as an Agent in Acculturation

This section explores how education served as an agent of acculturation for each of the respondents, and forms the basis for analyzing Research Question 1, along with its two sub-questions:

Research Question 1: How do adult Ethiopian immigrants to the United States, who have experienced education in both countries, make sense of the two educational systems as facilitating their acculturation?

Research Question (1a): How do Ethiopian immigrants evaluate their Ethiopian education in preparing them for acculturation?

Research Question (1b): How do Ethiopian immigrants evaluate their U.S. education in helping them in acculturation?

Individual Summaries

Chapter Four included an extensive report of each respondent's narrative, emphasizing the important points of their story as they told it. This chapter includes a much shorter summary for each respondent's narrative, emphasizing the important points of their story as they relate to the question of acculturation. After those individual

summaries, this section synthesizes across the five cases to answer the first research question.

   Alimitu. Alimitu's unique blend of private and public education in Ethiopia left her with an abiding sense of education's importance as a source of joy and wonder. Education was seen as a priority by her parents, and Alimitu shared that priority. She grew to value the importance of seeking mentors who nourished her entire personality, of experiencing multicultural education through mixing with children from other backgrounds, and appreciating learning outside a narrowly-defined curriculum. Her experience in the large, public schools of the Derg era strengthened her appreciation of her earlier, gentler educational experiences, and also left her with a fear of educational authority and an awareness of the value of seeking resources, such as books at the British Consulate, outside the regular school system.

   Alimitu's background in Ethiopia, then, prepared her explicitly with skills such as English fluency, which enabled her to make a fairly easy transition to the United States, and French fluency, which allowed her to get her first job in the United States. Her background also gave her a set of attitudes which stood her in good stead in making a successful transition to U.S. society. She continued to see education as important, she sought and found mentors, and she was already confident in the idea of multi-cultural learning. Alimitu also brought to the United States a formidable work ethic which she used to succeed in her education, even while single-parenting small children.

   Alimitu expressed appreciation for online work, which allowed her to achieve a balance between a sheltered, private course of study where she could be judged only by her online contributions to class, independent of personal interaction, and a personal

relationship with a mentor. She also pointed out that a significant drawback of her online work was that it provided her with no practical, hands-on experience. Alimitu credits her U.S. education with a major role in both her acculturation and that of her children as well.

Badaka. Badaka sees education as the way to escape poverty and ignorance, of making one's way in the world to the point where it is possible to contribute back to the community. He started school at age 12, took only three years to progress from kindergarten to grade six, and then saw educational opportunities collapse as the Derg came to power. He experienced hardships in trying to balance making a living and continuing his education. This lack of opportunity to pursue education was the deciding factor in his immigration to the United States.

His main criticism of Ethiopian education concerns its failure to prepare him as a fluent English speaker. He feels that his classes relied too much on rote learning instead of practicing the spoken language. He revels in the wide range of educational opportunities in the United States, both formal schooling and such informal sources as National Public Radio. Not only has he taken part in night classes for immigrants, but he has earned Associate and Bachelor's degrees since coming to the United States. He used the word 'marvelous' in summarizing U.S. service to immigrants, especially in its devotion to promoting deep understanding, though he expressed worry about the rising costs of education limiting immigrant access. He believes strongly enough in the worth of U.S. education that he devotes a great deal of time, energy, and money to replicating that education in his native region of Ethiopia.

Camachu. Camachu started kindergarten at an early age, and progressed as a good student until he was distracted from his studies by soccer. He sees his father's

sacrifice in order to give him an education as a model. While admiring recent progress in Ethiopian education, he suggests four criticisms: its slowness in adapting to new innovations such as information systems, its retention of the practice of grading students on a curve, its use of rote learning rather than conversation in teaching English, and its entanglement with politics. It is interesting to note the dual role of education in his emigration: his involvement with campus politics led to the need for him to escape the authorities, and the government provided him the means for that escape through a visa for pilot training.

Camachu is highly complimentary of U.S. education. He appreciates the freedom to choose among many different programs, including the hybrid online/class attendance course that he is now taking, which not only will certify him for work in informational systems, but will also prepare him to take the CPA exam. He notes that the U.S. educational system accommodates people of differing backgrounds, requires hard work for success, and is transparent and fair in its assessment. He also mentioned his own experience in profiting from a course which helped him upgrade his English writing skills. It is important to note that Camachu's success has not simply relied on formal education, but has also been facilitated by his network of mentors in the immigrant community and by his close involvement with his Anglophone girlfriend. Camachu is so pleased with U.S. education, in fact, that he intends to start a long-delayed conversation with one of his professors who asserted that U.S. education has failed.

Dalmade. Dalmade's only criticism of Ethiopian education was about its lack of emphasis on conversation and fluency in English classes. He sees the purpose of education as promoting a better life, but his own life's story reflects how his definition of

'better' evolved from individual comfort and status to community service. He emphasized the importance of mentoring in helping him, especially through difficult times such as working two full-time jobs in order to attend school, and in helping him find the opportunities to pursue his dream of medical research.

Dalmade's experience shows that it is important to have opportunities for immigrants to experience success by having the chance to study—and excel—in academic areas which are strengths (in his case, chemistry) as well as in areas where they are comparatively weak , such as English. He praised the availability of resources, especially computers, in U.S. education. He also offered two explicit recommendations for U.S. education: that classes for immigrants be organized so as to minimize competition with native speakers, and that teachers demonstrate respect for foreign education, which in many subject areas might be equal to what is available in the United States. Dalmade also affirmed the importance of motivation in learning, both in his own experience and in his role as a parent, nurturing that motivation in his daughter.

Father Efrem. Father Efrem had few specific comments about his public education in Ethiopian, beyond the fact that he was a good student, demonstrated by his ability to skip two years of study, and the fact that at the time he was a college student in Ethiopia, students had both a forced choice between social sciences and natural sciences in high school and a forced major (in his case, accounting) in college. His primary identification, though, is with his private education as a priest, and it is in that educational arena where both his greatest joy and his greatest regrets took place. Nevertheless, it was his prowess at English, the result of his public education, which led to his first trips outside Ethiopia and eventually resulted in his immigration.

Though he has not yet taken any formal education in the United States, Father Efrem noted an impressive strength of the U.S. elementary school system when it warmly welcomed his son and avoided any need for tears at that transition. He also expressed concerns about that system and its impact on his children, however, noting that he worries that their studies are too much like play and that they fail to inculcate enough discipline and respect. He also worries that his children are being encouraged to ask a lot of questions rather than simply accept authority.

Father Efrem is intrigued by the possibility of continuing his own study of English in a new, formal setting for the first time. He intends to use this skill not for his own acculturation in becoming more American, but to help the children of his congregation in becoming more acculturated to Ethiopia.

Common Themes in Ethiopian Education

Common themes emerged from these disparate accounts of how Ethiopian education prepared the respondents for acculturation to the United States. It is striking that such an emergence should occur, since the individual accounts are so different from each other. Astonishingly, of the six historical strands of Ethiopian education introduced in Chapter Two, five are represented through this tiny sample of five respondents. As shown in Figure 14, below, only the Islamic strand of education was not represented in this study.

Strands of Ethiopian Education	Respondents
	Modern Government Alimitu, Camachu
	Derg Alimitu, Badaka, Camachu, Dalmade, Father Efrem
	Mission Schools Alimitu, Badaka, Camachu
	Islam
	Orthodox Church Father Efrem
	Traditional Education Badaka
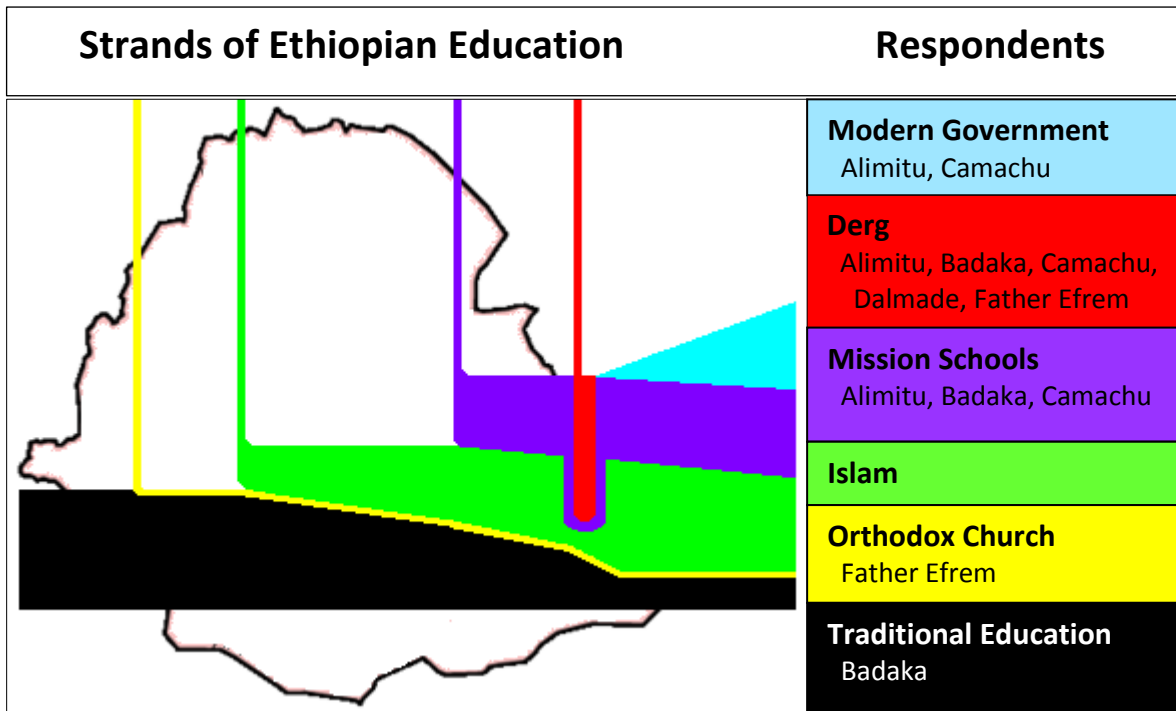
Figure 14: Strands of Ethiopian Education Represented by Respondents

Common themes emerged from these immigrant life histories, among them:

1. Ethiopian education helped acculturation by requiring English language learning (all five respondents), but fell short of its potential by relying on reading, writing, and learning by rote instead of emphasizing conversation (three respondents: Badaka, Camachu, and Dalmade).

2. Though not often explicitly stated, it is clear from every respondent's narrative that Ethiopian education encouraged a vigorous work ethic. From Alimitu's recollection of having homework in first and second grades to Dalmade's account of seven students sharing a single calculus book, the need to work intensely is repeatedly affirmed. A counter-example, when that intense work ethic was not upheld, was that Camachu, a previously good

student, failed his university entrance exam after becoming distracted by soccer.

There is a third theme which, while not a part of the Ethiopian educational system itself, is unavoidable in discussing the narratives of these immigrants.

3. Ethiopian teachers, except in the Orthodox tradition as reported by Father Efrem, are commonly aloof from their students, as Alimitu reported when she described the fear that she felt for her teachers. Support from other significant adults, either parents or mentors outside the family, then, was critical both in preparing students for academic success, which led to the ability to acculturate, and in habituating them to seeking mentors following their immigration. The nurture which Alimitu received from both her parents and her teachers in her Catholic school, for example, prepared her to seek mentoring from her Caribbean online teacher. And Badaka's experience in being cared for by his older sister, even though it created additional privation for the entire family, led him to assert himself in asking additional support from his brother when that opportunity came.

Common Themes in U.S. Education

Common themes also emerged about the role of U.S. education in acculturation.

1. Every respondent commented favorably on the abundance of resources dedicated to education in the United States, the variety of educational programs available to immigrants, and the freedom of an immigrant in selecting among those programs. Though only a tiny pool of respondents, they none-the-less exhibited a wide range of backgrounds. Alimitu was shifted

from school to school, sometimes private, sometimes public, while Badaka was from a village with no school at all. Camachu needed to be sent to a private school after he failed public school entrance exams, while Dalmade simply floated through the public school system, confidently and constantly assured of success. Father Efrem also sailed through the public school system, while simultaneously grounding himself in Orthodox religious instruction. But in spite of those varied backgrounds, each of these immigrants was able to find a successful pathway through U.S. education. Badaka and Dalmade completed traditional on-campus degrees. Alimitu took an online course, and then attended on-campus classes, while Camachu is in a hybrid course with both online and in-class components. Father Efrem knows that there are many resources available, should the time come for him to formally study English. And Badaka, meanwhile, continues to listen to National Public radio each day. This multiplicity of resources has enabled these immigrants to achieve a variety of educational outcomes, each leading to a degree of acculturation satisfactory to the immigrant.

2. Each respondent had available one or several mentors, which allowed the respondents to continue to be supported by others during their transition to U.S. culture, just as they had been in Ethiopia. Sometimes these mentors were officially part of the educational system, as in Dalmade's experience where doors were opened through the intervention of a teacher who recognized his potential and his drive, or when Alimitu's online teacher became—and continues to be—a personal friend. Sometimes these mentors were members

of the immigrant community, as in Camachu's experience of relying on the elders in his church, including Badaka, to help him find the best option for his studies.

One of Father Efrem's roles is actually to serve as a bridge between these two themes, since he himself is the mentor who helps new immigrants thread their way through the many opportunities for education in the United States. Alimitu and Badaka also serve similar functions, Alimitu as a volunteer translator for newly arrived immigrants and Badaka as an elder in his congregation, counseling newer members, including Camachu.

Common Themes as Advice for U.S. Educators

Common themes, then, emerged from the study in considering education in both Ethiopia and in the United States. Combining those two lists of themes results in a short list of elements identified as vital to the success of immigrant education. In keeping with the second purpose of this study, identifying educational elements crucial in facilitating acculturation, those themes are not expressed as topics to be tentatively considered, but as obligations that should be fulfilled. As expressed in Chapter One, when suggesting that the different purposes of this study might be useful to different audiences, it is my hope that this list serves as a spur to discussion for U.S. educators involved in immigrant education.

1. Language study must emphasize conversation, not just reading and writing.

2. A strong work ethic for students must be expected and encouraged.

3. Appropriate mentors must be available for each student.

4. A variety of pathways to success must be provided.

Additional Suggestions for U.S. Educators

Beyond those common themes, this study has also produced some explicit lines of advice for U.S. educators, either in the form of compliments about current practices, at least as experienced by these immigrants in their particular locations and programs, or as concerns. Compliments include:

1. U.S. education tends to include explorations which contribute to deep understanding, not just surface learning. (Badaka)

2. U.S. education has clear goals and fair assessments. (Camachu)

3. U.S. education allows immigrants the opportunity to work from an area of strength by taking elective classes. (Dalmade)

4. U.S. education allows immigrants to be grouped with other novice English learners, rather than competing with native speakers. (Dalmade)

5. U.S. education provides children with strong emotional support, which lessens the difficulty of their acculturation. (Father Efrem)

Criticisms of U.S. education, again understood as comments from individual respondents, not as common themes, include:

1. Online courses should require an element of hands-on experience. (Alimitu)

2. U.S. education is expensive, thereby limiting immigrant access. (Badaka)

3. U.S. education fails to respect previous foreign schooling. (Dalmade)

4. U.S. education does not instill enough discipline in children. (Father Efrem)

5. U.S. education allows too much freedom for children to question. (Father Efrem)

This list of compliments and criticisms is offered as an immigrant perspective, admittedly from a very small sample of respondents, of topics to be considered by U.S. educators in designing and implementing programs for immigrants. Together with the 'obligations' which emerged as common themes, it fulfills this study's second purpose, reflecting on the elements of education needed in order to facilitate acculturation. It is my hope that educators will take note.

There is one further comment that might be offered as an addendum to this discussion, and that is that these respondents were overwhelmingly complimentary about U.S. education. They are, without exception, grateful for having access to U.S. schooling, whether as students themselves, as parents of children in the educational system, or as mentors of other immigrants seeking education.

The Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation

Self-Assessments Viewed Individually

The final purpose of this research was to investigate a particular theoretical model of acculturation, the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation, and the intended audience for this discussion is that part of the research community focused on immigrant acculturation. That acculturation model was explored by answering the second research question:

(2) How well does the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation fit the narratives of Ethiopian immigrants?

This question had two supporting, secondary questions. The first of those secondary questions was:

(2a) Do the respondents' self-assessments, viewed individually, show that their acculturation is differentiated among the three dimensions of the theory?

The answers to this secondary question have already been discussed in Chapter Four, in the data analysis section of each case study. Simple graphs were produced for each of the five respondents. Though at times the same score was given for two of the three dimensions, as in Father Efrem's self-assessment of 0% for both behavior and identity, there was no instance of all three dimensions receiving the same score. The graphs showed, without exception, that acculturation along the three dimensions of the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation, language, behavior, and identity, was differentiated. Each self-assessment fits that prediction of the theoretical model.

Differentiation Among Scores

The presence of duplicate scores for both Father Efrem (with scores of 0% for both behavior and language) and Camachu (with scores of 60% for both language and behavior) offers documentation that the study did not pre-dispose respondents to artificially differentiate their scores among the three dimensions. In other words, there is evidence that I was successful in 'forgetting' the theoretical orientation of the study while performing the interviews themselves, and that the structure of the interview, organized around the three dimensions of the theoretical model, did not distort the data produced by the respondents. They felt free to offer differing scores when appropriate, and they felt free to offer identical scores when appropriate,

Triangulation of the Self-Assigned Scores

There were two opportunities in this study for triangulation between the self-assigned scores for the theoretical model's three dimensions and external observation. The first opportunity was by comparing my informal observation of the English

proficiency of each respondent with their self-assigned score for language. No attempt was made to quantify English language proficiency, but I formed these opinions:

1. All of the respondents evidenced good ability to comprehend and communicate verbally; none of them should have been rated very low.

2. All of the respondents made numerous mistakes in English grammar and word choice; none of them should have been rated very high.

3. Camachu and Father Efrem made more mistakes than the other three respondents. This is an entirely reasonable finding, since they have been in the United States three years and four years, respectively, while the other respondents have been in the United States 14, 18, and 30 years.

Camachu and Father Efrem each scored themselves at 60% in language, while the other respondents scored themselves at 80%, 80%, and 85%. The self-assessment scores in language, then, were congruent with my informal opinion, and this triangulation suggests that the respondents' self-assigned scores were reasonable in the language dimension.

The second opportunity for triangulation concerned the self-assigned identity scores. Identity, unlike language or behavior, is strictly an internal state, but its external effects can still be observed and their relation to identity claims revealed. With the exception of Dalmade, who gave himself a score of 50% American, all respondents scored themselves as 0% American. Each respondent, including Dalmade, referred to Ethiopia or one of its villages as "home." Each respondent, including Dalmade, reported a strong commitment to helping Ethiopia and Ethiopians, even to the exclusion of other groups, including immigrants from other countries or African-Americans. And each

respondent, especially Dalmade, expressed the desire that their children would have the opportunity to visit Ethiopia in order to know it better. The self-assessment scores in identity, then, were congruent with other evidence from the interviews, and this triangulation suggests that the respondents' self-assigned scores were reasonable in the identity dimension.

Identity scores

The scores in the identity dimension, though, suggest two questions. The first question, specific to this particular sample of respondents, concerns Dalmade's self-assigned score: why was he the only respondent who claimed any identification with U.S. culture at all? It is possible that Dalmade has grown to think of himself as half American because of his work life, which is grounded in a modern medical research lab. This professional orientation may account for his self-rating of 50% American; medical research, while certainly not confined to the United States, is radically different from traditional Ethiopian culture. It is interesting to note, however, that Dalmade's very 'American' work is still undertaken in response to his very 'Ethiopian' experience in the malaria camp. It might be argued that Badaka, a financial systems analyst, works in an equally 'American' setting, but his job could also be seen as using modern tools, computers, to pursue a traditional Gurage value: monetary gain.

The second question raised by the scores in the identity dimension is not necessarily limited to these five respondents, and actually has implications far beyond this small study. It concerns why the identity scores are so low. After only three or four years in the United States, like Camachu and Father Efrem, it is easily understandable that immigrants would still see themselves as 100% Ethiopian. But Alimitu, after 14

years in the U.S. and Badaka, after 30, still see themselves as entirely Ethiopian—and proudly so. I was startled by the near consensus of identity scores remaining completely unchanged from childhood days, especially since life in the U.S. was also described as easy, in many ways much better than life in Ethiopia had been. This issue, the persistence of identity in immigrants, might well be a topic for future study, with ramifications reaching into educational practice as well as into such current debates as pathways to citizenship for immigrants. If one of education's goals is to act as an agent of acculturation, including increased identity with the new culture, how can we learn from the Nuer to add small amounts of American soil to the drinks that nourish new immigrants, "thus gently breaking mystical ties with the old and building up the new" (Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 120)? Otherwise, we simply have to echo Gro Svendson, the 1862 immigrant from Norway quoted above, who implied that acculturation was impossible: "My love for my native land is too deep and too sacred. I could never prefer any other country to my own" (Iancu, 2009, p. 74). As outlined in the introduction, immigration and the acculturation of immigrants remains an important and controversial conversation in the United States, and it may be that such questions might lend understanding to the difficulty of the experience, both for the immigrants themselves and for the host culture.

Self-Assessments Viewed Collectively

The second sub-question relating to the theoretical model was:

(2b) Do the respondents' self-assessments, viewed collectively, show that their acculturation patterns differ from each other?

The answer to this question requires the cross-analysis of the data shown on the graphs for the respondents. Those graphs are reproduced side-by-side in Figure 15, below.

respondent			Alimitu			Badaka			Camachu			Dalmade			Father Efrem		
dimension			language	behavior	identity	language	behavior	identity	language	behavior	identity	language	behavior	identity	language	behavior	identity
Percent Americanized, to the nearest 10%	100																
	90		▓														
	80		▓			▓						▓					
	70		▓	▓		▓						▓	▓				
	60		▓	▓		▓			▓	▓		▓	▓		▓		
	50		▓	▓		▓	▓		▓	▓		▓	▓	▓	▓		
	40		▓	▓		▓	▓		▓	▓		▓	▓	▓	▓		
	30		▓	▓		▓	▓		▓	▓		▓	▓	▓	▓		
	20		▓	▓		▓	▓		▓	▓		▓	▓	▓	▓		
	10		▓	▓		▓	▓		▓	▓		▓	▓	▓	▓		

Figure 15: Respondents' Combined Self-Assessed Acculturation Graphs
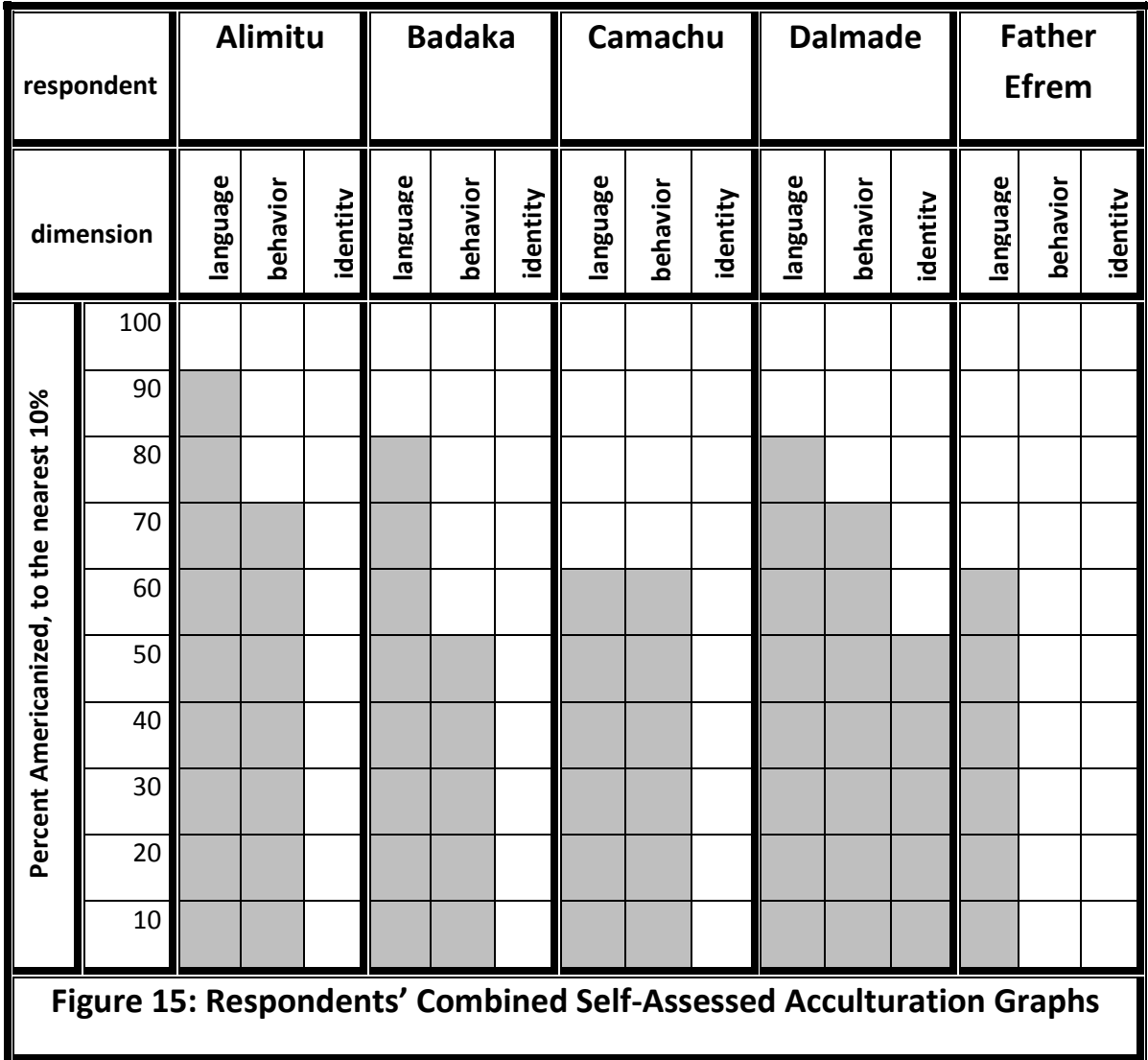
Discussion of the Combined Graphs. The combined graphs in Figure 15 show that there was a lot of variance between the self-assigned scores. Language scores, for instance, in order from greatest to smallest, were 85, 80, 80, 60, and 55, showing that three respondents rated themselves as quite proficient in spoken English, while two of the

respondents rated themselves as fairly proficient. Behavior scores were70, 70, 60, 50, and

0, showing that four respondents rated themselves fairly high in behaving like Americans,

while one respondent did not see himself as behaving like an American at all. Identity

scores were 50, 0, 0, 0, and 0. This initial finding, then, suggests that the respondents'

self-assessments, viewed collectively, differ at least in part from each other. This finding

appears to fit the predictions of the theoretical model: scores varied across the three

dimensions, as predicted by the model.

It is possible, though, to re-examine the comparison of the respondents' scores,

looking for an overall pattern in their acculturation across the three dimensions of the

model. In that case, the same information might be presented as in Figure 16, below.

respondent	Alimitu			Badaka			Camachu			Dalmade			Father Efrem		
dimension	language	behavior	identity	language	behavior	identity	language	behavior	identity	language	behavior	identity	language	behavior	identity

Figure 16: Respondents' Combined Self-Assessed Acculturation Graphs with Trends
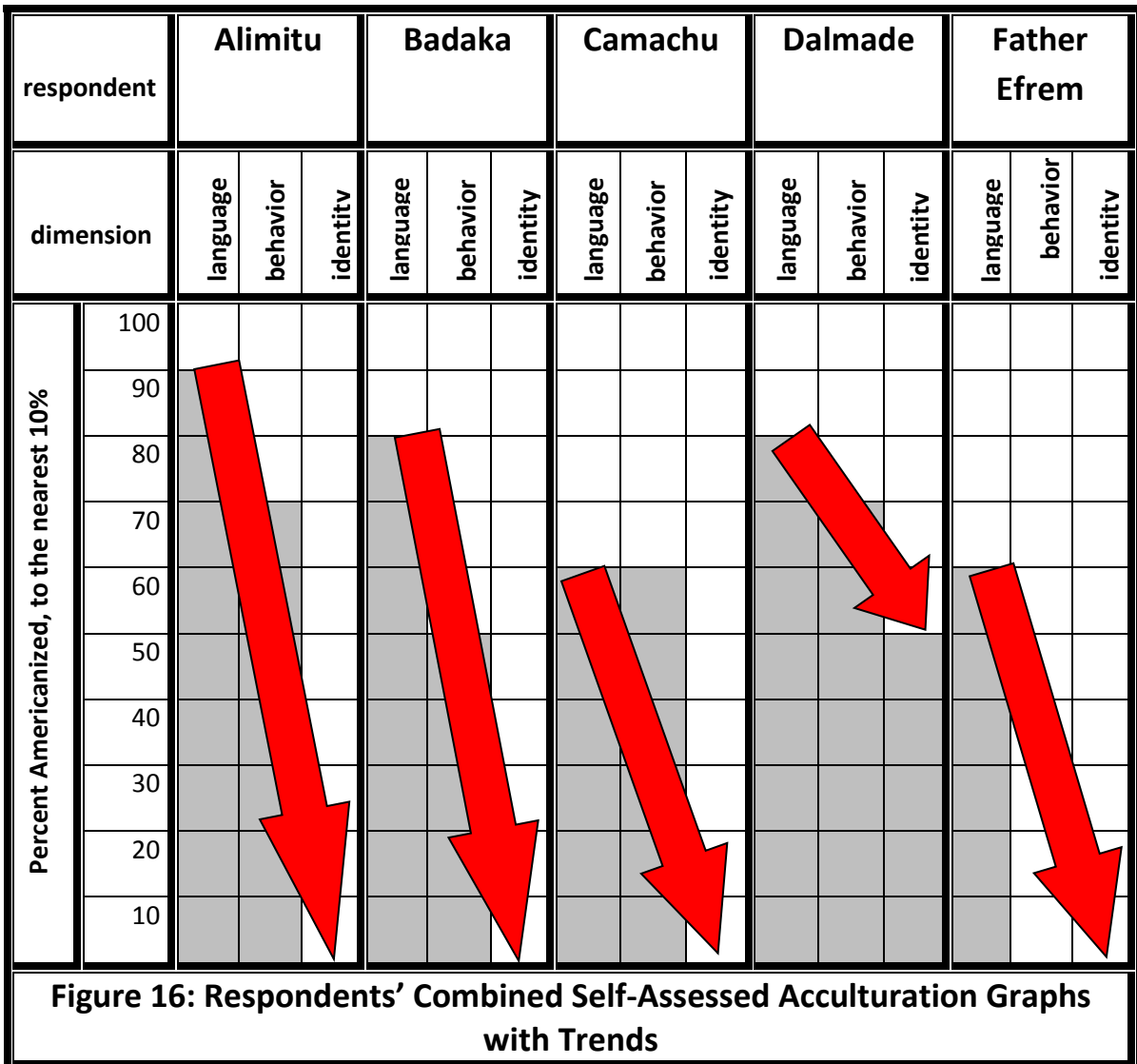
With the pattern of the relationships among the three dimensions of acculturation for each respondent revealed by the red arrows in Figure 16, a different picture emerges. For the five respondents in this study, language was the highest dimension, followed by behavior, followed by identity. There were two partial exceptions. Camachu rated himself similarly in language and behavior, so instead of having the highest score, language was more-or-less tied for the highest score. Father Efrem gave himself a score of zero in both behavior and identity; for him, language was still the highest score, but the other two

dimensions were rated as equal. This second examination of the findings, then, suggests that the respondents' self-assessments, viewed collectively, fail to differ from each other in overall pattern, even though they differ from each other in detail. This finding of a similar pattern of acculturation across the three dimensions does not fit the theoretical model's prediction of high variation in patterns of acculturation among immigrants.

The common pattern of respondents' self-assessments suggests that further study of the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation is needed. As described in Chapter Four's introduction to the use of the individual graphs, in the section titled 'Numerical Ratings,' "this study attempts to show, through the individual graphs, where the mountains and valleys lie for each respondent in their respective settings. It does not purport to measure those elevations exactly." But when a preliminary survey reports a surprising, repeated pattern of mountains and valleys, it is appropriate to send out large, more comprehensive expeditions to confirm the earlier sketches.

Four Questions about the Theoretical Model

At the beginning of this study, I was enthusiastic about the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation. This model, I felt, represented an enormous step forward over earlier, simpler models of acculturation, which saw an immigrant as moving steadily from being at home in their native land to being at home in their new land. In the course of this study, though, I gradually developed four questions about the theoretical model. They are independent of each other, but all rose out of the examination of the data produced by this small sample of respondents, and all are suggested as further areas for consideration and study by the research community.

Question one: How can the distinction between 'Can you?' and 'Do you?' be made in assessing acculturation? The respondents displayed confusion about the exact intentions of questions about language and about behavior. In order to evaluate acculturation along the language and behavior dimensions, researchers need to decide whether to ask, 'Can you?' or 'Do you?' The questions are radically different, and have the potential of producing radically different data, depending on which question is answered. For example, when asked, "Can you ride a bicycle?" a respondent might in all sincerity answer, "Yes!" even though they have not ridden a bike in twenty years. It's far different to ask, "Do you ride a bike?" or its more precise analog, "How many hours have you spent riding a bicycle in the past week?" In this study, both the language and behavior dimensions are suspected of being contaminated by this confusion. It is quite possible that sometimes a respondent might have interpreted a question about language, for instance, as, "How well do you speak English?" ("Can you?"), while another respondent might have interpreted a similar question as, "How much of your time do you spend speaking English?" ("Do you?").

I suggest that in future studies the intent (and wording) of such questions be made very clear, so that information obtained can be compared accurately both within individual studies and between related studies.

Question two: Can a set of behaviors be defined for a culture? A second theoretical problem that arose in the course of this study is that there is no clear definition of what behavior qualifies a respondent as belonging to a particular culture. What does it mean, for example, to behave like an 'American?' Is an American someone who values material wealth, both for itself and for the power that it confers, and who works very hard

to make money? Based on the narratives above, that description fits a Gurage. Alternatively, is an American someone who worries about being on time, watches football, and carries a gun, so that if a respondent fails to do those things, they are less 'American' than some other respondent? As shown above, in the narratives in Chapter Four, the respondents themselves evidenced this kind of confusion. When asked about her behavior, Alimitu responded first by talking about her appearance and then about her accent. Badaka, Camachu, and Father Efrem all mentioned language ability as part of their answers about their behavior. Four of the five respondents, then, did not find a clear distinction between language and behavior, and Father Efrem did not find a clear distinction between behavior and identity. It's appropriate, perhaps, for an Orthodox priest, who spends a great deal of professional time each week in attempting to shape the personalities of his congregants through religious practice, to see behavior as a part of identity, or at least as an action leading to identity. However, since the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation claims to make just such a distinction, it is important to characterize what that distinction would be.

As a side comment about the difficulty of discussing the interrelationship of the three dimensions, it might be helpful to add another observation from this study. For most of the respondents, language is inextricably tied to identity. This observation is particularly true of parents, like Alimitu, Dalmade, and Father Efrem, each of whom are currently striving to teach their children the language of the parent's homeland as a way of reinforcing their identification with that home culture. Camachu, though, identifies himself as a Gurage even though he has never spoken the language. As explained in the

narrative of his case study, he identifies with his father's culture, Gurage, even though he was raised speaking Oromifu, his first language.

I suggest that until a clearer definition of behavior is developed, this acculturation model is unclear. Worse, if it pretends to have clarity by attempting to compare different rates of acculturation across the three dimensions (or even by going so far as to assign numbers to the different dimensions, as this study has done!) it will produce misleading data.

Question three: Is acculturation a zero-sum game? Another theoretical question that arose from this study concerns the difficulty of scoring something as complex as acculturation. Badaka, for example, reported that some aspects of Ethiopia seemed strange the first time that he returned, but that now, after many trips back and forth, he is comfortable in either culture. He therefore gave himself a score of 50% on his self-assessment in behavior, intending to show by that number that he is equally comfortable in either culture. He interpreted the score as a zero sum game, where the numbers had to add to 100%, so that a gain in acculturation to the United States necessitated a loss in acculturation to Ethiopia. In rating himself in language, however, he gave himself a score of 80%, intending to show a fair proficiency in English, without reference to his ability to speak any of his other three languages. Using this approach, Badaka could conceivably rate his fluency in each of his other three languages at 100%, for a total language score of 380%. It is neither logical nor useful for one scale to total 100%, while another scale effectively has no limit, and it makes it impossible to compare scores.

Camachu gave himself a score of 60% in behavior, intending to show that he is more than halfway comfortable in U.S. culture. He made no reference at all to his

behavior in Ethiopia, which presumably, after only three years in the United States, must still approach 100%.

In comparing scores among the respondents, this confusion must be remembered. After all, Camachu's score of 60% (after three years in the United States) is higher than Badaka's score of 50% (after 30 years in the United States). They understood the question differently, and their scores reflect that different understanding.

A larger problem presents itself in recalling that Badaka's score for behavior, as described in his case study in Chapter Four, could just as easily have been recorded as 100% as 50%. That alternate score would place Badaka as an exception to my claim that language scores tend to be the highest among the three dimensions, as outlined above in the discussion of the second interpretation of the combined scores, Figure 16.

Question four: Should intentionality be considered as a factor in acculturation? I would also like to suggest that any model of acculturation is incomplete if it fails to recognize the intentions of the immigrant as far as acculturation is concerned. Intentionality holds the key to understanding acculturation.

It may be that Camachu, who sees himself as banned forever from his native land and–since he is still a young man––feels a strong need to fit into the culture of his adopted country, holds the goal of complete assimilation to the United States. But other respondents don't. Alimitu, for example, likes her accent, and is making no effort to change it. Badaka, who travels regularly back and forth between Ethiopia and the United States, is completely at ease in both cultures, as well as in all four of his spoken languages. He sees no need to change either his behavior or his language, even though he rates his English proficiency at only 80% after 30 years in the United States. Dalmade,

who talks fluently and eloquently about any number of subjects, is making no effort at all to improve his general English language skills, though he carefully takes notes on new scientific or medical terms when he attends conferences or reads medical journals. He is motivated to learn to expand his professional vocabulary, but not his day-to-day English. His professional vocabulary, then, will continue to improve, to 'acculturate' to the world of science. His English vocabulary will not.

I suggest, then, that in future studies, questions might be more helpfully phrased to take this perspective into account. Instead of "How do you rate your English skills?" it might be better to ask "Are you content with how you speak English now?" Instead of "How much of your behavior is American?" it might be better to ask "Are you happy with how well you . . .(shop, travel, work, etc.) . . . in the United States, or are there other things that you'd like to learn?" This stance in questioning defers to the respondent's priorities, not the questioner's, and therefore shows respect for the varied journeys that immigrants take.

These four theoretical questions, each of which became evident through this small set of interviews, present serious questions about the strength of the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation. While this study resoundingly affirmed the model's first prediction, that acculturation tends to vary across the three dimensions for a single individual, this study simultaneously challenged the second prediction, that acculturation patterns tend to vary among individuals. The four theoretical questions above are intended to provoke further conversation about the model, its two predictions, and its power to illuminate the immigration experience. It will be interesting to see how those questions are addressed in the ongoing discussion about what it means to acculturate and

how research efforts might best gather information about immigrants and their

acculturation.

Implications

It is reasonable to speculate about the implications of this research by examining

the different people and groups of people involved. I, of course, have earned a doctorate,

and my committee members, who joined me in shaping this long struggle, can now relax

and join me in celebrating that milestone. We all have learned a great deal—I about

research, and all of us about Ethiopian immigrants—and I'm grateful for both the

experience and the result. One implication of the study, then, is that serious scholarship

can be exciting and beneficial, both for the student and the teacher.

The respondents have had the opportunity to share their stories and to keep a

videotaped record of that sharing, as a family resource for the future. All were grateful

and four of the five, as pointed out above, saw the experience as an exercise in self-

learning. Perhaps the interview itself has enhanced their image of the worth of their

personal narratives, leaving them in some ways less marginalized and standing a little

taller. The implication is that by honoring personal stories, including immigrants' as well

as our own, we may use "the discourse of qualitative research to help create and imagine

a free democratic society" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005, p. 14).

The community of educators, envisioned as the potential audience for the first two

purposes of this paper, have received several resources from this work. First, they now

have access to a 120-page summary of the different strands of Ethiopian education. If that

resource had existed before, it would have made my work as a researcher much easier; I

would have read it, cited it, and moved on. Instead, I created the summary as a resource,

newly available for others interested in Ethiopian education. By implication, we can imagine a set of such summaries as resources for educators of immigrants from each of a hundred cultures. Educators, then, would have better resources to know their immigrant students, and perhaps to honor them more as the heirs of unsuspected cultural riches.

Educators also receive the narratives of the respondents in this study as life stories of extraordinary people, people who have run through thorns. In our current atmosphere, immigrants are often seen as problems, and the education of immigrant children as a drain on the rest of society. We may be edging toward one of Schlesinger's shifts toward "concern for the rights of the few" instead of "the wrongs of the many" (1986, p. 24). These narratives might serve as reminders of the innate worth of all people, immigrants included, and the courage and adaptability that can overcome fear. Perhaps they will help inspire us to overcome our own fears, too.

Educators also receive from this research a short list of concrete suggestions concerning the character of a good education. The temptation will be to ignore those suggestions, thinking them appropriate only to this small sample of respondents, or only to Ethiopians, or only to immigrants. A larger implication, though, is that perhaps we as educators should consider those four suggestions carefully as an outline for our curriculum decisions. Do we rely too much on the written and the read, and not enough on the conversation that education, at its best, can be? Do we encourage—and model—a strong work ethic moving toward deep understanding, or are we more focused on documenting a checklist of skills? Might we free a lot of our time from behavior management if we spent more time in fostering support networks for our students, including the chance to grow both as mentor and as the recipient of mentoring? And,

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finally, in this age of standardized tests and test-derived labels for students, do we provide a variety of pathways for success? In sum, do we give our own children opportunities for the varied education that the immigrants in this study celebrate?

The final imagined audience for this paper is the research community, especially those studying issues of acculturation. For this audience, the initial implications are clear: I found the first prediction of the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation accurate in its predictions, but found the second prediction lacking in power. The immediate implication of this finding is that other studies—with other groups of immigrants—should be undertaken to see how they confirm either the original theory or my challenge to it. The deeper implication, though, concerns the nature of identity itself. How malleable is it, and why does it appear malleable in some but not in others? You recall that I characterized the results of the identity exploration as 'surprising;' I was startled that after 30 years in the states, someone like Badaka could still claim 0% identity as an American. Perhaps I shouldn't have been surprised. As you have undoubtedly noticed, my metaphors come from my youth in Montana, a place that I left years ago. So does my identity. I have lived in the Pacific and Africa, and my wallet carries a Kentucky driver's license, but I still think in terms of the Beartooth Plateau, and alpine tundra instead of tobacco fields. The implications of this finding are immense, and touch on the education of both immigrants and our home-grown underclass, as well as the attempts to create both a modern Ethiopian identity to supersede tribal identities and a more peaceful world where our allegiance is not to the nation but to humanity, to life, and to the planet itself.

<center>**Conclusion**</center>

These concluding remarks summarize the three purposes of the study in the reverse order in which they have been discussed. In this way, the paper concludes where it began, as if retracing an immigrant's pathway home, and allows a final focus on the individuals who provided the data for this study by sharing their life stories so completely.

The Theoretical Model

The first prediction of the Differentiated Multi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation, that acculturation would vary across the three dimensions (language, behavior, and identity) for a specific individual, was upheld. But the second prediction, that acculturation patterns would vary across the three dimensions when comparing different individuals, was called into question. This finding suggests that more study is needed in determining the power of this theoretical model when dealing with immigrants. There were four theoretical questions posed as potentially useful in that further study:

- How can the distinction between 'Can you?' and 'Do you?' be made in assessing acculturation?

- Can a specific set of behaviors be defined for a culture?

- Is acculturation a zero-sum game?

- Should intentionality be considered as a factor in acculturation?

Education as an Agent in Acculturation

Education has been a great gift to each of these immigrants, and their stories invite U.S. educators to advocate for the 'obligations' which this set of immigrants found critical for success:

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Language study must include conversation, not just reading and writing,

A strong work ethic for students must be expected and encouraged.

Appropriate mentors must be available for each student.

A variety of pathways to success must be provided.

Voices from Ethiopia

Early in Chapter One, in the section titled "Refugees and Immigrants,' the statement was made that "the narratives of immigrants locate themselves at every point along a spectrum between hope and fear." It might be interesting to look back at the five respondents in this study and estimate where they might have fallen on that spectrum when they left Ethiopia. How much of their journey could be characterized as running after a snake, in hopes of a feast, and how much could be characterized as running from a snake, in an effort to avoid being swallowed?

Father Efrem is probably the easiest to position, since he freely accepted a call from his archbishop, with no element of coercion. He is near the 'hope' end of the line, but even so, the reader must remember Father Efrem's summary of the experience: "It was a very difficult decision." Even in the midst of hope, there were thorns to confront. Dalmade might come next. He was in the United States 'temporarily' when a conflict between competing ethnic groups presented him with a chance to grasp the opportunity for further education immediately, or to let it slip away, possibly forever. He grasped it. Badaka was somewhere near the center of the spectrum, seeking educational and economic opportunity in the midst of a deteriorating political and economic system. Toward the 'fear' end of the spectrum were Alimitu, fleeing the impending threat of

deportation, and Camachu, escaping ominous surveillance from an oppressive government.

Where are they now? Alimitu is raising her children and collecting shoes for orphans in Ethiopia. Badaka, putting three sons through college with the fourth in high school, is running his own non-profit organization and contributing to the health and education of his native villagers and their neighbors. Camachu is studying, working toward his goal of contributing in the future. Dalmade, helping raise his small daughter, continues his research into the parasites which plague Ethiopia. Father Efrem, helping raise the children and youth of his entire parish, mentors new immigrants toward fuller acculturation, while seeing his faith community as brimming with unique and powerful potential.

From wherever they were originally located on the scale from hope to fear, these immigrants now each embody hope. They carry hope, each of them, not only through the strength and resilience that they have displayed in the past, but in the example that they offer for the future. It has been an honor to help their voices to be heard and to consider the role of education in helping them survive the challenges of acculturating to their new homeland.

We are all, in some sense, immigrants, since tomorrow is an unknown land. Some of us face that future with hope, and some of us with fear. These stories of running among thorns can serve to assure us that though the journey itself is sometimes painful, it is possible to reach for hope while leaving fear behind. These five immigrants have. It is a gift to our nation, and to our future, that such people have come to live among us.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Twelve-Page Summary of Ethiopian Education

[Many ideas in this summary are paraphrases or quotations. For the sake of space, references are not shown; but can be found in the main body of the dissertation.]

Ethiopia is a mountainous country in northeast Africa. Historically, Ethiopia included the lowlands along the Red Sea in the north, but since the independence of Eritrea in 2000, Ethiopia has been landlocked.

The central region of Ethiopia is a high plateau, generally between 6000 and 8000 feet in elevation, and is bisected by the Rift Valley. The plateau is fertile and its climate is mild and healthy. As one moves away from the center toward lower elevations the heat becomes intense, with attendant health challenges such as malaria and dengue fever. Most of the hotter, drier, lower elevations are suitable for grazing, but not for cultivation. Ethiopia is a rich and fertile land, with its own varieties of native crops, probably including coffee. Ethiopia has more than 65 ethnic groups, speaking 83 languages.

Semitic people from the north migrated to Ethiopia starting more than 3500 years ago. This is the first basic pattern of Ethiopian history: the dominant culture and language are Middle Eastern in origin, and Ethiopia's history has moved from north to south. The Semites formed a series of dominant Christian empires in the highlands, which have been in uneasy contact with the Black, mostly-Muslim margins of the nation occupying the surrounding lowlands. This relationship forms the second basic pattern of Ethiopian

history: the central authority, located in the highlands, has either extended into or retreated from the lowlands as the empire's authority waxed or waned.

Many Africans look to Ethiopia with pride because it was never colonized by a European power. Others feel that Ethiopia, with its Middle Eastern connections, is hardly 'African' at all.

Summary of Education in Ethiopia

There are three ancient strands of education in Ethiopia: traditional tribal education, the Orthodox Church's education, and Muslim education. There are also three modern strands: Western education brought by the Christian missionary movement from the West, the rule of the communist Derg in the 1970's and 80's, and the current government, in power since 1994.

Traditional Tribal Education. One example of a traditional, tribal culture is the Nuer. These nomadic cattle herders live in the grasslands of the southwest part of Ethiopia bordering South Sudan, and until the last century had no metal or stone technology. Because of the harsh environment and the ever-present threat of famine, food gathering and sharing are central to the culture. The basic feature of their life is communalism, and children are seen as belonging to the entire community.

Nuer education centers on teaching roles and rules of kinship. It does not focus on developing the individual child, but seeks to develop children who are not self-centered. Belonging to the community is the highest value of the culture. Children learn by taking part in activities alongside the elders of the village, and the whole society functions as a school. All learning is relevant to adult life; education cannot be separated from life itself.

Girls and women are considered inferior to men. Men make most of the decisions, and women do most of the work. Women own no property; they are property. They are valued in terms of cattle, are bought and sold as brides, and are given as compensation and peace offerings within the tribe. Polygamy is typical. A woman's education is strictly limited to her place in society and the skills that she must learn in order to keep her family fed. Women have some protections, though, because rape or adultery are seen as 'trespassing' on another man's property, and the offending man might have to pay the woman's husband or father several cows in compensation.

Nuer identify themselves by their culture and their language, and they see themselves as superior to all outsiders. Raiding other tribes and stealing their women and cattle is a traditional practice. Slavery was practiced among the Nuer until recent decades, but the dark-skinned tribes of the interior, such as the Nuer, were more typically the victims of slave traders from the Semitic tribes of the highlands. Slaves were sent north to the Middle East, and were valuable in themselves as well as for carrying other trade goods such as ivory.

The Orthodox Church. Christianity was introduced from the north, possibly as early as the first century CE and certainly in place by the fourth century. Isolated from other streams of Christianity, the Orthodox Church took on a unique character that emphasized formal worship and conservative beliefs that have proven very resistant to change. The Orthodox Church's system of monasteries was the first formal educational system in Ethiopia. It still continues today, and is one of the oldest continuous systems of learning in the world. It focuses on producing a very extensive education for a small corps of elite priests, who were the only literate men in the empire. The Orthodox Church

has been inextricably linked with the dominant Amhara tribe and with the Ethiopian Empire, and has provided through the centuries a network of literate priests who helped unite the country, even during periods of weakness when the lowland tribes seceded from the empire. This heritage still continued into the twentieth century, after Ethiopia defeated an attempted Italian invasion in 1898. Several emperors sought to modernize education, but the Orthodox Church argued successfully that it should keep a monopoly on education for the sake of national unity.

Education in the Orthodox tradition was only for boys. It was recognized that an early start in education was advantageous. Promising young boys would leave their parents at age five and spend the next thirty years of their lives studying. Most of the work was oral, and required the learning of the ancient language of the scriptures, *Ge'ez*. Groups of students worked together cooperatively, and older students mentored younger ones. Students progressed at their own speed, and when the teacher pronounced them ready, they would travel to some other city to choose a new teacher for the next stage of their education. After about 30 years of study, the student mastered all four levels of the curriculum: reading, writing poetry, performing sacred music and dance, and studying theology. He would them be called a 'four-eyed master,' and spend the rest of his life teaching. Teachers were supported by alms-giving, as well as by writing manuscripts, and were highly respected. The purpose of education was to sustain tradition.

The Orthodox Church never challenged cultural norms about the inferior status of women. The church was linked with one dominant tribe, the Amhara, and so did not overcome the ethnic identity of the traditional tribal cultures. Though the church decided

in the 1500's that it was sinful for Christians to profit from the slave trade, the church did not forbid slavery itself.

Islam. Islam came to Ethiopia from the north, like Christianity before it, and encircled the Ethiopian Orthodox Church of the Central Highlands. Since then, the two traditions have ceaselessly struggled for domination. Like a river flowing around a rock, they have shaped each other.

Islam was founded by Mohammed in 622 CE, and spread quickly. By 710, it had reached the Atlantic. The southern progress of Islam, though, was blocked by the highlands of Ethiopia. It was slowly carried into the empire by traders, and in some tribal languages, the same word means both 'merchant' and 'Muslim'.

By the ninth century, there were Muslim communities along the trade routes, and they grew into little city-states that challenged the empire and the church. They served as religious centers, and gradually expanded. The conflict with the Orthodox Church grew very bitter, and after several centuries of conflict the empire exhausted itself and began to shrink. The empire almost disappeared entirely, but the Muslim city-states were exhausted, too, and could not hold the empire together. With both the Christian and the Muslim powers weakened, the Oromo people, a nomadic, cattle-herding culture, migrated north from the Kenyan plains in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. Within a few generations, the lowland Oromo became Muslim and the highland Oromo became Christian, but from then on Ethiopian people were mixed together, by language, color and religion.

As the Christian empire regained strength and began to expand again, Islam became a way for smaller tribes to assert their identity against the Christian Amhara.

Muslim expansion finally stopped in the 1800's with the rise of a series of strong emperors. A uniquely Ethiopian style of Islam, which emphasized drinking coffee and dancing to drums, was abolished by the surge in Muslim fundamentalism following World War I.

Muslim education, like the tribal and Orthodox traditions, seeks to pass on to the student an entire way of life, but the central focus of Muslim education is memorizing the Koran. All boys are encouraged to memorize the Koran, usually beginning at age 10 or 12. There is widespread literacy in Muslim communities, though usually only one book—the Koran—is read, and the language of reading is Arabic. If the boy has the potential to continue study after memorizing the Koran, he presents himself to a teacher specializing in some other discipline, much as in the Orthodox system. While the Orthodox scholar is expected to become a master of theological debate, the Muslim student does not study theology, since argument about the Koran is discouraged as a threat to the community. Any Muslim student can present himself as a teacher; if he is able, he attracts students. Unlike the Orthodox system, then, the Muslim system produces many minimally-trained teachers instead of just a tiny minority of elite scholars. In Islam, there is no clear line between being a teacher and being a religious leader, and the teacher usually has some other profession to support him.

The basic educational issue for Islam is how to balance preserving its heritage unchanged and still take part in modern schooling. This tension is the same as that felt in the tribal and Orthodox strands; each is now being challenged by modern, secular civilization.

Islam is a patriarchal religion, and women are seen as inferior. They are reliant on men for protection in order to safeguard the honor of the men to whom they belong, and if they stray from that protection, then they are seen as deserving of whatever poor treatment they experience. The education of girls is often seen as anti-Islam, and girls' education stops around age 12.

Between the ages of 8 and 12, a girl typically undergoes Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). It is unknown if FGM originated in Africa or the Middle East, but its most radical forms are practiced where Muslim and African traditions overlap, such as in Ethiopia. Like other traditional beliefs, it is seen as crucial to maintaining social cohesion and a sense of belonging. FGM causes pain and a greatly increased risk of infections and complications throughout the woman's life. An estimated 85% of women in Ethiopia undergo FGM, and 15% die from it. FGM is the second leading cause of death for Ethiopian women, after complications resulting from giving birth. The Orthodox Church has also been complicit in the practice of FGM, since FGM is performed not only in tribes that practice traditional religions and Islam, but those that practice Christianity as well.

Since women must be secluded from men, women who perform well in their schooling become informal teachers for other women. Sometimes, their seclusion frees them from the oversight of men and they create a hidden world of spiritual expression and mutual support.

Like Christianity, Islam creates a framework for relations across ethnic boundaries, but that vision has only been partly realized. These two modern religions,

each called to create a post-tribal ideal of peace, have simply substituted larger 'tribes' of faith for the old tribes of ethnicity.

Islam and slavery have been deeply intertwined in Ethiopian history. Islam accepted slavery, especially in the addition of extra wives and concubines for rich men. Muslims profited from slavery, especially after Christians were forbidden to buy and sell slaves. Muslims increased slavery by incorporating it into trade connections with Arabia and by encouraging newly converted tribes to prey on their unconverted neighbors. Islam also propagated itself along the routes of the slave trade, since when traditional communities were destroyed by the slave trade, the survivors welcomed this religion that taught universal brotherhood.

Modern Christian Missions. Modernization in Ethiopia was delayed by its rugged geography, by its semi-legendary status as a Christian kingdom, and by a unique combination of weakness and strength. During the first half of the 1800's, the empire was shrinking, and the emperors were too weak to seek industrialization on their own. Then, when the movement of modern missionaries was beginning, the empire and the Orthodox Church became strong enough to resist them.

After the defeat of Italy at Adwa in 1898, the emperor finally embarked on a modernization campaign, but it set Ethiopia on a path of dependency. He imported manufactured goods, but not industry; he imported teachers, but not educational systems to train native Ethiopians. The emperor founded the capital city of Addis Ababa, and focused on its modernization. He introduced electricity and the telephone to the capital city and built a railway to link it to the coast. But the Orthodox Church maintained its monopoly on education. After World War I, a new emperor, Haile Selassie, finally

invited missionaries into Ethiopia because he wanted the hospitals and schools that they built. He invited the missionaries only into the margins of the empire, in order to keep from offending the Orthodox Church, and he invited specific denominations into specific regions. This kept the missionaries divided into different factions, and also ensured that different churches were established in different ethnic regions. Christianity, then, contributed to divisions within the empire rather than to its unity. The missionaries worked to extend education to the masses of peasants, though they saw education as a means toward their true goal of proselytizing.

Italy successfully invaded Ethiopia in 1935 and tried to overturn all progress that had been accomplished. All non-Catholic mission schools were closed and missionaries were deported. Orthodox priests were driven from their traditional schools into hiding in the mountains of the north. The Italians considered Ethiopians only fit to work as laborers, so they slaughtered as many educated people as possible. This campaign killed about 75% of all educated people, and decapitated the educational systems of the country for years to come. The Italians were defeated by the Allies in 1942.

Ethiopia was, at this point, entirely reliant on foreign aid and personnel in education; there had been practically no teacher training, and the few teachers who had been educated had been murdered by the Italian occupation forces.

Haile Selassie continued to push for the education of an elite corps devoted to the state and to his throne. The government began exercising more control over curriculum, and training more teachers, but efforts were still centered in Addis Ababa. The modern Christian mission movement was antagonistic toward tribal traditions, the Orthodox Church, and Islam, and disdained compromise with any aspect of those traditions.

While mission schools taught girls, and brought basic literacy to women for the first time, they did not profoundly impact the role of women. This was because their primary goal was conversion, not literacy, and if they could convert a chief—and therefore, his entire clan—they were pleased to overlook his multiple wives. Because of their interpretation of the Bible, the missionaries also tended to see women as inferior to men, and their own wives modeled that inferior status.

Like Islam before it, modern Christianity officially deplored tribalism and yet contributed to it. Christian dreams of 'the family of God' foundered on the division between the faithful and the lost, but also were exacerbated by the conflict with the Orthodox Church and the introduction of numerous denominations. Slavery was lessened during these decades because of Haile Selassie's efforts to attain international respect and aid, but the church failed to address the issue.

The Derg. Haile Selassie was overthrown in 1974. Following a series of increasingly disruptive demonstrations and strikes, a communist committee, the Derg, seized power. The Derg declared a socialist state and nationalized all factories, businesses and land ownership. They then launched the Red Terror Campaign, which killed more than 100,000 opposition leaders, especially the educated members of society who were seen as potential threats to the new regime. Hundreds of thousands of people died in a multi-year famine, and the Derg's policies of resettling villagers onto nationalized lands and establishing communal farms were blamed for making the famine worse.

The Derg attempted to overturn every previous strand of Ethiopia's educational systems. They exiled the missionaries, abolished all sectarian schools (Orthodox, Muslim and Protestant), and closed all universities except the University of Addis Ababa. The

Derg declared that all university students owed the government three years of service to pay for their education, and the students were forced to serve rural areas as teachers.

Under the Derg, education for girls became commonplace on a widespread basis for the first time, and tens of thousands of girls from throughout the country made the first steps toward the literacy. Deeper issues of the oppression of women, such as FGM and the status of women as chattel, were directly challenged by the Derg, but their 17 years in power were too short to create a lasting impact on these issues.

The Derg impacted ethnic identity issues by spreading education across the country instead of concentrating solely on showcase schools for the elite in Addis Ababa. They also used local languages in instruction, which tended to increase allegiance to different ethnic groups. The Derg eliminated slavery.

The Current Government. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the Derg was no longer propped up by outside military power. It was overthrown by a group of army officers, and Meles Zenawi assumed power, which he held until his death in 2012. Zenawi, like many African dictators, was re-elected several times by landslide 'votes.'

The government is pre-occupied with crises on all fronts. In the west, there are refugees from the violence in Sudan. In the east, there is constant strife with Somalia about the undefined border regions, including their suspected oil reserves. In the south, villagers and nomads alike periodically crowd aid stations out of fear of another drought. In the north, hostility continues with Eritrea following its 30-year war for independence. The United Nations lists Ethiopia as one of the ten "least livable" countries on earth.

Education is faced with a severe shortage of educational resources at all levels. The University of Addis Ababa has only recently begun granting Masters Degrees. Literacy rates for men are estimated at around 40%, while women have about half that rate. Only about one-fourth of school-age children regularly attend school, and for those who do, the student/teacher ratio is about 42:1.

Women have gained immensely in legal rights, but actual practice lags behind, especially in such areas as FGM. Education is tailored to ethnic sensibilities by delegating responsibility to nine ethnic-based provinces. Each province, though, contains many minority groups within its boundaries. Slavery continues to be outlawed, but human trafficking to the Middle East is common for men working as laborers or women as prostitutes.

Ethiopia faces significant challenges in all areas of education, and current shortfalls in education will not be remedied by any means easily imaginable. But there are hopeful signs. The small villages and the nomads along the margins of the nation are slowly beginning to accept education as a gift that can strengthen their communities. The Orthodox Church continues to train its elite priests, but has also recently initiated programs in basic literacy in rural areas. The more progressive elements of Islam are assimilating modern education; boys now often attend a secular school in the morning and a Koran school in the afternoon. The mission churches became localized after the Derg banished the missionaries, and now, under native leadership, many marginalized ethnic groups are currently being taught basic literacy as a means to read the Bible. The government, distracted though it is, tries to commit resources to education. Perhaps, with the help of that slowly-improving education, better times are coming

Appendix B: One-Page Summary of Ethiopian Education

[References can be found in the main body of the dissertation.]

Ethiopia is a land-locked, mountainous country in northeast Africa. The central region is a high, fertile, cool, plateau. The surrounding lowlands are hot and dry. Its 65 ethnic groups, are a mixture of brown-skinned, Christian, Semitic people from the Middle East, and Black Africans, often practicing Islam or traditional religions. There is a 3500 year history of ethnic and religious conflict.

Educational strands include tribal traditions, the Orthodox Church, Islam, modern missionaries, and the present government, each struggling to balance its heritage and modern education. Twice in the last century most educated people have been killed, first by the Italians in the 1930's and then by the communist government, 1974-1991.

Education has usually been only for boys, and develops children as members of the community instead of as individuals. It has often used cooperative learning, peer mentors, oral recitation, memorization, and individualized rates of progress.

Girls and women usually are considered inferior to men, own no property, and are subject to Female Genital Mutilation. Their literacy rate, about 20%, is half that of men. A person's primary allegiance is usually to their ethnic group. Slavery was practiced until 1974, and human trafficking continues.

The government faces many crises, and Ethiopia is listed as one of the ten "least livable" countries on earth. Education is faced with a severe shortage of resources at all levels.

Appendix C: Subject Informed Consent Document

PERSPECTIVES ON ETHIOPIAN/UNITED STATES EDUCATION EXPERIENCES

Investigator's name & address: Bruce Whearty
512 Summers Ave.
Louisville, KY 40214
Phone: 502-407-9636
Sites where study is to be conducted: Louisville, KT, and other cities in the U.S.
Phone number for subjects to call for questions: 502-407-9636

Introduction and Background Information

You are invited to participate in a research study. The study is being conducted by Dr. Thomas Tretter, PhD. and Bruce Whearty. The study is sponsored by the University of Louisville, Department of Education. The study will take place in Louisville and other U.S. cities. Approximately 8 subjects will be invited to participate.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to find out how Ethiopian immigrants to the U.S. make sense of their personal life stories.

Procedures

In this study, you will be asked to take part in an interview about your education in Ethiopia, your immigration to the U.S., and your education here in the U.S. The interview will last an hour or two, depending on how much you wish to share. You don't have to answer any questions that make you uncomfortable.

Potential Risks

 There are no foreseeable risks other than possible discomfort in answering personal questions, but there may be unforeseen risks.

Benefits

The possible benefits of this study include learning more about education and immigration. The information collected may not benefit you directly. The information learned in this study may be helpful to others.

Confidentiality

Total privacy cannot be guaranteed. Your privacy will be protected to the extent permitted by law. When the results from this study are published, your real name will not be used. The following may look at the study records:

> The University of Louisville Institutional Review Board and Human Subjects Protection Program Office, and Privacy Office**.**

> People who are responsible for research and HIPAA oversight at the University of Louisville.

> Government agencies, such as the Office for Human Research Protections (OHRP).

The information from this study will be kept in a locked office at the University of Louisville or kept in a password protected computer.

Conflict of Interest

This study involves a conflict of interest because the investigator will benefit by your participation in the study by finishing a doctoral degree.

Voluntary Participation

Taking part in this study is voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to be in this study you may stop taking part at any time. If you decide not to be in this study or if you stop taking part at any time, you will not lose any benefits for which you may qualify.

You will be told about any changes that may affect your decision to continue in the study.

Research Subject's Rights, Questions, Concerns, and Complaints

If you have any concerns or complaints about the study or the study staff, you have three options.

You may contact the principal investigator at 502-852-0595.

If you have any questions about your rights as a study subject, questions, concerns or complaints, you may call the Human Subjects Protection Program Office (HSPPO) (502) 852-5188. You may discuss any questions about your rights as a subject, in secret, with a member of the Institutional Review Board (IRB) or the HSPPO staff. The IRB is an independent committee composed of members of the University community, staff of the institutions, as well as lay members of the community not connected with these institutions. The IRB has reviewed this study.

If you want to speak to a person outside the University, you may call 1-877-852-1167. You will be given the chance to talk about any questions, concerns or complaints in secret. This is a 24 hour hot line answered by people who do not work at the University of Louisville.

This paper tells you what will happen during the study if you choose to take part. Your signature means that this study has been discussed with you, that your questions have been answered, and that you will take part in the study. This informed consent document is not a contract. You are not giving up any legal rights by signing this informed consent document. You will be given a signed copy of this paper to keep for your records.

_____   _____
Signature of Subject/Legal Representative   Date Signed

_____   _____
Signature of Person Explaining the Consent Form   Date Signed
(if other than the Investigator)

_____   _____
Signature of Investigator   Date Signed

INVESTIGATOR: Bruce Whearty   PHONE NUMBER: 502-407-9636

Appendix D: Interview Guide for Ethiopian Immigrants

(This script gives the general outline for the interview, but follow-up questions for learning details or for making sure that the interviewer understands are to be expected.)

1. **Introduction**

    Collect (and quickly check) Informed Consent Form.

Is it OK with you if I record this interview? It makes things a lot easier for me that way, because I don't have to spend all of our time together writing down your answers while you talk. I can go back later, and listen to the interview as many times as I need to.

    Set up and check recorder for both audio and visual. Begin recording.

Thank you so much for agreeing to take part in this interview. I appreciate you helping me learn about your story. The purpose of this study is to learn about Ethiopian immigrants to the United States, your experiences in education in both countries, and how you got used to living in a new culture.

Do you have any questions before we start?

If it's OK with you, I'll start by asking about your life today. Then I'd love to hear about your memories of your life in Ethiopia, your immigration to the United States, and your education in the United States. Then I'll want to hear about what it was like getting used to life in the United States. We'll finish with a time for you to add anything or ask any questions that you want to. Does that sound OK with you? Thanks!

2. **Present**

    What's your name, please?
    How old are you?
    Will you please describe the kinds of things that you might do in a typical day?
        Follow up with clarification questions about job, home, family.
    As you think about your work, how do you feel about the job?

As you think about your home, how do you feel about the kind of life style that you have now?

As you reflect on your family, what are some of the things that give you joy? What are some of the things that worry you?

       Follow up with question about the role of women in the family.

What sort of relationship do you have with other Ethiopians here?

What sort of relationship do you have with African-Americans?

Is there anything else that you would like to add about your day-to-day life now, before we start talking about Ethiopia?

3. Ethiopia

Now let's talk about your earliest memories, back in Ethiopia. What's your ethnicity? What's the first language that you learned to speak? What other languages did you learn before you came to the US?

What was your family life like in Ethiopia? Where did you live, and who lived with you there?

What was your house like?

What work did your parents and other relatives do?

Please tell me about your experiences in education in Ethiopia.

       Follow-up questions to learn about school, classmates, attitude, level attained.

Thinking back on those school days in Ethiopia, what successes do you remember? What regrets do you have?

Given your experience with education in Ethiopia, what thoughts do you have about what Ethiopian schools are doing well? What are your suggestions about how they might change?

Is there anything else that you would like to tell me about Ethiopia, before we start talking about coming to the US?

4. Immigration

Please tell me the reason for your immigration. What are some of the things that you remember leading up to actually immigrating?

When did you leave Ethiopia? How old were you then? Did you come directly to the United States, or were there other stops along the way? When did you arrive in the United States?

Why did your family come to the United States instead of to some other country?

Why did your family come to this particular place in the United States?

Looking back on the experience of immigration, what were your first experiences like? What sorts of things surprised you? Pleased you? Frightened you? Upset you?

What were some of the things that were easy or fun to get used to?

What were some of the things that were difficult to get used to?

Is there anything else that you would like to tell me about your immigration experience, before we start talking about your education in the United States?

5. United States

Please tell me about your experiences in education in the United States.

  Follow-up questions to learn about school, classmates, attitude, level attained.

Thinking back on those early school days in the United States, what successes do you remember? What regrets do you have?

Given your experience with education in the United States, what thoughts do you have about what U.S. schools are doing well? What are your suggestions about how they might change?

Is there anything else that you would like to tell me about your education in the United States before we start talking about your getting used to U.S. society?

6. Acculturation

This is the last main part of the interview. I'd like you to think about three different areas of your acculturation, that is, about getting used to the way people do things here in the United States. I'll ask you about your language learning, about your behavior, and about your cultural identity.

First, please let me ask about learning American English.

Including everything, how long have you been studying English?

As you think back about learning English, what were the easiest parts to learn? What were the hardest?

How would you describe your English ability now? Hearing? Speaking? Reading? Writing?

When someone hears you speak English, do they know right away that you are not from the United States? Why do they think that?

Do you dream in English? When you are thinking privately to yourself, what language to you use? How much of the time do you use English with your family? With your friends? With others?

Next, let's talk about your behavior, that is, how much you act like someone who was born here.

When someone sees you do something, do they know right away that you are not from the United States? Why do they think that?

What sort of things can you do successfully like Americans? What do you wish that you could do more like Americans?

Finally, I'd like to ask you about your cultural identity. That means how you think of yourself as an Ethiopian and as an American, in all areas of living.

What things still seem strange about U.S. culture?

What things do you like about U.S. culture?

What things do you dislike about U.S. culture?

Thinking back on Ethiopian culture, what things do you like about it?

What things do you dislike about Ethiopian culture?

What are your current ties to Ethiopia? Letters? Email? Visits? (If visits to Ethiopia: When you were back in Ethiopia, did it sometimes feel strange to you, or did you feel at ease? Please tell me about that experience.)

When you are with other Ethiopians here in the United States, does it sometimes feel strange to you? Or do you feel at ease? Please tell me about that experience.

Thinking back on your acculturation, which area do you think came fastest for you, language, behavior, or identity? Which came slowest? What thoughts do you have that might explain why it was like that for you?

Thinking about those same three areas of acculturation, how would you rate your degree of acculturation now? In language, for instance, do you think of yourself as mostly an English speaker, or mostly a speaker of ----? If you had to give yourself a number, what percentage of your language is English now?

In behavior, do you mostly behave like an American now, or mostly like an Ethiopian? If you had to give yourself a number, what percentage of your behavior is American now?

In identity, do you mostly think of yourself as an American now, or mostly as an Ethiopian? If you had to give yourself a number, what percentage of your identity is American now?

What ideas do you have about what it means to be successful at acculturation?

As you look at the future, do you expect to continue to make progress toward being successful in acculturation?

Is there anything else that you would like to tell me before we come to the end of this interview?

Do you have any questions about the study that I am doing?

When I get back home and think about our time together, if I have questions about some of your answers, would you please be willing to help me understand by clarifying any answers that I don't understand yet? What's the best way for me to contact you?

Thank you so much for your help!

<div align="right">(updated, September 1, 2012)</div>

Appendix E: Visit to Haile Maryam Orthodox Church

December 30, 2012

Worship Service

I parked beneath a basketball hoop at the end of the church's parking lot, the same place where I had parked three days before. I had asked the first man I met if he spoke English, and then waited until he recruited one of his friends to help. The second man had haltingly answered my questions about Sunday services, had explained to me the schedule for Sunday, and had agreed that I would be welcome. So here I was, determined to approach this community of Ethiopian immigrants and to ask for volunteers to take part in a research study for my dissertation.

I walked across the thin layer of crunchy snow in the pre-dawn darkness. The church building loomed dark against the softly glowing sky, barely tinted by the lights of the surrounding city. At 6:50 on a December Sunday morning, the sounds of the city were muted around me. I had been told that the church had been purchased by the Ethiopian community of immigrants when the local Anglican Diocese needed to downsize by closing a parish, and this morning it looked forbiddingly medieval. Several cars were already in the parking lot, and my first worry was dismissed. I had been told that the service would start at 7:00, but having experienced the relaxed way that Africans usually think about time, I had wondered if it really would. Now I was confident that even if the service itself started late, at least there would be someone there to unlock the front door. I didn't want to wait outside in the snow for things to get underway.

The glass door to the little entryway opened easily, and I was immediately surprised by three things. First, the sound of chanting spilled through the open door on

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my right, along with a soft yellow light. The service had already started! Second, there was a figure shrouded in white sitting on the floor in front of me. A woman, face and body entirely covered, was silently listening from this place by the door, banned from the shared warmth and worship of the sanctuary itself. And finally, the woman was sitting in the middle of a mass of discarded shoes. Clearly, I was expected to take off my shoes and leave them here in the entryway with the others. I did. Not wanting to disrupt the service with rustling, I took off my gloves and winter coat, too.

I then stepped in front of the woman, and turned toward the sound of the chanting. The sanctuary was a white, rectangular room with a high, vaulted ceiling. It had night-dark windows along the side walls, with pews on either side of the central aisle, which was covered with a series of bright red oriental carpets. The right-hand pews held a dozen women, heads draped with white stoles, while the left-hand side held a slightly larger number of bare-headed men with thin white shawls draped across their shoulders. I stepped forward, soundless in my stocking feet, to the next-to-last pew on the left side, slipped in, and sat down next to the center aisle.

The front of the sanctuary no longer bore much resemblance to its Anglican origins. The raised chancel had been modified by the addition of a curved wall about eight feet high. On either side, where the curve of the newer wall took it away from the congregation, the wall held a closed, wooden door. In the center of the wall, where it curved out closest to the congregation, there was a large opening hung with dark red drapes. They, too, were closed. In front of the drapes, a middle-aged man was chanting in a rhythmic tenor. He wore a tall, cylindrical hat which matched his large, knee-length cape: white, nearly-stiff fabric, richly embroidered with curving patterns of gold. The

skirts of a white robe were visible beneath the cape. He looked down through his glasses at a large book that was displayed on the wooden lectern in front of him, and holding his hands above the lectern on either side, like a man showing the size of the fish that had escaped, he chanted steadily and rhythmically. His voice was pitched for easy hearing, but not intrusively loud, and his chant rose and fell in unpredictable patterns. At times, he would turn his back to us, the worshippers, and face the curtain, either standing upright with arms raised or bowing before it, his hands hidden in front of his body. Then he would turn back to us and assume his original stance. The chant itself continued without interruption, whether he was facing the lectern and apparently reading, or whether he was facing the curtain and reciting from memory. He turned no pages. The chant was composed of non-repeating words, like a long passage of poetry or a story being recited, rather than a single phrase repeated like a mantra. I did not recognize a single word, and gradually realized that the chant was in the ancient language Ge'ez, not in the modern vernacular, Amharic.

At some cue unknown to me the worshippers all stood. A few shifted minutely as if testing their stability, and then joined the others in standing absolutely still. I remained seated, choosing to emphasize my role as an observer rather than assert a claim to be more of a participant than I really was.

I settled onto the cushioned pew and took time to notice other things in the room. Peeking above the center of the front curved wall was the top of a large cross, perhaps the original Anglican crucifix. It was partially hidden behind a smaller cross on top of a golden dome, which evidently covered the central three or four feet of whatever was hidden behind the curtain. In front of the barrier wall, immediately on either side of the

central red curtain, there were cushioned armchairs. The chair on the left was empty. The right-hand chair held a man covered in a long white robe, draped so that it completely covered him from the neck down, but leaving his right hand free. On the next step below the chairs, further to each side than the chairs themselves, small easels held brightly-colored pictures. The picture on the left, in front of the men, was of a blue-robed mother holding a child, while the one on the right, in front of the women, was a red-robed man. The paintings were sharp and bright enough to be seen clearly from the back of the room where I sat. There was also a spray of flowers in a vase, which glistened gold in the warm yellow glow from the electric lights in the high ceiling overhead. A candle stood on a high stand to the left of the lectern, and a tall teenage boy stood beside it. He was bare-headed, and robed in white. Further to the left, near the edge of the curved wall, stood a smaller boy, similarly dressed in white but holding down something like a fat cane, resting on the floor in front of him. It could not be seen clearly because of the pews and the worshippers in front of me on the men's side of the sanctuary.

Now that they were standing, it was easy to see that the men were mostly shorter than average Americans, though one large, muscular man might have been six foot three. They were all bare-headed, but otherwise dressed for winter. Under their thin, white shawls I could see that they were wearing a variety of clothing. Some wore suit coats, others wind-breakers or hooded sweat-shirts, which left humps across their shoulders under the shawls. Most of the shawls were made of very finely-spun cotton, thin and nearly transparent, almost like a mosquito net. They were worn with the center of the shawl down the center of the man's back, the two halves drawn around the body to the front, and the top corners tossed over each shoulder so that they hung down like pointed

scarf ends behind both shoulders. Some of the shawls appeared to have been woven in a single piece, but the man immediately in front of me had a shawl with a horizontal seam across his back. There was a place about an inch long where the stitching between the two halves gaped open. One thin youngster several pews in front of me had trouble keeping his shawl in place. The right hand corner kept slipping off his shoulder, and he would wriggle, reach across and retrieve it with his left hand, and pull it up over his shoulder again. All the other men remained still, revealing not even the rise and fall of shoulders as they breathed.

On the right side of the church, the women were standing, too. I could see enough of their profiles to know that their faces were not covered, but their head scarves were pulled closely about their faces, concealing all of their hair as well as everything below the jaw line. From beneath their white scarves, much thicker than the men's, long, loose dresses could be seen. Some were single colors, either bright or pastel, while others showed subdued prints. There were two small babies in plastic baby seats, quite a few young girls draped in head scarves, and several small, bare-headed boys. Younger children usually leaned against their mothers, while older girls stood perfectly straight.

The side walls of the room were regularly interrupted by arched, stained-glass windows, still showing nothing but night. On the wall sections between the windows hung brightly-colored paintings of people, often richly-robed figures with golden halos behind their heads and their hands lifted in two-fingered blessings. Backgrounds, as far as I could see from where I sat, tended to be dark blue and full of white and yellow stars.

Everyone sat down in unison, again in response to a cue that I did not hear, and the smaller altar boy lifted his 'cane,' which turned out to be an umbrella. He opened it,

and its dark purple cover flashed with sequins while its gold fringe swayed. Meanwhile, the taller boy lifted the tall, white candle from its stand, held it solemnly in front of him at face height, and walked toward the priest. The younger boy followed, reaching the umbrella out over the boy who held the candle. The boys bowed to the priest, and he bowed back to them. Then he turned, and they followed him. He climbed two or three steps to the curtains and pulled them apart. This revealed an altar table with another brightly painted picture on it. The people knelt in unison. The men knelt on the kneelers attached to the pews in front of them, leaned their arms on the back of the next pew, and buried their faces on their arms as if they were going to catch a quick nap after a late Saturday night. The kneelers on the women's side were not used. Women who were hemmed in by babies or children hunched forward and bent low, so that the highest points of their shrouded heads were about the same level as the top of the pew backs, not resting on the pew backs as the men were. Women who were sitting near the ends of the pews moved out into the aisles and knelt, their hands positioned flat on the carpet, fingers pointing forward, with their faces on top of their hands. They did not place the tops of their feet flat on the carpet, with their toes pointing behind them. Instead, the bottoms of their toes were kept on the carpet, with the soles of their stocking-covered feet strongly arched and their heels supporting their raised buttocks. The central aisle, then, was exactly half filled with kneeling women, who never crossed the unseen center line. The men's side of the aisle continued to show the woven patterns of curling cream-colored stems and leaves on the rich, red background.

Everyone held their kneeling positions for many minutes, again in total silence, and the priest's liquid chanting flowed smoothly across their collected, bowed heads.

Then, again with no warning, the entire congregation moved smoothly back to their sitting positions. Men sat back, again upright in the pews. Women straightened up from their hunched positions in the pews, or rose from the carpet, half-way standing, barely erect enough to take the few small steps back to the pews. The caped priest and white-robed boys turned away from the altar. The priest closed the curtains and moved back to the lectern. Then the service went on as before, with the same droning chant, except that now the altar boy with the candle stood beside the lectern and held the candle in front of him, and the smaller boy held the umbrella over the priest's head.

After a while, similar patterns occurred, and events seemed to repeat. I began to lose my sense of the order of the service. Standing and sitting and kneeling. How many times will I miss these unheard cues, while all the rest of the people flawlessly respond in unison? Was this the second or third time that the curtains had been opened and shut? Was this the second time that the little procession of priest-candle-umbrella had paraded through the right hand door, carefully closing it behind them, or had that earlier disappearance been through the left hand door? The chanting continued, tireless, neither loud nor soft, not really a song but certainly not a monotone either, flowing down the aisle over the smooth floral patterns in cream. Gradually the room brightened with the tentative dawn of winter, and the stained glass patterns were revealed to be geometric swirls and circles, probably part of the building's original decor. More worshippers drifted in, silently sidling into the pews and taking their places on the women's side or the men's. I saw no pattern in who came early and who came late; there seemed to be a certain freedom about when to enter the service, a timelessness in this worship which slowly and peacefully called the people and the sun.

I found myself with plenty of time to think. My prejudices about 'African time' had been overthrown. I had arrived a bit 'early' and found myself inexplicably late, and then all these other people had arrived 'late' and apparently found themselves 'on time.' I had worried about what shoes to wear, since I knew that most Ethiopians wear the best shoes that they can afford. I had originally planned to wear polished leather dress shoes, but had decided on hiking boots when I woke to the uncertain footing of fresh snow. What an irrelevant concern, now that my boots lay tossed among the others in the entryway!

I had been startled to see the shrouded woman, discarded among the shoes, and I had re-experienced my initial revulsion at such discrimination. How quickly I had lapsed back into my Western worldview! In Addis Ababa, the capital city where I had lived for a few months, most Orthodox churches are surrounded by a high fence with metal bars, and women are always gathered at the fence line. They are not allowed entry because of their 'impurity' from their menstrual cycle, from recently giving birth, or from recent sexual activity. In Ethiopia, I had witnessed women outside the church-yard fences kneeling on concrete or in mud while rain slicked their head scarves and dresses close around their chilled, silent figures like fetal funeral shrouds. On this below-freezing morning in the Midwest United States, from an Orthodox perspective, it was actually an untraditional— and compassionate—gesture to welcome this woman inside the building among the shoes.

The building's shape was untraditional, too. In Ethiopia, Orthodox sanctuaries are often round, or at least polygons which approach being round by having eight or ten or twelve sides. Here, the vision of having a sanctuary which mimics the perceived

circularity of the horizon and the universe had somehow been adapted to a rectangle. I wondered how else the ancient rites of the Orthodox Church will accommodate themselves to this new continent.

This chant with no beginning draws me into the entire story of the two-thousand-year history of the church, the times of glory when the church is sustained by an empire, and the times of fear amid violence and famine, when the church is nearly the only institution sustaining the culture itself. An eternity passes, sustained by the calm, centuries-long song of a small cadre of highly-trained priests. Each recites again the ancient scripture, turns, and bows to the next white-robed generation. Each takes his place, reveals the holy as he can, and then melts away.

The chanting continues. Everyone is kneeling again, and this time I don't see the women as abasing themselves with their butts in the air, but as touching the fertile ground itself, kissing the verdant earth with its entwined and interwoven life. I don't see the men as sleepy, but as earnestly averting their eyes from representations too holy to be seen. The exposed backs of their necks look fragile, vulnerable. This is humility, this is worship.

I heard the chant shift. It called the people back to sitting on the pews, and called me back to the present. A power point projector came on, and two screens, hung from the ceiling near the front of the sanctuary, showed multi-colored sets of words. In Ge'ez, Amharic, and English, the words of a long litany were labeled for the priest and the people. The priest and congregation shared the litany, back and forth, the priest's solitary chant alternating with the voice of all the people, men and women joined together in a responsive psalm of praise.

A large book, ornately bound with gold on black, had been lying open on the lectern all this time. The priest slowly closed it, lifted it, and held it against his chest, the front cover facing outward. It was evidently a Bible, since no other book was likely to be held in such veneration. He walked to the side aisle on the men's side of the room, followed by the boy who conscientiously followed closely to keep the purple umbrella over the priest's head. The priest slowly walked down the side aisle, pew by pew, and the men came to the aisle, touched their foreheads to the Bible, and then kissed it. The priest then crossed just behind me at the back of the sanctuary and proceeded back up the side aisle on the women's side of the church, so that they, too, could touch and kiss the Bible.

More chanting ensued, with the help of the tri-lingual power point translations, and then everyone turned and solemnly greeted those around them with small bows. The priest sat down on the empty chair near the curtains, now closed for good, and the congregation stirred. Some young mothers escorted little children down the center aisle and out of the sanctuary, and several new arrivals found seats. By this time, there were probably about sixty people in attendance. It was 9:40. The worship service, which was well-underway when I arrived, had lasted more than two and one-half hours since I first untied my boots.

Sunday School

I had been told that after worship there would be a Bible study lesson, and I was curious to see how it would compare to a typical, Protestant Bible study. Would we be dismissed from the sanctuary, with different age groups going to different classrooms?

Would we be led by lay teachers who would invite discussion? Would any of the lessons be in English?

The white-robed man in the chair at the front of the sanctuary had remained nearly motionless for the entire service, except for standing when the congregation stood. He now rose, walked down the two or three steps to the main floor of the sanctuary, and stood in front of the lectern. He then proceeded to lecture in Amharic, with a lot of rhetorical flourishes. He raised his voice and lowered his voice, both in pitch and strength. He tossed out small asides, and told jokes which made the people softly laugh. Then he returned to his main theme and illustrated his ideas with vigorous gestures, or hammered points home with firm enunciation. Sometimes he gripped the sides of the lectern and peered sternly over it, sometimes he practically lounged on it while facing a bit to one side. He referred to no notes, though he spoke for more than 40 minutes. I understood practically nothing, not nearly enough to even identify the topic, but found it an entertaining performance by a master public speaker. The congregation, including the youth, were riveted by his lecture, and appeared completely attentive.

Eventually, the speaker came to the end of his presentation and returned to his chair, the lectern was moved out of the way, and about twenty of the younger children assembled themselves on the front steps of the chancel, tiered like risers at a choir concert. The children were dressed like their elders: the girls wore head scarves over long dresses, and the boys wore thin shawls over their pants, shirts, and jackets. Many of the children, both boys and girls, wore pointed crowns, which appeared to be made out of cloth, rather than paper or cardboard, and fastened under their chins by an elastic band. A willowy teenage girl, wearing glasses, a white head scarf, and a long blue underdress,

came to the front of the church, picked up a large drum that had been lying out of sight in front of the women's side of the church, and slipped her head and left arm through the carrying strap. The drum was a tapered cylinder with both ends covered with drumheads, apparently rawhide. The large end, perhaps two feet in diameter, was toward the girl's right side. The smaller end, maybe one foot in diameter, was toward her left and held lower than the right end. The girl started pounding the drum gracefully, almost languidly, and the choir started singing on the first beat, though I saw no cue to prompt them. I could not follow the rhythm. It was sometimes two or three beats of the smaller end, followed by a more booming beat from the larger side, but sometimes there were up to five small beats between the deeper booms. There were also breaks in the rhythm, rests, which were respected by both the children's choir and by the audience, which was now softly clapping along with the beat. They obviously knew the song well, and were clearly enjoying themselves. One balding man two pews ahead of me was carrying on a quiet conversation with the man next to him. Even while his face was turned toward his neighbor and he alternately spoke and listened, his hands seemed to carry on the beat by themselves, sometimes four beats and sometimes three or five. He never missed one of the syncopated rests, and neither did the rest of the congregation. The children stood straight and tall, not swaying to the music, and sang in unison. When they finished their song, people applauded, and then the children sang a second and a third song, each similar to the first, at least to the ear of this outsider. They then returned to their places, mostly on the women's side of the church. The youngest children, maybe four or five years old, were grinning and hopping as they left their performance, while the older ones, including the teenage drummer, maintained a solemn dignity.

A choir of young adults then took their places at the front of the sanctuary. They did not stand on the chancel steps, but instead lined up facing each other in two short lines about six feet apart. There were five young men on the left side of the aisle facing five young women on the women's side. The drummer this time was a large, strong young man. He could barely fit his head and left shoulder through the drum strap, and his shawl crumpled under the strap as he put it on. He, like the girl before him, stood with his back to the congregation and started the singing by simply hitting the first note on the drum. This song was also complex in rhythm, emphasizing beats that seemed impossibly unpredictable to this Westerner, but clearly well-known and anticipated by the listeners. The singers began by singing in unison, but then the young men sang their part alone while they took small steps toward the young women, closing the gap between the two lines. The men then sang several more lines as they stepped back to their original places. Then the women sang, moved forward and retreated, and then the entire choir sang together again. This song was accompanied by clapping in time by the congregation, which also applauded the young adults as enthusiastically as they had the children.

After everyone was seated again the lectern was carried back to its central place. The priest rose from his chair, stepped down to the lectern, and led another litany, alternating parts with the congregation while the words were shown on the power point screens. Then everyone shuffled to the center aisle and slowly filed forward for a blessing from the priest. Men circled counter-clockwise around the men's section and exited down the side aisle to the back, while women walked a mirror exit on the right hand side of the church. Sunday school had lasted exactly one hour.

Lunch

A middle-aged man came up the center aisle and touched me very softly on the shoulder. His white shawl had been re-arranged so that it was now folded in half lengthwise and draped across both shoulders, leaving most of his body free. Under the shawl, unlike every other man in the church except for two in the front, he was wearing a traditional robe, though his was sand-brown instead of white. He said, in halting but precise English, "There is a chance for some food with the community. Please come with me." I was grateful for this first chance to talk with someone, and I looked forward to talking to him more. He guided me back to the entry-way, where I was able to maneuver through the crowd to find my boots, and then to slowly reach a side wall outside the press of the crowd to put them on. The little area was nearly solidly packed with bodies, men and women intermingled, with children squirming in between the adults. Almost all of the talking was in Amharic, with only a phrase here or there in English. Women were embracing each other, pairs of hugs with heads first on one side and then on the other, like French women kissing each other hello. Men were shaking hands, or clasping each other by the shoulders. After the formal, liturgical greeting in worship, these secular greetings seemed exuberant. I was ignored, neither avoided so that I had any extra space near me, nor greeted by anyone but my guide, who already had his shoes on.

He led me down a narrow hallway, probably improvised as an after-thought during some building renovation in the past, turned a sharp corner, and then led me into the fellowship hall. The white, rectangular room was brightly lit, both with fluorescent lights and with sunlight streaming through the generous windows. Spaced evenly lengthwise down the room were four long tables covered with white paper, similar to any

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hall where a small congregation might gather to eat. Chairs, however, were set on only one side of the tables, the side nearest the outer walls of the room, so that everyone faced each other across the center aisle. Along the near end of the hall, close to where my guide and I had entered, there were two more tables where food was piled in a variety of dishes. It smelled delicious. My guide led me to the center aisle, turned away from the serving table, and beckoned me to follow to the other end of the room, where with many courteous gestures he invited me to sit at a small round table at the end of the central aisle. There was barely room for this little table between the innermost tables, and its white paper covering was askew. There were three metal folding chairs at the table, positioned in a semi-circle with their backs to the wall, so that anyone sitting there, like the other diners in the room, would be facing the center. My guide motioned for me to sit in the left hand chair, actually bowed in response to my "Thank you!" and then left me sitting there, alone. I did not see him again.

Most of the people crowding into the room were dressed in white from the services which had just finished, but the men had re-folded their shawls to simply drape across their shoulders, just as my guide had done, or had dispensed with their shawls altogether. Other people were wearing street clothes or coats, and I realized that some of them had just arrived, in time for the community meal. Everyone was seating themselves, with a great deal of conversation and movement. For the most part, they sat in family groups, with men, women, and children all mixed together. Sometimes there would be a small group of children of similar ages together, such as several girls with a particular classmate and her parents. There was a lot of noise from all the different conversations and from the constant scurry of smaller children scampering back and forth. This scene

was a striking contrast in both sound and movement to the serene hours in the sanctuary. I enjoyed seeing so many faces after the long hours of looking only at the backs of people's heads or their profiles, and in the overwhelmingly white room, the light-brown, animated faces seemed sparkling and lively. Several adults glanced at me surreptitiously, and some of the younger children openly stared at me, but for the most part I was again ignored. I had no idea what to expect, but it was clear that I had been intentionally segregated at a separate table, possibly one set up in the past few minutes specifically for me in order to avoid disrupting the congeniality of one of the regular tables. I thought that if other non-Ethiopian guests arrived, they would probably be seated with me.

Then the priest entered the room and swept up the center aisle toward me. There was no change in the noise level of the room, and no one seemed to take any notice of his entrance. He had taken off his stiff, embroidered cape, and had replaced his tall, liturgical hat with a small cylindrical cap. He was now dressed in a straight white robe. I rose to say hello, unsure what a proper greeting might include, but he simply shook hands with me and said in fluent, slightly British English, "We are so glad that you have come." He introduced himself as Meskel, and smiled graciously as I repeated his name to attempt the correct pronunciation. He gave no honorific, and seemed content to be called by that single name. I introduced myself, and he smiled as he recognized my name. He explained that he had been wondering if I was the person who had talked to him on the phone several times. He said that he had seen me come in during the service, and I apologized that I had arrived late. He shrugged, smiled, and explained that the preparatory prayers always began at 5:00.

Meskel seated himself in the center chair at the little round table, and I suddenly realized that this was the head table, at least as long as the priest was sitting here. It was still possible that it had been hastily prepared because of my presence, but I was seated in a place of honor instead of being marginalized. Another man joined us, sat in the right hand chair, and Meskel introduced him as the vice chairman of the church council. From time to time some other man would approach to speak with Meskel. With each interruption, he would apologize to me, listen to the man who had interrupted, and then either ask a question for more information or give a soft answer which was accepted with a small bow and without questions. All of these conversations were in Amharic. At one point, a girl about eight years old ran up and said in English, "Papa! We want to go have a snowball fight before the snow melts!" Meskel smiled broadly, and replied very briefly in Amharic. The girl twisted her mouth in a token frown, and went back to her table. Meskel explained that he had two children, the daughter and a younger son. They were excited by the novelty of the snowfall, but they could wait to go play until after they had finished eating.

I thanked Meskel repeatedly for his hospitality, both in welcoming me to the service itself and for inviting me to the dinner as well. He thanked me for coming, and told me, "It was a blessing to have you here today." I commented on various aspects of the service, and especially praised the choirs. He was pleased, and invited me to attend their Maryam Day celebrations, when many choirs perform, both youth and adults, visiting from as far away as Atlanta for the celebration. I asked various questions about the service. Yes, the large book was the Bible, but the traditional Ethiopian version with nine 'extra' books. Yes, the umbrella was a symbol of respect for the priest during certain

parts of the liturgy. No, the white-robed Sunday school teacher was not another priest, but a deacon, preparing for the priesthood. He was not allowed to become a full priest until after completing his studies and marrying.

Two men served us a large platter of traditional Ethiopian food, and we continued our conversation by talking about it. No, this was not the first time that I had eaten Ethiopian food, since I had lived in Ethiopia for seven months. Yes, I liked it very much, but sometimes the spices were a little strong for my American stomach. Meskel laughed, especially after I explained that one of the few Amharic words that I remembered was *alecha*, 'mild.' I complimented the lentils, and the cabbage, and the vegetable stew, all served on large round *injera*, the soft flatbread that takes the place of utensils when torn up and used to pinch bites of the main dishes. Meskel apologized for the 'fasting food,' which was strictly vegetarian. He explained that the Orthodox celebrated Christmas on January 7, so this last Sunday in December was still a part of Advent, one of many periods of fasting from meat. I assured him, quite honestly, that the meal was delicious.

We chatted for quite a while as we ate leisurely, with occasional interruptions which Meskel accepted gracefully and naturally. Eventually, after a sufficient time of pleasantries, he asked me to tell him about my research, which I had mentioned in the earlier phone conversation with him. I explained my interests in education and in Ethiopia, and asked his help in inviting congregation members to be interviewed so that I could complete my dissertation. He agreed to help, but said that he wanted to take part himself first, so that he could assure others that it was not a threatening experience. He also explained that he would not be able to take part until after January 7, because of the pressing demands of the Christmas season. Disappointed that it would now be impossible

for me to complete the interview during my Christmas vacation, but still grateful for his cooperation, I agreed to his request for delay and promised to call him after January 7. I was relieved that I had finally initiated the relationship that I needed for progress to be made on my dissertation, but at the same time, I recognized that Meskel had effectively positioned himself as the sole contact person for the congregation. Since he was probably the inevitable gatekeeper for the immigrant community anyway, I suspected that nothing had been lost.

Meskel then smoothly transitioned to an explanation of the church's interest in education. The church runs an Amharic-language school, which meets on Saturdays and during the summer holidays. They are eager to find new sources of funding, and they would like my help in exploring any grants that might be available through the local university. I explained that I was only a student there, but that I was willing to ask on their behalf to see if I could learn of any resources which might help. He was pleased, and thanked me. I thanked him again for his hospitality, by name, and noticed a faint reaction on his part, not much more than the slight lifting of one eyebrow. I asked him again about the correct way to address him, and whether he might prefer that I call him by his title. He looked down at his plate, glanced at the vice chairman, and then agreed that it would actually be better if I addressed him as Father Efrem, his family name. I promised that I would do so, thanked him for the meal, and stood to go. He rose with me, we shook hands, and the vice chairman escorted me back to the door by the parking lot.

The sun was brilliant, and I gladly stepped into the wide, round world, where the children were laughing as they played, and the snow was calmly melting in the light.

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