Fall 2015

Ethnic Ethiopians: A Case Study of Discrimination Occurrence in Ethiopia

Chase E. Riddle
Southern Illinois University Carbondale, chazridd@yahoo.com

Follow this and additional works at: http://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/gs_rp

ETHNIC ETHIOPIANS: A CASE STUDY OF DISCRIMINATION OCCURRENCE IN
ETHIOPIA

by

Chase E. Riddle

B.A., Southern Illinois University, 2013

B.A., Southern Illinois University, 2014

A Research Paper

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Master of Arts Degree.

Department of Political Science

in the Graduate School

Southern Illinois University Carbondale

December 2015

RESEARCH PAPER APPROVAL

ETHNIC ETHIOPIANS: A CASE STUDY OF DISCRIMINATION OCCURRENCE IN
ETHIOPIA

By

Chase E. Riddle

A Research Paper Submitted in Partial

Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in the field of Political Science

Approved by:

Stephen C. Shulman, Chair

Stephen R. Bloom

Graduate School

Southern Illinois University Carbondale

11/6/15

AN ABSTRACT OF THE RESEARCH PAPER OF

CHASE E RIDDLE, for the MASTER OF ARTS degree in POLITICAL SCIENCE, presented on 11/6/15, at Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

TITLE: ETHNIC ETHIOPIANS: A CASE STUDY OF DISCRIMINATION OCCURRENCE IN ETHIOPIA

MAJOR PROFESSOR: Dr. Stephen C. Shulman

This paper presents a new way to understand the occurrence of ethnic discrimination within Ethiopia. I argue that during the time studied, 1950-1992, the more culturally similar five lesser ethnic groups were with a dominant ethnic group's culture the less amount of political discrimination they faced from this dominant ethnic group. Using Minorities at Risk data in addition to a cultural similarity scale I have created I argue that ethnic discrimination levels within Ethiopia fluctuated over time due to the level of shared cultural traits a certain group had at any given point with the dominant Amharan ethnic group culture. Ultimately I am able to show that Amharan culture acted "behind the scenes" as a dominate force within the Ethiopian state and such an observation can be used by scholars moving forward to better understand why certain ethnic groups are discriminated against more so than others within Ethiopia.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1-INTRODUCTION

MUCH OF THE COMPARATIVE WORK ON AFRICAN BASED ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION MITIGATION has focused on the formation of ethnically diverse coalition governments and their ability to stabilize their respective countries (Asal and Pate 2005; Gurr 1993, 2000; Wimmer 2002). Scholars such as Data Barata (2012) and Kidane Mengisteab (2008) believe coalition governments will be able to bring the varying ethnic groups of Ethiopia together in order to better handle the amounts of discrimination that occurs within Ethiopia along ethnic lines. Other scholars have focused primarily on specific countries such as Ethiopia (Ayenew 2002; Barata 2012; Freeman and Pankhurst 2003; Harbeson 2005; Teshome 2008). Academics such as Frederick Barth (1998) and Donald Horowitz (1985) have also questioned the role that culture plays in African nations and how such cultures can effect ethnic discrimination within them. It is this combined literature of culture formation and ethnic discrimination mitigation that this work aims to address specifically with regard to Ethiopia. In order to address these literatures, this work studies levels of political discrimination faced by five lesser ethnic groups that was caused by the actions of a dominant ethnic group over a 42 year period within Ethiopia. In order to measure such discrimination I use Minorities at Risk coding from the MAR data set.

One of the main aims of this paper and logic behind my hypothesis presented below is to show a causal relationship between cultural similarity and ethnic discrimination. I argue in the pages to follow that upon an ethnic group becoming more culturally similar with another more dominant ethnic group this lesser group will face less discrimination as a result. The logic behind such an argument is that upon a lesser group assimilating into a dominant group's culture the dominant will view the lesser as "one of them". Upon assimilating in their culture the

dominant group no longer views the group as "outsiders" and or a threat. The result of this frame shift is that the newly assimilated group will no longer be targeted for discrimination as "outsiders" may have been.

I complement these previous works by addressing the role historical culture had on ethnic discrimination mitigation within Ethiopia during the years of 1950-1992. I take umbrage with the notion that coalitional governing can mitigate discrimination within Ethiopia due to the fact that these governing bodies are often put together with little attention paid to the cultural differences that caused the very groups comprising them to clash. Thus, according the scholars listed above, the best strategy to mitigate ethnic conflict within Ethiopia, coalitional governing, is inherently flawed. This paper will show that upon accounting for the role culture plays on the formation of coalitions within Ethiopia this flaw can be corrected. Ultimately the aim of this paper is to answer this question: Do changes in the cultural differences between the ethnic groups of Ethiopia lead to changes in the level of political discrimination these groups face?

In order to answer this research question this paper will be divided into 5 succinct sections and is organized as follows. The first section will present some key problems that face coalition governments forming within the Ethiopian state, key terms/definitions such as *ethnic group,* and briefly present the six ethnic groups of this study. This will be followed by a section explaining the ascendency of Amharan ethnic culture as the dominate culture within Ethiopia over its vast history as well as introduce my *Cultural Differences* hypothesis. A third section will introduce my data, MAR Coding and my Cultural Similarity scale, and methods, historical case study, used to test this hypothesis. This will be followed by a results explanation section and a concluding section. I will also give a brief roadmap of where future research could possibly lead.

CHAPTER 2-THE ABSENCE OF COALITIONS IN ETHIOPIA

The ethnic history of Ethiopia is one as diverse as the people who have who created it. This diversity has caused various conflicts and divisions over the roughly 700 years of Ethiopian state history. A study of this history clearly shows us the difficulties such a diversity created over the years in the establishment of a stable political authority able to govern Ethiopia. Even in the Ethiopia of today Mengisteab (2008) sets a familiar scene when he states that relations between identity politics, democratization, and state building are complex, especially in the cases of relatively young countries, such as Ethiopia. Donald Horowitz points out that "in country after country, political parties and trade unions are organized ethnically" (Horowitz 1985, 3).

Ethiopia is no different in this fashion. Ethiopia matches many of Horowitz's original criteria needed for the occurrence of ethnic conflict/discrimination. In addition Horowitz's explanations for such occurrences can also be used to better understand Ethiopia's ethnic discrimination problem. Horowitz argues that "although international conditions cannot create a conflict where one does not exist—for contagion is not the source of ethnic conflict—they can create a setting in which ethnic demands seem timely and realistic" (Horowitz 1985, 5). In Ethiopia's case, such a setting allowed Eritreans to champion the need for autonomy and self-determination. Long had they been culturally different from the dominant Amhara in both spoken language (Amharic for Ethiopia and Tigrinya/Arabic for Eritrea) religion practiced (vast majority Christianity for Ethiopia, roughly 50-50 split between Christianity and Islam in Eritrea). There has also been an ongoing territorial dispute between the Amhara and the Eritreans over lands which, according to both groups, hold special cultural significance as 'homelands'.

Frederick Barth's work can also be used here for he shows that cultural boundaries persist despite a flow of personnel across them. If said differently, "categorical ethnic distinctions do not

depend on an absence of mobility, contact and information, but do entail social processes of exclusion and incorporation whereby discrete categories are maintained despite changing participation and membership in the course of individual life histories" (Barth 1998, 9). Barth (1998) argues that ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of social interaction and acceptance, but are quite to the contrary often the very foundations on which embracing social systems are built. Barth's work gives primary emphasis to the fact that ethnic groups are categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves, and thus have the characteristic of organizing interaction between people (Barth 1998, 10). Thus there is a connection between Barth and Horowitz. Barth shows the strength culture has behind group behavior while Horowitz shows that one group's behavior may be in conflict with another group's behavior. A brief example one can find within Ethiopia of this connection is the religious differences between the Amhara and the Eritreans that lead to conflict between the two groups. The religions of both groups were defined by their respective cultures and since these religions were different conflict ensued.

The discrimination problem within Ethiopia needs to be understood on different aggregate levels. Horowitz points out that "control of a state, control of a *state*, and exemption from control by others are among the main goals of ethnic conflict" (Horowitz 1985, 5). In Ethiopia we see this 'goal' playing out on these multiple levels. The dominate Amhara controlled the Ethiopian state and while doing so actively promoted and enforced an Amharan state within Ethiopia via the enactment of Amharic as the official national language and Christianity as the national religion. Thus the ethnic groups within the Ethiopian state who did not speak Amharic and or practice Christianity now found themselves as members of cultures that were in direct opposition to the newly formed Ethiopian state culture. Horowitz (85) points

out that one ethnic group can learn from another and in so doing becomes similar in their claims and aspirations (Horowitz 1985, 6). This is also true in the case of Ethiopia for the Eritreans, seeing the Amharans' promote their own cultural traits, began to do so as well. An ethnic group with their own language and religion as mentioned above now found themselves not only battling the Amhara for territory but for the right to practice their own culture as well.

For Horowitz ethnic divisions pose challenges to the cohesion of states and sometimes to peaceful relations among states (Horowitz 1985, 12). In the case of Ethiopia Horowitz helps to explain why coalitional governments have not been successful in creating stability within the state. Coalition governments are not simply jig-saw puzzles, in which ethnic groups fit nicely as if they were pieces meant for this space all along. Ethiopia possesses pieces each of which have close to 700 years of cultural history affecting how they fit together with each other. Ethnic divisions, clearly shown and explained via Ethiopian history, must be accounted for while contemplating how best to solve the ethnic discrimination problem within Ethiopia. Perhaps the most useful concept Horowitz (1985) provides to a discussion such as this is his notion of 'ranked ethnic systems'. As stated above Ethiopian society is highly hierarchical, with the dominant Amhara on top.   In such a system political, economic, and social status tend to be cumulative, so that members in group B are simultaneously subordinate in each of these ways to members of group A (Horowitz 1985, 22).

It is important to remember here though that in Ethiopia such a hierarchical structure consists of six different ethnic groups; the dominate Amhara as the superordinate group A, to use Horowitz's words, and the other five groups as the subordinate B-F groups. Thus, just like coalitional governments, the 'ranked structure' of Ethiopia is highly complex. In addition the cultural history of the Amhara is an example of Horowitz's notion of the unequal   distribution of

worth between superiors and subordinates can also be found within Ethiopian society. This unequal distribution is a direct result of the Kibre Negest, one of the earliest Ethiopic Christian writings in history. This writing ordained the Amhara as the chosen people of Ethiopia, a title that allowed to them gain, and hold onto, power for centuries.

Also, just as Horowitz suggests, the 'ranked system' of Ethiopia finds all six of the ethnic groups in question in close proximity with each other. The Amharas and the Eritreans mentioned above are not the only ethnic groups of Ethiopia to claim similar lands as their own, for both the Amharan and Tigrean ethnic groups respectively claim Northern Ethiopia as their 'homeland'. Horowitz (85) claims that the Ethiopian Revolution of 1991-1992 might be an example of a 'ranked system' revolution in which subordinates groups overthrow superordinate ones but he was not entirely sure that he was. However I feel that it is an example of such a revolution. The revolution saw groups that were at one time discriminated against by a superordinate dominant group and in turn band together to instigate change. Tigrean and Eritrean forces were able to overthrow the dominate Amhara and in turn place themselves as the new superordinate groups after1992. My Cultural Similarity scale, described in greater detail below, will show how these "subordinate rankings" changed over time due to how culturally different they were at any given time to the superordinate Amhara.

Scholars such as Andreas Wimmer have shown that minority elites, rather than a majority coalition, within a state such as Ethiopia can challenge mobilizing forces to bring about modernization and democratization (Wimmer 2002, 96). If said differently Wimmer (2002) shows that individual elites within each separate ethnic group were able to mobilize those under them to revolt against those discriminating them. It is important to note here that Wimmer is discussing modernization and democratization and note ethnic discrimination directly; however

these topics are connected to one another in the sense that with modernization and democratization within a state the amount of discrimination would likely decrease. Wimmer (2002) also argues that the Oromo ethnic group, which will be discussed in greater detail below, was able to move Ethiopia toward modernization due to their size and status. For Wimmer (2002) the Oromo's large population is able to control how much discrimination they face; simply put this argument contends that large populations are better equipped to protect themselves from other smaller encroaching groups. Ethiopian history clearly shows the Amhara as such a group and this history gives clear examples of how the Amhara actively encroached upon and discriminated ethnic groups below them in the societal hierarchy.

This "large population equals less discrimination" formula does not apply to the Oromo people of Ethiopia, however, if one has a better understanding of their ethnic culture. He is correct though in labeling the Oromo as an ethno-nationalist group, or simply put an ethnic group with its own *state identity,* in this case the 'Oromo State', calling for more autonomy. Though this "larger population" argument is based upon a sound argument Donald Levine (2000) keenly points out that for most of the Oromo's documented history they have practiced a "turn the other cheek" mentality in response to other ethnic groups actively discriminating them. Levin shows that this practice hinders the Oromo's large bargaining ability which should be used to mitigate the discrimination they face, for instead of uniting and using this large population to put political pressure on political elites, as Wimmer argues that they did, they instead accept the discrimination they face. As with theories about coalitional governments, yet again we see another sound argument unable to explain the Ethiopian case, due to the failure to account for ethnic culture. Ultimately Levin (2000) shows that due to a culture that puts others before themselves the Oromo effectively "rolled over" and accepted the discrimination they faced.

Yet again I believe the cultural history and subsequent assimilation processes argument I develop can complement these previous works. I argue that by addressing how a certain ethnic culture is similar or dissimilar with the dominant Amharan culture one can shed light on why federal coalitions comprised of multiple ethnic identities have not yet been able to find prolonged stability within the Ethiopian state. Still to this day political mobilization is based on these deep seated cultural fissures between the different ethnic groups of Ethiopia. By addressing the origins of these fissures I argue that a better process of finding this needed stability can be created. In addition this argument will show that upon assimilation into Amharan culture, during the time studied, the ethnic groups of this study faced lower levels of discrimination.

Before one can begin to understand this lack of federal coalitions it is necessary to better understand the people that could possibly comprise them. For the time of my study, according to Minorities at Risk (MAR) coding, Ethiopia had six distinct regional ethnic minority groups: the Afars, the Amharans, the Eritreans, the Oromo, the Tigrean, and the Somalis. Within each of these groups there are multiple sub groups and families. For example according to the most recent Ethiopian Census data, compiled in 2007, the Oromo ethnic groups has roughly 25 million people under the Oromo ethnic title (Galla) which comprises nearly 35% of Ethiopia's total population of nearly 73 million people at that time (2007 Population and Housing Census). It is important to note as well what terms such as *ethnic group* and *coalition government* mean. For this study I use Abner Cohen's definition of *ethnic group*: "*a collectivity of people who share some patterns of normative behavior and; form a part of larger population interacting with people from other collectivities within the framework of a social system",* a definition that African scholars such as Teshome (2008) have used as well (Cohen 1974, ix-x). If looked at differently, Cohen is also defining culture. Upon using terms such as "normative behavior" that

then leads to "patterns of social interaction" the underlying catalyst for such behavior is culture. As for *coalition government* I use my own definition which states as follows: "*a governing federal state level body comprised of more than three self and state identified unique ethnic groups*". This definition is context specific to Ethiopia and should not be viewed as generalizable to all "coalition cases". Also it is important to note that the formations of the parties that comprise these coalitions are formed on ethnic lines.

There are plenty of examples of coalition governments around the world being comprised of political parties formed solely on like-minded political ideologies. These political parties are aimed at advancing particular views of the Ethiopian state; these views more often than not have the particular ethnic group it belongs to at the head of this state. The reason I choose three or more is due to the fact that states which have only two ethnic groups forming governments successfully represent all the parties found within the state. However in countries such as Ethiopia that have three or more separate groups it is almost impossible to form a coalition that represents all of them; though it would be fair for all groups to be represented at the state level, to do so would create too many ethnic barriers to avoid. For example a hypothetical federal level governing body consisting of both Amharan and Eritrean members, two groups who have been at consistent odds with each other, would constantly be impeded from making any form of executive decisions. The long lasting cultural differences between these two groups would doom any chance for success from the start. Thus one of the aims of this paper is to highlight these differences and show that coalitions where they exit will not be successful.

The vast majority of coalition governments created in Ethiopian history have been post 1991. This was due to the overthrow of the second Derg regime, discussed in greater detail below, that allowed for the different ethnic groups to ascend to state level power in accordance

with their respective levels of assimilation into Amharan culture. The reason I am still discussing coalition governments during my time of study (1950-1992) is for two reasons: 1) the governments in power during those years, though strictly comprised of one ethnic group, had to coexist with either colonial rulers or Soviet sponsors; such an arrangement created an environment in which rival ethnic groups were constantly vying for power, a hostile environment that could have been pacified by successful coalitions and 2) to show that this 42 years of cultural history being studied still effects coalition forming in present day Ethiopia.

CHAPTER 3-THE ASCENDENCY OF AMHARAN CULTURE

One of the most important aspects of Ethiopian history is the varying cultural paths each

of the six ethnic groups discussed in this study took over their histories. Dating back to 500 B.C.

we can see that the Amhara and Tigrean people are very culturally similar but due to language

differences have a long history of political rivalry within the empire (Gurr 1993, 277-278). These

Amhara are unique among black African ethno-political groups, the political power seeking form

of an ethno-nationalist group, in recognizing the centrality of assimilation rather than common

descent in their formation and growth. If said differently the Amhara recognized early on that

they could grow their ethnic group by actively assimilating, sometimes violently, other people

into the Amharan family. Scholars such as Data Barata (2012) and Donald Levin (2000) both

point out that Amharic is the formal language of business and government in Ethiopia today. In

addition Amharic greeting and social practices are the informal behavior patterns of modern

Ethiopian society. This majority use of Amharan cultural traits in Ethiopian society took

centuries to cultivate. Over said centuries those ethnic groups who did not practice these

majority traits faced discrimination from those who did. Thus non-Amharic peoples need to

assimilate and adopt accordingly in order to mitigate this discrimination (Barata 2012, 6). This

history of discrimination based upon how similar or dissimilar one ethnic group is with the

dominant Amhara leads me to this hypothesis:

Cultural Differences Hypothesis- *The more culturally different a particular ethnic group is to*

Amharan culture the more discrimination over the time studied they will face from the Amharan

The logic behind this hypothesis, as mentioned above, is that cultural differences act as a

catalyst behind a dominant group, like the Amhara, choosing to discriminate against a lesser

ethnic group. When identified as "outsiders" due to the lack of shared cultural traits with the

Amhara the lesser groups of Ethiopia became targets of political discrimination by the Amhara. Thus this hypothesis will be accepted in the cases to follow if an ethnic group's amount of political discrimination is high and or increasing during the time studied while at the same time have a low and or decreasing amount of shared cultural traits with the Amhara. In contrast this hypothesis will be rejected if an ethnic group's amount of political discrimination fluctuates regardless of how many shared cultural traits they have with the Amhara.

Rather than have strict definitions of what it "means" to be Amharan these people over time had far more fluid identity definitions. This allowed them to not only assimilate other ethnic groups but also to more easily incorporate them into the Amhara "family" of sorts. Over these next few pages it is paramount that the history of Amharan cultural ascendency be explained, for as mentioned above this 700 years of history affects ethnic discrimination occurrences today. The long lasting cultural ties/arrangements, or lack thereof, between the people of Ethiopia and the dominant Amhara explained below will show, no matter how old, can cause animosity between groups even today.

Perhaps the greatest examples of this Amhara cultural expansion are given to us by Donald Levin (2000) in his book *Greater Ethiopia* discussing the history of what he calls "Greater Ethiopia". In his work Levin points out that various Amharan tribal based practices spread over time to other tribes. Practices such as the use of insignias to symbolize authority within society, based off of the Royal Amhara drum which was sounded when Amharan-Tigrean monarchs left their camps or palaces to go to war, to church, or simply to journey (Levin 57). In order to better understand the evolution of the Ethiopian state Levin argues that the image of Ethiopia as a Judeo-Christian Semitic core surrounded by various disparate African tribes must be replaced by an image which acknowledges that the peoples of Greater Ethiopia have long

shared many features of a deeply rooted cultural complex. A cultural complex, this paper argues, with Amharan culture as the base. Levin champions such a claim when he credits the Amhara for revitalizing the effort to provide a political and cultural center in Greater Ethiopia (Levin 72).

However the Amharan cannot claim this revitalization all to themselves. The Tigreans who have long been viewed as the "native people" of Ethiopia deserve credit as well. Levin (2000) points out that all of the triumphs of the Amharan kings of old were made possible by the Tigreans for it was Tigrean elders in the 14th century who wrote the *Kibre Negest*, the foremost creation of Ethiopic literature, which gave the Amhara their "kingly" rights (Levin 109). This literary work laid the foundation for Amharan rule long before the Amhara people were strong enough to do so. Levin argues that this work provided some of the core symbolism that served to fashion, inspire, and legitimate the project of creating an Amhara Imperium (Levin 112). The Amharan never forgot this foundation and because of this throughout most of Ethiopia's history the two ethnic groups have been identified as the Amhara-Tigrean by other ethnic groups. It was not until the time studied here that the two groups began to clash consistently, a clash which had its climax in 1991 when a Tigrean led revolutionary force overthrew an Amharan regime.

During the second half of the 19th century the Amhara started to expand their lands and culture and in doing so absorbed other minority groups. Levin paints a clear picture of the expansion strategy the Amhara used stating that expansion was not merely done by force but that such subjugation was accompanied, and often preceded, by a diffusion of Amhara cultural influence in such spheres as language, religion, moral values, and political style (Levin 74). Levin, like Barata (2012), gives a strong example of this diffusion by showing that Amharic language became the lingua franca of all elites, regardless of tribal origin, in all spheres of Amharan influence. It is this diffusion of culture that this work aims to shed light on. This

diffusion is one step however, for upon Amharan culture being diffused the other ethnic groups in question still had to choose to either accept/reproduce or deny/reject it as their own. Said differently once an ethnic group, say the Oromo for example, learned how to speak Amharic and or practice Christianity it was then up to them whether or not to practice these traits.

One such minority group the Amhara expansion met was the highly fragmented collection of Muslim farmers named the Oromo. Mostly centered in the capital city region (Addis Ababa), the historical heart of Amharan lands, the Oromo over the years have become highly assimilated into Amhara culture while Oromo outside of the capital city region stayed in conflict with the Amharas to varying degrees (Gurr 1993, 278). Levin shows that within their own culture the Oromo are orientated toward friendly association with other ethnics. As mentioned above their culture places other people above themselves. This was partnered with a continual decline in cultural practices within Oromo society that ultimately lead to traditional Oromo behaviors becoming less and less practiced by new generations of Oromo(Levin 161). Thus the eventual assimilation into the Amharan culture is not surprising. Levin concludes that this combination of non-confrontational behavior and a dyeing culture helps to explain the Oromo's capacity to join with Amharan-Tigreans at the national level. This conclusion is supported by the MAR data and my similarity scale I present below.

The Amharan expansion also created a negative consequence post 1930's with the acquisition of Eritrea which caused an immediate clash between Amhara culture and Eritrean culture. The Amhara themselves openly rejected Eritrean nationalism, mostly due to the Amhara thinking they possessed the "true Ethiopian nationalism", and because of this assimilation of any sort between the two groups became futile. From the onset of their encounters the Amharans and Eritreans clashed in about every aspect of society ranging from spoken language to practiced

religion. It is because of this lack of "cultural bridges" that during the entire length of this study the Eritreans faced the highest consistent level of political discrimination of all the groups studied. These "cultural bridges" can come in the form of a shared language, religion, and formal/informal social practices to name a few things that could be traits of a culture. If we put Amharan and Eritrean culture side by side we find very few similarities between them; Christianity for the Amharan vs Islam for the Eritreans and the difference in language are just two of the key differences between them. This lack of cultural similarity between these two groups helps to explain the animosity found between them. Although not as populous as the Eritreans another "minority at risk" within the Eritrea region are the Afars who due to culture differences with the Amharans, like the Eritreans, were given regional autonomy post 1975. In doing such the Afars saw their political discrimination levels drop after this partition of sorts.

Amhara assimilation of the Oromo in the Shoa region and elsewhere represents an expansion of "primordial" identity on a scale that far exceeds the expansion that has occurred in the likes of Zambia and Kenya, both of which have similar numbers of Oromo ethnics. The Tigreans however, although the "native people" of Ethiopia like the Amhara, now found themselves split between Ethiopian-Eritrean lands, thus making unified Tigrean ethno-nationalism creation difficult (Gurr 1993, 279). Freeman and Pankhurst (2003) second this "native people" label by stating that in most of the villages and tribal gatherings they studied people of Amharan and Tigrean ancestry were treated by those who were not Amharan-Tigrean like "gods". Although they were treated like "gods", this geographical division made Tigrean unification against the Amhara in the later portions of the time studied here nearly impossible.

CHAPTER 4-CHALLENGES TO AMHARAN DOMINANCE

The mass mobilization for power we saw during the 42 year period in Ethiopia I study in this paper by almost all ethnic groups finds its roots in the Eritrean mobilization in the 1960's. This movement then spread to Tigrean, Oromo and Somali groups later on. Mobilization continued into both the Haile Selassie and Mengistu Haile Mariam Communists regimes. By banning public political parties and political demonstrations these ardently repressive regimes created an oppositional "united minority front" based out of Addis Ababa University which called for the removal of both regimes (Teshome 7).

It is important to note here that both of these regimes, as well as many before and after it, were Amharan based. Because of this we see the first glimpse of Amhara culture not only being practiced by the royal family but also by lesser groups rallying under it to avoid persecution. This persecution led to the creation of two power players in Ethiopian politics post 1960, the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) and the Tigrean People's Liberation Front (TPLF). The ELF is worth mentioning in greater detail due to the history Eritrea had within Ethiopia prior to 1960. Both during the colonial reign of the British as well as the Soviet Union Eritrea, due to its access to major water ways, acted as a key staging point for both colonizers. As a result of this the Eritrean region became more advanced than the other Ethiopian regions. This foothold on advancement caused two key issues: 1) the people of Eritrea grew tired of being "ruled" by Amharans and thus started to form radical independence movements like ELF and 2) the rest of Ethiopia tried to impede Eritrean modernization (Gurr 1993, 280). Both of these consequences came to a spearhead in 1991 when both the EPLF (later form of ELF) and the TPLF succeeded in overthrowing the Ethiopian Amharan communist regime.

Though this paper is not one focused entirely on Ethiopian history as the above pages may suggest all of the history laid out above is a vital component of this paper. A state that has been in existence for as long as Ethiopia has clearly possess a plethora of events that shaped the Ethiopia of today, a state that is still dictated by hundreds of years of history. Though it may be difficult to comprehend how conflicts between cultures of so long ago can still cause problems today I assure you that that is the case.

CHAPTER 5-DATA AND METHODS

In order to test my hypothesis I use a case study analysis methodology. By focusing on the individual histories of each of the six ethnic groups found in this study I am able to provide a causal link between the data sets explained below. The combination of qualitative case study analysis with that of quantitative statistical analysis will create an encompassed and methodologically sound answer to my Cultural Differences Hypothesis.

The first dataset that I use is the Minorities at Risk (MAR) Discrimination Dataset. This dataset was started by Ted Robert Gurr in 1986 to examine and document the status of ethnic and religious minority groups in countries from all over the world, since 1946 (Asal and Pate 2005, 28). Ethnic identity groups often compete with other political organizations, and especially the central state, for the loyalty and support of group members. It is because of this that theories have argued that political and economic discrimination in relations between ruling elites and constituent groups generates strong grievances and creates powerful incentives that drive ethnic conflict and, possibly, leads groups to armed conflict. The MAR project has assigned annual political discrimination codes for 337 different ethnic groups in 124 different countries since 1950.

The MAR project focuses specifically on ethno-political groups: non-state communal groups that have "political significance" in the contemporary world because of their status and political actions. One aspect of political significance is related to the group's size. For a group to be included in the MAR project, it must have a population of at least 100,000 or account for at least one percent of the country's total population. A second aspect concerns the distinct quality of a group's relationship with state authorities. This aspect of political significance is determined by the following two criteria:1) the group collectively suffers, or benefits from, systematic

discriminatory treatment vis-à-vis other groups in a society; and, 2) the group is the basis for political mobilization and collective action in defense or promotion of its self-defined interests (Asal and Pate 29). The MAR project believes — by people who share some such traits and by those with whom they interact — that the traits such as race and ethnicity set them apart from others in ways that justify their separate treatment and status. This belief fits directly into my research here for two keys reasons: 1) it can easily be applied to all five of the ethnic groups discriminated against by the Amhara found in this study and 2) both the MAR dataset and this paper hold culture as an important and dominate force.

The MAR project has coded group discrimination yearly using a five-point scale (Asal and Pate 30). MAR defines each numerical value for political discrimination as follows: 0= "No Discrimination"- Groups facing no political discrimination or not suffering from substantial under-representation due to past discrimination; 1= "Remedial Discrimination"- Groups that are under-represented (at the federal level) because of past discrimination which is currently addressed by governmental remedial policies; 2= "Historical Discrimination"- Groups that are now under-represented because of past political discrimination or disadvantages but whose status is not being addressed by governmental remedial policies; 3= "Societal Discrimination" -Groups that currently suffer from substantial under-representation due to prevailing social practice by dominant groups and to which formal public policies toward the group are neutral or, if positive, inadequate to offset discriminatory policies; 4= "Governmental Discrimination" - Public policies substantially restrict the group's political participation or group members (other than those directly engaged in anti-regime activism) are subject to recurring repression that limits group political mobilization (Asal and Pate 30). **In regards to Ethiopia it is important to note that since the years of 1991 and 1992 were years of constant revolution within Ethiopia MAR**

decided to code all groups found within the state as having 0 levels of political discrimination. Hence all of the political discrimination graphs presented below will have scores of 0 for these years.

Over the course of the MAR project (1950-2003) the total population of all of the minorities reported in MAR ranged from 12.5 to 15% of the world's population. With the MAR project focusing on ethnic and religious minorities within states the project provides a relatively rare opportunity to examine and compare political dynamics at the group level of analysis (Asal and Pate 33). Although this paper only looks at the Ethiopian state specifically my subsequent work will look at various ethnic groups from different regions at the same time. Thus the MAR dataset will allow me to study all of these groups under one common coding. This will allow me to better account for various societal/cultural aspects that may help explain why one group in a certain region is discriminated against without pause while another group in a different region is not.

Cultural Similarity Scale

This similarity scale codes how culturally similar the five lesser ethnic groups of Ethiopia are with the dominant Amharan ethnic group on a year by year basis during the years of 1950-1992. This scale ranges from a score of 0, very culturally different, to 4, very culturally similar, with one point increments between said scores. The increase or decrease of these scores is dependent upon how many cultural traits the particular group has in common with the Amharan group. The traits that will be used to determine these scores are as follows: 1) shared language with the Amhara; 2) same religion practiced as the Amhara; 3) claims to the same "cultural homelands" and 4) close geographical proximity with the Amhara.

In order for a group to "share a language" with the Amharan the majority of that group will have to speak the Amharan language of Amharic. All of the groups found with in this study have their own respective languages, but in order to be coded as having this similar trait with the Amhara they will have to speak Amharic instead of their own language. These lesser groups during the time studied spoke Amharic in both professional and personal settings. A professional setting would be any interaction that takes place between the Amharan and members of one of the lesser groups in a work and or government setting. A personal setting would be any interaction that takes place either at an individual's home or at a casual social gathering. For example the Oromo located in central Ethiopia spoke Amharic in a professional setting while selling their agricultural produce to Amharan business men while at the same time the Tigreans spoke Amharic in their own homes with their Amharan relatives. It is important to note however that upon the breakdown of Amharan-Tigrean relations, discussed in greater detail below, the amount of Tigreans who spoke Amharic decreased and in turn started to speak their own language of Tigrinya instead.

In order for a group to be coded as "practicing the same religion" as the Amharan a majority of that lesser group will need to practice the Amhara's religion of Christianity. For almost the entirety of Amharan and Tigrean history they have practiced Christianity together and it was not until late in this study that this similarity between them changed. The Eritreans however never practiced Christianity and instead practiced Islam. Between these two extremes is the Oromo ethnic group who during the time studied had a majority of its members shift from Islam to Christianity. Upon this shift the Oromo were able to be given this code. Thus by studying each group's individual history I'll be able to see if they practiced Christianity along with the Amharan, if so they will coded as such.

A "cultural homeland" is a locale that holds a strong cultural significance to a majority of a particular ethnic group. It is one thing to claim an area as a "territorial homeland", or simply where one's group geographically comes from. It is another practice entirely, however, to view an area as a place where what it means to be, say, Amharan comes from. For example the north eastern part of Ethiopia is a region that both the Amharan-Tigrean and the Eritreans claim as the home of their respective cultures. This region for the Amharan-Tigrean is where the *Kibre Negest* was written, thus it was the birth place of the *idea* that the Amharan were the "chosen" people" of Ethiopia. Thus this region may be geographically where the Amharan-Tigrean originated from but more importantly, as this paper argues, it is where the cultural basis of Amharan-Tigrean existence was born. For the Eritreans this area holds the same significance because it was the birth of many of their Muslim prophets that they still hold in high regard today. Yet again it is paramount to see the distinction between simply viewing this area as a place on a map where the Eritreans originated to instead viewing as the place where what it meant to be an Eritrean came from. It is because of this distinction and emphasis on culture that I feel this "cultural homeland" similarity measurement is warranted.

Centuries ago this area, according to the groups just mentioned, is where they believe their people "came to be". Granted all of these groups over the years have migrated away from this area, the Amharas and Tigreans moved south to central Ethiopia while the Eritreans moved further north east to what is now Eritrea, but it is still held in high regard by all of these groups. This region in Ethiopia for the Amharan-Tigrean and Eritreans holds a similar significance to, say, Jerusalem for Christians and Mecca for Muslims respectively. Thus it should be no surprise that this area was highly contested between the groups during the time of this study.

For this study ethnic groups will be deemed to be in "close proximity" with each other if the cities/towns/villages of Ethiopia happen to have a majority of its inhabitants belonging to certain ethnic groups. For example the Oromo ethnic group has a majority its 25 million people living in central Ethiopia around the capital city of Addis Ababa. At the same time the majority of the Amharan ethnic group also live in this area. Thus the Oromo will be coded as being in "close proximity" with the Amhara for as long as this arrangement continues. In contrast to this the majority of the Somali ethnic group lives in the south western portion of Ethiopia far away from the majority of Amharas living around Addis Ababa. Because of this arrangement the Somali will not be coded as being in "close proximity" with the Amhara. The histories of each of the lesser groups in this study paint a clear of enough picture of where a majority of their members are located in regards to where a majority of the dominant Amhara are located.

The close proximity trait, though not culturally based like the other three are, is vital for my argument to remain sound. Social scientists such as Emile Durkheim (1893) and Max Weber (1946) have shown that in order for cultural traits to truly pass from person to person in society, these persons must be in close proximity with one another. Thus it would have been much harder, for example, for the Amharic language to be learned and subsequently practiced by the Oromo, as it would be had the Oromo been located far away in, say, southern Ethiopia. However, as stated above, the Oromo were located at the heart of Amharan lands in central Ethiopia, thus allowing for Amharan cultural traits to be assimilated rather easily. Ultimately all of these traits equally play into the logic behind the casual relationship between cultural similarity and discrimination this paper aims to address. Simply put the more of the traits above that a groups is coded as having, my argument expects such a group to face a low amount of discrimination.

For each year of the time specified above the five lesser ethnic groups will be given a score that matches how many of the traits just listed they share with the Amhara. (An appendix at the end of this paper is provided to show which traits were shared in any given year for each group.) Thus, for example, if the Tigrean ethnic group in the year 1965 held all of these traits with the Amhara they would be given a cultural similarity scale of 4 for that year. This coding scheme will be repeated for every year during the time specified. It is also important to note here these five groups will only be matched against the Amhara and not each other. This is due to the Amharan culture being the only dominant culture of Ethiopia during the time studied here.

CHAPTER 6-RESULTS

Throughout almost the entire history of Ethiopia the Amharan ethnic group has been the dominant ethnic group in regards to holding federal level power. The other five groups listed above over the years have had varying degrees of hostile relations with the Amhara. It has been the aim of this paper to show that this variation of hostile relations can be explained by the causal relationship between cultural similarity and ethnic discrimination. In analyzing the results presented below I have found in common with some, but not all, of five lesser groups is that the more culturally similar they have been throughout the years with the dominant Amharan culture the less discrimination that group has faced from the Amhara. In contrast the more culturally different one of these five groups has been with the Amhara the more discrimination they have faced from the Amhara over the years. Such a finding is the corner stone of my cultural similarity hypothesis.

Ethiopia's history is full of examples that clearly show these lesser ethnic groups actively sharing or actively rejecting traits of Amharan culture. One brief example of an ethnic group actively sharing Amhara culture is the Oromo adopting Amharic as their official language of business and social interactions (day-to-day interactions). Both of the data sets explained above show that upon this adoption and subsequent continual usage Oromo-Amhara relations improved. In contrast to this outcome Ethiopian history also shows that upon actively rejecting to practice traits of Amharan culture and via the advocating of their own language (mostly Arabic) and religion (split between Christianity and Islam) Eritrean discrimination levels, according to MAR, were at peak levels. Thus by being highly culturally different than that of the Amharas, Eritreans were discriminated by the Amhara more than the other lesser ethnic groups.

The graphs presented below show the changes in discrimination levels for each of the groups via MAR coding during the 42 years of this study.   I was pleased to find that the graphs for each group accurately represented the amount of cultural similarities each group had with Amharan culture over the time studied. Each of the lesser groups will have two graphs; one documenting levels of political discrimination and a final graph that depicts that groups cultural similarity scores. The Amharan will only have a political discrimination graph to provide a quantitative picture of their dominance over Ethiopian society during the time studied. It is important to note here that as these graphs are introduced, in order for my argument to be found correct, the discrimination and similarity graphs will be trending in opposite directions. Said differently if one group's discrimination graph has increasing levels over the years studied it is to be expected that that groups similarity scores should be low and or decreasing. The opposite effect, decreasing discrimination levels and increasing (and or) high similarity scores, should be expected as well. These graphs are as follows:

AMHARA

FIGURE 1

A: Political Discrimination for Amhara
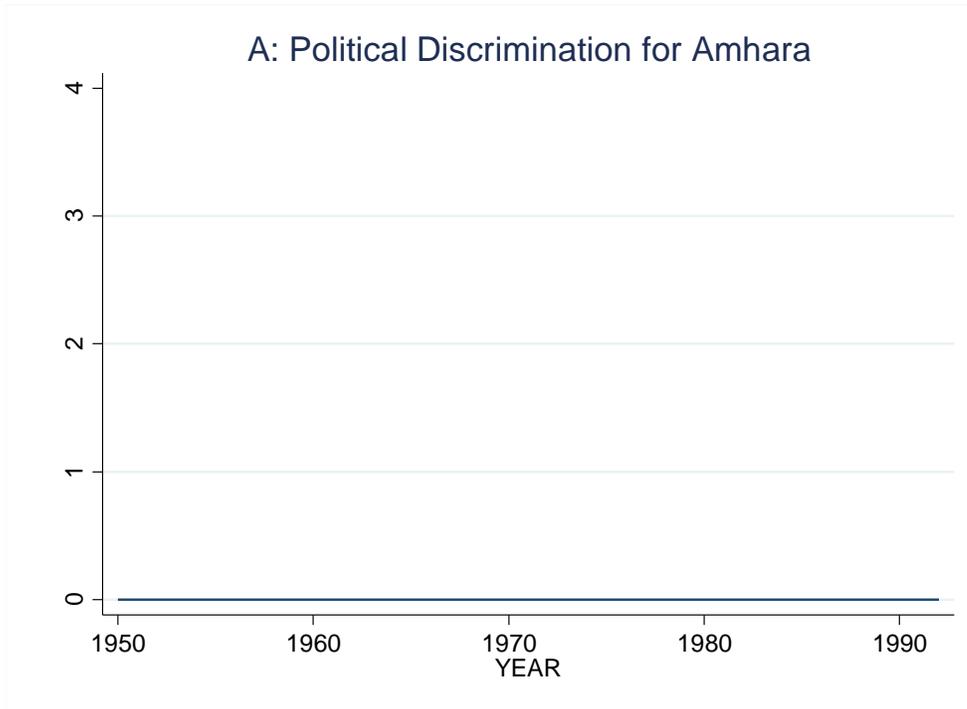
As we can see the Amhara faced no political discrimination during the time period studied. As the literature above shows the Amhara throughout Ethiopian history have held the title of "Ethiopia's chosen people". This is rather surprising seeing how that at any point in Ethiopian history the Amhara never held a majority in regards to population (Harbeson 3). During the specific years of this study the Amharan people were represented by four separate "Royal Regimes" that were only subservient to colonial and USSR sponsored rulers. It is important to note here a key strategy these Amhara royal regimes started to use in the 1960's. This strategy placed Amhara culture in the "back seat" of sorts and in its place the regimes started to promote a unified Ethiopian national identity. One would think then that with the creation of an Ethiopian culture Amhara ethno-nationalist culture would start to lose its dominance in day-to-day Ethiopian interactions. This was not the case however for the

Ethiopian culture was just that, the culture of a new nation-state while Amhara culture remained

atop the regional and individual-to-individual interactions. Thus when one was discussing state

to state topics Ethiopian national culture was used but for everything else taking place within

Ethiopia Amhara culture still remained dominant (Gurr 1993, 2000). Ultimately we can see that

the combination of being not only the cultural chosen elite, dating back to the *Kibre Negest*, but

the favored ethnic group by colonial leaders allowed the Amhara to dominate Ethiopian society.

AFARS

FIGURE 2

A: Political Discrimination for Afars

Graphs by NUMCODE
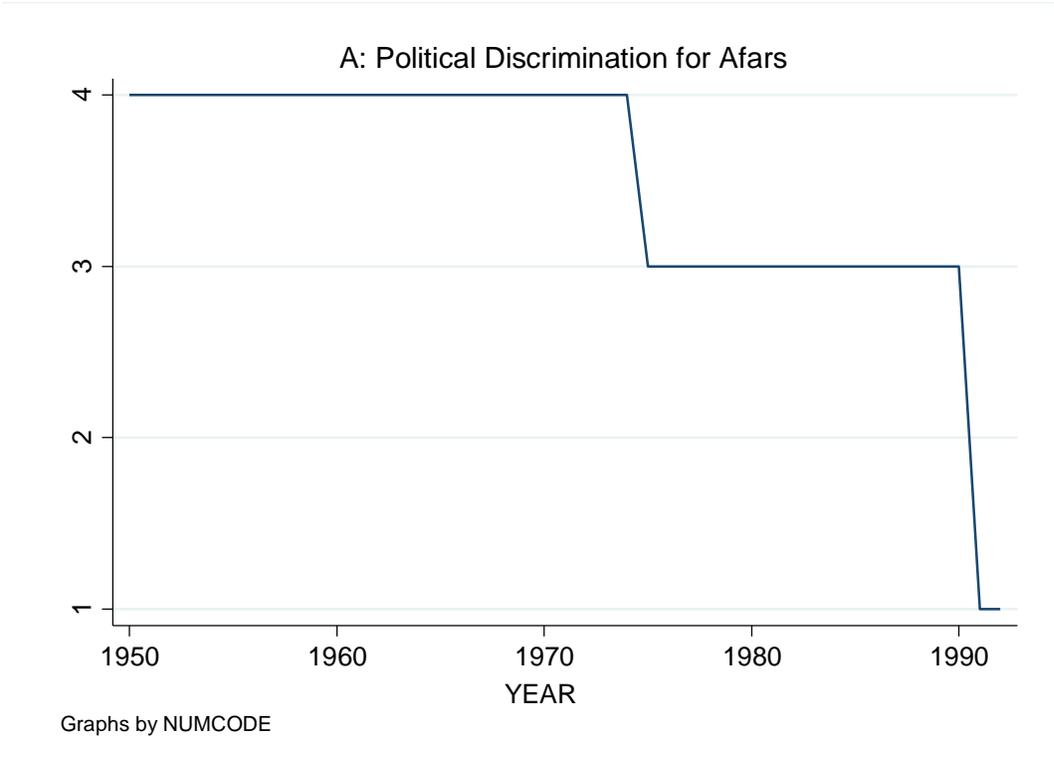
FIGURE 3
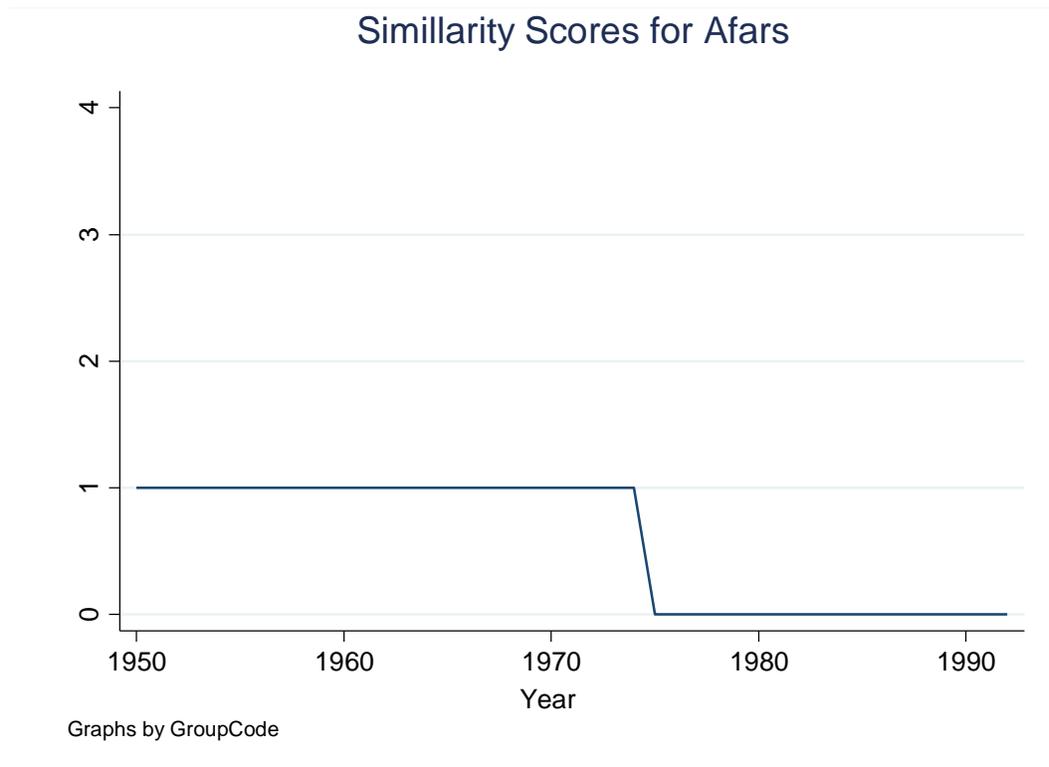
The Afar people are the second minority group, the Eritreans being the other, primarily

located within Eritrea. The graph shows that from 1950-1975 the Afars took the brunt of

discrimination from not only the Ethiopian government but the more dominant Eritreans as well.

The key drops in their political discrimination level post 1975 can be explained by two events.

The first is the Amharan dominated government (Derg regime) seeing that the Afars were

becoming more Eritrean like than like themselves resulting in more regional autonomy for the

Afars. This autonomy is the reason the similarity score dropped from 1 to 0 since the two groups

were no longer in "close proximity" with each other. This new autonomy caused the Afars to

suffer from "Societal Discrimination", coded level 3 by MAR, due to their subservience to the

Eritreans within their region instead of Ethiopian sanctioned governmental based discrimination

(level 4). However the drop in both the Afars similarity scores and political discrimination

scores throughout the time studied shows that something other than my cultural similarity
hypothesis is needed to explain these changes and because of this result I have to reject my
hypothesis for this case.

TIGREAN

FIGURE 4

A: Political Discrimination for Tigreans

FIGURE 5

Graphs by GroupCode
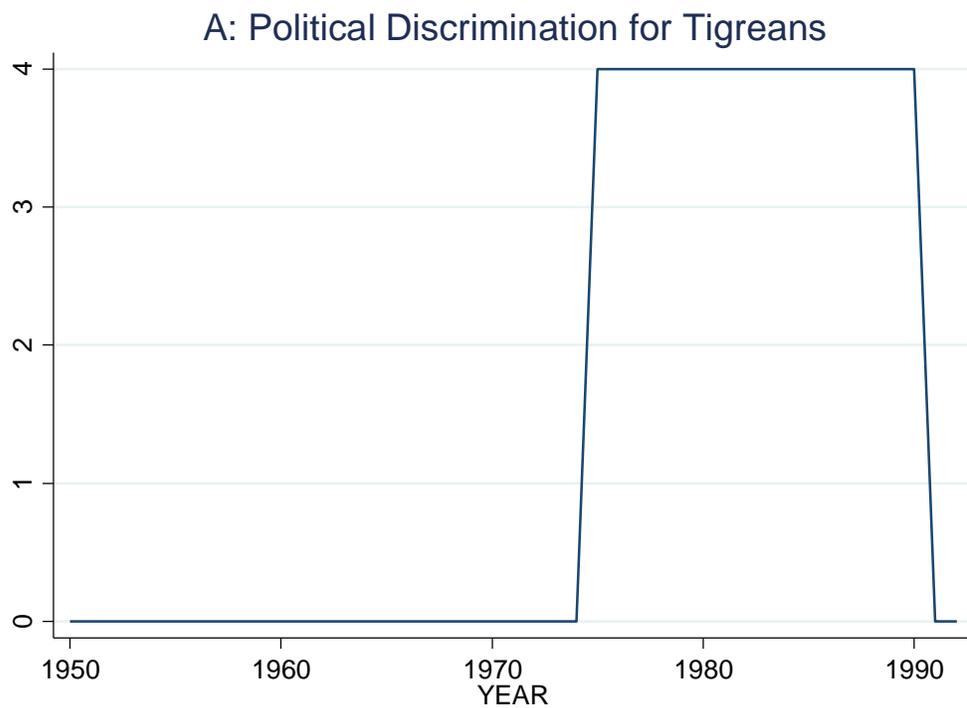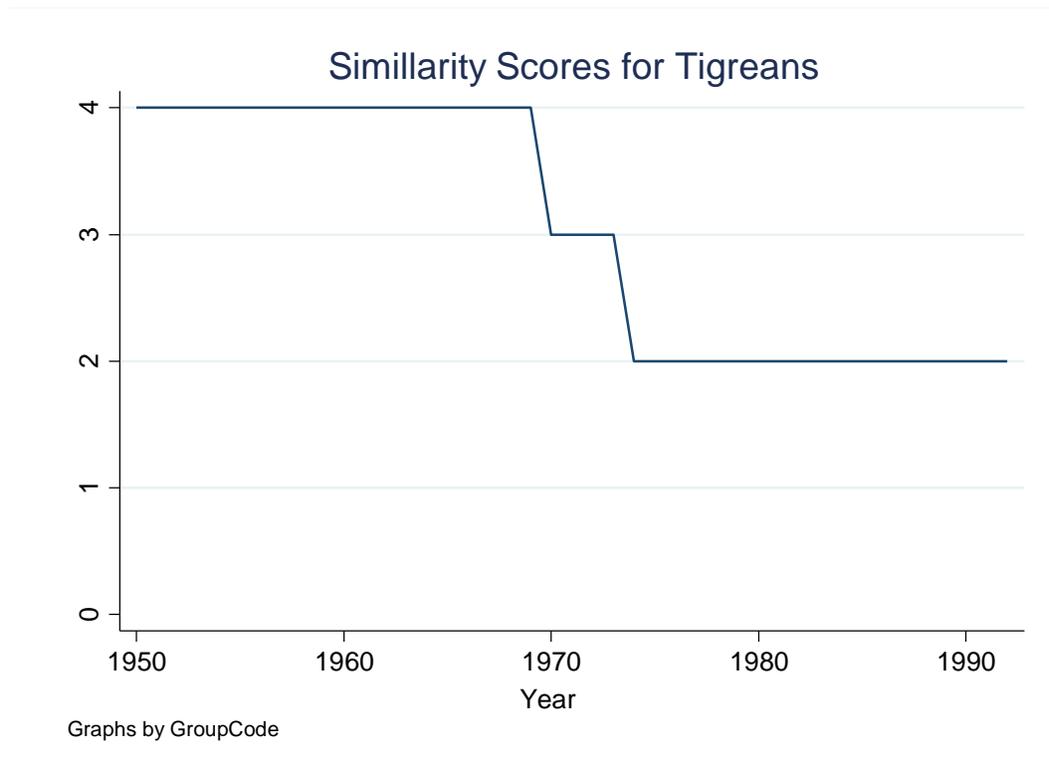
The Tigrean people, like the Amhara, were the native people of Ethiopia. Though representing less than 10% of the Ethiopian population the Tigrean people were arguably the most "vocal" with their societal complaints through public protests. The Tigreans never acquiring the advanced agricultural skills that the Oromo and Somali had and due to their consistent in fighting, found them constantly weaker than the Amharan royal regimes. It is important to remember here how culturally similar the Amharans and Tigreans were throughout most of Ethiopian history. For a vast majority of this history the Amharans saw the Tigreans as "family". Throughout almost the entirety of the history covered in this paper the Tigrean people spoke Amharic instead of their own Tigrean language, practiced Christianity and claimed

northern Ethiopia as a shared "homeland" with the Amharan. However upon the rise of the first

Derg Regime and carrying into the second regime starting in the 1970's Amharic rulers began to,

for unknown reasons, reject the established historical importance of the Tigreans within

Ethiopian society. No longer were they given credit for ordaining the Amhara and giving them

their "kingly power".

As a result of this Tigrean elites began to rebel against their once Amharan brethren and

the TPLF was formed. The Tigreans refused to speak Amharic, reverted back to their own

version of Ethiopic Christianity, and advocated that the "cultural homelands" of the north had

been theirs all along. Thus as their similarity graph above indicates in just a few short years the

Tigreans went from sharing all of the traits of Amharan culture to now, upon the formation of the

TPLF, only finding themselves in "close proximity" with the Amhara. These changes eventually

led the Tigrean people too publicly and violently clash with the second Amharan Derg regime.

This would explain their political discrimination level increasing from 0-4 starting in 1974 when

the second Amharan Derg regime formally took power. This level of political discrimination

continued until the TPLF and the EPLF successfully overthrew the regime in 1991, hence their

drop back to 0 post revolution (Gurr 1993, 285). As mentioned above we see that as the amount

of cultural similarities decreased between the Amharan and Tigrean peoples the amount of

discrimination the Tigreans' faced increased. Thus the corresponding graphs above depict this

interaction quite nicely and I can accept my hypothesis for this case.

ERITREANS

FIGURE 6

A: Political Discrimination for Eritreans

Graphs by NUMCODE

FIGURE 7

Similarity Scores for Eritreans
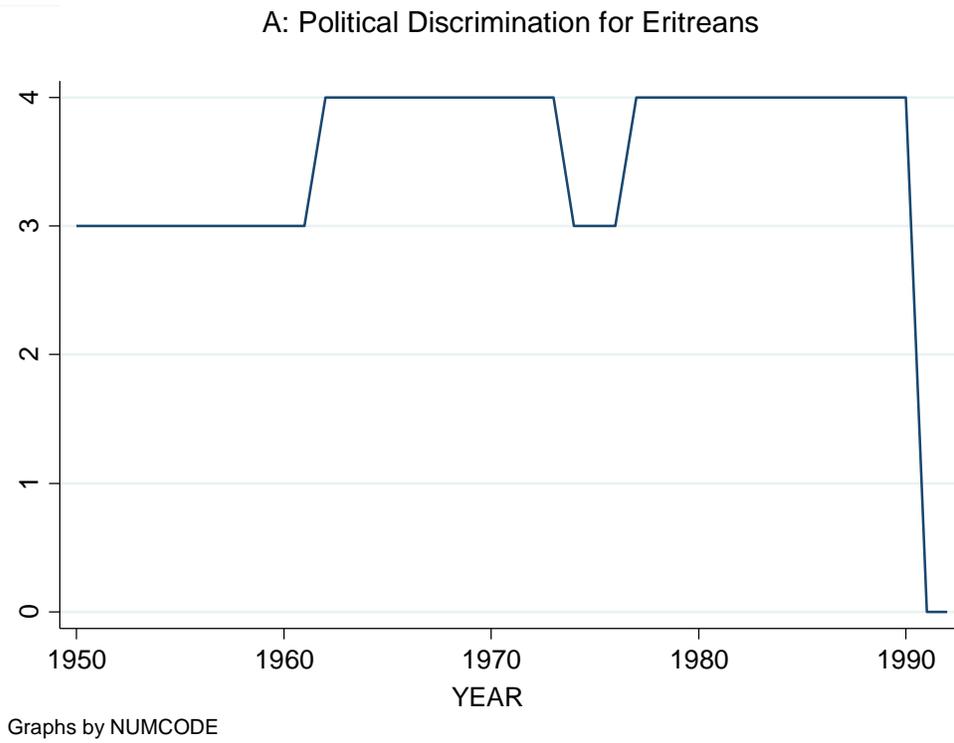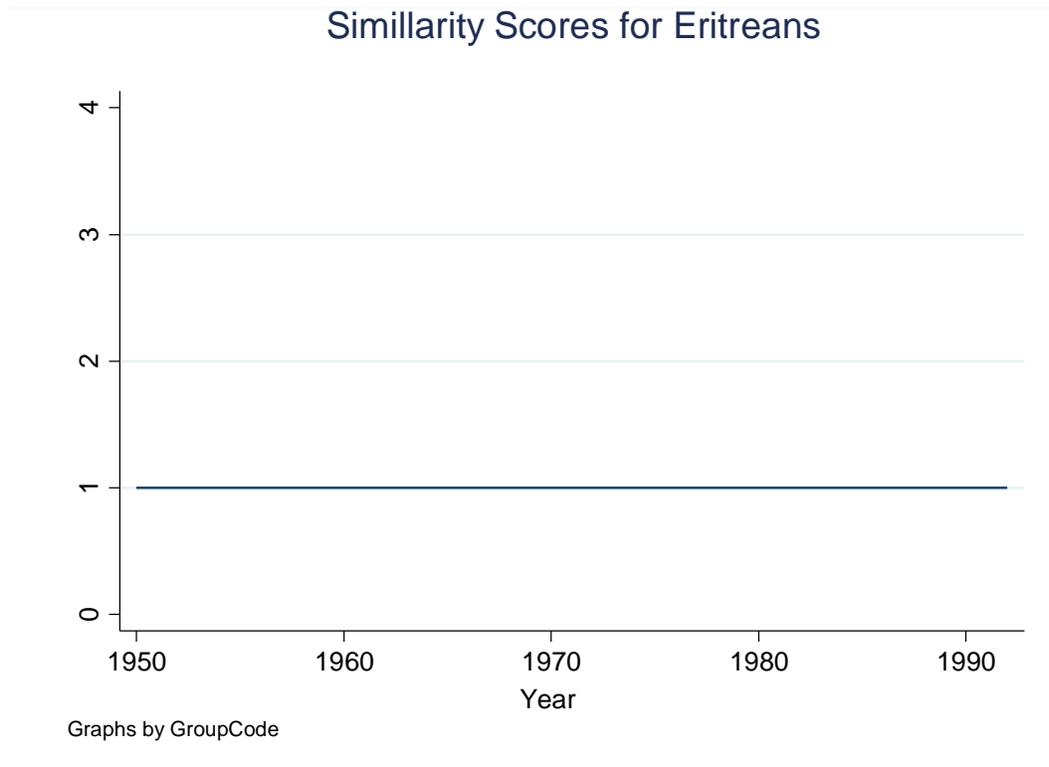
The Eritreans act as the prime example of a group who never possessed enough cultural similarities with Amhara culture to mitigate their discrimination levels. As we can see from the start of the time studied the Eritreans were politically discriminated without pause. The literature explained above clearly shows that during both colonial rule periods in Ethiopian history Eritrea acted as one of the key staging points to control the other Ethiopian regions and as stated above this caused increased hostility between the Eritreans and the other five main ethnic groups. The consistently high political discrimination articulates the amount of contempt the other regional governments had for Eritrea. These constantly high levels are explained by my cultural similarity argument for the similarity score of 1 represents that the Amhara and Eritreans only claimed the same "cultural homelands". This shared trait actually led to more discrimination

rather than less because it caused a violent confrontation between the Amharas and Eritreans over who laid claim to this area.

Differences in language, Arabic vs Amharic, and practiced religion, Islam vs Christianity help to explain my argument as well. Thus it is important to note that by not being in "close proximity" with the Amhara, the subsequent likelihood of Eritreans learning Amharic and practicing Christianity is low. Such a conclusion is supported by the logic of Durkheim and Weber presented above. Ultimately when you combine all of the history listed above with the actions of ELF and the subsequent EPLF against the second Amharan Derg regime we can see why this discrimination level remained at the maximum value. However, like the Tigreans, once the Derg regime was overthrown in 1991 Eritrean discrimination levels dropped to zero. This violent history between the Amhara and Eritreans when combined with the lack of shared cultural traits between them allows me to accept my hypothesis for this case.

SOMALI

FIGURE 8

A: Political Discrimination for Somalis

Graphs by NUMCODE

FIGURE 9

Similarity Scores for Somalis

Graphs by GroupCode
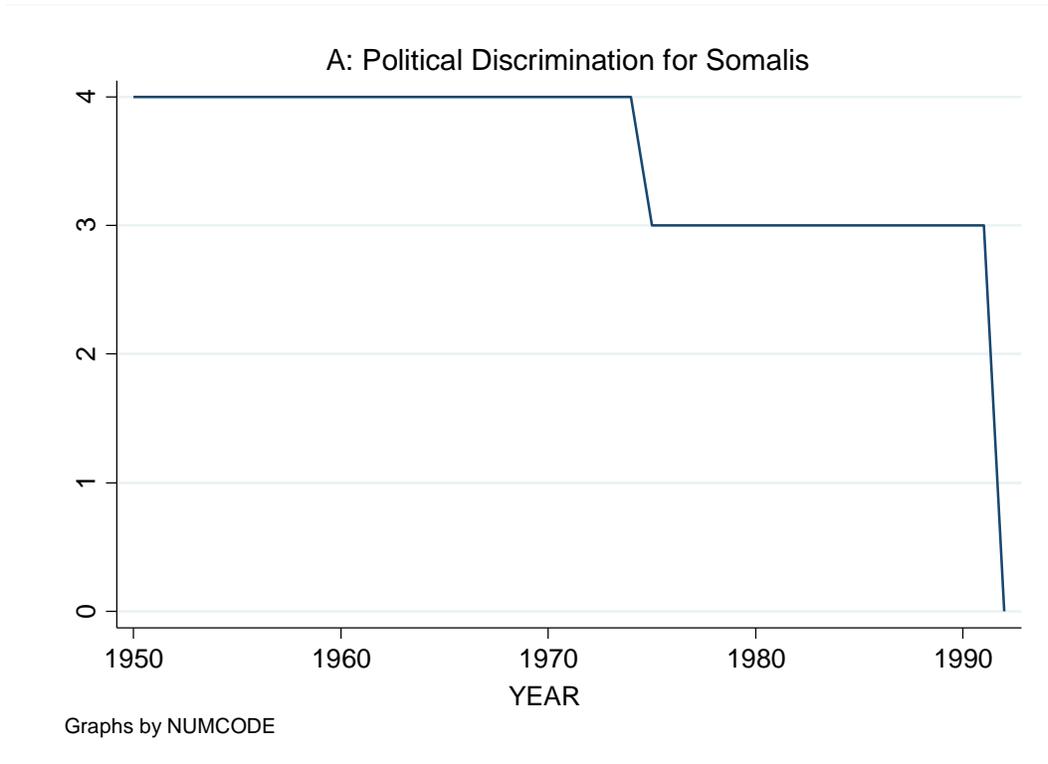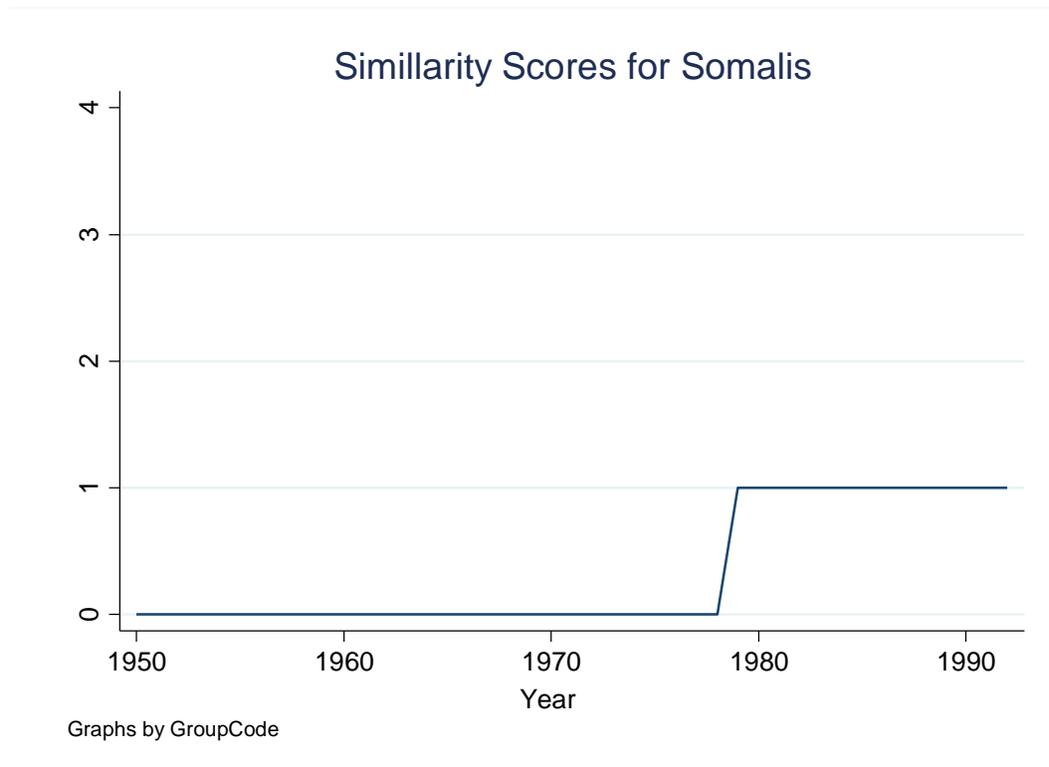
The Somali people have an Ethiopian history similar to the Oromo people. Their maximum political discrimination from 1950-1975 unfortunately can be explained by non-Ethiopian based radicals in neighboring Somalia trying to acquire new tribal territories. As a result the Somali people based in Ethiopia were caught in an "anti-Somali" rhetoric and unfairly politically persecuted. Because most of the Somali people living in the far southern part of Ethiopia they were never able to live in close proximity with the Amharas the diffusion of Amharan cultural traits was difficult to achieve. The Somali never formally practiced Christianity and did not claim northern Ethiopia as their "homeland". The only trait that they did share was the sharing of Amharic language starting in the 1970's in the hopes such a practice would allow them to better produce and sell their crops and harvest. However they began to share this trait after the amount of discrimination the Somali faced had already decreased from 4

37

to 3, thus my hypothesis does not explain this drop discrimination. Since discrimination lessened

before similarity increased I have to reject my hypothesis for this case. (It is still important to

note that 1991-1992 was coded by MAR as 0 due to the revolution taking place within the state,

thus my similarity scale and hypothesis cannot be applied to these years.)

OROMO

FIGURE 10

Simillarity Scores for Oromo

Graphs by GroupCode

FIGURE 11

A: Political Discrimination for Oromo

Graphs by NUMCODE
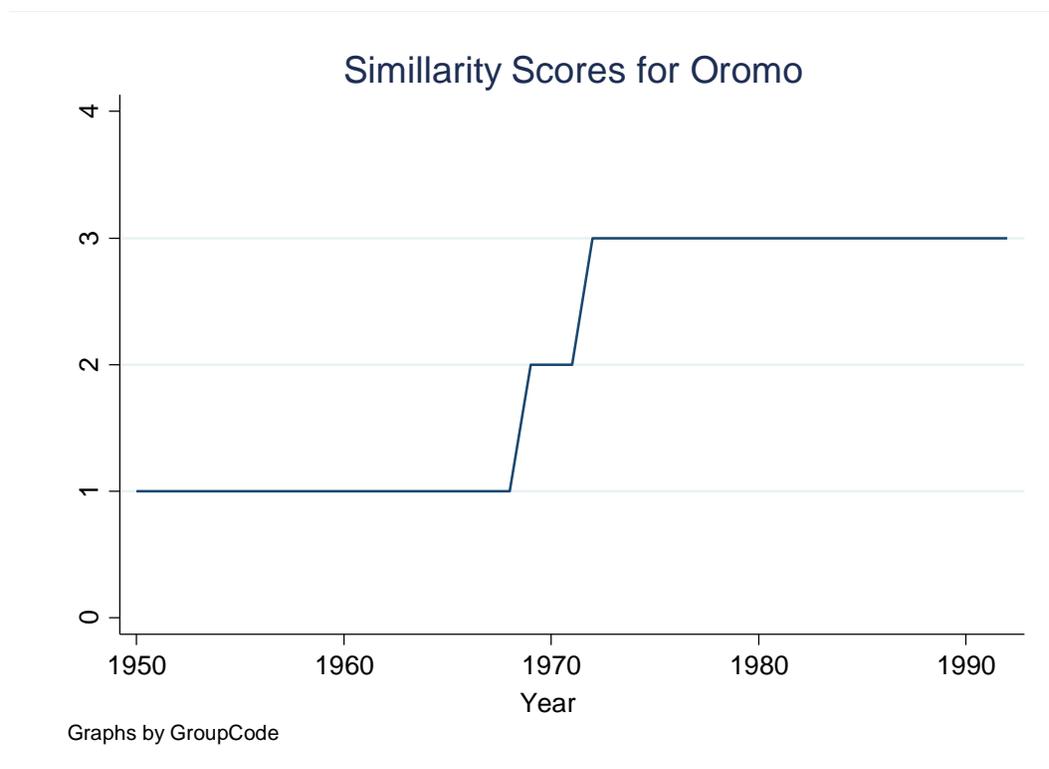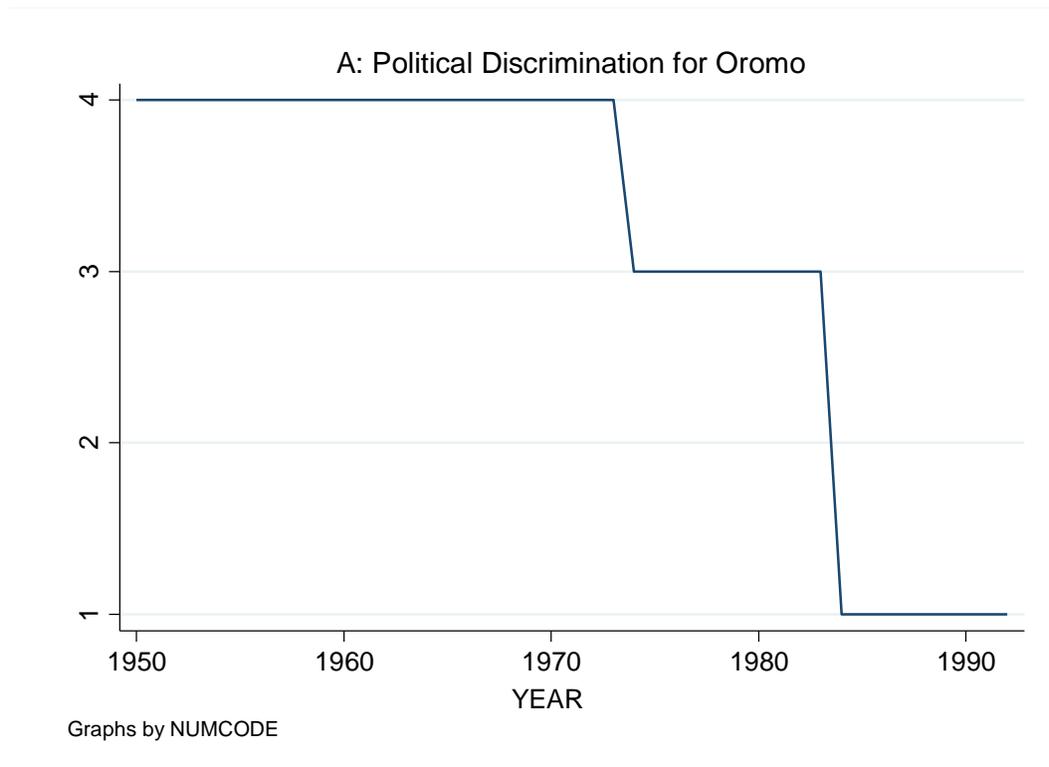
The Oromo people are the best example of how shared cultural traits can positively affect an ethnic group within Ethiopia. As already stated the Oromo not only represent the single largest ethnic group within Ethiopia but also produce two of the most valuable commodities; food and grain seed. This crop production can be directly associated to both of the drops in political discrimination in 1975 and 1985 respectively shown in the graph. Upon the Ethiopian government passing strict crop production laws starting in the early 1970's those who were responsible for such production, mainly the Oromo, began to be angered by such persecution. With the official overthrow of the monarch in 1975 by what would eventually become the second Derg Regime strong peasant (Oromo farmers) support for the Derg rapidly expanded, via the Oromo using Amharic as their official language, and the Oromo were treated more fairly as a result. Moving ahead to 1985 the ending of the Derg revolution and the successful

39

implementation of a full Derg Regime the Oromo were yet again awarded for their loyalty thus explaining the second drop in discrimination. My cultural similarity argument also explains the drop in the discrimination levels. Throughout the Derg revolution from 1975-1985 the Oromo actively spoke Amharic, actively practiced Christianity, and continually found themselves in direct contact with the Amharan people. Thus the continual sharing of Amharan cultural traits is directly correlated with the drop in Oromo political discrimination levels as their political discrimination graph above shows and I can accept my hypothesis for this case.

To me it is not a coincidence that the original ethnic group the Amhara assimilated has had the most consistent discrimination mitigation of all the other five groups. When you combine this with their long standing "turn the other cheek" history with the Amhara their less political discrimination over time as the graph shows is not surprising. Ultimately all of the graphs just presented, the Eritrean and Oromo especially, confirm my hypothesis that changes in the amount of cultural similarities between the dominant Amharan and the lesser ethnic groups of Ethiopia does change the amount of political discrimination these lesser groups face.

CHAPTER 7-CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Via the use of the MAR dataset and my Cultural Similarity Scale I have successfully shown that the cultural histories of the ethnic groups of Ethiopia do affect discrimination occurrences within the Ethiopian state. My results show that changes in the amount of cultural similarities, either positively or negatively, did affect discrimination levels for three of the five lesser ethnic groups I study. Also the graphs show that all of the ethnic groups in this study faced equal amounts of political discrimination at various points in time. Thus since no one group other than the Amhara had consistently low levels of discrimination I am justified in challenging the elite minority argument championed by scholars such as Wimmer (2002). Wimmer argued that the Oromo were able to mitigate the level of political discrimination they faced due to their large population; however as the MAR coding above shows they were discriminated against just as much as the other lesser groups were. This study also shows that groups which actively shared tenants of Amhara culture, like the Oromo, faced lower levels of discrimination over time. On the opposite side of these results however groups such as the Eritreans and the Tigreans during the Derg regime faced higher levels of discrimination as a consequence of not sharing Amharan cultural tenants.

This study is not without flaws however. The prime one being that this is a single case study attempting to challenge previously accepted generalizable theories. Though such a task is possible I feel that future versions of this study need to incorporate more than just one country as I have done. With this being said however I do feel that my general argument that cultural similarities when coded along the same line of the MAR dataset and ultimately compared to one another future research can be aided by such a practice. By applying this model to other ethnic groups around the world scholars will hopefully be able to see whether or not certain societal

contexts lead to different levels of shared cultural tenants and subsequent lower or higher levels

of ethnic discrimination.

REFERENCES

Asal, Victor, and Amy Pate. "The Decline of Ethnic Political Discrimination, 1950–2003." Monty G. Marshall and Ted Robert Gurr, Peace and Conflict (2005).

Ayenew, Meheret. "Decentralization in Ethiopia." Ethiopia: the challenge of democracy from below (2002): 130.

Barata, Data Dea. "Minority Rights, Culture, and Ethiopia's "Third Way" to Governance." African studies review 55, no. 03 (2012): 61-80.

Barth, Fredrik. Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organization of culture difference. Waveland Press, 1998.

Cohen, Abner. "The lesson of ethnicity." Urban ethnicity (1974): 9-24.

Durkheim, Emile. "1964. The division of labor in society." (1893).

Freeman, Dena, and Alula Pankhurst. Peripheral people: The excluded minorities of Ethiopia. The Red Sea Press, 2003.

Gurr, Robert. Minorities at risk. Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace Press, 1993.

-------------------- Peoples versus states: Minorities at risk in the new century. US Institute of Peace Press, 2000.

Harbeson, John W. "Ethiopia's extended transition." Journal of Democracy 16, no. 4 (2005): 144-158.

Horowitz, Donald L. Ethnic groups in conflict. Univ of California Press, 1985.

Levine, D. N. Greater Ethiopia: the evolution of a multiethnic society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Mengisteab, Kidane. "Identity politics, democratisation and state building in Ethiopia's federal arrangement." African Journal on Conflict Resolution 7, no. 2 (2008): 63-92.

Teshome, Wondwosen. "Ethnicity and political parties in Africa: The case of ethnic-based parties in Ethiopia." The Journal of International Social Research 1, no. 5 (2008): 780-809.

Weber, Max. "Bureaucracy." From Max Weber: essays in sociology (1946): 196-244.

Wimmer, Andreas. Nationalist exclusion and ethnic conflict: shadows of modernity. Cambridge University Press, 2002.

APPENDICES

Shared Traits by Year and Group

Group	Year	Score	Traits Shared
Afars	1950	1	proximity
Afars	1951	1	proximity
Afars	1952	1	proximity
Afars	1953	1	proximity
Afars	1954	1	proximity
Afars	1955	1	proximity
Afars	1956	1	proximity
Afars	1957	1	proximity
Afars	1958	1	proximity
Afars	1959	1	proximity
Afars	1960	1	proximity
Afars	1961	1	proximity
Afars	1962	1	proximity
Afars	1963	1	proximity
Afars	1964	1	proximity
Afars	1965	1	proximity
Afars	1966	1	proximity
Afars	1967	1	proximity
Afars	1968	1	proximity
Afars	1969	1	proximity
Afars	1970	1	proximity
Afars	1971	1	proximity
Afars	1972	1	proximity
Afars	1973	1	proximity
Afars	1974	1	proximity

Afars	1975	0	no shared traits
Afars	1976	0	no shared traits
Afars	1977	0	no shared traits
Afars	1978	0	no shared traits
Afars	1979	0	no shared traits
Afars	1980	0	no shared traits
Afars	1981	0	no shared traits
Afars	1982	0	no shared traits
Afars	1983	0	no shared traits
Afars	1984	0	no shared traits
Afars	1985	0	no shared traits
Afars	1986	0	no shared traits
Afars	1987	0	no shared traits
Afars	1988	0	no shared traits
Afars	1989	0	no shared traits
Afars	1990	0	no shared traits
Afars	1991	0	no shared traits
Afars	1992	0	no shared traits
Eritreans	1950	1	homelands
Eritreans	1951	1	homelands
Eritreans	1952	1	homelands
Eritreans	1953	1	homelands
Eritreans	1954	1	homelands
Eritreans	1955	1	homelands
Eritreans	1956	1	homelands
Eritreans	1957	1	homelands
Eritreans	1958	1	homelands

Eritreans	1959	1	homelands
Eritreans	1960	1	homelands
Eritreans	1961	1	homelands
Eritreans	1962	1	homelands
Eritreans	1963	1	homelands
Eritreans	1964	1	homelands
Eritreans	1965	1	homelands
Eritreans	1966	1	homelands
Eritreans	1967	1	homelands
Eritreans	1968	1	homelands
Eritreans	1969	1	homelands
Eritreans	1970	1	homelands
Eritreans	1971	1	homelands
Eritreans	1972	1	homelands
Eritreans	1973	1	homelands
Eritreans	1974	1	homelands
Eritreans	1975	1	homelands
Eritreans	1976	1	homelands
Eritreans	1977	1	homelands
Eritreans	1978	1	homelands
Eritreans	1979	1	homelands
Eritreans	1980	1	homelands
Eritreans	1981	1	homelands
Eritreans	1982	1	homelands
Eritreans	1983	1	homelands
Eritreans	1984	1	homelands
Eritreans	1985	1	homelands

Eritreans	1986	1	homelands
Eritreans	1987	1	homelands
Eritreans	1988	1	homelands
Eritreans	1989	1	homelands
Eritreans	1990	1	homelands
Eritreans	1991	1	homelands
Eritreans	1992	1	homelands
Oromo	1950	1	proximity
Oromo	1951	1	proximity
Oromo	1952	1	proximity
Oromo	1953	1	proximity
Oromo	1954	1	proximity
Oromo	1955	1	proximity
Oromo	1956	1	proximity
Oromo	1957	1	proximity
Oromo	1958	1	proximity
Oromo	1959	1	proximity
Oromo	1960	1	proximity
Oromo	1961	1	proximity
Oromo	1962	1	proximity
Oromo	1963	1	proximity
Oromo	1964	1	proximity
Oromo	1965	1	proximity
Oromo	1966	1	proximity
Oromo	1967	1	proximity
Oromo	1968	1	proximity
Oromo	1969	2	proximity, religion

Oromo	1970	2	proximity, religion
Oromo	1971	2	proximity, religion
Oromo	1972	3	proximity, religion, language
Oromo	1973	3	proximity, religion, language
Oromo	1974	3	proximity, religion, language
Oromo	1975	3	proximity, religion, language
Oromo	1976	3	proximity, religion, language
Oromo	1977	3	proximity, religion, language
Oromo	1978	3	proximity, religion, language
Oromo	1979	3	proximity, religion, language
Oromo	1980	3	proximity, religion, language
Oromo	1981	3	proximity, religion, language
Oromo	1982	3	proximity, religion, language
Oromo	1983	3	proximity, religion, language
Oromo	1984	3	proximity, religion, language
Oromo	1985	3	proximity, religion, language
Oromo	1986	3	proximity, religion, language
Oromo	1987	3	proximity, religion, language
Oromo	1988	3	proximity, religion, language
Oromo	1989	3	proximity, religion, language
Oromo	1990	3	proximity, religion, language
Oromo	1991	3	proximity, religion, language
Oromo	1992	3	proximity, religion, language
Somalis	1950	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1951	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1952	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1953	0	no shared traits

Somalis	1954	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1955	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1956	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1957	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1958	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1959	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1960	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1961	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1962	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1963	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1964	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1965	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1966	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1967	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1968	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1969	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1970	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1971	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1972	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1973	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1974	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1975	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1976	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1977	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1978	0	no shared traits
Somalis	1979	1	proximity
Somalis	1980	1	proximity

Somalis	1981	1	proximity
Somalis	1982	1	proximity
Somalis	1983	1	proximity
Somalis	1984	1	proximity
Somalis	1985	1	proximity
Somalis	1986	1	proximity
Somalis	1987	1	proximity
Somalis	1988	1	proximity
Somalis	1989	1	proximity
Somalis	1990	1	proximity
Somalis	1991	1	proximity
Somalis	1992	1	proximity
Tigreans	1950	4	all traits shared
Tigreans	1951	4	all traits shared
Tigreans	1952	4	all traits shared
Tigreans	1953	4	all traits shared
Tigreans	1954	4	all traits shared
Tigreans	1955	4	all traits shared
Tigreans	1956	4	all traits shared
Tigreans	1957	4	all traits shared
Tigreans	1958	4	all traits shared
Tigreans	1959	4	all traits shared
Tigreans	1960	4	all traits shared
Tigreans	1961	4	all traits shared
Tigreans	1962	4	all traits shared
Tigreans	1963	4	all traits shared
Tigreans	1964	4	all traits shared

Tigreans	1965	4	all traits shared
Tigreans	1966	4	all traits shared
Tigreans	1967	4	all traits shared
Tigreans	1968	4	all traits shared
Tigreans	1969	4	all traits shared
Tigreans	1970	3	proximity, homelands, religion
Tigreans	1971	3	proximity, homelands, religion
Tigreans	1972	3	proximity, homelands, religion
Tigreans	1973	3	proximity, homelands, religion
Tigreans	1974	2	proximity, homelands
Tigreans	1975	2	proximity, homelands
Tigreans	1976	2	proximity, homelands
Tigreans	1977	2	proximity, homelands
Tigreans	1978	2	proximity, homelands
Tigreans	1979	2	proximity, homelands
Tigreans	1980	2	proximity, homelands
Tigreans	1981	2	proximity, homelands
Tigreans	1982	2	proximity, homelands
Tigreans	1983	2	proximity, homelands
Tigreans	1984	2	proximity, homelands
Tigreans	1985	2	proximity, homelands
Tigreans	1986	2	proximity, homelands
Tigreans	1987	2	proximity, homelands
Tigreans	1988	2	proximity, homelands
Tigreans	1989	2	proximity, homelands
Tigreans	1990	2	proximity, homelands
Tigreans	1991	2	proximity, homelands

Tigreans   1992   2   proximity, homelands

VITA

Graduate School
Southern Illinois University

Chase E. Riddle

chazridd@yahoo.com

Southern Illinois University Carbondale
Bachelor of Arts, Sociology, 2013
Bachelor of Arts, Political Science, 2014

Research Paper Title:
        Ethnic Ethiopians: A Case Study of Discrimination Occurrence in Ethiopia
Major Professor: Stephen C. Shulman