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**Causes of Ethnic Tension and Conflict
among University Students in Ethiopia**

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Causes of Ethnic Tension and Conflict among University Students in Ethiopia

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Abstract

The present government of Ethiopia introduced ethnic federalism to address ethnic and other long existing political and societal problems in the country. However, since then it is believed that there have been several ethnic tensions and conflicts in different parts of the country, and also in public universities. This study examined the causes of ethnic tension and conflict among university students. The research was conducted in Bahir Dar University, Ethiopia. The participants were university teachers, students, staff, and managers. Purposive and snowball sampling were used to select participants. Data was collected through interview, focus group discussion and document review. The result revealed that the ethnic conflict among students occur because of factors which are internal and external to the university context. The result also showed that the causes of ethnic conflict are generally related to the ethnic polarization, political rivalry and historical relationship among ethnic groups. Detailed causes are discussed in the paper.

Key words: Ethnic tension and conflict, causes, university students, Ethiopia

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Introduction

Conflict is inevitable in any society across the world, both in developed and developing countries. However, ethnically diverse society is widely regarded as more prone to conflict. There are authors who argue that ethnic diversity negatively affects democracy and predisposes a society to conflict (Chakravarty & Maharaj, 2009; Karatnycky, 2002). However, studies on post-communist regions show that ethnic diversity does not affect a country's prospects for democracy (Fish & Kroenig, 2006), and it does not predispose a society to civil conflict (Fearon & Laitin, 2003). Rather, it can be a resource for managing different conflicts and enhancing democracy (Reilly, 2000).

Ethnic diversity is a common phenomenon to all continents, but most countries in Africa have more ethnically diverse population than countries in other continents, and they (for example, Burundi, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, and Ruanda) are also confronted with ethnically motivated conflicts (Van der Beken, 2012). But Azam (2001) states that "for each example of an ethnically divided African country that has been the victim of a civil war, several examples can be presented of equally divided African countries managing to remain peaceful" (p. 429). This indicates that ethnic diversity per se is not the source of conflict in Africa. The main reason for ethnic conflicts in the continent is related to failure of good governance and political system that accommodate ethnic differences and interests (Irboi, 2005). Aapengnuo (2010) argues that "ethnicity is typically not the driving force of African conflicts but a lever used by politicians to mobilize supporters in pursuit of power, wealth, and resources" (p.1). Besides, most African leaders in power consider the ethnic diversity in their country as a threat to the state building and their power positions (Van der Beken, 2012).

Although several authors acknowledge the potency of ethnicity as sources of conflict, they strongly argue that ethnic diversity does not necessarily lead to conflict (Ryan, 1995). In general terms, Blagojevic (2009) argues that,

[E]thnic conflict occurs when a particular set of factors and conditions converge: a major structural crisis; presence of historical memories of inter-ethnic grievances; institutional factors that promote ethnic intolerance; manipulation of historical memories by political entrepreneurs to evoke emotions such as fear, resentment and hate toward the "other"; and an inter-ethnic competition over resources and rights. (pp .2-3)

The dominant proposition among scholars is that elite competition for state power and resource control is at the center of ethnic conflicts in most societies (Markakis, 1996 & Lemarchand, 1993 cited in Gudina, 2002), and Africa is no exception.

Ethiopia, which is the general context of this study, is one of the multiethnic Sub-Saharan African countries. Diversity-related issues such as the right and equality of ethnic groups have been the historic and prevalent

questions of Ethiopian society (Adamu, 2013). Moreover, its modern history is characterized by ethnic competition and conflicts (Keller, 2002; Valfort, 2007). In order to address this and other long existing political and social problems in the country, in 1991 the present government of Ethiopia introduced ethnic federalism that underpins ethnic pluralism as an organizing principle. However, studies show that since then there have been several ethnic tensions and conflicts in different parts of the country because of ethnic boundaries, ethnic identities, scarce resources and power rivalry (Aalen, 2011). Although ethnic diversity per se does not necessarily lead to conflict, in countries like Ethiopia, where ethnicity is at the center of government and political system, it potentially becomes a serious problem to state building and a platform for ethnically motivated conflict (Abbay, 2004).

Universities are one of the contexts where ethnic tensions and conflicts occur, and there is an increasing concern that they become the major battlefields for ethnic conflict in Ethiopia. Universities in Ethiopia seem to have highly diverse population than other interactive settings such as schools, residences and workplaces. Because of the diverse student population that comes from every corner of the country, universities are considered as “mini-Ethiopia”. As far as my review is concerned, there are limited literature about when and how ethnic tension and conflict among students started in the history of Ethiopian universities. The available literature indicates that ethnic tension and conflict among university students started in the late 1960s at Hileselassie I University which is the only university in the country at that time (Balsvik, 1985). According to this source, the rare ethnic tension and conflict was between Amhara and Tigre students, “who harbored the strongest antagonism toward each other, rooted in the fact that the Amharas had won the historical struggle for political supremacy” (p.281). Recent studies, however, indicate that there are several ethnic tensions and conflicts among students in universities since the current government came to power (Adamu & Zellelew, 2007; Asmamaw, 2012; Habitegiyorgis, 2010; Zellelew, 2010).

The first higher education institution in Ethiopia was founded in 1950 as University College of Addis Ababa. Until this time, some Ethiopians were sent abroad (North America, Europe, and Middle East) on government scholarship for higher education study. Since the foundation of higher education in Ethiopia, the most important opposition, resistance and threat to any government in Ethiopia came from the intellectuals (Balsvik, 2007). Notably students have been at the forefront in voicing the social and political problems in the country. During the imperial regime (1930-1974), university students actively struggled to change the political system that hampered peoples’ equality and country’s development. With this main purpose, they had confronted the imperial government demanding freedom and better life for majority Ethiopian society. The fact that the Amhara students were at the forefront in opposing the regime in which their ethnic and religion dominate the Ethiopian culture and politics illustrates that students were more united and ethnic identity was not significant in opposing the imperial regime and its Amhara aristocracy. During the Derg regime (1974-1991), there was a

continued student unity in voicing their concern on social and political problems facing the country and in protesting the Red Terror and mass execution (Balsvik, 2007). Students have also protested the current Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF)-led government's political and social policy at different times. Their opposition toward the Eritrean referendum in 1993, the 1997 land redistribution policies and strategies, and the 2005 general election can be taken as examples. Nowadays, however, it seems that university students' role as a social force and their influence on the country's politics and social issues has gradually decreased. Moreover, they are believed to be less united than before, and there is more ethnic division, tension and conflict among students. Therefore, the main objective of this paper is to examine the causes of ethnic tension and conflict among university students in Ethiopia by taking one of the public universities in the country as a case.

Overview of Ethnic Diversity and Political Challenges in Ethiopia

Ethiopia has a population of more than 85 million which makes it the second most populous country in Africa. It has more than 80 indigenous ethnic groups, and the two numerical majority ethnic groups are the Oromo (34.5%) and the Amhara (26.9%). Although the Tigre ethnic group comprises about 6% of the total population, it is political majority in the government since 1991 (Mengisteab, 2001; Tronvoll, 2000). Hence, discussions that focus on 'minority/majority' ethnic groups in Ethiopia have to be seen from two points of view - political (power relation) and numerical (population) (Adamu, 2013).

The creation of the modern state of Ethiopia was achieved in the late 19th century when Menilek II expanded his empire to the present southern part of Ethiopia. The most ethnically and linguistically diverse region that comprises more than half of the languages and ethnic groups of the country was incorporated as a result of this expansion. Along with this powerful expansion, Amharic language and the Amhara cultural values dominated the diverse ethnic groups of southern Ethiopia (Gudina, 2007). The ethnic groups incorporated into the empire were treated as subjects, and predominantly, their culture, language and identity were suppressed (Mengisteab, 1997).

During the Haileselassie regime, the Amhara dominance continued, and it was not legal to teach, publish and broadcast in languages other than Amharic and English (Keller, 1988). In practice, Amharic served as "the language of administration as well as the language and culture of integration" (Tronvoll, 2000, p. 13). As Marcus (1995) points out, "politically and socially ambitious people became Christian, took appropriate names [Amhara names], learnt Amharic, and began to dress and even to eat like Shoans [Amharas]" (p.194). The Ethiopian national identity was also equated with the Amhara ethnic identity (Van der Beken, 2012), and "being Ethiopian has often been synonymous with being Amhara" (Mains, 2004, p. 342).

The Haileselassie regime was replaced by the military government called Derg, and university students had played a significant role in the demise of the

imperial regime (Balsvik, 1998). The Derg regime officially ceased the Amhara domination but continued a unitary system of government which was not ethnically exclusive (Clapham, 1990; Valfort, 2007), rather attempted to dismantle the Amhara aristocracy and ethnic operation and broaden popular participation. The military regime was initially popular when it came to power under the slogan of “Ethiopia First” and declared that “*the right to self-determination of all nationalities will be recognized and fully respected. No nationality will dominate another one since the history, culture, language and religion of each nationality will have equal recognition in accordance with the spirit of socialism*” (PMAC, 1976). However, it sooner became deeply unpopular because of its centralized policies and mass executions. Several ethnic-based rebellion groups such as the Eritrean People’s Liberation Front (EPLF), Tigrian People’s Liberation Front (TPLF), and Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) intensified armed struggle and overthrown the military regime in 1991.

In 1995, the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia has been formed by EPRDF which is a coalition of four major ethnic-based political parties that represent the Amhara, Oromo, Tigre, and the Southern Ethiopian Peoples. The EPRDF-led government introduced an ethnic-based federal system that believed to promote diversity (Adamu, 2013). Consequently, ethnicity became the ideological basis of the EPRDF government’s political organization and administration (Abbink, 1997), and Ethiopia has become a federal polity with nine regional states and two chartered cities that constitute the federation. Studies indicate that many years after the implementation of the ethnic federalism, “Ethiopia remains mired in ethnic strife” (Mengisteab, 2001, P. 20), and contrary to the very problem it was intended to address, the ethnic federalism in Ethiopia seems to have created more problems than it set to solve (Gudina, 2007; Maru, 2010). It is also believed that despite the constitutional provisions that empower regional states to administer themselves, practically, Ethiopia continued to function like a unitary state (Mengisteab, 2001) led and dominated by numerical minority Tigre ethnic group (Habtu, 2004; Tronvoll, 2000). This leads to argue that the implementation of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia is problematic and ineffective (Maru, 2010) and it seems “a fragile and perilous experiment” (Habtu, 2004, p. 91) that puts a big challenge on the nation’s unity in diversity.

Methodology

The study was conducted in Bahir Dar University (BDU) which is one of the public universities in Ethiopia where ethnic tension and conflicts often occur. Majority of the data was collected from 41 students from 11 different ethnic backgrounds, and they were selected using purposeful and snowball sampling techniques. These students were second year and above because it was believed that they may have more diversity experience on campus than first-year students may have. Among these students three of them were mixed-

ethnic students who claim membership in more than one ethnic group. In order to get detailed data about the issue under study, eight teachers from different ethnic backgrounds and with at least five years of full-time work experience in BDU, three support staff that provide student services and six managers who can provide relevant information related to the study were also purposefully selected.

In-depth interview was used to collect data from all participants of the study. It is a qualitative semi-structured interview to allow focusing on main issues and incorporating issues which may arise during the interview. Focus group discussion (FGD) was used to obtain group perceptions and experiences on ethnic tension and conflict among students on campus. Document review was also used to collect data from official and unofficial documents. All interviews and FGDs were tape recorded and selectively transcribed. The relevant data from the transcribed document were used for the final analysis. The recurrent issues were identified, coded, and thematically analyzed. The themes were derived mainly from data obtained through interviews and FGDs and partly from objective of the study. In order to keep confidentiality, participants were addressed using abbreviations followed by numbers (e.g., Students = ST1, 2...; Teachers = TE1, 2...; Managers = MA1, 2 ...).

Result and Discussion

BDU has students from different ethnic groups that come from different parts of the country. Despite increased number of students enrolled in the university, all participants reported that since the 2009/2010 academic year, there is a numerical dominance of students from Amhara. The data obtained from BDU database and information center together with the summary and statistical report of the 2007 population and housing census corroborated participants' argument. The numerical dominance of students from Amhara ethnic group seems to make some students from other ethnic groups perceive BDU as Amhara's university and have low sense of belonging. This indirectly affects the intergroup relations among students and at times contributes to the conflict among students.

Participants mentioned that the intergroup relations are gradually deteriorating and there are still several small-scale ethnic conflicts among students. Both documents and conflict stories from participants indicate that most ethnic conflicts in BDU are between three ethnic groups – Amhara, Oromo, and Tigre; but why among these ethnic groups? The answer for this question is not simple and direct, but in one way or another, it is related to the Ethiopian history and the current political system. For most part of Ethiopian modern history, Amhara is a cultural and political dominant ethnic group. But this has been changed and since 1991 Tigre has become the political dominant ethnic group (Habtu, 2004; Tronvoll, 2000). This indicates that the Oromo has been minority in the Ethiopian politics despite it is the largest ethnic group in the country. This created politically motivated superior/inferior dichotomy, and

high polarization among these ethnic groups (Mengisteab, 2001). Students mentioned that the ethnic polarization and political rivalry between Amhara, Oromo and Tigre are some of the factors contributing to the ethnic tension and conflict among students who are members of these ethnic groups. Teachers also mentioned that the current political system advocated by the EPRDF is the main reason behind the ethnic tensions and conflicts on campus between these groups.

I was a university student and also a teacher before this government came to power in 1991. During my time as a student at Addis Ababa University, there were several conflicts between students, but I don't remember even one ethnic conflict. However, surprisingly, since this government came to power ethnic conflicts among university students have become very common, particularly between Tigre, Amhara and Oromo. This shows that the current problem is because of the government's ethnically divisive political system. (TE6)

The other group which is involving in ethnic conflicts on campus is Gambella¹. Participants stated that this is a new phenomenon which is gradually growing. Managers stated that there is no enough and special reason for Gambella students to fight with other students. Although fighting should not be taken as a solution at all, in the FGD Gambella students insisted that they have a good reason to fight and that is marginalization. They believed that they are marginalized by students from other ethnic groups because of their skin color².

There are students who consider us as a stranger. We want to have friendship with different people but they are not interested in having friendship with us. If they are honest and tell you the truth, it is only because of our skin color; otherwise we are all Ethiopians with different language and culture. (ST22)

Students from other ethnic groups explained that it is not difficult to identify Gambella students based on a combination of different characteristics such as skin color, height and hair type, but they refuted the accusations by Gambella students and blamed them for isolating themselves and creating problems merely based on what they think, not what students from other ethnic groups think, believe, and do.

¹Gambella is not actually an ethnic group. It is a region that constitutes different ethnic groups such as Nuer and Agnuak. However, the ethnic groups from this region were generally referred to as "Gambella" by participants including students from the ethnic groups that found in Gambella.

²Racially Ethiopians are black, but they have their own category of color based on skin complexion. This includes *key* (red), *yekey dama* (light red), *teyim* (light/chocolate brown), *tikur* (black/dark), and *betam tikur* (deep black/dark). The Gambella falls in the last category.

I have a very good friend from Gambella but most Gambella students do not easily interact and make friends with other students. They think that we marginalize them because of their [skin] color but that is not true. That is what they think not what we do. (ST5)

I know what most Gambella students think about their relationship with other students. They feel that they are marginalized and it is because of their skin color. I don't know why they think like that. Skin color is not an issue in Ethiopia. It is for the first time that I heard an Ethiopian complaining about discrimination based on skin color in Ethiopia. (ST20)

The second reason for marginalization that Gambella students supposed is sense of inequality. Gambella students thought that students from other ethnic groups do not consider them equal because they came through the affirmative action in admission to higher education. This supposition is reasonably refuted by both students from other ethnic groups and managers. First, students stated that they do not even know which individual student in BDU benefited from the affirmative action. Second, it was not only Gambella students who are qualified to benefit from the affirmative action. Third, coming from Gambella region does not necessarily indicate that all students benefited from the affirmative action, because there are Gambella students whose exam score is enough to get admission based on the regular pass mark set by the Ministry of Education. One manager regarded this as baseless allegation and stated that it is what the beneficiaries themselves thought about.

It is very few students who benefit from that [affirmative action in admission to higher education] and students do not know individual beneficiaries. I don't also know who benefited from the affirmative action unless I see individuals' records. I think associating admission with inequality is something that the beneficiaries themselves think and also believe that other students think likewise. (MA4)

From the above reasons it is possible to understand that Gambella students' assumption about others and how other students perceive them negatively influenced their interactions and socialization, and also led to ethnic conflicts.

The causes of conflict among Amhara, Oromo and Tigre students are different from the causes of conflict between Gambella students and students from other ethnic groups. In the former, the causes seem to be characterized by ethnopolitical rivalry, whereas in the latter the causes are more or less characterized by attitudinal and perceptual differences. Besides, this study identified the following correlated causes of ethnic conflicts among university students: ordinary dispute between individuals, ethnic epithets, graffiti, government's political interest, and problems outside the university.

Ordinary Dispute between Individuals

Different ethnic conflict stories and FGDs indicated that individual disputes among members of different ethnic groups are major sources of ethnic conflicts. The stories showed that the conflicts did not basically occur out of ethnic identity differences per se. It is often because of ethnicized ordinary disputes between individuals who have different views, attitudes, and experiences. Teachers stated that ethnicizing different issues has become a norm among students, and they assumed that this resulted from misconceived ethnic and political orientation.

When students from different background live and learn together, for different reasons there were, there are, and there will be disputes. But nowadays, everything is seen through ethnic eyeglasses. Here, we should ask why students turn into an ethnic conflict scapegoat. For me the answer is very simple. It is because of the unhealthy ethnic politics which emphasizes on difference and creates competition between ethnic groups. (TE6)

The ethnic conflict stories indicate that there have been several ethnic conflicts because of ordinary disputes between individuals. Managers and teachers noted that once the ordinary dispute between individuals is ethnicized, the other students who are involved in the conflict do not ask or critically examine the rationality of the cause for the dispute. They just align with their group and participate in the conflict.

Ethnic Epithets

Ethnic epithet is one of the factors that affect positive intergroup relations and causes tensions and conflicts among students. Ethnic epithets are often unveiled in graffiti and used in emotionally driven discussions and debates. There are various ethnic tension and conflict stories that students reported in which ethnic epithets are the causes of the conflict or factors intensifying the situation. Among these stories, I took the conflict story which was repeatedly mentioned as an example by teachers, staff and managers during interviews, and also well described in the study of conflict management in BDU (Zellelew, 2010).

The conflict was initially between an Amhara waitress working in the students' lounge and an Oromo student. In the middle of an argument over loud music the waitress used an insulting ethnic epithet that irritated the student. Although, the waitress left the campus immediately after the incident, Oromo students who heard about the incident were not able to control their temper. They fiercely responded first by insulting and then physically attacking Amhara students. One student was said narrowly escaped death after his throat slit with knife. There was also high fear and insecurity among students when the outside community tried to intrude after the latter heard what happened to the Amhara students in the university.

This conflict story clearly shows how ethnic epithets cause conflict between different groups on campus and also create unrest outside the campus. It also shows that the source of ethnic tension and conflict on campus is not only poor relationship among students but also lack of multicultural awareness of other campus community members.

Graffiti

BDU students' toilet walls are full of written graffiti. Some of the graffiti are entertaining and educational, while most others are offensive. Most derogatory graffiti target different ethnic and religious groups and their contents are contemptuous, hateful, hostile, and political. Here I have presented some of these graffiti, but for ethical reason I purposefully excluded the name of the target ethnic groups. In the following graffiti, "X" represents ethnic groups.

- "X is milk, X is yogurt, X is butter; so X is a cow!"
- "X is a slave and will continue to be a slave".
- "No one knows where X comes from".
- "Be careful! X is evil eye".
- "X is a terrorist group".
- "We all should stand against X and destroy them".

These kind of derogatory graffiti are full of prejudice, ethnocentrism, negative stereotype, and they use terms which are taboo, politically incorrect, offending, ethnically and religiously insulting and somewhat inciting. Participant students had different opinion regarding entertaining graffiti but they are against any kind of offensive graffiti.

It is very annoying to read insulting graffiti which potentially cause conflict between different groups. These graffiti show the contempt and hate between different groups. I don't really know the point to write those disgraceful things. It is not something pleasant. I always think about what kind of mind do those students who write such disgraceful things have. How do they get happiness or satisfaction from insulting a certain ethnic or religious group? They must be insane. I think there are students who do this like their job because I have seen same graffiti with same handwriting in different toilets.
(ST21)

When students describe intergroup relations, they referred to graffiti to justify the negative attitude of some ethnic groups toward their group. Graffiti may not be one of the root causes of tensions and conflicts among students, but they are one of the major factors that intensify tensions and conflicts through negatively affecting the relation between different ethnic groups.

Government's Political Interest

In principle and as stated in the Ethiopian Higher Education Proclamation and the Education and Training Policy, the government and its institutions are supposed to provide a peaceful learning environment. According to teachers and students, though this is usually the case, sometimes the government itself causes tension and conflict among students to divert the attention of the society when there is political or social pressure on the government and when it wants to accuse some groups or political parties. They stated that this was usually done through either government political cadre students or by alleging students' academic or social-related questions with ethnicity and politics.

We know the potential of university students in bringing change in political ideology and leadership. We have witnessed that in the history of our country. But now we have reached the moment in time when university students do not contribute to the social and political development of their country. We have seen what this government is doing in the last 21 years. It does not want to see a united Ethiopian society or a united and strong student community. Therefore, it keeps them divided because that is crucial to sustaining its power. The government uses its cadre students to divide students along ethnic lines and make them blame and fight each other. (TE6)

We have several problems in this university, for example food quality and shortage of books. But the government has never taken our questions as right and serious. The government thinks that there are some politically interested groups behind our question and it is a strategy that we used to intentionally create problem in the university. Sometimes the government depicts our question as questions of few students from a certain ethnic or religious group who have a hidden agenda or interest. This divides us along ethnic or religious lines and makes us fight each other forgetting our main question. (ST23)

Study also showed that the government trivializes and labels students' different national concerns and their actions as an ethnic issue (Asmamaw, 2012). For example, in 1996 in the Amhara region the government redistributed the land that it feels was unjustly acquired by people who had been associated with the previous military or imperial regime (UNDP, 1997). Addis Ababa university students from different ethnic groups voiced their concern and opposed the land redistribution system because they believed that it was unjust and unfair. But, their concern and opposition was labeled as a question of a few Amhara students who used to benefit from the unjustly acquired land. Moreover, as part of its divide and rule strategy, the government divides students along ethnic lines when it feels that they are united (Asmamaw, 2012). Some of the high government officials were member of the strong and united student force during the Haileselassie regime and they know

the potential influence of a united student force in Ethiopian politics. Thus, in order to sustain their power position “it was considered important for the government to prevent the formation of united independent student unions across ethnic boundaries” (Balsvik, 2007, p. 181).

Problems Outside the University

It is not always the situations within the university but also the situations outside the university that causes tensions and conflicts on campus. Students are part of the larger society and they are active in mirroring ethnic, religious and political related problems of the society. For example, there was ethnic tension and conflict between supporters of different political groups during and after the 2005 general election in Ethiopia. The conflict was mainly between Tigre and non-Tigre students and the root cause of the ethnic conflict was problems related to the result of the general election in the country. Besides, major ethnic related problems that occurred in one of the universities in the country were easily and immediately transmitted to other universities and became a cause of tension and conflict in other universities. Although students are geographically placed in different places, because of technology, in particular mobile phone, they can easily communicate with their friends in other universities. This makes it possible to know what is going on in other universities and to easily pass information among group members. Managers and teachers mentioned that there were ethnic tensions and conflicts in BDU because of the ethnic related problems in other public universities. They also noted that regardless of the credibility of the information and rationality of the cause of conflict in other universities, when students hear about some problems, for example physical attack on their fellow ethnic members in other universities, they want to respond to that by physically attacking members of the ethnic group that attacked their fellow ethnic members.

Conclusion

This study provides important insights about causes of ethnic tension and conflicts among students in a country where ethnic diversity is the result of indigenous ethnic groups and ethnicity is at the center of the federal and political system. Most of the causes of ethnic conflicts among students are related to the government and political system that Ethiopia has been exercising under different regimes. The major causes of ethnic tension and conflicts among students include alleged marginalization, ordinary dispute between individuals, ethnic epithet, graffiti, problems outside the university, and government’s political interest. The university could address some of the causes of ethnic tension and conflict through educational interventions, multicultural awareness creation, and by developing and effectively implementing rules and regulations. Yet, other causes, which are external to the university, require cooperation among universities and government’s democratic response to the prevalent and long existing ethnic-related questions

of the society. The causes identified in this study in one way or another are related to government policies and political system. This invites to further explore the effect of government policies, strategies and political system on intergroup relations among students.

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