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The formations of identities in a multicultural world

A phenomenological case study of the Oromo people
living in Minneapolis and Stockholm

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Abstract

The aim of this explorative study is to gain knowledge about the question of identities formations in different socio-cultural contexts. This is done by looking at the specific case of the Oromo people living in a larger community (Minneapolis, USA) as compared to living in a smaller group (Stockholm, Sweden). The case of the Oromo people is investigated in light of past historical, political, social and cultural factors that in different ways have targeted the Oromo identities. Postcolonial notions of power imbalances are considered influencing factors. The Dialogical Self is guiding the interpretation of identities as containing multiple voices. By applying a phenomenological approach emphasis is put on understanding the subjective experiences of identities formations in the Oromo people as they are influenced by different socio-cultural factors. Open interviews and self-report forms were conducted and collected from 20 individuals living in Minneapolis and Stockholm. The narratives were analyzed using the MCA-Minerva (phenomenological tool), and Sphinx Lexica (lexical tool) softwares. Outcomes indicate similarities maintaining a kind of Oromo identity and having difficulties with language acquisition, but marked differences in kinds of Oromo identities, in the importance of the Oromo language, in relations with the host culture and in political consciousness. The size of the group seems to be of relevance in how power asymmetry is affecting this process.

Keywords: *identities formations, socio-cultural context, culture, the Oromo people, Dialogical Self Theory, phenomenology.*

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INTRODUCTION

“I’m satisfied here in Sweden, absolutely! I’m satisfied because... well, my children are born here, and I’ve lived here for many years. It’s like a second home, yeah... I have both, absolutely, but at least I am Oromo. Oromo-Swedish? Haha, I don’t know! No, but I am Oromo and I am satisfied here in Sweden, so why not? Well... life is different, isn’t it? Tough, but... you manage. You manage...”

The quote is by a female participant who came to Sweden around the age of twenty-five from a specific region in Ethiopia called *Oromia*. Her account is an illustration and exemplification of the multifaceted nature of the relationship between culture and identity. As she is going back and forth in her reasoning about her cultural identity, we understand that the process of definition is influenced by many different aspects of her life. She poses the possibility of a hyphenated identity (Hermans, 2001), being *Oromo-Swedish*, but her explanation of what this entails seems to contain some uncertainty as to what these two cultures mean in her life.

The female participant in my study and I share the Oromo cultural heritage. During the 1970s my parents were a couple of the many Oromos who left their home country of Oromia, Ethiopia to settle in countries across the world. While they settled in Sweden, a great deal of friends and relatives established a life in Minneapolis, USA, which today is the place of a large Oromo diaspora. I was first introduced to the Oromo community in Minneapolis at the age of three. Frequent and sometimes lengthy visits to a place that soon became *my* “home away from home” lead to my choice of moving to the Minneapolis area at the age of 19. It was during the years that I studied there that I first was confronted by other people’s, in my opinion, blunt questions about my background. “Do you feel more Swedish, or more Ethiopian/Oromo?” was the question that in hindsight affected me the most, as it implied the choosing of one culture over the other in a very definite way. Soon the questions imposed upon me by *others* had become internalized; their need to put me in preset categories gave rise to a jumble of questions as to where *I* put myself. One could pose the question of where this need to define ourselves comes from. In the experience I had, it was clear that this need was born when this question was asked of me. More explicitly, when I felt that the need of others was inflicted on me.

In psychoanalytic terms, *splitting* is a concept often brought to mind in relation to concepts of the self. It is defined as a division of inner representations into an idealized good part versus a dangerously bad part, and this fragmentation of the personality is viewed as something pathological (Igra, 2002). In other words, the view of human beings as being

incoherent is equated with pathology. But what if this incoherence (or *no-coherence* rather) is in fact a very natural aspect of human beings? As was mentioned by a South Korean researcher attending a conference about the Dialogical Self Theory in Warszawa, the belief in a coherent self is in some parts of the world considered “a Western, European sickness” (R. Sages, personal communication, August, 2012).

We can agree that the person who is reasoning in the above stated quote is not showing any signs of pathology. In fact, she is expressing a very natural process of making sense between her different sides that are shaped and re-shaped within her as a result of her different contexts. A fundamental concept within phenomenology is the naming of this context that surrounds us as our *life-worlds*. The components which constitute our life-worlds are ever-changing, and as a result our actions, thoughts and feelings will change along with them (Sages, 2003). So if we instead apply the thought of identity as being constituted by *multiple positions* or *voices*, I believe that this way of viewing our identities - as expressed in different ways in different situations - is more just to the very nature of our existence. For this reason, the terminology of *identities*, *selves* and *voices* is better suited for my paper. In the following account, the terminology as it is used in theories that refer to “the self” or “identity” will therefore be put within quotation marks.

Significance of the study

The present study is of concern to me as a person for reasons that have just been explained. The questions that were asked through the process of inquiry about the nature of our identities are questions that I have directed to myself many times. As a researcher, I consider this an important topic to investigate in light of different socio-cultural contexts, for the simple reason that the ever-changing nature of our world is something we are all becoming increasingly affected by. In the case of the Oromo people, a historical and political past of turmoil has led to a socio-cultural reality of diasporic communities and the spreading of groups outside of the home country. To investigate in what ways this has affected the formations of their identities is one approach that would provide a foundation for the process of understanding the relationship between identities formations and socio-cultural contexts. Therefore, this is the benchmark of my exploration. Sartre (1981) suggests the view of humans as *universal singulars*, implying that the way to the objective is through the subjective. By trying to understand how one individual makes sense of a certain phenomenon we can gain some perspectives about the universal. Where there are similarities there are also differences, and where there are differences there exists similarities as well. Thus, by studying

the specific case of the Oromo people in Minneapolis and Stockholm the aim is to find similarities and analogies to other cases.

Defining culture

It is commonly accepted that the task of defining *culture* will lead to an array of definitions where no one is more or less correct. Neither could one definition in its entirety encompass everything that is entailed in the concept of *culture*. As this fact seems to be more or less agreed upon, the task lies in deciding on one definition that will guide your own reasoning when conducting research on the topic of *culture*. As my research is conducted within the field of identities as it is viewed in a dialogical way, the definition of *culture* that I have chosen is derived from this context. Hannerz (1992, as cited in Hermans, 2001) establishes three main characteristics of *culture*. *Culture*, as defined by Hannerz, comprises (1) ideas and ways of thinking – theories, propositions, values and thoughts that a social unit shares, (2) ways to manifest them externally – how the theories, propositions, values and thoughts are brought out to the public (e.g. through science or art), and (3) social distribution – the different means and forms of spreading both (1) and (2) across the population of that culture. This way to comprehend of *culture* gives it the shape of “flowing” rather than being fixed, as the interplay of these three characteristics will change as a result of the one or the other changing (Hermans, 2001, p.268).

Conventional theories of cross-cultural psychology - acculturation theory

Acculturation is the term adopted in cross-cultural psychology that explains the response of an individual undergoing a change in cultural context (Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen, 1992). In doing this the individual can adopt different strategies in response to the stress that can appear as a result of being introduced to a new cultural context, also known as *acculturation strategies* (p. 278). These strategies are defined and presented by the authors in a grid-like organization where the answers of "yes" or "no" to two questions in combination lead to either one of four strategies. The questions are posed as concerning two basic issues: (1) "Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with other groups?" and (2) "Is it considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics?" (p. 278). The strategies that result as a synthesis of these answers are *assimilation*, *separation*, *integration* and *marginalization*. As the following account on the implications of acculturation strategies will focus on that of *integration*, this is defined as the individuals desire to maintain close

connections with both the original culture, as well as the new culture of the dominant society. Individuals that adopt this strategy are said to answer "yes" to both questions and thus strive to "make the best of both worlds" (Berry et al., 1992). Research on acculturation is dominated by views that integration is the most favorable end result of the acculturation process, which in turn often makes this strategy the object of research within cross-cultural psychology (Bhatia & Ram, 2001).

Assumptions guiding acculturation theory

In their article Bathia and Ram (2001) raise a discussion that challenges the assumptions behind conventional cross-cultural theories in psychology, in particular that of acculturation. It is relevant to consider for the present study as it poses some eye-opening questions about the relationship between culture and the individual as assumed by conventional theories of cross-cultural psychology. Cross-cultural psychologist who agree with the theory behind integration as an acculturation strategy also consider the nature of this strategy to be universal; i.e. a psychological process which occurs independently of social, historical, and cultural background (Bathia & Ram, 2001). In this view, the cultural and the psychological are viewed as separate entities; inherent in the "the self" are properties of a "psychological given" that are considered to exist even prior to culture. The role of culture is then viewed as shaping this "psychological given" which to begin with is objective and universal in nature. Cross-cultural psychologist sometimes use the simile "peeling the onion" in reference to the meticulous process of investigating the cultural variables in which this pre-given and universal "self" is said to be embedded. The implications of this is that socio-cultural factors, such as colonialism, language and immigration, to name a few, are merely seen as tools for displaying these underlying psychological processes of the "the self", while being viewed as completely separated from the "the self" (Bathia & Ram, 2001).

The influence of socio-cultural factors

Bhatia and Ram (2001) are of the opinion that in order to get the needed understanding when studying the migrant "identity", one needs to see how the "the self" and socio-cultural factors in fact are very much entangled. The way to consider this relationship is that our everyday life is influenced by different socio-cultural factors, as well as the relationship we have with other people in it, and this is what mediates, structures and organizes the meanings that we give to the selves and to the relationships the selves have to other people or things.

One way of getting at these different meanings that the selves create in its daily practices is through narratives and dialogue. This is the view that has guided the chosen theoretical approach for the current study of identities formations.

In Volume 1 of his widely known collection *Principles of Psychology*, James (1890) denotes humans as social beings. He states “a man has as many social selves as there are individuals who recognize him and carry images of him in their mind” (p. 294). As humans we are inclined to want recognition from others, and as James so simply puts it, if we enter a room or speak we want others to turn around or listen. He continues his notion of the social “self” by posing that a person “has as many different social selves as there are distinct groups of persons about whose opinion he cares.” (p. 294). What can be derived from James' conception of “the self” is that “the self” is in some ways dependent on and influenced by the context in which he/she exists and creates meaning in. In this way, James' concept of the social “self” also recognizes the influence of socio-cultural factors on the selves.

Through the eyes of the postcolonial theorist, this would imply that how we think of “the self” is influenced by the specific historical, political and social context that the “the self” is embedded in (Bhatia & Ram, 2001). Important to take into account then, is that the cross-cultural psychological theorist is also very much embedded in such a context. The same would hold for previously cited cross-cultural psychologists (Berry et al., 1992), who much like the rest of us will theorize from their own context. Being a cross-cultural psychological theorist does not make one free from one's own context. Realizing this, the necessity to view the narratives and dialogues of the selves by conducting a phenomenological meaning analysis becomes even more urgent as it provides a method of becoming increasingly aware of one's own influencing context as a researcher.

Cultures as 'moving and mixing'

In reference to cross-cultural psychological theories on acculturation, Hermans and Kempen (1998) challenge conventional conceptions of migration as a linear movement from culture A - the *home culture* - to culture B - the *host culture* – as it typically implies that the difference between the *home* and the *host* culture is geographical. Equating “culture” with “nation” in this way does not bear in mind how intricate the relationship between worldwide cultures and the construction of “the self” can be, as can be understood by the existence of amalgams of cultural practices. Instead they advocate viewing this process as a “moving and mixing” of both cultures, since it takes into consideration those cases which are not so clear-

cut. Through this mixing and moving of cultures the creation of multiple identities occur, such as the example of the Iranian-born girl who is a gender studies major at a university in Sweden, through which it becomes apparent that “culture” as likened to “nation” is a notion that excludes the merging of different cultures into new “contact zones.” Being occupied with the core aspects of culture, cross-cultural psychological theories seem to forget those peripheral zones of contact where the borders of cultures are becoming more and more permeable (Hermans & Kempen, 1998).

Diasporic communities

Hermans and Kempen (1998) see *diasporic communities* as yet another exemplification of the “flowing” nature of culture. A more detailed account will be given of the nature of diasporic communities in following sections, but for the present understanding diasporic communities are important to consider as they involve a constant negotiation between the *home-* and the *host* culture. Bhatia and Ram (2001) make the crucial point that the common use of the term *integration* does not make an allowance for imbalances in power and matters of conflict that occur in diasporic communities, as it suggest both the majority and minority culture as being of equal influence. The following passage gives an example of how such imbalances in power can be expressed:

When someone speaks as an Asian-American, who is exactly speaking? If we dwell in the hyphen, who represents the hyphen: the Asian or the American, or can the hyphen speak for itself without creating an imbalance between the Asian and American components? /.../ True, both components have status, but which has the power and the potential to read and interpret the other on its terms? If the Asian is to be Americanized, will the American submit to Asianization? (Radhkrishnan , 1996, p. 211, as cited in Bhatia & Ram, 2001)

Through this quote emphasizes is put on the complicated theoretical act of understanding this process of imbrications, consisting of mutual implications, which is inflicted upon individuals in diasporic communities. It is apparent that this process is of a far more fluid nature than could be explained by the theoretical strategy of integration. Not only does this illustrate a similar situation to the question of hyphenated identities that is posed by the female “Oromo-Swedish” participant above - where the answer of what is entailed in the hyphen is not so clear-cut - it also brings attention to the lack of free choice in organizing and making sense of one’s different cultures. In the case of individuals who are born into these diasporic communities the question of what it is “to be” from a culture again illustrates the difficulty of

defining cultural identities by geographical criteria: “Am I American (the geography which I am born into) or am I Chinese (the culture which is my heritage)?” (Bhatia & Ram, 2001).

Culture and dominance

It is important to consider the influence of others on selfhood in the process of arriving to a host country. How we are located and positioned as either part of the central majority or the marginal minority influences how the individual modulates his/her different multiple voices. At the same time, how others modulate his/her different multiple voices is influenced by this too (Bhatia & Ram, 2001). An example of this way of pointing out the “other” that I myself have experienced is that of the language. It is a common occurrence in Sweden, as it surely is in other countries as well, that if a person speaks the Swedish language with an accent, however slight it might be, the cultural background of this person is soon the object of further investigation. In quite the similar fashion, a person like me who does not have an “accent” when I speak since Swedish is my first language, will as well be the object of further inquiry. I am no stranger to the question “but where are you from originally?” followed by the exclamation (upon hearing my answer) that “you have mastered the language very well!” I say “similar” to emphasize this process of “othering” that seems to occur no matter what or who is being “othered”. However banal the example might seem, I believe this is a phenomenon which is not only limited to the experience of language or the context of Sweden. The take-home message is this: being “othered” as a result of nationality, race, or even because of gender attests to the very real presence of everyday power-imbalance and inequity. Power is seen in that the person asking the question never needs to justify him/herself. As Bhatia and Ram (2001) reason about the importance of context, this asymmetry would not be accounted for if one considers the psychological strategies of migrant individuals as common for all and independent of the specific socio-cultural reality that they live in.

Culture and human development

Keeping in mind postcolonial theories is also highly relevant when considering immigrant identities in relation to human development. For this reason attention is now directed to the nature of human development before continuing on the notion of how postcolonialism has been seen to influence human development. The following quote provides a concrete way of viewing human development that serves as a good starting point.

“There is no repetition of the same experience – each new occasion of making a bed, shaking hands, or opening a can is a qualitatively new event – even if it is similar to some previous, analogical event. Yet, at the same time, we all live a relatively stable life. We do not doubt our identity as the given person from one morning’s waking up to the next” (Valsiner, 2000, p.5)

As suggested in the quote, we as human beings are constantly developing. When thinking about development in the simplest terms, such as making a bed, we become aware of this fact and realize that it is a natural and unavoidable part of life. Since it is natural to our being, we also have ways to deal with this constant change, so as to not constantly feel that the person we see looking back at us in the mirror is a stranger; we have means to parallel our constant novelty with the psychological construction of stability (Valsiner, 2000). In this sense, change and stability can be thought of as being mutually inclusive, rather than the common notion of mutually exclusiveness; they can exist in unity. This is a thought which can be puzzling to comprehend initially as common sense tells us that one eliminates the other.

Here, the notion of contextual influences can again serve a purpose of explaining why this thought is at first encounter strange to comprehend. Valsiner (2000) is of the understanding that the assumptions made in science about different phenomena guides us in the rationales we apply to our everyday lives. Guiding my understanding, and thus research aim, is the assumption about humans and time as posited by Valsiner. Consider the following: as biological organisms we are dependent on time for our growth, in fact, it is an inherent part of our constitution. In relation to time, there is the concept of *duration* (Bergson, 1907, as cited in Valsiner, 2000) - imagining an infinite past as connected to an infinite future that is experienced through the biological organism’s being in the present. As the mediating force between the disappearing past and the approaching future, the present is a short, but unifying period, which is *irreversible* (p.7). In Bergson’s thinking, past and future are mutually dependent on each other, motivating each other and not causally creating each other. Consequently, as biological organisms we are not located in an independent time dimension which we develop *in*, but rather we develop *with* time (Valsiner, 2000).

With this way of thinking about time it becomes inevitable to see time as part of development. As such, it entails the consideration of the past and the future in relation to the present. This way of thinking about time and human development is relevant because it highlights a contrast in how different discourses and assumptions about time can guide research in other directions. Another route to take is for example measuring time as being

discrete as opposed to continuous, as having a defined length in the same way an object can have a fixed weight. The reasons for this can be practical: the length of a lecture is preferably turned into a fixed period of time rather than being a continuous event. But when development is treated as non-developmental, or as having object-like characteristics, a predicament arises. When psychological functions such as the process of negotiating the stability of “the self” with the changing nature of the selves is explained by fixed terms like “integrated” or “assimilated”, this assumes that these functions come from the psychological system of a stable human psyche that can be studied as an object separated from the human organism (Valsiner, 2000).

Culture and human development - uncertainty and dominance

Some developmental issues could become a reality for the migrant who moves from one country to another, such as issues of language, of “identity” of “the self”, and of communication and relationships between parents and children, as well as peers. Perhaps most importantly are the developmental issues of emotions, as emotions lay the foundation for the remaining developmental areas (Bhatia & Ram, 2001). To give an example of how these issues could be manifested one can imagine the person who decides to stay in his homeland, and for whom child rearing remains the same as it always has been. For the migrant who instead leaves his home land for the host land, child rearing suddenly acquires a whole new meaning as a result of arriving into a new culture. Seeing how this is a direct result of the migration process, it poses a developmental issue. In a similar way, the nature of the parent-child relationship as it is when living in the home land will influence the way this parent and child will deal with the new norms and new situations they are faced with in the host country. The child who has been taught that family takes care of one another will be hesitant to putting her aging mother in a retirement home even years after living in the host country.

Hermans and Kempen (1998) realize the reaction of *uncertainty* that can appear as a result of a globalized world. They put forward the idea that some might view globalization as the antithesis of living an "authentic life" (p. 1118). Authenticity is considered equated with homogeneity, stability and predictability in a society, as opposed to the globalizing effect of heterogeneity, changing and unpredictability. This contrast as being a source of uncertainty is what leads us back to the questioning of cross-cultural theories on acculturation. Hermans and Kempen pose a set of questions whose nature is worth considering in light of how individuals respond to such uncertainty: "what strategies are available to people dealing with an increase

of uncertainty? Do they prefer relativizing strategies or absolutizing ones?" (1998, p. 1118). The way they reason about these strategies is that there is no preferred or stabilized trait that people carry within them at a constant, but rather these strategies are dynamic and context-dependent as the individual is interpreting the ever-changing world (Hermans & Kempen, 1998)

Similar to the concept of integration is that of “bicultural competence”, which implies a joyous symbiosis between being successful in the new culture and maintaining competency in the original culture (Bhatia & Ram, 2001). The aim of posing this comparison is not to claim that the end result of the above mentioned negotiation could not lead to a state of happiness or a feeling of competency. What should be highlighted is that the process is more dynamic than what conventional either-or cross-cultural theories would explain. In experiencing a multitude of cultures the individual must mediate these different sides of influencing cultures, going back and forth in a seemingly perpetual way. In addition, the influence of dominance is always present. Representatives of the majority culture can value the individual in different ways of being “good” or “bad” that either shows the approval or disapproval of him/her. As seen from a cross-cultural psychological perspective, a subject can be considered “integrated” or “assimilated.” Through such statements made by the others of the community, the narrative of the individual is transformed where statements of “*you are integrated*” turn into statements of “*I am integrated*” (Hermans & Kempen, 1993). Similarly, the statements “*you are not integrated*” can be transformed into “*I am not integrated*” and the implication for the individual is that he/she, according to theory, has not “succeeded” in reaching a developmental state of imagined stability. These contrasting situations both influence the way “the self” modulates the different sides of “the self” (Hermans & Kempen, 1993). Being “othered”, the one living in the ‘borderland’ of cultures, viewed as diverging from the norm as it is decided by the other in power, would then not only be implied by others but could possibly be introjected by the individual as well.

Language as a semiotic tool

Language as a tool of communication is important for the present study mainly for two reasons. As shall be treated in the section of the historical, political and socio-cultural context specific to the Oromo people, the long-term prohibition of the Oromo language has had extensive effects for the development and recognition of the Oromo culture. Holtgraves and Kashima (2008) link the construction of meaning, social cognition and language in a way that

distinguishes language as a central component. They view language as a tool which is socially shared, providing a means for speakers to construct and exchange meaning in a process that makes them connected through a system of shared symbolism. Social cognition is in turn dependent on the ability to engage in such a process of exchange through dialogue. At the same time as language can provide us with a tool for togetherness on a superficial level, it can be the root of misunderstandings since the meaning which is conveyed by a speaker is not limited to the actual words expressed (Holtgraves & Kashima, 2008). This is the second aspect of language that is relevant to consider for this study, especially in relation to the method of investigation and treatment of material. As intentional beings we want to convey a meaning which we in turn want the recipient to be able to recognize (speech-act theorists call this *illocutionary force*), and the effect of this intentional act is sometimes larger than the speaker had planned on (speech-act theorists call this *perlocutionary effects*) (Holtgraves & Kashima, 2008, p.74). For these reasons it becomes important to investigate the narratives of individuals when conducting qualitative research. It provides a way to reach the subjective experience, which could be harder to achieve when using questionnaires. The participant's own words, phrases and the *way-of-speaking* is what should be carefully studied. Although Holtgraves and Kashima emphasize the unintended consequences as being of interest, it is my belief that both the intended act and the unintended effect is important to consider. This view has guided therefore me in the process of analyzing the material that was collected.

As the foregoing account thus shows, postcolonial and diaspora theories provide us with a means of understanding the constant negotiation between cultures here and there, the home- and the host land, the past and the present, "the self" and the other (Bhatia & Ram, 2001). Whether the assumptions of development that have mentioned are right or wrong, or whether they can be proven in theory or empirically, comes second hand to what I consider to be the basic starting point for me as researcher in the field of human development. The developmental perspective accepted by me as a researcher is what will guide the construction of my methodology. As stated by previously mentioned researchers (Valsiner, 2000; Bergson, 1907, as cited in Valsiner, 2000) we as humans are constantly changing, although still remain stable as a result of time and interactions in the social, historical and political contexts we live in, which is why the theoretical approach of *phenomenology* and the *dialogical self theory* has been chosen for my study.

The phenomenological way of thinking is reflected in the methodological choice as well, which in turn has affected my way of treating the material. In this process, language has been an important aspect to consider. My study is of the specific case of the Oromo people.

Their context is part of their life-worlds, which is why the following section will be devoted to the specific context of these individuals. The history of the Oromo people is especially significant for the present study as there have been recurring events that in one way or another has targeted the Oromo ethnic culture, and thus also the Oromo identities. What follows is a historical, political, social and cultural account of this group of people in general, as well as specifically in Minneapolis and Stockholm.

HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT

Historical context

In order to situate the Oromo people in the context needed to understand the motivation behind the research at hand; this next section will devote some attention to a series of historical events which took place in Ethiopia, starting from approximately 1870 and onwards. I would like to emphasize that the following account is not intended to lay the foundation for a political discussion or statement since an analysis of this sort would require a more extensive depiction of the regional history, from many different perspectives. At the same time, it would be impossible to depoliticize the historical series of events that today has lead to the diasporic reality for a vast number of the Oromo people. As Bulcha (2011) asserts, doing so would mean disregarding the discrimination that was practiced against the ethnic minorities of Ethiopia in general, but that of the ethnic majority of the Oromo people specifically. The history of Ethiopia in relation to the Oromo is very much relevant for the question of identities formations, as it is crucial to have an understanding of who the Oromo once were in order to understand who they are today.

Crumney (2003) makes a point with which I identified in the process of deciphering which historical events to include in the following account: “All history necessarily involves selection and interpretation. I have been shaped by my study of Ethiopian history; others have been shaped differently” (p.118). The lens through which I set out to explore the life-worlds of the participants is psychological, with emphasis on the process of identities formations as seen through the theory of the Dialogical Self. Therefore, the psychological perspective as well as the dialogical view of identities will shape *my* selection of historical events included in this account. Seeing how the aim of the present research is to place the magnifying glass on

individuals of the Oromo, the following description will focus on the historical events relating to this group and their sense of identities

The country of Ethiopia. Present-day Ethiopia inhabits an estimated 80 million people and is situated in the region known as the “Horn of Africa”, in the northeastern region of Africa. Ethiopia is a federal parliamentary republic with President Girma Wolde-Giorgis as the head of state and Prime Minister Meles Zenaw as head of government (Bulcha, 2011). Over 90 languages are divided between the 80 different ethnic groups that reside in Ethiopia, the three biggest being the Oromo, the Amhara, and the Tigreans. The Oromo are the largest homogenous ethnic group in Ethiopia as well as in the Horn of Africa, as opposed to the Tigreans and Amharas, who together with the Tigre ethnic group go under the collective name of *Abyssinia* or *Habesha*. While the Abyssinians speak two different languages, Amharic and Tigringa, the Oromo people share only one language referred to as *Oromo*, *Afaan Oromo* or *Oromiffa* (Kanno, 2005)

The Oromo people. The Oromo constitute over one-third (an estimated 30-40 million) of the total inhabitants in Ethiopia. The exact population figure varies with sources, which in some opinions is because of political motives. Considered the most ecologically and agriculturally rich region in the Horn of Africa, the Oromo country, known as *Oromia* (Figure 1.), is rich in cereals, oil seeds, spices and various natural resources such as gold, coal and copper (Oromia and the Oromo people, n.d.) . Ninety percent of the Oromo population depends on agriculture as a source of income, coffee being the main export item.



Figure 1. Map of Ethiopia with the Oromia region marked out.¹

As part of their long history of a common culture and language, the Oromo people once used to share a socially and politically democratic system known as the *Gadaa system*.

¹ www.gadaa.com, 2012-08-04

The Gadaa system is the democratic political system, dating as far back as 500 years ago, by which social, political, cultural and spiritual values in the Oromo community once used to be measured (Melbaa, 1988). It was constituted by grades into which all newly born males entered ceremonially, advancing to the next grade every 8th year until the age of 80 or above. In this way the Oromo region was organized into groups with varying societal responsibilities and administrative affairs and the economy were considered to be managed democratically. Once said to “govern the life of every individual male from birth to death” (Riqituu, p.49) it was a system which affected the males in the community to a great extent. However, the participation of Oromo women was often limited to a few rituals of the Gadaa system and did not include earning any formal leadership positions, making it a system with gender-dependent influences (Deressa, 2003). Still, the Gadaa system is credited with taking consideration to the basic human rights of the individuals, such as the right to vote within the community. This is sharply contrasted to the reality that the Oromo would be subjected to at later point in history. The militarization of the Gadaa system, where different branches of the Oromo came together to form an alliance, made it a strong force against outside intruders (Bulcha, 2011). Many wars were fought and won against the Abyssinians in the years before 1870 when the colonization of the Abyssinian government lastly became a fact. This resulted in the crumbling down of this societal, political and democratic system of the Oromo.

European influences and the Abyssinian colonization. During the time of the European colonization of other African countries the Abyssinians set out to conquer and expand into its neighboring countries. Although Oromo-Abyssinian conflicts date as far back as the thirteenth century, it was during the years between 1870 and 1900 that the Oromo states were occupied by the Abyssinians through the help of European super powers. Although other ethnic minorities as well suffered under the century-long colonization and Abyssinian rule, the Oromo people – being the largest ethnic group – were the prime targets for ethnic cleansing. They have suffered an oppression and subjugation which have left their land and people exploited and almost exterminated (Bulcha, 2011).

Deprivation of the Oromo language. During the second half of the 20th century the Amhara political elite was centralizing the power and set out to eliminate socio-cultural diversity through a process known as *amharization* (Keller, 1995). This was part of the state-building strategy of former emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie, who through suppression of all regional languages except Amharic added an ethnic dimension to the political game. This

implemented the Amharic language, culture and religion as the official of Ethiopia, perhaps most significantly on the elementary academic level (Abbay, 2010). Seeing how the Oromo people have long relied on an oral tradition as a means of trying to keep their nation's history and culture alive across generations, the process of amharization targeted the Oromo people in many aspects of life. The importance of this oral tradition is emphasized through the comparison that Riqituu (2011) makes between the death of an elderly in the community and the destruction of a library.

There were as well other ways that language was used as a way to suppress the Oromo. Before the word "Oromo" became common usage amongst others besides the Oromo themselves, *Galla* was the term used by them to refer to the Oromo ethnic group. *Galla*, meaning primitive or pagan, was yet another way to dehumanize the Oromo identities. In his article, Hassen quotes a common Amharic expression used during the period of amharization: "Saw naw Galla?" meaning, "Is it human or Galla?" (2002). It is clear that both extensive and specific means were used to target the Oromo identities.

Reinstatement of the Oromo language. In 1991 a transitional government of Ethiopia was put into place after the overthrow of the military government, *the Dergue*. This event had significance for the reinstatement of the Oromo language as the Oromo finally were permitted to practice their native language within the educational system. The Latin alphabet called *Qubee* was adopted for writing in Oromo and since then the ability to read and write the Oromo language fluently has increased (Crumney, 2003). The Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) has been the leading organization that mobilizes the Oromo struggle for independence. Their struggle for national survival was not limited to armed struggles; effort was put into reviving and developing the Oromo language through literacy programs since colonialism had imposed a halt on its expansion and improvement. Through their efforts, these literacy programs later spread to Oromo refugees living in diasporic communities in the neighboring countries and soon also to Europe, the Middle East and North America (Bulcha, 2011). Some say that with the growing literature of the Oromo followed a psychological liberation of the Oromo people, who for almost a century had been prohibited from officially using their own language as a communication tool (Riqituu, 2011).

Attested by history, the Oromo identities have been targeted in several ways. For this reason, the Oromo people are a good example of what multiple identities, or *multivoicedness*, can mean. There have also been mostly unsuccessful attempts to change these conditions, which is why it would be rather naive to expect uniform, homogenous, identities in the Oromo

people. Instead we can expect there to be differing subjective ways of interpreting their current situations. For this reason, the theory of the dialogical self is well suited for the treatment of identities formations within this group of people.

The Oromo and postcolonialism. The present-day situation of the Oromo living in Ethiopia still has remnants of this colonization, perhaps most notably through the ethnic federal system of the state of Ethiopia (Habtu, 2003). This system is organized with aims of ethnic and regional autonomy and is said to encourage self-determination, balanced and shared power of all ethnic groups of Ethiopia. Although this system of organizing the country could be considered a way of ensuring ethnic equality and territorial integrity, it could also be viewed as yet another kind of colonialism, a neocolonialism, which in subtle ways still exercise a form of domination (Habtu, 2003). For example, in the Oromo region the Oromo language is recognized as the official language. However, what was seen as a gained human right to practice their own language has been turned into a hindrance for some Oromos who now experience difficulties finding jobs after completing their education in Qubee (used for writing). As most employments require mastering the Amharic language both in writing and in speech, the Oromo are still being held back from exercising some of their rights (personal communication, July 3, 2012²). It could thus be debated whether the affix of “post” in postcolonialism in reality indicates a break from the colonial powers by the colonized people, or if it just indicates a change of the colonizing power.

Returning to the implications of viewing culture and “the self” as separate we are again reminded that this approach would not suffice to fully capture the extent of how realities of power-imbalance and ethnic separatism have, and will affect, the identities formations of the Oromo. The realities faced by diasporic communities are also very much relevant for the case of the Oromo people as it makes up the socio-cultural context for a large group of Oromos today. Following is thus a theoretical account of what constitutes the concept of *diaspora*. A description of the socio-cultural context of Oromos living in Minneapolis is then given, seeing how Minneapolis is the home of a large Oromo diaspora. The socio-cultural context of Oromos living in Stockholm will as well be given in the section that follows.

² The person who communicated this to me wishes to remain anonymous.

Socio-cultural context

The concept of diaspora. Tracing the meaning of the word *diaspora* the reference starts with the scattering of the Jewish community outside of Palestine around the world. A word often related to diaspora is *dispersion* which indicates the scattering or spreading of something. In that sense, a diaspora involves the movement or scattering of a specific group of people to more than one place, at more than one point (Palmer, 2000). The concept of diaspora is related to migratory streams in the sense that the former is a result of repetitions of the latter. Thus, the distinction lies in that migration typically is more limited in its extent both in time and space, while the creation of a diaspora could be described as an organic process that often consists of recurring movement and resettlement. Furthermore, Palmer (2000) discerns a few common features across diasporic communities, such as being conscious about one's scattering in different places, feeling emotionally attached to one's native land, and at times expressing a longing to return home.

Not only is the movement, or dispersal, of the diasporic people included in the concept of diaspora. The communities that the diasporic people create for themselves upon arrival in the new society also constitute an important part of the phenomenon. Diasporic people consider the place they live in to be a community which acts on the basis of togetherness (Palmer, 2000). Tölöyan (1996, as cited in Bhatia & Ram, 2001) gives a few considerable points in light of the growing trend of diasporic communities worldwide. These include the fact that fewer immigrant groups use the theoretical strategy of assimilation and that more organized links to the homeland exist. There is also a persistent effort to maintain their religion and language and community centers, newspapers and radio stations are created as a means to stay connected within the community. A distinctive feature of diasporic communities is the conscious effort to remain committed and connected with the homeland. This effort could be expressed through previously mentioned concrete actions or simply in the minds of the individuals living in these communities, and sometimes even both (Bhatia & Ram, 2001).

Bulcha (2002) makes a distinction between those diasporic individuals who were coerced into leaving their native country, and those whose own volition took them outside the borders. Seemingly, the missing element of trauma does not evoke the same aspiration to start return movements as it does for those who were displaced against their will. The stories and experiences of discrimination and past struggles are brought to and kept alive in the diasporic communities, both as unofficial and personal accounts but also as collective and official recordings by diasporic writers, poets and artist (Bhatia & Ram, 2001). *Diasporic nostalgia* is

described as “an exaggerated psychological presence of home long after physical separation from it” (Bulcha, 2002, p. 28), a feeling which as well frequently occurs as themes of songs and poems produced in diasporic communities. Although scattered in different corners of the world, diasporic communities are said to share the experience of strengthening their appreciation for their home culture. This is expressed by Oromo poet Tahir Umar, who fled to Djibouti in the late 1970s:

*Blessed Oromiya, which God has given us,
You are a heaven on earth, our own paradise,
We know of no land which matches your bounty
Where one need not suffer or complain for being thirsty
Where heat or cold causes no discomfort or despair
Where need doesn't arise, for buying cool wholesome air
Exile has taught us the truth about what you are. (Bulcha, 2002, p.182)*

By presenting this text Bulcha (2002) highlights that through the process of being forced away from home it is as if the true nature of the place of origin is discovered. As seen in contrast to the place where they now live the country of origin, *Oromiya*, is considered their own paradise. But it is not only voices of despair that echo from those diasporic individuals who were forced to leave their homes behind. The feelings of diasporic nostalgia can also be a source of artistic energy, rather than an incapacitating force. Being faced with challenges would then rather yield the opposite effect as these confrontations with hardships might lead to the realization of inherent capacities and potentials. As a result, the future will appear brighter and more promising (Bulcha, 2002).

The Oromos living in Minneapolis, USA. While the countries in the Horn of Africa host the majority of displaced Oromos, Minneapolis is today the home of a large Oromo Diaspora. Approximations of the number of members in the Oromo community lay around 20, 000 people. As told by one of the participants who was one of the first to arrive, in 1978 the number of Oromos that were known to live in Minneapolis could be counted on one hand. Since then the community has rapidly increased into the widespread community that it is today. Minneapolis can be considered an example of a diasporic community that fulfills some of Tölöyan's (1996, as cited in Bhatia & Ram, 2001) descriptions of a diasporic community. As someone who has lived in close vicinity of the Oromo diaspora in Minneapolis, my experience is first-hand. The Minneapolis area is a place where local stores, restaurants and shops sell foods and items that are from the homeland of Oromia, Ethiopia. At the different

universities and colleges Oromo group of teenagers and elders put on cultural shows where the traditional clothes, songs and dances of the Oromo are performed. Each year conferences and sporting events are organized by the Oromo community as a way to bring Oromos across the nation, and sometimes the world, to Minneapolis. Issues of the current situation in the homeland and in the different diasporas are discussed here and leisurely activities are shared without restrictions, as compared to in their native land.

The Oromo language is considered one of the ten most spoken languages in the state of Minnesota, and as an indicator of the extent of the Ethiopian cultural influence in this specific context, the local supermarket chain Cub Foods, which is found all over the state of Minnesota is a reseller of the flatbread which constitutes the base for the national dish of Ethiopia, called *budeena* (in Oromo) or *injera* (in Amharic). It is even the opinion of some that one can get by in the Oromo community in Minneapolis without having to learn English. Although no further explanation as what “getting by” means, the implication is that the Oromo who come to Minneapolis will be emerged in a community where influences from the Oromo culture are extensive.

The Oromos living in Stockholm, Sweden. Stockholm is the home of a group of Oromos that as well started arriving to the area in the late 70's and 80's. According to one Oromo participants in Stockholm many of those Oromos who today socialize and participate in important life events together arrived to Sweden around the same time. Today, they constitute a group of around 50-60 Oromos who recognize the shared cultural heritage and enjoy each other's company. In Stockholm, influences from the home country exist as well, however they do so in smaller scales. One such influence is the presence of restaurants and small shops that sell food and limited merchandise that are imported from Oromia, Ethiopia. One such product is the *budeena* that by order is flown from Oromia, Ethiopia to Stockholm for sale. Although not as accessible as in Minneapolis, the possibility exists to get the original flavour of home even in the host country. The city of Oslo, where a larger group of Oromos live, is closely linked to the Oromos living in Stockholm. Similarly to the events organized in Minneapolis, soccer tournaments are arranged by the Oromo youth, alternating the location for the events and gatherings. These are people that attend each other's weddings and graduations where the Oromo music, song and dance can be heard in the mix of other cultural influence of the popular culture.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Phenomenology

Understanding the phenomenon. The phenomenological psychological approach is descriptive in its nature and can be thought of as providing an answer to the question of *how* something is, rather than *why* it is (Karlsson, 1993). Inherent in the phenomenological way of reasoning is the idea that this question of *how* always precedes the question that is demanding an explanation. If one is asking *why* something is, the implication is that this phenomenon which is to be explained already has been defined and understood. By posing such a question the phenomenon is defined through the pre-comprehension of the asker and the presumption is that this definition is understood in the same way by the respondent as well. Instead, by first taking the step of investigating the meaning-structure of the phenomenon - that is, *how* the phenomenon is defined - a hermeneutical approach is applied that through the acquisition of knowledge deepens our *understanding* of the phenomenon (Karlsson).

The study of experience has been of concern to psychological science dating back to the foundation of the discipline (Ashworth & Cheung Chung, 2006). The emergence of experimental psychology soon proclaimed itself as the definition of the science of experience per se, not leaving much room for alternative ways of inquiry. The approach adopted by psychology was scientific in its understanding of experience and the methods to reach this understanding were primarily experimental and quantitative in nature (Ashworth & Cheung Chung). The phenomenological philosophy of Edmund Husserl, although not established with a psychological perspective in mind but still being of relevance to the field, was in Ashworth and Cheung Chung's opinion foreshadowed by the behaviorist revolution (2006).

Experience and Intentionality. As a transcendental philosopher and the founder of phenomenology, the world of conscious experience is the setting in which Husserl positions his analysis. The relationship between conscious acts and the objects which are subjected to these conscious acts is the focus of study within the phenomenological approach (Ashworth & Cheung Chung, 2006). It is the position of phenomenology that an experience cannot be explained by some cause external or independent from the individual; he/she is not unassertively receiving stimuli but very much active in allotting meaning to the objects in his/her surrounding (Ashworth & Cheung Chung). Through our conscious acts we as *experiencing* subjects always retain a conscious relationship to the *experienced* object. This is a relationship that is characterized by *intentionality*. Intentionality is one of the core elements

in phenomenology and it suggests that every act we are involved in demands that we direct our awareness to the object. As expressed by Sokolowski (2000), “every intending has its intended object” (p. 8). Intentionality as applied in phenomenology is not to be confused with intention as describing the purpose or goal of an action. Instead, intentionality describes the act of consciousness of, or experience of, something in our *life-worlds* (Sokolowski).

The Life-world. The *life-world* can be described as the context which surrounds us. The world we are born into and which surrounds us consist of people and things that we assign different emotional and practical value to; we might love our mother but dislike our colleague, find contemporary art inspiring and public transportation an environmentally friendly and effective way to get around. The things in our life-worlds are immediately experienced by us. Karlsson (1993) gives an illustrative example of the experience of water as being refreshing to us on a hot summer day. These objects as existing in our life-worlds can be seen in contrast to the same objects as they exist in a constructed world of natural science. In a laboratory setting, the *experience* of water is irrelevant as the chemist only sees the composite structure “H₂O”.

There are as many ways to perceive the world as there are human beings to perceive it, and places for them to perceive it in; our life-worlds are *inter-subjective* and they have a cultural aspect (Karlsson, 1993). Nevertheless, this does not make us question the very existence of the world; if there are things in the world that in my opinion are held to be true, but that differ from your opinion on the same matter, this does not make me question the world *as such*. Simultaneously as having my own view of the world, I am fully aware of the many different ways the world can be viewed by others. As a result, our life-worlds are always *taken for granted* and *pre-given* in a self-evident way. Our life-worlds are also said to have an invariant structure (Karlsson, 1993). In relation to what could be described as our *cultural life-worlds*, i.e. the worlds we *live in*, the invariant structure of our life-worlds constitute the things that do not change between worlds, those components that are shared and the same for all life-worlds. This shared aspect is the *spatio-temporal causal structure*. As Karlsson states, “everything that there is, exists in space and time and changes in a habitual way” (1993, p.39). One cultural life-world is thus distinct from another, as well as from itself over time, at the same time as possessing a constant, invariant structure that is the same across life-worlds. This spatio-temporal causal structure is what defines it as a life-world.

Natural attitude and transcendental reduction. As previously established, it was Husserl's conviction that we experience the world as given and existing independent of our awareness of it (Karlsson, 1993). In his words, this *taken-for-grantedness* with which we see the world was called the *natural attitude*. It should be pointed out that by "natural" Husserl was referring to the naturalness of something so common to us that it could be considered common sense (Karlsson, 1993). Whereas the natural attitude is a non-reflective way of viewing the world - non-reflective since it is taken to be for granted - the phenomenological attitude conversely approaches experiences with a critical tool of investigation. The method Husserl introduced to do so was called the *phenomenological reduction* and it can be characterized in different ways. For the present study, the phenomenological *transcendental reduction* will be addressed as it is considered to be more extensive in its reduction (Karlsson, 1993)

The aim of Husserl's transcendental reduction is to move away from the natural attitude as it is a routine-way of relating to the world that contains no further reflection or questioning of our presence (Ashworth & Cheung Chung, 2006). The transcendental reduction is used as a way to break this careless acceptance of the world's *given-ness*. In Husserl's mind it is only when we are in this *transcendental attitude* that we can fully comprehend the essence of experience without its surrounding contingent characters (Karlsson, 1993). Applying the transcendental reduction enables an opening up to the way meaning is given to the world through consciousness; the experienced objects are "reduced" to the meaning we bestow in them. This is done through the process of "bracketing", imagined as suspending or inhibiting, that which is everyday or commonplace to us. By being careful to the expression of the given we are showing fidelity to how the given appears to us. This concept is one of the principal instruments in phenomenological research: *Epoché* (Sages, 2003).

Epoché. Epoché entails the active process of, to the extent that it is possible, freeing oneself from all previous knowledge and presumptions of the phenomenon under study (Sages, 2003). It is the act of being unbiased and open to what is shown, being naive and taking the position of "not-knowing" and being curious. A parallel could be made to the attitude of the psychoanalyst as someone who is more concerned with the meaning of things for the analysand, rather than the reality aspect of the things. Karlsson (1993) describes the transcendental attitude as that of an unbiased observer: "the disinterested phenomenologist does not care whether in fact something factual exists, is likely, probable, etc, but (s)he concentrates instead on disclosing how the world shows itself for the subject" (p.50).

In order to obtain the very subjective experience of individuals, their own words and expressions need to be the main object of investigation. As this demands interaction between the researcher and the participant the concept of Epoché becomes crucial if the constitution of the phenomenon under investigation is to be understood in its purest and most essential form. The reduction is explained as having a *negative* and a *positive* moment (Karlsson, 1993). The negative moment is the process of "bracketing" previously explained, as this creates a disruption in the natural way of perceiving the world. When the essential structure of the phenomenon then is revealed to us, this is the positive moment of the reduction. The transcendental attitude is not set out to "suppress" or "eliminate" the natural attitude, it aims at making it more clear to us. As Husserl states

It goes on appearing, as it appeared before; the only difference is that I, as reflecting philosophically, no longer keep in effect (no longer accept) the natural believing in existence involved in experiencing the world – though that believing too is still there and grasped by my noticing regard. (Karlsson, p. 50)

The implication of this quote is that through the transcendental reduction the ways in which objects are given to us can be investigated through active reflexivity. What Husserl is implying is that this reflexivity does not change the phenomenon per se, rather it reveals that which was blind to us by being in the natural attitude. This process of being in and *dwelling in* the experience puts reflection in contrast to mere speculation (Karlsson, 1993). As humans are in constant creation of themselves there will always be new ways of how the given is expressed; the results will always be preliminary as they will continuously be looked upon from a different perspective (Lindén, 2003).

The Dialogical Self Theory

Throughout the history of psychology "the self" has predominantly been considered a construct very much connected to images of other people. The Freudian concept of *introjection* is one example, where behaviors or values of other surrounding subjects are replicated by the individual. Moreover, object relation theorists use the term *internalization* to explain the basis for interpersonal relationships. As infants, significant objects, such as the mother or the father, become personified parts of the "the self" that later shape our interactions and relationships with others (Hermans & Kempen, 1993).

The theory of the Dialogical Self was developed by Hermans and colleagues and can be found at the intersection of American pragmatism and Russian dialogism (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011). It is a dialogical theory of the "the self" which is built on inspiration from the

disciplines of psychology and philosophies of pragmatism (William James), and literary science and dialogism (Mikhail Bakhtin) (Hermans, 2001). It merges concept of the “the self” and the internal mind with concepts of dialogue and external interactions with others. In an ongoing process of interpreting and re-interpreting experiences, “identity” could be said to provide an answer to the question “who am I at this moment?” (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011, p.310). The value in perceiving identities in a dialogical way is that it provides an explanation as to how identities simultaneously can be one and many, discontinuous and continuous, as well as individualistic and collective. Postmodern theories view “identity” as equally fragmented as the different social worlds people participate in and not necessarily as a cohesive structure (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011).

“The self” is understood as containing multiple *I*-positions in one and the same mind. Another way to view these *I*-positions is as “voices” that at particular times, driven by their particular intentions, put forward an opinion or narrative. As the *I* moves to occupy one position after the other, “the identity” is subjected to constant construction, reconstruction, and there in between, negotiation (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011). To think of identities as consisting of multiple, and sometimes even opposing *I*-positions, can aid in understanding Oromo identities, especially when Oromo people face dilemmas or tensions in their everyday life as a diasporic people, but more importantly, in a multicultural world. Following is a more detailed account of the ideas that exist behind the concept of the dialogical self as well as the implications of *culture*, *globalization* and *dominance*.

Multiplicity of I-positions. In the composite term called the Dialogical Self Theory, James (1890, as cited in Hermans & Kempen, 1993) provides ideas of the “the self” from a psychological point of view. In this psychology of “the self” a distinction is made between the *I* and the *Me*. The *I* could be described as the *self-as-knower*. The self-as-knower (Hermans & Kempen) is yet another way to denote the component of “the self” which is the *self-as-subject*. This is the element that is active in the continuous and subjective interpretation of experiences of the “the self”. The *I* is said to be constituted by three main attributes: *continuity*, as manifested in the individual’s sense of a personal “identity” being sustained through time, *distinctness*, as representing the subjective nature of the “the self”, and *volition*, as the process of conscious choice and decision-making. These three attributes are thus influenced by the ability of the self-as-knower to be self-reflective (Hermans, 2001).

The *Me* is described as the *self-as-known* and constitute the things in the surrounding environment that an individual can possess as their own (Hermans & Kempen, 1993). These

things stretch further than a person's body and the mind; a car, children, thoughts and different social roles are all different constituents of the self-as-known as long as they are felt as belonging to the *Me*. "The self" is thus extended to the environment and can coexist with the other surrounding objects or subjects. This aspect of the "the self" emphasizes that "the self" is not a distinct entity that in and of itself is having all these experiences, but rather this extension of the selves makes it intertwined and dependent on the environment in which it exists. Furthermore, it brings awareness to the interplay of the *self-as-knower* - the *I* that is distinct from other people - and the *self-as-known* - the *Me* that is social with other people - as the process which includes the others *within* the "the self". In addition, this inclusion of the external into the internal indicates an intrinsic relatedness between the *I* and the material *Me* (Hermans & Kempen).

Multiplicity of voices. Hermans and Kempen (1993) argue that the work of Russian literary scholar, Mikhail Bakhtin, has great relevance for the understanding of the "the self" from a dialogical point of view. Bakhtin's way of viewing the "the self" as containing different narrators posit a decentralization of the "the self" into a multiplicity of narrators that relate to, and can even be opposed to one another, in a dialogical manner. It was while studying the work of Dostoevsky that Bakhtin found an artistic feature of a multiplicity of perspectives in his text; there was not one single author through whom a voice was heard but instead several authors who put forward their own unique narratives. By this Bakhtin was referring to the realization that the characters embodied not only one but a multiplicity of viewpoints that were independent from, as well as opposing to, one another (Hermans & Kempen). Bakhtin's metaphor of a polyphonic novel explains how multiple consciousnesses and voices can exist together dialogically within the same individual. A thought that is transformed into uttered words and sentences becomes externalized and as these dialogues take place simultaneously in the interior and the exterior an interpersonal relationship is formed. The consequence of this ever-changing perspective is in Bakhtin's statement below seen as the precise objective of dialogical relationships:

The intersection, consonance, or interference of speeches in the overt dialogue with the speeches in the heroes' interior dialogs are everywhere present. The specific totality of ideas, thoughts and words is everywhere passed through several unmerged voices, taking on a different sound in each. The object of the author's aspiration is not at all this totality of ideas in and of itself, as something neutral and identical with itself. No, the object is precisely the act of passing the themes through many and varied voices, it is, so to speak, the fundamental, irrevocable multivoicedness and

varivoicedness of the theme. (Bakhtin, 1929/1973 as cited in Hermans & Kempen, 1993, p. 41)

The implication of the dialogical self is thus that “identity” is not a stable and independent entity with fixed meaning. Rather, the interference of the exterior takes different shapes and creates an unavoidable amalgamation of different, yet co-existing voices. Thus, an extension of this view of “the self” as dialogical can be seen as advocating the determinant influence of the socio-cultural context on the very being of humans. What is more, the reasoning behind taking such a stance when considering the “the self” is that this dialogue of the interior and the exterior gives rise to a multiplicity of perspectives that due to its created versatility and depth makes it a suitable perspective for the thinking of identities (Hermans, 2001).

Theoretical integration. James’ and Bakhtin’s disagree on two points concerning the multiplicity of the “the self”. According to James the *I* unifies the different parts of the “the self”, thus guaranteeing its continuously ongoing identification, partly forming the pretension and modifying its retention so that an ever changing process of identification takes place. This provides the “the self” with characteristics of unity and multiplicity simultaneously. Bahktin, on the other hand, emphasize the discontinuity aspect of the “the self”, the multiple contradictory viewpoints that polyphony represent to him, thus creating a decentralized “self”. Furthermore, James evaluated the “the self” against criteria of social interactions, whereas Bakhtin paid more attention to the “voice” and “dialogue” as they appeared in dialogical relationships, inside and outside the individual (Hermans, 2001). As these theorists differed in their outlook, shaped by their different theoretical backgrounds (psychology vs. literature), they provided the base for ideas about the “the self” that developed into the Dialogical Self Theory.

However, this theoretical integration of James’ *multiplicity of I-positions* and Bakhtin’s *multiplicity of voices* as emerging through the dialogical self theory, allows the same individual to simultaneously exist in an array of different worlds where the narrator in one world is distinct from the narrator in another. As these worlds are all part of the same unity, each different narrator may be in an imagined dialogue with one another, a dialogue that could consist of contrasting views and thus lead to negotiation, opposition and re-negotiation depending on the different positions that the different narrators are occupying within “the self”. Through this negotiation the emergence of new *I-positions* may very well occur, and it is through the creation of such new *I-positions*, or voices, that the “the self” can

be understood as *developing and* constantly emerging, as opposed to being given (Hermans & Kempen, 1993).

Globalization and Culture in dialogical relationships. James' contribution of the social aspect of the "the self" considers the social *Me* to be in constant connection with the community of which it is a member. Different representatives of this community (parents, employers, classmates or uncles) influence the position of the "the self" (as a child, fellow employee, fellow classmate or niece) depending on the situation and context that the subject is embedded in (Hermans & Kempen, 1993). Today it increasingly occurs that this context will change for a person as a result of migration. For the individual who is raised in one culture and arrives into a new culture there is an interaction between the different *I*-positions that have been created in each culture, one being the "I as Oromo" and the other "I as Swedish". But this interaction is also extended to the different external positions that exist in the different cultures, for example the cousins of one's home culture and co-workers who represent the host culture (Hermans, 2001). This process might take the form of a conflict between the positions, like between the "I as Oromo" and the "I as Swedish", or it might lead to an independent co-existence. Another consequence is the creation of what Hermans call "hybrid combinations" (p. 258) where these distinct positions of the *I* have merged together into one.

Dominance in dialogical relationships. Linell (1990, as cited in Hermans & Kempen, 1993) recognized the presence of dominance in dialogue as a result of cultural influences that through history have inherited different values as measured today. Although two parts alternate between acting and responding in a dialogue, also seen as being the holder of power or the subject of power, the part that comes out as the power holder will be determined by the situation at hand. Whoever is the one asking the most questions could be seen as the one obliging the other to answer accordingly (Hermans & Kempen). This structure of initiative and response can be seen in explicit terms of speech in a dialogue, but also in more implicit ways in a community that consists of multiple cultures. In such a community there is one culture that dominates the others, one that is asking the questions that direct the conversation in a certain direction, dictating the norm that should be followed by the others. In the same way that the utterances spoken by another person in a dialogue influences the modulation of the different selves within an individual, so do the "words" of the dominating culture, group or institution. As Hermans and Kempen pinpoints, "consequently, people's view of the world

and of themselves may be more or less dominated by the voices of the groups (e.g., religious, socio-economic, racial, political, educational, etc.) to which they belong” (p. 78). The different *I*-positions are thus seen as having relative dominance as a result of this intersubjective exchange. The influence of dominating forces could even establish itself within the “the self” to the point when the suppression of certain positions takes place. As people who are subjected to the constant inflicting of a dominant force, the very real implications could be that these expressions of the “the self” are greatly reduced and even impossible to regain (Hermans & Kempen, 1993).

RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

This study is presented as the investigation of a research interest due to the fact that it does not present, nor is it guided by, a formulated hypothesis. It is explorative in its nature as its discovery-oriented approach can open to us the world of the studied subjects as it is lived by them. Based on those acquired preliminary results, it may further generate new approaches, questions and propositions about how the formations of identities – multiple voices - can be viewed in light of different socio-cultural contexts. The strategy is that of an exploratory case study (Yin, 1994), investigating the specific case of the Oromo people, and the research objective is to investigate

- *if, and in what ways, different contextual characteristics, one of them being either living within a larger group or living in isolation, affect the constitution of multiple identities.*

In the case of the Oromo people in this study, the comparison is between

1. a larger community living in Minneapolis, USA,
- and
2. a smaller group living in Stockholm, Sweden.

Seeing how there is yet not a baseline for the comparison - the Oromo living in Oromia, Ethiopia - the present comparison will be between a larger and a smaller group.

METHODOLOGY

Phenomenological Scientific approach to knowledge

Epistemology as concerned with the nature of knowledge and its necessary structure and sufficient conditions, sources and limitations, also undertakes the determination of validity and reliability. Theorists differ in their opinions of by which standards the quest of such certainty should be measured, and thus what knowledge contains the sufficient degree of certainty to be considered scientific. In some views, the predicament that researchers in psychology face is when attempts are made to apply human experiences, which by nature are illogical and change over time, into matrices that have logically developed criteria (Lindén, 2003). It is the standpoint of phenomenologists that neither approach to this pursuit is to be considered more favourable than the other; rather, each approach brings its necessary contribution to the study of knowledge as the aim of understanding is shared, but the ways to get there are by asking different questions (Sages, 2003). However, in an attempt to study human conditions under more fitting conditions – fitting in the sense that it allows for this constant development – it is important to clarify the distinction between *explanatory* and *descriptive science*, and *exploratory science*. Being guided by a hypothesis which in turn is tested, explanatory science is put in contrast to descriptive and exploratory science, which more so regard discovering the context of the psychological phenomenon and how this varies in type or structure (Lindén, 2003).

The Husserlian notion is that science is to be considered rigorous if the research methods adopted are customized to its research objects. Method comes second-hand to the priority given to the object of study and the necessary characteristics inherent in it (Sages and Lundsten, 2004). The aim of the phenomenological approach is to reach knowledge by investigating the foundation of subjective experience. One way of reaching a fundamental human experience is through the verbal accounts of the everydayness of the individuals partaking in the research. Getting access to feelings, motives, intentions as well as concrete actions and how they change with time - the individual's *being-in-the-world* - can in its original form provide a totality which is greater than the sum of its parts. This holds true if the individual is allowed to give a free and unconstrained (by specific questions or criteria) account of his/her experience (Sages & Lundsten, 2004). The point of phenomenology is that there is no object; there is only an object as it is appearing to us, which is why openness to what becomes visible is fundamental.

Returning to the notion of determining validity and reliability in the quest for knowledge, the phenomenological scientific approach considers the standard that leads to justifiable knowledge as measured by the groundwork of the individual experience. Furthermore, validity is treated in terms of a continuing process. For these reasons, the chosen research method is qualitative in nature and consists of a combination of open interviews and self-report forms. Studying the rather abstract concept of identities formation requires a closer look at how the situations, things, places, people, thoughts, feelings and reactions that are played out in the everyday lives of the individuals present themselves as concrete manifestations of how identities are expressed through multiple voices. In their simplest ways of showing themselves they can provide some ideas as to what these individuals are about.

Personal investment – Indwelling

“The beginning of any research effort is the researcher’s subjective position in philosophical issues. This is the basis for constructing a concrete research programme, which is oriented toward arrival at generalized knowledge” (Valsiner, 2000, p.6). As the quote suggests, inherent in the work of a researcher is the personal investment he or she makes even at the initial stages of the process. The Oromo community in Sweden, as well as in Minneapolis, has more or less been within close reach since my childhood. The subject of study, the chosen method and the cultural background of the participants all reflect the interest and engagement of me as a researcher. Maycut and Morehouse (1994) define what it means to *indwell* by stating that it entails “to exist *within*” by “being at one with the persons under investigation, walking a mile in the other person’s shoes” (p. 25). Through my increasing awareness and knowledge about the Oromo culture, its customs and its people, I have also become aware of the experienced contrast between the group of Oromos living in Minneapolis as compared to those living in Sweden (both in my hometown and in Stockholm), and the nature of the “communities” they had created there.

This personal experience is of relevance to the study as it has provided me with the experience of both the socio-cultural contexts which are under study, as well as an insider’s perspective of what the Oromo culture is about. It has given me a very real and personal taste of what the implications for the modulation of multiple voices could be, as a result of living in two such different contexts. In this sense, the experience of being Oromo, born in Sweden, and having lived in Minneapolis as well as in Sweden, has very much been an inner activating and guiding force that has directed me in the research process. For this reason it is also crucial that I apply the phenomenological scientific approach in the acquisition of knowledge about

the Oromos. By its careful description of the given and its fidelity to the expressions used for that by the subjects, my eyes can be open to what is shown as if it was presented to me for the very first time. To indwell also means to be *reflective*; one has to stop and think in order to process and rethink what meaning is bestowed in the experience of the participants (Maycut & Morehouse, 1994).

Participants

The main criteria by which prospective participants were measured were their Oromo ethnic heritage. Defined as “Oromo”³ were those individuals who either were born in Ethiopia, or in any another country, but who have parents who are Oromo. In a similar way, those who were born in Ethiopia were not only defined as “Oromo” if born in the Oromia region, but elsewhere in Ethiopia as well, given that they were born to Oromo parents. By asking friends and family to refer to me individuals of Oromo descent I trusted their knowledge of who is considered to be of Oromo descent, by others but more importantly by the individual him/herself. For this reason it was not a primary concern for me to investigate further whether the participant was the son/daughter of two Oromo parents or solely of one. When asking referred participants to partake in the research, either through an interview or through self-report, it occurred at one occasion that the individual pointed out being of only “half descent”, that is, having only one parent who is Oromo. The individual was then given the choice to participate by their own will, regardless of this fact.

The age, gender, educational level, occupational, marital or citizenship status etc. was not a choosing basis for the recruiting of participants. This is not with the intention of disregard the importance of gender in the formations of identities, but simply because my research objective is to emphasize the formations of identities within the Oromo people as a consequence of their different socio-cultural context. To still say something about age, all participants (with the exception of one unknown age) were between the ages of 23 and 60 years old. For the above stated reasons, I have chosen to express the narratives of Oromos by using he/she, his/her, him/her or himself/herself as a way not disclose the gender of the participant.

³ The word “Oromo” is used in reference to the people who belong to the Oromo ethnic group. Other common usage of the word is in reference to the language spoken by the Oromo people, as used in the sentence “I speak Oromo” or “I speak afaan Oromo”. In the case of the latter “afaan” means “language”.

Recruitment process

For phenomenologists, the standard that leads to justifiable knowledge is measured by the groundwork of the individual experience (Sages, 2003). For this reason, the chosen research method was a combination of open interviews and self-report forms. Starting with the very basic actions and interactions and arriving at the core of meaning is an end result that could be hard, or even impossible, to reach through a direct inquiry of the meaning of certain things. Thus, participants were asked to answer an open-ended question which asked them to share their thoughts, feelings and associations to their life, and various aspects of it, as an Oromo person living in Minneapolis or Stockholm (See Appendix A). The question was formulated as follows:

“Please would you write, without any restrictions, all of your thoughts, feelings, associations... anything you would like, for at least half a page, about your life... (work, school, family and friends)... your dreams... way of life... of this being Oromo...everything or anything...of your interests... ambitions...life in (city)...”

A question of this nature invites the participant to be free in giving his/her experience of the life-world, thus allowing the researcher to explore what is mentioned and how the participant expresses this experience. By using an open-ended question one invites the individual to give a free picture of his or her values and contexts as he or she experiences them. It allows for the exploration of the individual's life-world, his/her concerns, what he/she talks about and how he/she expresses it (Sages, Lundsten, Lahlou, Kurc & Moscarola, 2002). In the same way, the interviews were open in nature; participants were informed about the topic of the research (the formations of identities within the Oromo people living under different socio-cultural conditions) and asked to tell about their lives, starting in whichever end they preferred. A recording-device was used to record all the interviews, which were later transcribed. The interviews and self-reports collected from Oromos in Stockholm were in Swedish and were thus translated into English after they had been transcribed. All participants were guaranteed anonymity; names of people or places that could have acted as identifiers were excluded or re-named in the narratives.

Through previously established contacts which I made during my time of living in and visiting Minneapolis, and also as someone in close contact with Oromos in Stockholm, various resources existed for getting participants referred to me. In June of 2011 I visited Minneapolis for a period of two weeks. In the first few days of my visit I handed out self-report forms during different events organized by the Oromo community. During these events some Oromo individuals were asked to participate in interviews as well. Interviews with

Oromos in Stockholm were conducted in July of 2011 and January of 2012. The since long preferred oral tradition of the Oromo people might have influenced the fact that the number of individuals who wanted to participate in an interview was plentiful, as opposed to those who answered the self-report form. Due to the limited duration of my visits it was not possible for me to schedule meetings with everyone that wanted to contribute to my research. In the end eleven interviews were conducted and nine self-report forms were collected from Oromos living in Minneapolis and in Stockholm (Table 1).

Table 1. *The division of conducted interviews and self-reports in Minneapolis and Stockholm.*

<i>City</i>	<i>Interview</i>	<i>Self-report</i>	Total
Minneapolis	7	7	14
Stockholm	4	2	6
Total	11	9	20

Instruments

The software used to analyze the written material was Sphinx Lexica and MCA-Minerva⁴. The exploration of the individual's life world yields information that is rich in nature but often times lengthy and laborious to process. As a lexical tool of analysis, Sphinx Lexica allows large amounts of qualitative text to efficiently be analyzed statistically and on the surface. Meaning Constitution Analysis (MCA) is on the other hand a phenomenological tool which should be used mainly for in-depth analysis. For this reason the two different softwares work well as a compliment to one another (Sages et al., 2002).

Lexical tool of analysis – Sphinx Lexica. The narratives (interviews and self-reports) of all participants in Minneapolis and Stockholm respectively were compiled into a single word document and run through the Sphinx Lexica software. Through this software all the words contained in the narrative were counted and their frequency given. Three word groups were formed with words relating to *Culture, Language* and *Community* in one way or another, and a lexica analysis was performed where the relative importance of the constructed word groups in relation to the different participant groups were investigated. All sentences containing words from the chosen word groups, as well as the sentences in direct conjunction, were then compiled into a single text that was run in the Minerva software. With the help of Sphinx Lexical the specific participant narratives could be recognized and divided into

⁴ Developed by Roger Sages.

Minneapolis- and Stockholm-participants again, after the specific sentences of interest had been derived.

Phenomenological tool of analysis – MCA-Minerva. Meaning Constitution Analysis, as conducted through the software MCA-Minerva, was the principal tool of analysis for the research. The phenomenological text analysis done with this software allows for a deeper understanding of the layers of meanings covered by the words in the Sphinx analysis (Sages et al., 2002). The application of the *Epochè* is present in every step of the process, striving to realize the goal of pure vision, free from presumptions about what meaning is carried in the narratives (Sages & Lundsten, 2004). The program is designed to extract the purest meaning in the expressions which are used by the narrator.

1. *First application of the Epochè:* this step is the creation of *meaning units*. Every time there is a shift in meaning within a sentence, it is broken into a meaning unit. Each meaning represents something in the life-world of the narrator.
2. *Second application of the Epochè:* The next step is the attribution of *modalities*. The modalities indicate the narrator's *ways of being-in the-world*, how the life-world is experienced by him/her. These ways-of being can for example be expressed as an assertion or question (*Doxa-affirmation* or *Question*), in concrete or in abstract terms (*Perceptive* or *Signitive*) or with commitment or as a wish (*Engagement* or *Wish-positive/negative*)⁵ (Sages & Lundsten, 2004). Below (Table 2.) are the modalities and subcategories that were used in the present study, as well as the abbreviations (parenthesized) that I will use for some of the subcategories in the text:

Table 2. Modalities and subcategories attributed in the second application of the Epochè.

<i>Modality</i>	<i>Subcategory</i>
Belief	Doxa-affirmation , Doxa-negation, Probability, Possibility, Question
Function	Perceptive, Signitive, Imaginative
Time	Past, Present->Past, Present, Present->Future, Future, Always-recurrent, Empty
Affect	Neutral, Positive-prospective (pos-pro), Positive-retrospective (pos-retro), Negative-prospective (neg-pro), Negative-retrospective (neg-retro)
Subject	I, We, One-all, You, He/She, They, Unspecified
Will	Engagement, Aspiration, Wish-positive, Wish-negative, None
Property	My, Their, Our, Your, Not stated

⁵ The assigning of modalities in the MCA-Minerva responds to a type 1 error in that uncertainty concerning the inclusion of a subcategory will result in inclusion in the undefined subcategory.

3. Application of the phenomenological reduction: Each meaning unit is thirdly divided into *partial intentions*. Each partial intention refers to a different intention found in the meaning unit. For this reason, the same meaning unit can yield many partial intentions. Every partial intention contains an *entity* – what the subject speaks about - and a *predicate* – how the subject is indicating this entity. Table 3 provides an example of process described:

Table 3. Illustration of the division of meaning units into partial intentions, entities and predicates.

Meaning unit: <i>I love Oromo culture</i>		
<i>Partial intention</i>	<i>Entity</i>	<i>Predicate</i>
I exist	I	who exist
culture exists	culture	which exists
culture can be Oromo	culture	which can be Oromo
one can love	love	which one can do
one can love Oromo culture	Oromo culture	which one can love
I love Oromo culture	I	who love Oromo culture

The very meticulous steps of the MCA-Minerva is created as a way to guarantee the control of myself as a researcher in the process of analysis, but it is also away to create transparency of the method. By conducting the steps in a software it is also possible for participating researchers to track the process of investigation since the files can be shared. The main aim of applying the phenomenological meaning constitution analysis is to explicate the life-worlds of the individuals, not to prove them.

OUTCOMES

Following are the outcomes of the lexical and phenomenological analysis and interpretation. The outcomes will be divided into two sections according to the following. Section 1 will first present the outcomes from the Sphinx Lexica. These outcomes will give a general view of the narratives of the participants in the form of three constructed word groups: *Culture, Language, and Community*⁶. These were constructed as they in different ways reflect what the participants are talking about. The phenomenological analysis of these word groups in the MCA-Minerva software will then be presented for Oromos in Minneapolis and Oromos in Stockholm separately. Focus will be aimed at the expressions of the entities “**I**”, “**You**”, “**We**” and “**They**” (appearing in **bold** with first letter capitalized). Each section of analysis will be followed by a summary which is the synthesis of each partial analysis.

Section 2 will serve as a comparison between the two socio-cultural contexts of Minneapolis and Stockholm. In this investigation of similarities and differences, a few predicates were selected according to the importance they have for the voices that are heard; expressed through what *I*-position (the different entities) and through which affect, time-perspective, will and so on. Similar to the choosing of relevant predicates, so are the modalities - *the way it touches/concerns them* - chosen according to the importance for the voices.

⁶ The word group *Language* and *Culture* contained meaning units that co-occurred in both groups. For the sake of not repeating the analysis, I have chosen to include some of the meaning units containing experiences related to *Language* in the phenomenological text analysis of the *Culture* word group.

Section 1

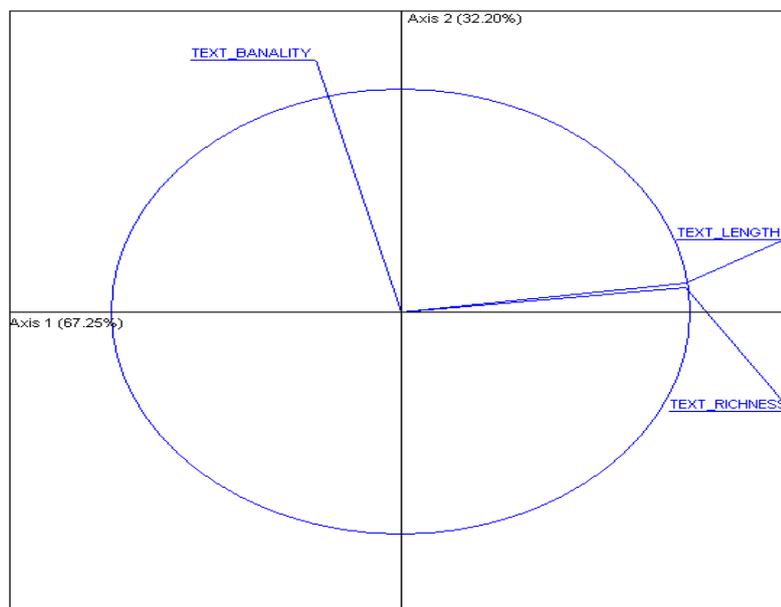
Lexical analysis with Sphinx Lexica

Figure 2. The correlation between text length and text richness.

From *Figure 2* we can see that there is a strong correlation between the length of the text (*text length*) and the richness in information in the text (*text richness*). This implies that the information which is collected is trustworthy; the participants were interested in communicating with me. This figure is of course important for the MCA-Minerva analysis as well as it indicates a high ecological validity. A semantic analysis was done with the aim of looking for groups of words that could prove to be of relevance for Oromos living in Minneapolis and in Stockholm. In *Figure 3* (see next page) we see the relationship between the two categories of subjects (Minneapolis and Stockholm) and the constructed groups, among them the word groups *Culture*, *Language*, and *Community* (circled). In the figure, the blue squares represent the word groups and the size of the groups indicates the number of observations of the chosen words. The pink squares represent the two categories of subjects and the number of subjects in each group is indicated by the size of the square.

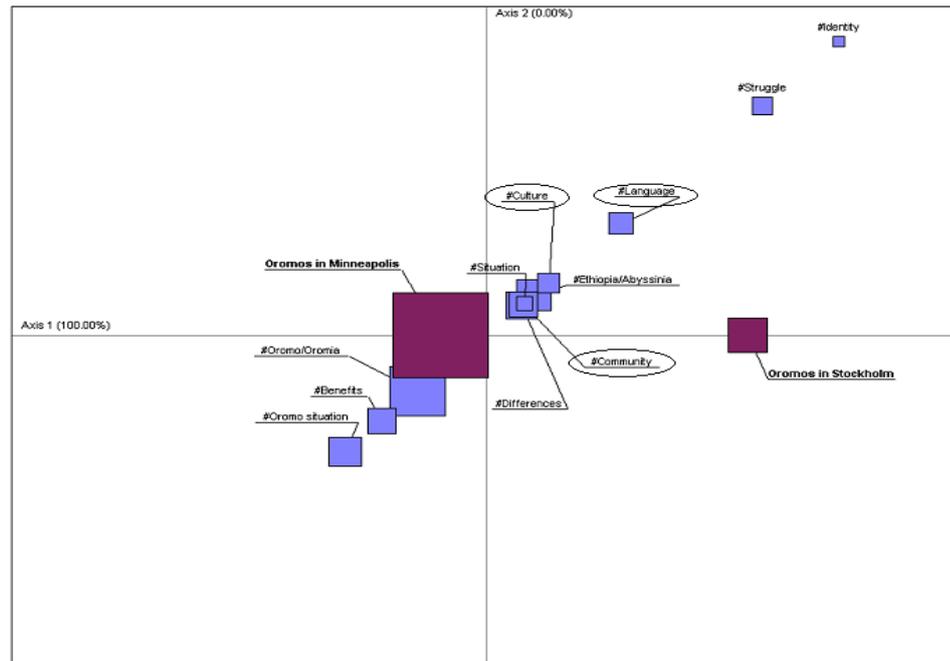


Figure 3. The position of the blue squares in relation to the pink squares indicates the relative importance of the word groups for the two groups of subjects.

Phenomenological analysis with MCA-Minerva

Culture – Oromos in Minneapolis

Modality	Category	Meaning Unit	Freq	R Freq
Affects	negative-prospective		51	11.83%
	negative-retrospective		60	13.92%
	neutral		203	47.10%
	positive-prospective		85	19.72%
	positive-retrospective		32	7.42%
	doxa-affirmation		370	85.85%
Belief	doxa-negation		2	0.46%
	possibility		5	1.16%
	probability		26	6.03%
	question		28	6.50%
Function	imaginative		46	10.67%
	perceptive		262	60.79%
	signitive		123	28.54%
Property	my		19	4.41%
	not stated		361	83.76%
	our		25	5.80%
	their		11	2.55%
Subject	your		15	3.48%
	I		93	21.58%
	one-all		38	8.82%
	they		32	7.42%
	unspecified		211	48.96%
Time	we		50	11.60%
	you		6	1.39%
	always-recurrent		5	1.16%
	empty		55	12.76%
	future		28	6.50%
	past		120	27.84%
	pres -> fut		19	4.41%
Will	pres -> past		33	7.66%
	present		171	39.68%
	aspiration		9	2.09%
	engagement		167	38.75%
	none		239	55.45%
	unengagement		3	0.70%
	wish-positive		13	3.02%

Figure 4. The modality chart of the *Culture* word group for Oromos in Minneapolis

Modalities. When referring to experiences which are directly or indirectly related to *Culture*, Oromos in Minneapolis use a neutral affect in 47% of the meaning units. The affect which is mostly expressed is however a positive one, which in 20% of the time is used when referring to the future. It seems as though reflections on the future are less influenced by negative emotions (12%) than are past memories about experiences of *Culture* (14%). These memories are as well more numerous than the positive memories of past experience of *Culture* (7%). With this affective way of speaking also comes concreteness; in 61% of the narrative the perceptive modality category is used, which is an indication that it is clear both to the narrator and the listener what is meant by the statement. There are still those moments that give rise to further questions and speculations, as 28% of the meaning units are signitive in nature and 11% are imaginative. With a few noted exceptions, which will later be the object of further investigation, the narratives of Oromos in Minneapolis are expressed mostly in doxa-affirmation. We can then look at some of the entities and predicates which tell us what it is this certainty and security entails. *Figure 4* shows the modality chart for this word group as produced in the Minerva software.

➤ **Summary:** In retrospect, the times of hardships have left a bigger imprint than the good times. Despite this, the future is looked upon through a more positive lens, which in turn seems to blur those prospects which are more negative. Aspects of *Culture* are mostly as clear-cut to the narrator as to the person on the other side of the communication, but at times questions are raised which neither part would have the definite answer to. There is generally a degree of certainty in what the person is talking about in this word group.

Entity and predicates - “I”. Out of the 476 different entities, “I” is the entity used most frequently when relating to the experience of *Culture*. The way of expressing these experiences of the I follow the trend seen in the modality chart (Figure 4) with the notable exception of the will modality. In the entire narrative no will is shown in 56% of the time, whereas in 39 of the remaining percentages engagement is shown. Indicating a different trend in the will modality, the different predicates expressing the I is 167 times expressed with engagement, as opposed to only 26 times when no will is expressed. It is also noteworthy that the modality trend seen in Figure 4 is somewhat different for the affect modality when it comes to the I, who instead expresses more positive than negative experiences of *Culture* from the past. This is a trend which is the opposite of the entire set of entities.

➤ Summary: when the narrator is talking about him/herself in relation to *Culture*, the **I** is expressing agency and interest. These experiences of the **I** are also more positively than negatively valued in the past.

The **I** *who lived in a multicultural society (pos-retro)* is expressed without hesitation, although it is not really clear what the narrator considers to be a “multicultural” society, as this meaning unit is expressed in the signitive modality category. With the help of Minerva it is then possible to take a look at the subsequent meaning units:

- MU 80 And when I went there I lived in a multicultural society,
- MU 81 where really cultural exchange was something which was our daily life.
- MU 82 We were not just like, isolated nationally
- MU 83 but friendship was across cultures and

From this we get the understanding that the **I** considers a “multicultural” society to be a place where cultural exchange takes place between people with different nationalities, and friendships are created across cultural differences, not in isolation. The **I** also used to be someone *who easily could establish contact (pos-retro, engagement)*, showing a person who is an active agent and who with apparent ease could establish connections in the new culture. At a past point in time, the **I** was also someone *who started to feel at home in my new country and new culture (pos-retro, my)* which implies an adjustment to coming to Minneapolis. A feeling of comfort was created after a period of being stranger to the new country and culture but there was a development towards viewing this new country and culture as “my” country and culture.

➤ Summary: **I** am an active agent in establishing relations where **I** live now. After some time of adjustment, **I** have developed and now feel that this is my new country and my new culture.

The **I** *who started to feel at home* seem to carry some negative emotions towards the past as well. In relation to this expressed **I** there is the **Me** *whom it was too late for to get married and build a family (neg-retro)*. It seems as though the adjustment, which in the end resulted in a newfound comfort in the new country and culture, still was a time-consuming process that took much effort of the **I** to do other things. The **I** was further the one *who had to struggle (neg-retro, aspiration)* with all things new and a great effort was demanded in order to reach that place of comfort. The **I** *who now started to wonder what my destiny really is (neg-retro, question, imaginative)* is wondering whether the right life choices were made, and together with the narrator we have to further speculate about what the answer to that question

is. We also sense the sacrifice made by the **I** *who couldn't go and take care of my sick mom (neg-retro)* as a consequence of not having a green card in the U.S. and thereby not being able to return once leaving the country. For the **I** who experienced the early school years in Minneapolis, this was someone *who felt it was my duty to teach high school peers (neg-retro, aspiration)* when referring to making a statement that Oromia and Ethiopia should be correctly represented as distinct at cultural events. Considering the usage of the word “duty” one can wonder about the **I**'s sense of obligation to spread the awareness about the Oromo heritage. Was this done willingly or as a necessary means to affirm his/her own existence in the high school environment? This is the same **I** who expresses belongingness to the **We** *who are Oromo immigrants (engagement)*.

➤ Summary: Getting to the point of feeling at home was a demanding process for **Me**; **I** had to struggle and **I** wonder if this was my true destiny. **I** could not maintain some family relations back in Oromia, Ethiopia. Here in the U.S., **I** have to teach others of the difference between “Oromia” and “Ethiopia”.

The past **I** carry some of the struggles into the present day, as well as the future, as the one *who continue to suffer (neg-pro)*. This is indicating a past of suffering which affects the present day as well as tomorrow. In relation to the previous and succeeding meaning units the context of this suffering becomes clearer:

- MU 283 Even though I have never involved any political activities,
- MU 284 I continue to suffer
- MU 285 just because I am Oromo
- MU 286 even in the land of equality and great opportunities.

Despite a physical move and political inactivity the **I** experiences the sole fact of belonging to the ethnic group of the Oromo people as a source of suffering, a suffering which will continue in the present and future day even in a country that is said to offer equality and great opportunities.

➤ Summary: **I** continue to suffer unfairly because **I** am Oromo, no matter where **I** live.

Nevertheless, there is also the **I** *who exists (pos-pro)*, who is recognizing his/her positive existence in the world and who is looking to the future with a more positive outlook. The **I** is expressing firmness in the statement being someone *who knows in my mind I am full blood Oromo (pos-pro, perceptive)*. As this statement is also expressed perceptively we do not need to wonder more about what the person is trying to communicate. In the same way the **I** *who easily can integrate them (pos-pro)* is expressing confidence as someone who can be of

aid to others in the community in which he/she lives. The **I** *who enjoy the fellowship I see at my church* (pos-pro, my) is expressing ownership over the church in a way that tells us that the church is a place that he/she feels close to. In addition, stating a fact of observed fellowship in this church, which furthermore brings him/her joy in seeing, could be interpreted from the expressed ownership as something he/she feels a part of. Contrasting feelings from the past, however recent that may have been, the **I** is someone who *now feel good and comfortable* (pos-pro). From this we can understand that a journey has been taken, from a place and time where the **I** did not feel as good and comfortable, and there is no hesitation that the present is a better place. The **I** is also showing engagement and certainty as the person *who love Oromo culture*, expressing a strong positive affect to the customs and traditions of the Oromo people.

➤ Summary: **I** am confident about my Oromo heritage, and **I** love the Oromo culture. **I** can be of help to others in the place **I** now live. Here, **I** share fellowship in religious settings that I feel connected to, which **I** am happy about. Now, **I** feel good and comfortable.

Entity and predicates - “You”. “**You**” is the entity appearing the second to most times. This gives us an idea of how Oromos in Minneapolis speak of the general person who can be contained within a specific context since this entity is almost single-handedly expressed in the subject of “one-all”. (The exceptions that exist are when the narrator is speaking directly to me as an interviewer). What makes this way of expression interesting is the ambiguity inherent in whether the narrator is relating to a personal experience or observing experiences of others. The usage of the **You** is also a way of implying that whatever is expressed about this **You** is common practice for whoever is considered as part of this **You**. For Oromos in Minneapolis then, the **You** *who are considered an individual* (pos-pro) would imply that the speaker considers this view of people as a general possibility, and even though the statement is made perceptively and without hesitation, the usage of the **You** makes it unclear if the narrator also is “considered an individual”. In a similar way, the **You** *who understand how the culture works* (pos-pro) would imply a general knowledge about customs and rules within the culture, but not necessarily whether the narrator considers this a fact to be true about him/herself.

The **You** *who learn the culture* (pos-retro) is expressed in the signitive modality category and with a characteristic of probability, the latter which is only seen in 6% of the total meaning units. This makes it interesting to investigate in relation to surrounding meaning units:

- MU 32 As time goes on
 MU 33 I guess you learn the culture,
 MU 34 as you adapt to things,
 MU 35 as you improve your English
 MU 36 things start becoming normal.
 MU 37 Normal meaning, I guess you understand how the culture works.

From the way the narrator is using “I guess” in both meaning unit 33 and 37 we can sense that the conviction of the stated situation is not complete; the narrator does not seem convinced that the **You** actually do *learn the culture* or *understand how it works*. What is considered as *learning the culture* is not entirely clear either, but in the act of learning the culture the **You** seems to also *adapt to things* and *improve your English*. Furthermore, it is interesting to note the statement that *things start becoming normal* as a result of learning the culture. From meaning unit 37 we can guess that what the narrator calls “normal” is gaining an understanding that is different from the situation as it was before reaching this understanding. So with the probability expressed through the usage of “I guess”, the hesitation whether you learn the culture or not is also extended to whether things in fact can become normal or not. To consider the usage of the word “normal” even further, it is implied here that normal is the state of adapting to the culture, to the norm. “Normal” is thus existing as a representation within this narrator, as defined by what the majority considers being “normal”. The remaining predicates of the **You** seen in meaning units 34, 35 and 37 (*who adapt to things, who improve your English, who understand how the culture works*) are as well expressed in the positive-prospective modality category. They are acts that if they are fulfilled will lead to a state of existence that is defined as better, or more “normal”, than previously. By considering the belief modality however, these positive-prospective are embedded in an uncertainty which could have other than positive implications for the future.

➤ Summary: If **You** are a part of a specific context in Minneapolis, you are considered an individual. With time, there is a probability that **You** can gain knowledge about the culture where **You** live. If **You** do, this could indicate an adaption to things and an improvement in the language of that culture. If **You** do, things could become “normal”, as seen through the eyes of the majority.

Through the predicates of the **You** that in a more direct way are expressed with a negative affect we learn of the **You** *who are trying to fit in* (probability, aspiration). The implication is that there is the general **You** who feel that an effort has to be made to fit in,

“trying” also indicating that there is not necessarily success involved. Preceding entities (bold) and predicates (cursive) guide us to the end product of the above mentioned predicate:

Culture	<i>which exists</i>
Culture	<i>which can be yours</i>
Your culture	<i>which it is so easy to lose</i>
Country	<i>which exists</i>
Your culture	<i>which it is so easy to lose within this country</i>
Age	<i>which exists</i>
Age	<i>which at that especially</i>
You	<i>who exist</i>
Fit in	<i>which one can do</i>
Try	<i>which one can do</i>
You	<i>who are trying to fit in</i>

Through this we learn that the **You** who live within this country (USA) at a certain age is aspiring to fit in. To again bring awareness to the presence of a majority, “fitting in” is here defined according to what the dominant culture considers being acceptable. As seen through this process of being affected by the host culture, the attempted goal of fitting in could be at the cost of **Your** culture. As a result, there is the **You** *who lose some of your culture* (neg-retro).

➤ Summary: **You** who put effort into fitting in may succeed since “fitting in” is defined by someone else. **You** are more likely to attempt this act at a certain age, and it could be that **You** lose some of your culture in the process of trying to fit in.

Entity and predicates - “We”. The entities of “**We**” and “**They**” appear as the other top four entities, which also make their predicates interesting to look at. Starting with the **We**, the meaning units which this entity is derived from are on the contrary to the total number of meaning units expressed more in the past modality category, as opposed to the present (46 vs. 35 times). These meaning units are also expressed with engagement more so than not (47 vs. 36 times). What this could tell us is that the narratives of Oromos in Minneapolis contain engagement when the narrator relates to experiences of being part of something larger than the individual; being part of the **We**. We also learn that these experiences more often took place in the past than in the present day, or the future. This raises some questions about the prospects of the **We**. Looking at the present- > future modality category, which expresses thoughts in the present that has implications for the future, the **We** is only expressed in the meaning unit that yields the predicates *who have needs* and *who need to stay in our region*.

However, the **We** constitute the majority of the meaning units expressed in wish-positives (3%), illustrated in a couple of its predicates:

We *who want to have our human rights respected*
 who want to have our culture and our language

The predicates tell us about the wish of the narrator, expressed through the group that is the **We**, to receive recognition as a people with human rights and who have a distinct culture and language. This entity of the **We** is then referring to the Oromo people. We learn that this is an entity who as well feel there is a defined region which to call their own, and that they express a great need to remain in. What we also learn is that these are facts which are not fulfilled in the present day. Other predicates of the **We** also show that the **We** are Oromos (*who felt like we and Ethiopia were not represented - who are not Somali - who have completely different culture, language and all - who are super beautiful, who are the one largest Ethnic group in East Africa*), Oromos in Minneapolis (*who interact a lot - who appreciate the United states*), **We** who live in Minneapolis (*who have a lot of Oromo population here*) and more specifically **We** who went to school in the Minneapolis area (*who all went to obviously English speaking schools mainly*). Still, the affect modality can give some indication of prospects for the **We**, seen how the positive-prospective is expressed 25 times in contrast to negative-prospective expressed only two times. Although expressed in the present time modality they are positive expressions that contain indications for the future.

➤ Summary: **We** are the Oromo people. **We** have a wish to be recognized as human beings with rights. **We** wish to have our culture and our language and **We** have a region that we must remain in. **We** are distinct from other ethnic groups, and **We** are the largest ethnic group in East Africa. In Minneapolis, **We** are numerous and **We** spend time together frequently. Some of us go to school where English is the first language.

Entity and predicates - "They". "They" is found in meaning units expressing the present more so than the past (32 vs. 14 times) as well as less engagement than no will (26 vs. 33 times). The following predicates are all expressed with engagement but with differing affect and relation to time:

They	<i>who culturally contribute a lot</i>	(pos-pro)
	<i>who appreciate multiculturalism</i>	(pos-pro)
	<i>who have the right to exercise their religion</i>	(pos-pro)
	<i>who don't have much understanding of the culture</i>	(neg-pro)
	<i>who are becoming more defensive</i>	(neg-pro)

<i>who consolidated all the power</i>	(neg retro)
<i>who made the Tigrean ethnic group have supreme power</i>	(neg retro)
<i>who kicked out Oromo Liberation Front</i>	(neg retro)

From these predicates we learn that for the narrator the **They** is an entity that is only related to positively in the present/future but not in the past. The predicates that express a negative affect towards the past refer to those **They** that influenced the past political situation in Oromia, Ethiopia. However, the **They** who are negatively expressed in the present/future seem to be someone who is a part of the narrator's life-world in Minneapolis, as are **They** who are expressed in positive-prospective. The above tabled predicates of these **They** show that it consist of immigrants in Minneapolis (*who culturally contribute a lot*), those who have the American mentality (*who appreciate multiculturalism*), Oromos in Minneapolis (*who have the right to exercise their religion*), older Oromos in Minneapolis (*who don't have much understanding of the culture*) and the young ones (*who are becoming more defensive*). It thus seems as though when the narrator speaks of the **They** who he/she considers as someone opposite to the **We**, this entity is negatively valued in the past. However, the **They** are looked upon as contributing and appreciative, as well as unsympathetic and defensive, in the present/future.

➤ Summary: Back then, **They** were the ones who had political power. **They** excluded the Oromo Liberation Front and **They** assigned absolute power to another ethnic group. Today, **They** are unsympathetic to the American culture. **They** are also becoming more defensive as they adapt to the culture here. But **They** can also come here and increase the cultural diversity, and here at least **They** are free to express their religious beliefs. This is because here, **They** welcome multiculturalism.

Culture – Oromos in Stockholm

Modalities. A neutral affect is used in 48% of the meaning units when Oromos in Stockholm are referring to experiences that are directly or indirectly related to *Culture*. In 17% of the narratives the affect is negative-prospective, which is slightly more often than when in positive-prospective (15%). A similar trend of negative affect is seen with reference to the past, where 12% of the meaning units express a negative affect, as opposed to 8% in the positive affect. The function modality is distributed in the following way: 55% perceptive, 30% signitive and 15% imaginative. Although the tendency to speak in a concrete way is dominating, there is still an evident presence of unclearly or vaguely expressed statements.

Still, these experiences are expressed with assurance 82% of the time. The will modality is none in 56% of the time and engagement in 39% of the meaning units.

Modality	Category	Meaning Unit	Freq	R Freq
Affects	negative-prospective		15	16,85%
	negative-retrospective		11	12,36%
	neutral		43	48,31%
	positive-prospective		13	14,61%
	positive-retrospective		7	7,87%
Belief	doxa-affirmation		73	82,02%
	doxa-negation		2	2,25%
	probability		6	6,74%
	question		8	8,99%
Function	imaginative		13	14,61%
	perceptive		49	55,06%
	signitive		27	30,34%
Property	my		2	2,25%
	not stated		73	82,02%
	our		2	2,25%
	their		7	7,87%
	your		5	5,62%
Subject	I		15	16,85%
	one-all		15	16,85%
	they		10	11,24%
	unspecified		38	42,70%
	we		8	8,99%
	you		3	3,37%
Time	always-recurrent		1	1,12%
	empty		11	12,36%
	future		5	5,62%
	past		18	20,22%
	pres -> fut		4	4,49%
	pres -> past		8	8,99%
	present		42	47,19%
Will	aspiration		2	2,25%
	engagement		40	44,94%
	none		46	51,69%
	wish-negative		1	1,12%

Figure5. The modality chart of the *Culture* word group for Oromos in Stockholm.

➤ **Summary:** Oromos in Stockholm relate to experience of *Culture* with mixed feelings. However, both past experiences and future ideas about *Culture* are more off-putting than positive. The signitive and imaginative modality categories give rise to further inquiry about the factual experience of *Culture*.

Entity and predicates - “I”. The “I” is most prevalent as the entity through which experiences of *Culture* are expressed (out of 109 different entities). In comparison to the modality trend seen in *Figure 5*, which is referring to all derived entities, the **I** expresses more positive experiences of *Culture* from the past than from the future (17% vs. 9%) and is over-shadowing the more negative experiences of the past (4%) . However, a greater contrast is seen in the way the **I** expresses the future; 30% of the entity **I** is expressed in negative-prospective while only 9% is expressed in positive-prospective. We also hear the **I** express engagement twice as often as no will, which also is a trend different from that seen in *Figure 5*. Thus, a deeper look at the predicates which explain the entities of the **I** will provide an interesting analysis.

When expressed through a positive affect directed towards the past, the **I** is considered that person *who had friends coming home with me* (pos-retro) and *who think it was easy for*

me (pos-retro, probability). The situation of friends accompanying this **I** is further explained as taking place only after a week of first moving to Sweden from Oromia, Ethiopia. The **I** further describes this situation as something that must have been unique for him/her; *it was easy for me*, as opposed to for someone else. On the other hand, this meaning unit is expressed with probability, which lets us know that the **I** views this fact with some reservation. Through the following entity and predicate, **Easy** – *which it was very (doxa-affirmation)*, we learn that the reservation concerns whether this situation is unique for him/her or if other people in the same situation as him/her experienced the same thing. There is no hesitation that it in fact was easy for this **I**.

➤ Summary: **I** moved to Sweden and it was easy to make friends fast. **I** know that this was true, at least for me.

The **I** who carry negative experiences from the past is limited and only expressed in one meaning unit, its predicate expressed as the **I** *who never understood this* (neg-retro, doxa-negation). The entities and predicates derived from the preceding meaning units give a breakdown of “this” which was never understood:

Nationalities	<i>which exist</i>
Friends	<i>which one can have</i>
They	<i>who had all kinds of nationalities as friends</i>
Swedes	<i>who exist</i>
Swedes	<i>which including many</i>
Suddenly	<i>which things can happen</i>
Child	<i>who exists</i>
Child	<i>who is Swedish</i>
Friends	<i>which one can have a circle of</i>
Swedish child	<i>which there was not a single in their circle of friends</i>
I	<i>who exist</i>
Understand	<i>which one can do</i>
I	<i>who never understood this</i>

We learn that nationalities are something that exist and that friends, whom one can have, can be of all kinds of nationalities. Swedes, as a nationality, were also included in this group of friends to a great extent until something happened that created a shift in this trend. Instead a situation was created where the child with a Swedish nationality no longer was a part of that circle of friends. We now understand that “this” which the **I** never understood is referring to whatever happened “suddenly” and which created this shift in trend. We also learn of the different possible constitution of friends which, in this case the **I**’s child who was born in Sweden, can have and how they can change.

➤ Summary: **I** have a child who is born in Sweden. **I** have a child who has friends. Before, my child had friends from many different countries, and then suddenly something happened that **I** never understood. After that, **My** child did not have any Swedish children as friends anymore.

I *who disagree with some stuff* (neg-pro, signitive) when referring to aspects of the Oromo culture is expressing a certainty in the disagreement but leaving us wondering more about what “some stuff” specifically is referring to in the Oromo culture. This **I** later gives an example of being the **I** *who don't want anyone I don't know at my wedding* (neg-pro, perceptive) which in a more concrete way is explaining a possible situation in the future. Much like in other cultures, it is common for weddings in the Oromo culture to be celebrated with family and friends of all kinds of affiliation, often times being distant relatives of friends of the parents. This previous experience of the Oromo culture leads the **I** to the conclusion that if he/she were to get married in the future, there could be a great amount of people attending the that he/she may not know. This is an aspect of the Oromo culture that the **I** is firm and concrete in expressing that he/she does not want to experience, and does not agree with. There is also the **I** *who know that for them it is not a major problem as it is for us* (neg-pro, doxa-affirmation), implying that there is a problem in relation to the experience of *Culture* which is not as major form them as it is for the **Us** that the **I** is a part of. Experiences of *Culture* which are problematic are distinguished between different groups of people. We also understand that the **I** has some kind of knowledge about how this problem is experienced for other group, as implied by stating “who know” which is expressed affirmatively. The surrounding meaning units give us a better understanding of who the other group is and what the “problem” is:

MU 56 They know society, culture, language... bureaucratic system.

MU 57 I know that for them it is not a major problem as it is for us

MU 58 if one talks about identity.

The **I** is speaking of **They** *who know society, culture, language...bureaucratic system*, referring to those who are born in Sweden and who “know everything that a Swedish child knows.” In meaning unit 58 we learn that the problem is related to “identity”. This problem of “identity” is not as major for those who are born there as it is for the **Us**, and the **I** belonging to the group who are not born in Sweden

➤ Summary: There are aspects of the Oromo culture that **I** do not agree with. Because of this, **I** only want close family members and friends at my wedding. **I** am familiar

with problems related to *Culture* that concern ones identities. **I** know that they who are born in Sweden do not experience this problem as much as **Us** who are not born in Sweden.

The **I** in Stockholm is also expressed as someone *who have the culture inside of me even though (pos-pro)* indicating that for this **I** culture is an intrinsic part of the person. The ending of the predicate suggests that this comes despite a fact which can be detected by looking at the subsequent meaning unit:

- MU 18 Even though I have the culture inside of me,
 MU 19 it's not the same thing as living there for twenty years.

The **I** is making a distinction between having the culture “inside” as a result of living in Oromia, Ethiopia for twenty years yourself, as opposed to being born in Sweden and having it inside. Even though the positive affect is expressed, the **I** seems to value these two situations differently. There is also the **I** *who always choose Oromo music* (pos-pro, always-recurrent), which is the only instance when the time modality through which the meaning unit is expressed is always-recurrent. This shows an action that is expressed with engagement towards a cultural aspect of Oromo, which is very conscious and purposely taken by the **I** every time a choice of music is made.

➤ Summary: **I** can carry the culture inside of me no matter where **I** live. But if **I** would have lived in Oromia, Ethiopia, the culture would have existed inside of me in a different way. Whenever **I** have a choice of music, **I** always prefer Oromo music.

Entity and predicates - “You”. “**You**” is the entity expressed mostly after “**I**”. As previously discussed about the usage of the **You** it carries a certain degree of ambiguity concerning the narrator’s sense of association with those who are included in the experiences expressed through the **You**. For Oromos in Stockholm, the **You** refers to those *who can know about your background* (pos-pro, engagement), *who can know where you come from* (pos-pro, engagement) and *who know better* (pos-pro, engagement). The will modality shows us that the **You** can be active in knowing its past, and even to know better than before. Still, we are not sure if who exactly this experience relates to. The implication is that it could apply to whoever is included in the specific context, the context which is Oromos living in Stockholm. For the predicate *who know better*, which is expressed in the signitive modality category, a further look at the adjoining meaning units can provide us with some more information:

- MU 38 they know each other when they are little,
 MU 39 it is their culture as well.

- MU 40 That's why you know better,
 MU 41 to also make the contact with society easy.

So what we learn is that the **You** in this case is referring to the ones *who know each other when they are little*. This means that the narrator does not consider him/herself as pertaining to the specific context. Instead, the **You who know better** and who does so because **You** (referring to “they” in MU 38) know each other when you are little and because it is **Your** (referring to “their” in MU 39) culture as well is the Oromo generation that was born in Sweden. “Knowing better” in this case is also related to getting in touch with society more easily.

➤ Summary: If **You** have the will to do so, **You** can get awareness of what your background is and where **Your** heritage lies. If **You** as Oromo have childhood experiences from the culture where **You** now live, **You** have an advantage in connecting to that society.

The **You** is also expressed as *who have never shown any interest in it before* (neg-retro) where “it” is referring to the Oromo culture and Oromo tradition. Here the **You** explains how there was a part of the cultural heritage and background that was out of awareness because of a lack of interest to gain this awareness. Expressed in the signitive modality category, the **You who still are, in their eyes, foreign** (neg-retro) leads us to investigate the context of the meaning unit:

- MU 16 so it becomes special to belong to a culture but still not belong to it
 MU 17 because you still are, in their eyes, foreign, or what to say.

The **You** is seemingly someone who even though belonging to the Oromo culture and being of Oromo heritage still do not belong to it because others always will consider the **You** a foreign. Lastly, as the only **you** expressed with a negative prospect, this is an entity *who create only your own culture* (doxa-affirmative). The narrator is expressing a firm conviction that the current situation in some residential areas in Sweden, as a result of being populated with mostly people from countries other than Sweden, consist of **Culture which is a different one** and which does not fit the Swedish culture. Furthermore, the problem the narrator sees with distinguishing ones culture from others in this way is that knowledge about one another is hindered. In this case, the narrator is referring to **The Swedes who also have a problem knowing who the immigrants are** (neg-pro, doxa-affirmative).

➤ Summary: In the past, **You** did not care about knowing about **Your** cultural background. Even when **You** belong to the Oromo culture through your heritage, **You** are not considered Oromo in their eyes. Therefore, **You** do not belong. When **You** stick to **Your**

culture exclusively, there is less understanding and knowledge about each other within the same country.

Entity and predicates - “We”. The entity “We” is never expressed with a positive affect in the experience of *Culture* for Oromos living in Stockholm. Only two meaning units express a negative affect towards the future when the **We** is used as the entity, the rest are expressed in the neutral affect. From the neutral affect we can gather that experiences expressed through the **We** are stating a fact or reality which is not valued affectively, such as the **We** *who sit together, who gather together* (doxa-affirmation, engagement) and *who also talk about our culture or language* (doxa-affirmation, engagement). From the other modalities expressed we get a sense that these are acts that engage the narrator and that the narrator is confident about. The entities also reflect a communal aspect of being active together. When affectively valued, the **We** are those *who cannot accept it* (neg-pro, doxa-affirmation, engagement) and *who do not speak Swedish culture and language* (neg-pro, doxa-affirmation, engagement). These statements give us another perspective on the feelings of the **We**. This **We** is still very much active and convinced of the expressed experience, but on the other hand seem unsatisfied with being in an unacceptable situation, not knowing the culture, language and bureaucratic system. To this communal activity we then learn that there are certain things **We** do not do, such as speak about the Swedish culture or speak the Swedish language.

➤ Summary: **We** engage in activities together. **We** agree that there are things **we** do not do together, like speak Swedish or speak about the Swedish culture. **We** feel that some things are unacceptable where **We** live now.

Entity and predicates - “They”. When “They” is the expressed entity the following predicates are the only ones directed to the past:

They *who know each other when they are little*
 who were born completely in the culture
 who are interested in where their parents come from
 who had all kinds of nationalities as friends

The affect is positive in all predicates and they are all expressed with engagement and certainty. What is interesting is that these **They** are all referring to Oromos who are born in Sweden. In the same way, those **They** *who have a better chance than Swedish children* (pos-pro) and *who have a slightly larger conscience* (pos-pro) are also referring to the Oromos growing up in the Swedish society. The narrator has positive prospects, as well as positive

past experiences, for this entity of the **They**. The single exception is the **They** *who only have identity in the head* (neg-pro, signitive). In the context of other meaning units we see the following:

- MU 53 that generation who leave their country and come to another country,
 MU 54 they have only identity in the head,
 MU 55 that their identity is there where they were born.

These **They** are the ones who have left their country and moved to another. This **They** leave their identities where this **They** were born and only carry it as an image in their minds. From this we get a sharp image of a person, whether the narrator feels a close tie to this entity of the **They** or not, who have a feeling of “hanging in limbo” as a result of leaving the home country for another.

➤ Summary: **They** are Oromos who were born in the Swedish culture. When they were little, **They** knew each other. At one point in time, **They** had friends from different places of the world. Compared to Swedish children **They** are advantageous in society, and more aware of cultural differences, because **They** show an interest in their parents’ cultural background. But if **They** have left their home country to come to Sweden, **They** leave behind their identities.

Language – Oromos in Minneapolis

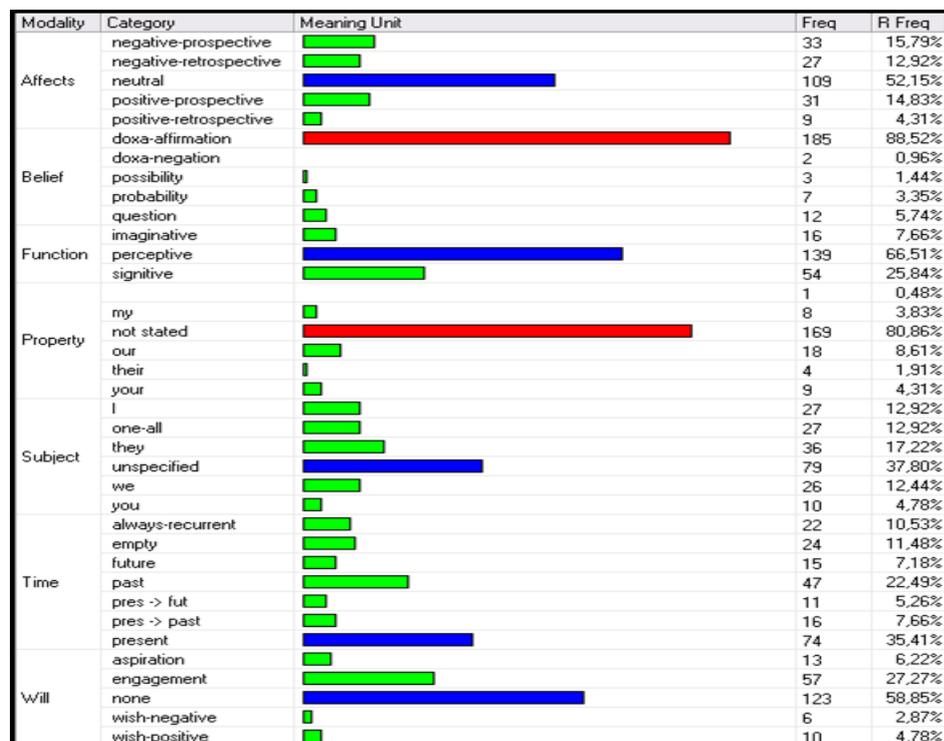


Figure 6. The modality chart of the *Language* word group for Oromos in Minneapolis.

Modalities Figure 6 illustrates the modality profile of the compiled narrative of Oromos living in Minneapolis. As they reflect on their experience of *Language* their expressions are predominantly perceptive (66%). Furthermore, 88% of the meaning units are expressed in doxa-affirmation. Although they are appearing to a smaller degree, it is interesting to note the occasions when some uncertainty appear in the participant's expressions, either in the form of a question, a probability or possibility (6%, 4% and 1% of the time, respectively). The affect which is dominantly expressed in the experience of *Language* is neutral (52%). However, the narratives expressing prospective experiences vary between positive (15%) and negative affect (16%) about equally as much. Past experiences seem to be dominated by the negative affect (13%). The present (35%) and the past (22%) are the ways of expression of most concern to the Oromo narrators in Minneapolis, which is in contrast to the expression of future experiences of *Language* (7%).

➤ **Summary:** When speaking about their experiences of *Language*, the information is communicated in concrete terms. Expressing a certainty and commitment in the things they are communicating, Oromos in Minneapolis mostly use expressions which are explaining a fact or situation without valuing it as positive or negative. When affect is expressed, they are directed to the future are mixed both positive and negative, while the past is predominantly negative in affective nature. The experience of *Language* as imagined in the future does not have the same influence on the person expressing present intentions as does the past.

Entity and predicates - "I". In the *Language* word group the "I" is not the most commonly expressed entity, it appears 74 times as the third most frequent entity (after the **You** and the **They**) out of the 177 different entities of the entire narrative. However, the **I** is the entity through which most of the engagement in the narratives are expressed. Another distinction to point out is that the **I** is expressing more positive than negative affect, as compared to the entire group of entities. The **I** is also being more straightforward when communicating, in comparison to the function modality of all other entities.

➤ **Summary:** the subject **I** is more engaged and uncomplicated in conveying experiences of *Language* than other expressed entities.

When the **I** is expressing positive affect geared towards the past it is through the **I** *who still managed to hear and understand the language* (pos-retro, engagement), implying that an effort lies behind the act of creating an understanding the language. With reference to the context, the **I** is referring to the Oromo language, this **I** being someone who previously was

not familiar with this language and who was active in reaching a level of comprehension of it. Likewise, the **I** *who grasped some technique, education, culture and language* (pos-retro, engagement) is engaging in the act of learning and reaching a point where the language, among other aspects of the new culture, was graspable to the **I**. This expressed predicate also makes us aware of the importance the **I** gives to language as it is mentioned in relation to culture and education, two aspects that have great influence in the lives of individuals, and the somewhat more vaguely put “technique” which could be considered being a general “technique” of getting by in a new country.

➤ Summary: **I** was an active agent in making the language understandable to **Me**. Before that, **I** was not able to understand the Oromo language. There were many aspects of life in the new country that **I** did not understand to begin with, but then **I** managed to get a hang of those things as well.

There is also the **I** who organizes some experiences of *Language* towards the negative end of the spectrum. **I** *who didn't speak the language* (neg-retro, engagement), *who had to struggle with the language* (neg-retro, aspiration), and *who worked hard on my language* (neg-retro, engagement) experience more hardships in relation to getting familiar with the language. We get the idea that the determination to acquire the knowledge was high as it entailed hard work and struggle, and that the **I** did not just give up or disregard it. The **I** *who didn't have anybody I knew* is suggesting being isolated. By investigating the context of this meaning unit we understand the relationship of feeling and the experience of *Language*:

MU 174	I didn't speak the language
MU 175	and didn't have anybody I knew,
MU 176	I was there all by myself.
MU 177	When I came to USA
MU178	the most difficult things were the language and the weather

Being in a new country and not knowing anyone, on top of not being able to communicate with others in the language they spoke, was one of the two most difficult experiences for the **I** who came to USA.

➤ Summary: The process of learning the language when **I** came to Minneapolis was tough and **I** had to invest a lot of effort into improving my English. When **I** first came here **I** did not speak a word of it, and this fact was of the things that made coming to the U.S. very difficult for **Me**.

The two meaning units which the **I** express in negative-prospective are the **I** *who worry* (doxa-affirmation, signitive) and the **I** *who don't agree* (doxa-affirmation, signitive).

The worrying narrator is expressing anxiousness in relation to *Language* in the future, a worry which stems from his/her observation that some services in the community are not provided in the Oromo language. This is going to make the process of arriving to Minneapolis harder, and **Integration** *which is going to be changed* is the potential future the **I** is concerned about. This expression of the **I** gives us a feeling of being powerless in the eve of such a situation becoming reality. When instead the **I** is expressing disagreement, a more assertive tone is taken. Consider the surrounding meaning units to make the meaning behind the statement appear clearer:

- MU 117 I don't have hatred for the language.
- MU 118 To learn the language is not bad.
- MU119 But I don't agree
- MU120 that opposing us to learn in school starting from elementary school
- MU 121 in Amharic language.

Expressing a firm opinion, the **I** is also showing a pacifist mentality in light of the fact that the Oromo language was prohibited at an elementary level in Oromia, as expressed through the **I** *who don't have hatred for the language* (pos-pro, doxa-affirmation). Although there could be hatred for the Amharic language, becoming familiar with it is not the object of the **I**'s disagreement, but rather the oppressing aspect inherent in the prohibition of the Oromo language.

➤ Summary: **I** feel anxious about what is going to happen to those who arrive into our community in the future, and who do not speak English. **I** could have expressed a hatred for the Amharic language, as it was forced upon **Us** to learn it in elementary school. Instead, what **I** do not agree with is that we were hindered from learning our own language.

Seen in a positive light the future aspects of *Language* are expressed through the **I** *who can speak* (pos-pro, always-recurrent) and *who can teach* (pos-pro, engagement). This is someone who can be of aid to others because he/she can speak the Oromo language. The assistance is both directed to those who need help in the process of learning the new culture in Minneapolis, and to those generations who are not familiar with the Oromo language. The engagement of the **I** is seen in expressing the **I** *who even teach my language in church* (pos-pro, engagement) and *who want him to speak Oromo language* (pos-pro, wish-positive). The **I** is thus a link to different cultures for the different groups; to the American culture for those who arrive from Oromia, Ethiopia and to the Oromo culture for those who were born in the U.S.

➤ Summary: **I** have the ability to help many different groups who arrive into and are born into the Oromo community in Minneapolis. Since **I** can speak the Oromo language, **I** can teach the Oromo language, and **I** can help in the Oromo language.

Entity and predicates - “You”. As the entity which is expressed most frequently (78 times), an interesting break from the trend seen in the remaining entities is that the entity “**You**” expresses relatively more negative affect, in particular in relation to the future. A greater proportion of question appear in the belief modality as well, making the **You** the entity which expresses the more speculative parts of the narratives. As a result, less engagement is seen in the expressions made by the **You**. When the **You** is expressing these future prospects they are as the **You who can't really speak the language** (neg-pro, probability), *who don't know the subject* (neg-pro) and *who have no idea what they are saying because of the language* (neg-pro, perceptive). We are not sure who are entailed in the context of this **You** but the implication is that knowing the language is a given must in order to know what the **You** is being taught in school, or even to know what people are communicating to the **You**. The **You** who expresses a very strong negative prospect for *Language* is the **You who see many lost identities, many lost nations or ethnicity** (neg-pro, question). Seen in the following meaning units

MU 104	If you see many lost identities, many lost nations or ethnicity
MU 105	first there was their language
MU 106	and then came those other generations.
MU 107	then they disappear.

is the very real concern that if the language is not preserved across generations, the **You** will see even more lost identities, nations and ethnicities.

➤ Summary: if **You** do not speak the language this has negative implications for **You** in school where **You** are learning new subjects. **You** will not know what other people are trying to communicate to **You**. If language is not preserved from one generation to the next, **You** will see that the identities and ethnicity of the people will be lost too.

Entity and predicates - “We”. When the entity “**We**” is speaking the expressions are almost exclusively without hesitation about the stated fact. The exception to this trend is seen in the **We who didn't have any idea how far, how close, its language and so forth** (neutral, past, doxa-negation) It is expressing a lack of knowledge about the place, a foreign country that the subject is remembering that this **We** wanted to go to. Through this predicate we learn

about the **We**'s view on foreign countries as specifically containing a foreign and unknown language, an aspect which seems to be of concern to the **We**.

Looking at those predicates of **We** that are expressed negatively we learn that the **We** are those *who have to go through ESL⁷* (neg-pro, aspiration), *who don't have strong attachment to the Oromo language* (neg-pro), *who at that time never got a chance to develop our language* (neg-retro, doxa-affirmation), and *who have never had any power in that country* (neg-retro, doxa-affirmation). Those who are represented are the Oromo who come to Minneapolis from Oromia and have to learn English as a Second Language. At the same time they have a weak attachment to their own language as a result of not being able to develop it in the home country where it was prohibited. These are the **We** who experienced being powerless in their own country. But when looked at from the positive end of the spectrum, the entity **We** is also an expression of those *who do have youth organizations that promotes our language* (pos-pros), *who want to have our language* (pos-pro, wish-positive) and *who are the largest* (pos-pro, engagement). Entailed in this **We** are the Oromo in Minneapolis who are part of the community, but also the Oromo in general, who are considered the largest ethnic group in Ethiopia.

➤ Summary: When **We** imagined of foreign countries, **We** imagined that the language was different there. **We** who have come to Minneapolis know that the language **We** have to learn is different from **Our** first language. **We** do not feel that **Our** own language is connected to **Us**, as **We** were not allowed to exercise it and further increase its relevance to **Us**. **We** felt powerless. But the present home in Minneapolis is allowing **Us** to advance **Our** language for the future, and **We** have a desire to maintain it. **We** are in some ways the majority.

Entity and predicates - "They". The positive-prospective is dominating the expressions of "**They**" for Oromos in Minneapolis. The predicates below show that who is referred to as the **They** is the same in all instances:

They *who are proud of their language*
 who are going to be speaking their language
 who can hear us
 who can understand things
 who preserve our language and our culture
 who then can be more easily integrated than us
 who whenever they go to school say "I speak two languages"

⁷ ESL = English as a Second Language

Those represented through the entity **They** are the younger generations of Oromo individuals who are growing up in the Oromo community in Minneapolis. We see that the hope for the survival of the language is put in this generation, but also that by knowing the language this **They** will be able to understand and find their place in the American culture more easily. This **They** is also expressed as having a connection to the Oromo language. When instead the negative expressions of the **They** appears it is through those **They who are going to lose it** (neg-pro, doxa-affirmation), *who when they went to school just got English* (neg-retro), *who suddenly speak English and it's hard for them* (neg-retro, signitive), *who were not allowed to use our language as a language in school* (neg-retro, doxa-affirmation) and *who along the way were dropping and dropping and dropping* (neg-retro, signitive). It seems that the Oromo youth in Minneapolis also are seen as those **They** who have a weak connection to the Oromo language. The past **They** can also be the Oromo generation that was born in Oromia as these **They** also weakened their connection to the Oromo language, but by force. Those who did not manage to keep up in school as a result of it being taught in Amharic, these **They** were dropping out, one by one.

➤ Summary: **They** are the Oromo youth in Minneapolis who can be active in keeping **Their** language and culture alive, and **They** show pride in having the Oromo language alongside the English language. **They** will be able to have a greater understanding of both cultures if **They** know both languages. But **They** can also be distracted by the English language, and lose the Oromo language in the process. This is similar to **Those** who were born in Oromia, and who were forced to disregard **Their** language. So **They** all share the experience of a weakened link to **Their** own language, but for different reasons

Language – Oromos in Stockholm

Modalities. Figure 7 shows that the modality profile for the experience of *Language* as expressed by the Oromo living in Stockholm. Such experiences are predominately expressed perceptively (89%). The belief modality reveals a tendency for expressing themselves without any doubt as it shows a 92% preference for the doxa-affirmation modality category. When not expressed in a neutral affect (29%), the affect modality is divided equally between positive (35%) and negative (36%) affect, irrespective of direction in time. The will modality show a general division between expressing no will (45%) and expressing engagement (37%).

➤ Summary: What is communicated in relation to experiences of *Language* does not demand further speculation or imagination. Experiences are often expressed as a reflection of their feelings, whether positive or negative, directed to the past or to the future. There is a mix of commitment and no commitment shown in these expressions.

Modality	Category	Meaning Unit	Freq	R Freq
Affects	negative-prospective		7	18,42%
	negative-retrospective		7	18,42%
	neutral		11	28,95%
	positive-prospective		7	18,42%
	positive-retrospective		6	15,79%
Belief	doxa-affirmation		35	92,11%
	possibility		1	2,63%
	probability		1	2,63%
	question		1	2,63%
Function	imaginative		1	2,63%
	perceptive		34	89,47%
	signitive		3	7,89%
Property	not stated		37	97,37%
	your		1	2,63%
Subject	I		9	23,68%
	one-all		7	18,42%
	they		4	10,53%
	unspecified		15	39,47%
	we		1	2,63%
	you		1	2,63%
Time	always-recurrent		2	5,26%
	empty		1	2,63%
	future		1	2,63%
	past		12	31,58%
	pres -> fut		5	13,16%
	pres -> past		9	23,68%
	present		8	21,05%
Will	aspiration		5	13,16%
	engagement		14	36,84%
	none		17	44,74%
	wish-negative		1	2,63%
	wish-positive		1	2,63%

Figure 7. The modality chart of the *Language* word group for Oromos in Stockholm.

Entity and predicates - "I". The entity with the second highest frequency is "I" and it is completely absent from the "none" category of the will modality that shows that the I is always expressing a will of some sort. The I is also almost exclusively expressed straightforwardly, in the perceptive category, and indisputably, with doxa-affirmation. The I is never expressed solely as imagined in the future, but always with one foot in the present time modality. The present-future experiences of the I are mostly through past reflections on experiences of Language.

➤ Summary: the subject I is always expressing a motivation of some sort and does so firmly by being clear about what he/she expresses. The I is not as strongly represented through reflections about the future as about the past and the present.

Through positive expressions of the I, both in the past and in the future, the entity I is someone *who learned the language very quickly* (pos-retro) and *who know Swedish the best since I was little* (pos-retro). These experiences of the I relate to the Swedish language and we get the understanding that the I who is speaking have been well acquainted with and mastered

the language since childhood. In relation there is the **I** *who remember strongly* (pos-retro) this experience of learning the language quickly. This gives us some indication that this was important to the **I** since it has remained in his/her memory in this way. When the **I** *who can express myself* (pos-pro) is stating this as a fact, we could also interpret it as a capacity, as being able to express yourself is not always a given possibility. Another entity-predicate couple that was derived from the same meaning unit – **Language-which it is easier to express yourself in the one you know best (pos-pro) – further shows that when you are able to communicate your thoughts, feelings, ideas etc. in the language you master the best, you can express yourself in a way that facilitates things.**

➤ Summary: Ever since **I** was a child **I** have been able to speak Swedish very well. **I** remember that it was easy for me to learn the language. If **I** am to express myself **I** prefer using the language **I** know the best, as this makes it easier for me to say what **I** want to say. **I** know the Swedish language the best.

The **I** who is negative about the prospects of experiences related to *Language* expresses being the one *who think that the first problem is the language* (neg-pro). This **I** has more problems in mind when relating to this particular experience of language, but the problem of the language is **I** considered the primary one. If we take a further look at the meaning units that follow we get a clearer picture of what this problem entails:

- MU 18 I think that the problem is first the language.
- MU 19 If you come when you are 16 years old it is easier,
- MU 20 you can master the language easily.
- MU 21 Language is a key to adjust to a society.
- MU 22 It means that what matters is the language.

Language is thus not a problem for someone who arrives to Sweden when he/she is a teenager, as the **I** considers the process of mastering the language to be easy when you are still at that age. But what is also noteworthy is this **I**'s view on the role of language, as a *key to adjusting to a society*. Consequently, if you do not know, or even if you do not *master* the language, you do not have the needed means to adjust to a new country. This **I** *who see that for us immigrants it is a problem with the language* (neg-pro) is thus also confronted with this problem. This is a problem that the **I** generalizes to other immigrants as well.

➤ Summary: **I** see that language can pose a problem for some people who arrive into this society. Being at a certain age will help you avoid this problem, which is the problem of not being familiar with the society you live in. If you arrive as an immigrant during your

teenage years, **I** believe you can learn the language very well. But for **Us** who arrive later, it becomes a setback.

Entities and predicates - “You”. All expressed entities of “**You**” are in the same way as the entity **I** expressed undoubtedly and clearly as to what is meant by the subject **You**. However, we still face the difficulty of knowing who exactly is entailed in this “one-all” modality category, whether the narrator is relating to a personal experience or experiences of the general **You**. When the **You** is expressed as the ones *who absolutely have some responsibility for the fact* (neg-retro, doxa-affirmative) in conjunction with those **They who do not know the language** (neg-pro) we do not know if the responsibility is attributed to the narrator him/herself. What we know is that at on one end of the situation there is someone who does know the language and on the other is someone who does not know it. When the **You** is targeted as being the one *who were not allowed to write in your language* (neg-retro, doxa-affirmation) and *who were not allowed to study the history of your people* (neg-retro, doxa-affirmation) the reference is to the past situation in Oromia, Ethiopia. Again, we do not know if the narrator experienced this him/herself, the context of the **You** is in this case the Oromo once living in Oromia, Ethiopia. The **You** also express negative feelings towards the past through the predicate *who have this accent in the language* (neg-retro), which in turn makes it harder to learn the language completely.

➤ *Summary:* If **They** do not know the language, **You** are partly responsible for this. If **You** lived in Oromia, Ethiopia during a certain period in the past, restrictions were imposed on **You** to do certain things. **You** were prevented from learning about the history of **Your** people and **You** were forced to write in a language other than **Your** own. For the **You** who had an accent when speaking the Swedish language, this was a complicating force in the learning process.

The more positively valued experiences of Language as expressed through the meaning units presented earlier through the voice of the **I who think that the first problem is the language**. What is derived from the subsequent meaning unit is the entity of **You who can master the language easily** (pos-pro), and *who it can be easier for* (pos-pro, wish-positive). As stated earlier, this is true of those immigrants who come to Sweden when they are 16 years old, which lets us know that the narrator are referring to them by the usage of the **You**. This shows us that there are many different meanings inherent in the same expressions, as this way of deriving predicates instead bring light to the ability to learn and to master the Swedish

language if the **You** arrive as an immigrant. What is still unknown to us is what causes the narrator to consider it easier for a 16 year old who comes to Sweden, to learn the language.

➤ Summary: **You** can master the Swedish language even if **You** are not born here.

Entity and predicates - “We”. Those meaning units providing predicates expressed through the entity “**We**” were limited to two (**We** *who also talk about our culture or language and who do not speak Swedish culture and language*) and have been treated in the corresponding section in the word group *Culture* (see pages 52-53). Nevertheless, note should be taken about this obvious absence, as it could indicate a lack of relating to *Language* as an experience shared by the **We**, that is, the Oromo in Stockholm who do and relate to things together.

Entity and predicates - “They”. When “**They**” is the entity expressing the experience of *Language* these are experiences relating to the past, the present, or both. This **They** do not have any representation in the future as the narrator is relating to *Language*. When the voice of the **They** is heard it is without any doubt, but the meanings behind the expressions are clear-cut only on occasion and leave room for more questions to be asked at other times. As relating to experience of *Language* affectively, this **They** only express such feelings to the past. The following table illustrates the predicates of **They**:

They	<i>who come are different people with different languages</i>	(pos-retro)
	<i>who have come here when they are 15-17 years</i>	(pos-retro)
	<i>who have different languages</i>	(pos-retro)
	<i>who have mastered the Swedish language very easily</i>	(pos-retro)
	<i>who never learned the language either</i>	(neg-retro)

Through this view of the expressions of the **They** we realize that this **They** are only referring to people who have come to Sweden at a certain age when speaking with a positive affect. This **They** are thus referring to Oromo immigrants, but also to other immigrants who came and who speak different languages. The **They** *who never learned the language either* is instead referring to the Oromo who are born in Stockholm. This shows that the representations of this **They** are limited to experiences of *Language* which took place in Sweden.

➤ Summary: **They** are the ones who came to Sweden from a different country, where **They** spoke a different language. As a result of arriving at a certain age, **They** have

learned the Swedish language very well. **They** are also those Oromos who were born and raised in Sweden, and who never learned the Oromo language.

Community – Oromos in Minneapolis

Modalities. Oromos living in Minneapolis communicate experiences of *Community* without any affect in 50% of the meaning units, in these cases stating their past, present and coming experiences without valuing them affectively. However, the positive affect is shown more often than the negative (37% and 14% respectively) both when the information is directed towards the past and towards the future. There is a general firmness in the narratives, as doxa-affirmation is the modality category in 85% of the meaning units, and engagement is expressed 37% of the time. The perceptive modality category is represented the most (54%) in the relation to what is experienced of *Community*, the remaining 37% and 9% are distributed between the signitive and the imaginative modality categories, respectively. There is a tendency to speak of the present (39%), but the past is also expressed with frequency (24%), more so than the future (13%).

Modality	Category	Meaning Unit	Freq	R Freq
Affects	negative-prospective		24	7,82%
	negative-retrospective		18	5,86%
	neutral		152	49,51%
	positive-prospective		90	29,32%
	positive-retrospective		23	7,49%
Belief	doxa-affirmation		262	85,34%
	doxa-negation		7	2,28%
	possibility		2	0,65%
	probability		17	5,54%
Function	question		19	6,19%
	imaginative		28	9,12%
	perceptive		166	54,07%
Property	signitive		113	36,81%
	my		22	7,17%
	not stated		258	84,04%
	our		13	4,23%
Subject	their		5	1,63%
	your		9	2,93%
	one-all		4	1,30%
	they		43	14,01%
	unspecified		142	46,25%
Time	we		28	9,12%
	you		13	4,23%
	always-recurrent		14	4,56%
	empty		35	11,40%
	future		40	13,03%
	past		74	24,10%
	pres -> fut		17	5,54%
	pres -> past		7	2,28%
Will	present		120	39,09%
	aspiration		20	6,51%
	engagement		113	36,81%
	none		161	52,44%
	unengagement		5	1,63%
	wish-negative		1	0,33%
wish-positive		7	2,28%	

Figure 8. The modality chart of the *Community* word group for Oromos in Minneapolis.

➤ Summary: The experience of *Community* is predominantly stated in a matter-of-fact way. When the experience is laden with affect it is mostly those experiences that relate to the present and immediate future which are expressed. While being clear about what these experiences mean in most of the cases, there are still many instances where more abstract descriptions are given and we are lead to further enquire about the meaning.

Entity and predicates - "I". The narrative related to *Community* in one way or another is expressed through 305 different entities, out of which the most commonly used one is "I" (209 times). When it comes to the affect modality, the same trend as seen in *Figure 8* holds for the entity **I** with a slight exception that the **I** does not express quite as much negative affect. The **I** has a slightly greater tendency to express the property category of "my" which shows that the **I** more often relate to the things and people in his/her life-world that belong to him/her rather than to others. In relation to time, the **I** is showing equal preference to maintain in the presence (35%) as visiting the past (35%) which as well diverges a bit from the general modality profile. Another noteworthy discrepancy is the **I**'s tendency to show engagement in the expressed statements of the narratives, which is the case 62% of the time, rather than not expressing any will (24%). The **I** is also more active in expressing the wish-positive modality category (7%), which is another expression for engagement as expressed through a positive future will.

➤ Summary: the **I** seems to favor the positive over the negative affect when expressing itself, and the objects in the **I**'s life-world related to *Community* is more often than for the general narrative expressed as directly belonging to the **I**. The present **I** seems to be closely connected to the past **I**, but when the **I** dares to leap into the future the **I** is goal-oriented.

The **I** is relating to past experiences with a positive affect as the one *who grew up within the community* (pos-retro), further letting us know that this was an **I** *who appreciated that* (pos-retro, engagement). Some aspects of the community were positively value by the **I**, and by looking at some of the preceding entities and predicates we get an understanding of the context as it was **My father** *who took me to meetings* and **He** *who took me to weddings*. For this **I**, the experience of *Community* is positively valued as he/she remembers the appreciation felt when accompanying his/her father to meetings and weddings. There is also the side of the **I** *who never had a problem with social life* (pos-retro, doxa-affirmation). The confidence with which the expression is made implies that for this **I** there are no representations of a past social life which has provided any difficulty for him/her. When the **I** is expressed as the one

who saw the fruit too (pos-retro, signitive) we again hear the side of the **I** who is remembering a past experience related to *Community* with a positive affect, but we are not sure as to what exactly is meant. Seeing the fruit of something implicates that a process has been taking place, the nature of which we understand with the help of related meaning units:

- MU 202 If there is a diversity that reflects the community you serve
- MU 203 that is more helpful,
- MU 204 and also this multiculturalism can easily be developed.
- MU 205 I saw that,
- MU 206 and I saw the fruit too
- MU 207 and I see my community, my small community, the change.

The metaphorical statement of “seeing the fruit” gains a literarily meaning as the fruit that the **I** saw refers to a change in his/her community as a result of purposeful efforts to help the community in a better way. By creating an environment, in this case the **I**’s workplace, which mirrors the community in terms of ethnicity, this changes the community in a sense that multiculturalism is more easily developed. Through the other entities and predicates derived from the meaning units (**Helpful** – *which it is more*, **Multiculturalism** – *which could easily be developed*, **My** – *which community is*) we get the sense of an **I** who feel related to his/her community and who is concerned with aspects which is beneficial to it.

➤ Summary: **I** have been in close contact with **My** community throughout my childhood by partaking in formal and informal events, which **I** was grateful for. **I** always had a socially convenient life. **I** see positive changes in **My** community that have resulted from an increase in cultural diversity.

There are experiences of *Community* that the **I** relates to with more uncertainty and speculation, these being embedded in a negative affect. The **I** *who for some reason was prevented from getting a green card* (neg-retro, imaginative) is expressing being the object of an experience which he/she does not know the reason behind. This experience, not getting a green card, is not just any experience as it determines many aspects of the **I**’s life, thus leaving the **I** in the dark about why his/her life has been given this destiny. Similarly, the **I** *who doubted myself* (neg-retro, doxa-negation) and *who don’t think I can do it* (neg-retro, doxa-negation) is displaying an insecurity which instead is directed to the selves. As not to be confused with a general self-doubting, the narrator is expressing an **I** who is doubtful about being able to work in the community. What it is that makes this **I** hesitant about the task is left unsaid for us to speculate about.

➤ Summary: **I** do not know why **I** have not been given the right to a permanent residency where **I** live now. **I** had some doubts about what **I** was capable of doing in relation to working in the community. This doubting led me to think that **I** could not do it.

As extending into the future, the **I** who had doubts about working in the community is also the *one who community-wise am having a hard time* (neg-pros, signitive). In this meaning unit the wording is even more abstract but we understand that some experience in relation to *Community* is giving the **I** a hard time. Taking into consideration the previously expressed self-doubt, we can also look at it from the perspective of the **I** not managing some aspects of the community, showing how the negative affect can be attributed in either direction. When instead the **I** is the one *who never get a chance to do that* (doxa-affirmation, signitive) we can guess that the negative aspect is directed towards *never getting a chance* to do something. In isolation this something is signitive in nature and we have to ask what it is that the **I** never got a chance to do. Through the more positively expressed predicate of the same **I** who then is the one *who can help my people* (pos-pro) we learn that this is a capacity of the **I** which he/she is prevented from using. Furthermore, another expression of the same **I** *who wish I would have been home to help my people* (doxa-affirmation, wish-positive) emphasizes the negative affect inherent in *never getting a chance to do that* which the **I** has a great wish to do.

➤ Summary: the past experience **I** had of **My** community is in some sense being difficult for **Me** today. **I** am doubting if **I** could work in **My** community. **I** have a strong wish to be of assistance to the people in my home country, which **I** consider as **Mine**. **I** am sure that the future will never allow **Me** to pursue this wish.

When the **I** is relating to the more positively affective experiences of Community, **I** *who really appreciate that about my community* (pos-pro, engagement) *and who feel that's my community* (pos-pro, engagement) is committed to what is being expressed. In these predicates that encompass appreciating the community and feeling that the community belongs to the **I**. The **I** *who can represent my community as an Oromo* (pos-pro, aspiration) is specifically relating to the community as **Mine** and that this demands being a representative as someone who is Oromo and part of the Oromo community. Being an **I** with wishes for the future, the **I** is also the one *who, hopefully very soon, would like to go to school for public health* (possibility, wish-positive) and *who can be a better person* (question, wish-positive). The predicates are expressed with possibility and as a question, which shows the uncertainty in the belief that these wishes could come true. Still, the contextual meaning units for the **I**

who aspires to be a better person could give as a richer understanding of the underlying meanings:

MU 108 "What is going to change about me

MU 109 to make me a better resource or a better person?"

MU 110 you know, for my people or for my community.

In MU 110 we can finish the trail of thought of the narrator who is posing the question of how he/she would need to change to become a better resource, as related to becoming a better person, not for him/herself but for his/her community and his/her people in it. There is also a tendency for the **I** to express confidence in the positive course of experiences that relate to *Community*. There is the **I** *who am very happy that it's reached on that level* (pos-pro, engagement), *who think our future looks brighter to me* (pos-pro, signitive) and *who think that the youth in Oromia are so much stronger* (pos-pro, signitive). The way in which the last two predicates are expressed by the **I** leaves us with further questions but through the narrative of this **I** we learn that what is causing him/her to restore faith in a brighter future is the observed success of the **I**'s generation in the community. Thus, the future of the community is what is looking brighter for the **I**. However, the **I** puts the success of his/her generation in relation to the youth in Oromia, Ethiopia who are stronger, which leads the **I** to the conclusion of the **Diaspora** *which is not the future for Oromia* (neg-pro). The narrator is referring to the political situation of the Oromo and the fact that the youth who live in Oromia can be more powerful in creating a brighter future for Oromia.

➤ Summary: **I** have a community which **I** appreciate, and which **I** feel related and connected to. This community is Oromo, and being Oromo **I** can represent **My** community. The possibility that **I** will go back to school for public health soon is something **I** hope for. **I** wonder what **I** can do to aid **My** community in a better way through changing the person **I** am. **I** see good things in the future for the Oromo, but **I** think greater success can be reached by the young Oromo who are still living in our home country.

Entity and predicates - "You". "You" as an entity occurs 31 times in the narratives of Oromo in Minneapolis when the experience of *Community* is of concern. When considering the relative frequency to the other entities of "I", "We" and "They", the **You** is used the least. This could say something about the way Oromo in Minneapolis chose to relate to the experiences they talk about as being more determined by a particular entity. To again bring attention to the implications inherent in the use of the entity **You**, it might be that experiences

of *Community* are more straight-forward in who is expressing them. Another interesting observation is that the **You** entity is single-handedly expressed in the prospective (positive and negative) affect modality. Correspondingly, the time modality is present, present-future or future. When the **You** is expressing a neutral affect it is through the **You who have to consider the world we live in** (signitive, aspiration), demanding the act of consideration but in somewhat abstract terms. The narrator's way of saying "the world *we* live in" could lead us to believe that he/she considers herself as belonging to the context that is entailed in this **You**. But if we look at the meaning units leading up to the above mentioned we get a different understanding:

- MU 235 there are not that many Oromo parents
- MU 236 who came some 20-30 years ago to Minnesota
- MU 237 who were fully aware of what and how to live by
- MU 238 in a new culture.
- MU 239 I don't blame them
- MU 240 but at the same time you have to consider the world we live in

The **You** is here referring to those who the **I** don't blame, this being those Oromo parents who came to Minnesota some decades ago. We sense a slight frustration from the narrator over the discovered fact that these Oromo parents have not figured out how they should live according to the new culture in Minnesota. While saying that the blame is not put on them, consideration should still be taken for the world we live in. By using the entity **You** the narrator is ambiguously directing this comment to those parents, as the he/she is not directly stating that "they" have to take consideration.

➤ Summary: when **You** is not expressed as frequently, the experiences of *Community* are more easily attributed to someone more specific. When there is a **You** expressed, the context of the expressed meaning unit will give us clarity as to who is contained in this **You**.

The **You who don't get into the societies you visit** (neg-pro, doxa-affirmation) is expressed without hesitation and with negative affect directed to the future. Whoever is considered as part of this **You** is being prevented from "getting into" societies in general, if they visit them. It is not clear what the narrator means by the act of "getting into" but what is implied is that there are restrictions imposed on the **You** for some unknown reason, keeping the **You** on the outside of these societies. The narrator does not give further clues as to what meaning lies behind this expression. Expressed in seemingly more concrete terms is the **You who if you don't create your own community within the university** (neg-pro, question) even though it is expressed as a question, or condition. What is clear to us is that this **You** is

contained in the university context and that the question alludes to whether the **You** creates its own community within the university or not. The entity and predicate which are derived from the previous meaning unit, **Lost** –*which it is so easy to get*, lets us know that this is the consequence if the **You** does not create a community within the larger university community.

➤ Summary: **You** can be prevented from getting in contact with certain societies, maybe even all the societies that **You** visit. If **You** do not want to get lost in the larger context of the university community, **You** should create **Your** own group.

The **You** as expressed through a positive affect is the **You** *who always have these people to kind of lean on* (pos-pro, always-recurrent) and the narrator is referring to the people of the community who value the social aspect of life and who are there for one another during big life events. This **You** is more closely connected to the subject who is speaking as someone who is part of the network of people to lean on. Those who as well are included in this specific context of the **You** will always have the others included in the **You**, to go to for support. There is still some hesitation in the usage of “kind of”, as it could indicate that the people are there to your assistance, but leaning on them is done with some caution. Furthermore, there is the **You** *who can vote* (pos-pro, doxa-affirmation), *who have a life* (pos-pro, signitive), and *who feel a part of that community* (pos, pro, engagement). Being able to vote can be seen opposite to not being able to vote, as well as the statement of having a life. This gives rise to some questions about what the previous reality of the expressed **You** was. In the present-prospective, the **You** who has created a sense of togetherness in the community can be traced in its process of reaching that state:

You	<i>who exist</i>
You	<i>who can see</i>
People	<i>who exist</i>
People	<i>who interact</i>
You	<i>who see how people interact</i>
You	<i>who can feel a part of something</i>
Community	<i>which exists</i>
You	<i>who feel a part of that community</i>

The entities and predicates of the related meaning unit reveal to us that the **You** is active in the process of observing others showing signs of togetherness and as a result feel the same togetherness.

➤ Summary: **You** have people in **Your** surrounding who are there to support **You**, and who **You** can support in the same way. The reality today is that **You** are able to vote. **You**

see people interact in your surroundings and as a result of seeing others being together, **You** feel that **You** can be a part of that too.

Entity and predicates - “We”. Although mostly expressed with a neutral affect, the entity “**We**” often also exhibits positive affect as directed to the future when affect is used. The only time the **We** expresses the negative-prospective is through the **We** *who are not a citizen of Oromia* (neg-pro, doxa-affirmation), a firm statement which clearly separates those entailed in the **We** from those who are citizens of Oromia. In a similarly confident manner the majority of the **We** are expressed in doxa-affirmation, as coupled with the will modality of engagement which is most often the mode when speaking of experience of the **We** in relation to Community. Reflections about the **We** in the present and present-future are mixed in affect, as the **We** *who are living a great life here, who are very communal, who have a good reputation in the community, and who encourage our community* all express the experience of being in Minneapolis together, with a good reputation and with a sense of encouragement as positively affect-laden. Similarly, the past **We** *who were together every day and who were trying to help them with all necessary things* express these communal actions with a positive affect. When this **We** reflect on communal acts of the past, the **We** *who have adapted that male dominated culture* as a consequence and *who forgot about ours* expresses a negative affect to the event of adapting to a culture which differed from their own, as a result of coming to the new culture. In this sense, the act as performed together has led to the loss of the culture belonging to the **We**.

➤ Summary: **We** used to spend countless of days together, helping one another with whatever that was needed. **We** are engaged in **Our** community here. **We** have lives that are great, **We** still spend time together and support each other, and **We** have received a good status here. But when **We** came here **We** forgot about aspects of our own culture and adapted a culture dominated by males.

Entity and predicates - “They”. As the entity expressed the second to most times when Oromo in Minneapolis relate to experience of *Community*, “**They**” is mostly expressed through a positive affect. Some of the predicates positively expressed through the entity **They** are those *who are doing such an amazing job, who are going to be more contributing to the community, who are the ones who are going to make a difference, who become self-sufficient and who get the job*. The subjects in these predicates are those **They** who arrive to the Oromo community in Minneapolis and in different ways are successful in the new culture. **They** *who*

influenced the community is instead referring to the ones who came to the community many years ago and who shaped the community into what it is today. But there is also the **They** who as a community are not quite as involved, who don't quite need the assistance the Oromo community offers, who didn't have that connection, who don't meet the Oromo community that much and who never really went to community stuff. This is also referring to the Oromo in Minneapolis but to those who do not share the same togetherness as those **They** who feel like a community.

➤ Summary: **They** are Oromo who come to Minneapolis and achieve success through self-sufficiency, by getting employment and by giving back to the community. **They** contribute and **They** change things for the community. Sometimes **They** do not get as involved in the community as others, and **They** do not feel the connection to the Oromo community or the need to attend community events.

Community – Oromos in Stockholm

Modalities. Figure 9 shows that the Oromos in Stockholm express their experiences in relation to *Community* without affect in 48% of the meaning units. However, in 32% of the meaning units a positive-prospective affect is expressed, as well as 5% that are expressed in positive-retrospective. At other times the life-worlds of Oromos in Stockholm contain negatively expressed experiences related to the future (11%) or the past (3%).

Modality	Category	Meaning Unit	Freq	R Freq
Affects	negative-prospective		7	11,29%
	negative-retrospective		2	3,23%
	neutral		30	48,39%
	positive-prospective		20	32,26%
	positive-retrospective		3	4,84%
Belief	doxa-affirmation		55	88,71%
	possibility		1	1,61%
	probability		3	4,84%
	question		3	4,84%
Function	imaginative		5	8,06%
	perceptive		31	50,00%
	signitive		26	41,94%
Property	my		4	6,45%
	not stated		58	93,55%
Subject	I		15	24,19%
	one-all		10	16,13%
	they		5	8,06%
	unspecified		28	45,16%
	we		4	6,45%
Time	empty		6	9,68%
	future		4	6,45%
	past		9	14,52%
	pres -> fut		7	11,29%
	pres -> past		5	8,06%
	present		31	50,00%
Will	aspiration		4	6,45%
	engagement		28	45,16%
	none		28	45,16%
	wish-positive		2	3,23%

Figure 9. The modality chart of the *Community* word group for Oromos in Stockholm.

Eighty-nine percent of the narrative is expressed in doxa-affirmation, implying that there is a way to communicate experiences, in relation to *Community*, in tangible terms. However, what these experiences mean to Oromos in Stockholm are in almost half of the meaning units more clear to the subject than to the listener/reader (45% signitive). In the other approximate half of the meaning units, it is instead very clear what is meant by the expressed entities and predicates (47% perceptive). At times speculations are expressed through the imaginative modality category (8%). Half of the meaning units are expressed in the present time (50%). The past is the tense mostly used after that (15% past, 8% present-past).

➤ Summary: Oromos in Stockholm mostly explain experiences of *Community* by stating the facts of life. However, when affect is used, the positive realm is predominant. A great portion of the expressed experiences give rise to further inquiry about the meaning behind them, but there is a confidence in the expressed words. The present experience of *Community* is of greatest concern to Oromos in Stockholm.

Entity and predicates “I”. The entire narrative yielded 74 different entities, out of which the entity most used is “I” (39 times). Similar to the modality chart shown in *Figure 9*, the **I** expresses a majority of experiences in doxa-affirmation, with the exception of one meaning unit expressed in the question modality category. In the affect modality the **I** does not differ much from the general modality profile, with the exception of never expressing a negative-retrospective. The **I** also shows more relative engagement in the expressed experiences of *Community* than the remaining entities. The **I** is one of the two entities expressing a wish-positive, which will be further investigated below.

➤ Summary: the narrator who is speaking through the **I** does so essentially without hesitation and with commitment. There is no negative representation of the **I** in the past and the future of the **I** is expressed mostly in a positive light with features of expressed aspiration.

The **I** *who saw then that it's very simple* (pos-retro) is the only **I** who has some positive experiences of *Community* from the past. With a convincing tone, the **I** is speaking of something that was observed in the past, but the signitive nature of the statement leads us to wonder about its context:

- MU 38 people have a lot easier to communicate with people
- MU 39 when you feel alone.
- MU 40 When I compare with those societies that I lived in,
- MU 41 because I lived in Russia for nearly eight years so I know.
- MU 42 I lived in Holland for ten months

MU 43 ... it's very simple, I saw then.

The **I** is referring to his/her time spent abroad, when the **I** lived in Russia for many years as well as spent some months in Holland. Something during that time came to the **I**'s attention which made him/her aware of the simple nature of the observed fact. In MU40 the **I** is talking about comparing the different societies which he/she lived in; Russia, Holland, and now, Sweden. This leads us to the understanding that when comparing the Swedish society with that of Russia and Holland, the **I** experienced some aspect of society in those places to be simple, as compared to in Sweden. From MU38 and MU39 we learn that this aspect is referring to communicating with one another, especially if you feel isolated in society, which is easier to do in Russia and in Holland than in Sweden.

➤ Summary: **I** observed a difference between the diverse societies that **I** have lived in. For those who feel alone, it is easier to communicate with one another in those other societies that **I** lived in, as **I** have noticed when **I** compare them to in Sweden.

Exclusively expressed in the prospective, the **I** who recount more negative experiences of *Community* is someone *who don't think one thing is so natural* (neg-pro, signitive). The next meaning unit yields the entity of **My** that belongs to this **I**, coupled with the predicate *which children are who socialize almost exclusively with immigrant children* (neg-pro, perceptive). Being expressed in more concrete terms we understand that the social habits of the **I**'s children is what the **I** does not consider to be so natural, more specifically to almost solely spend time with children who are immigrants. The **I** is not expressing a dislike towards immigrant children per say, but to the fact that other children who are not immigrant children, in this case what the **I** refers to as "Swedish children", are being excluded from the child's circle of friends. The **I**'s child would also be considered an "immigrant child", which could lead us to believe that the **I**'s child is making a choice based on commonality, being with others who in that sense are the same as him/her. Still, this is a behavior which the **I** is not in favor of.

Expressing engagement in other actions as well, the **I** *who see this problem* (neg-pro) is again expressing the act of being observant to aspects of *Community* which are problematic. In this case the **I** is again referring to the difficulty for people to meet and also keep in touch when living in Sweden. The **I** considers this present fact to have negative implications for the future. Similarly, the **I** *who know there is much conflict in the Oromo society in Stockholm too* (neg-pro, doxa-affirmation, signitive) and *who think it is so silly* (neg-pro, doxa-affirmation, engagement) is expressing a current situation which seems to be problematic. Furthermore,

this situation is silly in the eyes of the **I**. The **I** is referring to that some people within the Oromo society “think it is bad that some associate with the Amhara”, which is the spring of the conflict that the **I** is observing. Although we do not learn how this conflict is manifested, we learn that the **I** is emphasizing his/her disapproval by valuing this situation as “silly”. We can sense that the **I** is not of the same opinion, that he/she does not consider association with the Amhara to be wrong or a reason for conflicts.

➤ Summary: there are things that **I** think are unusual in this society; that **My** child only spends time with peers who are like him/herself and do not socialize with Swedish children. **I** see some problems with the community in which **I** live today. **I** find it hard to be in contact with people here. **I** also see conflicts within the group of Oromos who are living here; some do not agree that Oromos and Amharas should be associated with one another. **I** do not share this opinion.

The **I** *who like to socialize with people* (pos-pro, signitive) is with confidence expressing engagement in an activity which holds true for the present and near future. It is expressed in the signitive modality category since “people” is undefined and could refer to anyone, something we would have to ask the **I** more specifically about to understand completely what is meant by it. The **I** *who see the Oromo community as my family* (pos-pro, perceptive) is instead being more precise about the people he/she is referring to as having a relationship with, this being the Oromos he/she have grown up with. The **I** *who am Oromo* (pos-pro, perceptive) is similarly in a concrete manner expressing a belonging to the ethnic group of the Oromo people, and goes even further on to explain that this **I** is also someone *who is not only Oromo but also citizen of the world* (pos-pro). This is an **I** who recognizes two aspects of belonging – this being to one ethnic group specifically, and to the larger world community in general. The **I** who expresses a wish-positive is the one *who would like to put aside a few hours per day for a healthy community service* (pos-pro, doxa-affirmation). Being put in a concrete way this **I** has a clear idea of what he/she would like to spend more time doing in the future – contributing to his/her community. What is still unclear is what is meant by “healthy community service”, that is in what ways this **I** would like to contribute to the community.

➤ Summary: **I** appreciate participating in social activities with others. **I** see the people who are a part of the Oromo community, and whom **I** have grown up with, as my family. Even though **I** am Oromo specifically, **I** consider myself to be the same as all others who are born in this world. In the future, **I** have a wish of dividing my time differently so that **I** could do something to serve the community that **I** live in.

Entity and predicates - “You”. The entity “**You**” is expressed the second to most times (17) in the narrative of Oromos in Stockholm that relate to experiences of *Community*. Keeping in mind the previously discussed nature of the usage of “**You**” as a way of expression, the **You who meet for the social aspect** (pos-pro) and **who meet for the children’s sake** (pos-pro) indicates that those who are contained within this “**You**” is everyone contained in a specific context and who engages in this act together. The act is meeting specifically for the social aspects and the sake of the children. In relation, the **You who don’t have to discuss it** (neutral, signitive) is the **You who agree that you are Oromo** (pos-pro, signitive). Taken in the context of the meaning units the narrator is explaining the reasoning behind these expressions of the **You**:

- MU 4 Agree only...agree that you are Oromo,
- MU 5 But you do not agree how the political movement should be.
- MU 6 Ok, you don't have to discuss it,
- MU 6 but you meet for the social aspect,
- MU 8 for the children's sake.

We now understand that the context of this **You** are those who are Oromo but who have different opinions about what the character of the political movement should be. Agreeing to disagree, this **You** can leave out the topic of politics and still attend social gatherings together, much for the sake of the children. So it seems the social aspect, to spend time together as a group of Oromos in Stockholm, is prioritized for those who are contained in this **You**. This **You** also seem to recognize the importance to have their children spend time together, creating a sense of togetherness for them as well. Political opinions come second-hand. From the narrator we get the information that those involved in the context is a group of Oromos in Stockholm, around 50-60 people, who is considered “this group” that came to Sweden around the same time and that meet and socialize during special occasions, such as birthday’s and graduations.

➤ Summary: **You** meet each other on a regular basis, celebrating birthdays and academic achievements, because **You** are a small group of Oromos living in Stockholm. **You** do not take into consideration that **You** have different political opinions. The fact of being together, mostly for the sake of **Your** children, is more important.

The **You** who expresses more negatively valued experiences of *Community* is limited for Oromos living in Stockholm. The **You who come when you are 30 years old** (neg-retro) is referring to those Oromos now living in Stockholm who arrived when they were the age of

30. The following entities and predicates are derived from the entire meaning units (“Getting in is not easy, getting into the community when you come when you are 30 years old”):

Getting in	<i>which one can do</i>
Getting in	<i>which is not easy</i>
Community	<i>which exists</i>
Community	<i>which one can get into</i>
You	<i>who exist</i>
You	<i>who come here</i>
You	<i>who are 30 years old</i>
You	<i>who come when you are 30 years old</i>
The community	<i>which it is not easy getting into when you come when you are 30 years old</i>

The **You** *who came here when you are 30 years old* is having a hard time getting into the community, as a result of arriving at that specific age. As before, we do not know if the narrator is included and speaking of an experience which is personal but guised as a general fact, or if the narrator knows that this is the experience of all those other individuals arriving to Stockholm at this age. In the forefront we still have the expression of the fact that age can be a determinant for how you adjust to the community, this **You** implying that things get harder as you get older. There is also the **You** *who feel alone* (neg-pro) as detected from MU 39 previously tabled, indicating that this **You** can feel alone in the society **You** live in. Whether the narrator is the one who feels this way remains unclear.

➤ Summary: It is not easy for **You** to get into the community if **You** arrive at a certain age. **You** who come when you are 30 years old have a hard time with this. In this society, **You** feel that **You** are on **Your** own.

Entity and predicates - “We”. For Oromos living in Stockholm the experience of *Community* is never expressed through the entity “**We**” in the past; **We** is only an entity which exists in the present or in the present-future. It is interesting to note that those experiences which in some way related to *Community* in the past is not expressed through the **We** entity, an entity that in a more straight-forward way than the **You** and **They** entities indicate the narrators relatedness to these experiences of *Community*. The belief modality is always doxa-affirmation, and the majority of the meaning units are expressed in a concrete way, so the **We** is straight-forward in the communication. As the present **We** who carry on into the future, this entity entails those *who could use the spare time for education, exercise and voluntary community service* (doxa-affirmation, perceptive). The **We** is being concrete in expressing what the **we** would need some extra time for; prioritizing academics, exercising,

and providing charitable services to the public. The **We** *who have achieved today* (doxa-affirmation, engagement), referring to a certain level of technological development, sees this as an opportunity to shorten the work-days and free up some hours that could be divided amongst the above-mentioned activities.

From these expressions of the **We**, we can know that those entailed in the entity **We** are those who spend more time at work than they would like. This **We** could thus refer to anyone in the community who can relate to this experience. In the same way, the **We** who have contributed to this achievement can refer to the greater community as a whole. This tells us that the narrator considers him/herself as being a part of this **We**, which is not limited to a specific ethnic or age group, but refers to the community as a whole. More specifically referring to a limited entity of **We** is the **We** *who cannot sit at home waiting for social services and who must do something*. The narrator is referring to the situation of being jobless and the **We** who sees being active as the only way to change this situation, as passively waiting for social services is not an option. This **We** is referring to Oromo immigrants or immigrants in general.

➤ Summary: With the achievements **We** as a community have made today, **We** should be able to spend **Our** time doing things that enriches **Our** own lives as well as the lives of others in the community. If **We** want to see a change in our situation, **We** cannot sit and wait for others to help **Us**, **We** have to be active ourselves.

Entity and predicates - “They”. “**They**” as an entity is only expressed with a positive affect and almost exclusively when referring to the present or present/future. The present-past is represented as the **They** *who know each other when they are little* (pos-retro) while referring to whoever is born in Sweden, seeing how the **They** will have known the people and places in their surroundings since they were born into this context. Indicating an advantage, this is in contrast to those who are not those **They**, but instead those who have not had this familiarity with society since childhood. Though mostly expressed through doxa-affirmation, some exceptions are those **They** *who maybe don’t call themselves Oromos* (present, possibility) and the **They** *who perhaps are with Amharas or Tigres* (present, possibility). These entities of **They** are expressed with caution by the narrator, as though some hesitation exists around making these statements with certainty. When expressing these **They** *who are Oromo* (present-future, doxa-affirmation) or those **They** *who are married with foreigners* (present-future, doxa-affirmation) we do not sense the same hesitation. In this narrative, two groups of Oromos are being referred to as **They**; those who are Oromos but perhaps do not

use that term to describe themselves, and those who are Oromos and who are married to foreigners. By pointing out the existence of the firstly mentioned group entailed in **They**, the narrator is making us aware that there are Oromos who do call themselves Oromos, and there are others who perhaps do not. Why the second group entailed in this **They** is pointed out is because the narrator is speaking of “this group” of Oromos, which does not exclusively consist of Oromos, but people from other nationalities as well, as a result of marriage.

➤ Summary: **They** were born in this society and, as opposed to **Us**, have been acquainted with one another since childhood. It might be that **They** don't use the term “Oromo” to describe themselves, but **They** are Oromo. Perhaps **They** affiliate with other groups of people. Some Oromos are married with foreigners, and **They** are a part of the group who call themselves Oromos.

Section 2

In the following section some of the predicates expressed by the Oromo people living in Minneapolis and in Stockholm were picked and compared to each other. This was done on the basis of the relevance they have for the voices that are heard. For the full list of predicates see Appendix B (chosen predicates are indicated with an asterisk *). Whenever an asterisk is present in the following text this indicates the presence of both similarities and differences. The entities are here seen as different *I*-positions of the selves, that is, different voices through different subjects, that the *I* (not to be confused with the entity “**I**”) change between to express different meanings at different times, with different people.

The Oromo, expressed through the subject “I”

Table 4. Predicates of the Oromo voices in Minneapolis and in Stockholm, expressed through the subject “**I**”.

Oromos in Minneapolis (<i>which is “I”</i>)		Oromos in Stockholm (<i>which is “I”</i>)	
<i>Predicates</i>	<i>Modalities</i>	<i>Predicates</i>	<i>Modalities</i>
who started to feel at home in my new country and culture	pos-retro, my	who think it was easy for me	pos-retro, probability
who now started to wonder what my destiny really is	neg-retro, question, imaginative	who disagree with some stuff	neg-pro, signitive
who continue to suffer	neg-pro, always-recurrent	who know that for them it is not a major problem as it is for us	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation
who knows in my mind I am full blood Oromo	pos-pro, doxa-affirmation	who know society, culture, language...bureaucratic system	pos-pro, doxa-affirmation
who now feel good and comfortable	pos-pro, engagement,	who have the culture inside of me even though	pos-pro, doxa-affirmation
who still managed to hear and understand the language	pos-retro, engagement	who learned the language very quickly	pos-retro, engagement,
who grasped some technique, education, culture and language	pos-retro, engagement	who don't think one thing is so natural	neg-pro, signitive
who want him to speak Oromo language	pos-pro, wish-positive	who know there is much conflict in the Oromo society in Stockholm too	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation, signitive
who never had a problem with social life	pos-retro, doxa-affirmation	who see the Oromo community as my family	pos-pro, perceptive
who wish I would have been home to help my people	doxa-affirmation, wish-positive	who am Oromo	pos-pro, perceptive
who feel that's my community	pos-pro, engagement	who is not only Oromo but also citizen of the world	pos-pro, doxa-affirmation, engagement
who think our future looks brighter to me	pos-pro, signitive	who see this problem	neg-pro, engagement
who grew up within the community	pos-retro, doxa-affirmation	who like to socialize with people	pos-pro, signitive
who worry	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation, signitive	who would like to put aside a few hours per day for a healthy community service	pos-pro, wish-positive
who love Oromo culture	pos-pro, engagement		

Similarities. Voices stating that one is Oromo are present in both cases, as well as viewing the Oromo community as family or something that one grew up within. There is expressed appreciation for the Oromo culture, such as Oromo music. When referring to the context in which the voices live, aspects of culture and language as well as more concrete aspects, (technique or the bureaucratic system) are included in that which one can know or grasp. Never having a problem with social life and being a social person is similarly expressed through voices in Stockholm and in Minneapolis. The acquisition of language knowledge as an active process is a reality that voices in both Stockholm and Minneapolis experienced. There are voices that express some worry about problems and worry for the future concerning if, and how, Oromo immigrants learn the language spoken where they now live. There is also a common feel for wanting to extend your help to others.* These voices of different *I*-positions are mostly concerned with the future when these situations and things are expressed.

Differences. The voices in Minneapolis that express the process of starting to feel at home and comfortable in the host country are not heard in Stockholm. In Stockholm there are instead things that are hard to understand and that appear unnatural. In addition, these voices express that some problems are only for those who arrived in Sweden in later years, since it was easier for those who arrived at a young age. The experienced conflict within the Oromo community in Stockholm is contrasted to the future which we hear is looking brighter in Minneapolis. Voices that want the next generation to learn the Oromo language are heard through the subject **I** in Minneapolis but in Stockholm these voices that are reflecting on future generations and the preservation of the Oromo language are not noticed. However, in Minneapolis the past echoes a voice who since then continues to suffer for carrying the Oromo culture within, creating questions of what the true destiny is. This kind of injustice is not expressed through the subject **I** in Stockholm. Culture is seen as carried within as well, but not in a negative light, as in Minneapolis. Belonging is neither seen as restricted to the Oromo culture in Stockholm, the belongingness is felt within the world. In relation to this, the indicated difference in the stated similarity above is that the desire to help for the voices in Stockholm applies to the community in general, while there is a specific wish to help the Oromo people who are still living in Oromia, Ethiopia, in Minneapolis. These voices that the subject **I** express are more positive in affect in Minneapolis whereas in Stockholm these voices express both positive and negative affect.

The Oromo, expressed through the subject “You”

Table 5. Predicates of the Oromo voices in Minneapolis and in Stockholm, expressed through the subject “You”.

Oromos in Minneapolis (<i>Oromo, which is “You”</i>)		Oromos in Stockholm (<i>Oromo, which is “You”</i>)	
<i>Predicates</i>	<i>Modalities</i>	<i>Predicates</i>	<i>Modalities</i>
who understand how the culture works	pos-pro, probability	who can know about your background	pos-pro, engagement
who learn the culture	pos-retro, probability	who have never shown any interest in it before	neg-retro, doxa-affirmation
who are trying to fit in	neg-retro, probability, aspiration	who create only your own culture	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation
who lose some of your culture	neg-retro, doxa-affirmation, signitive	who have this accent in the language	neg-retro, doxa-affirmation
who can't really speak the language	neg-pro, probability	who meet for the social aspect	pos-pro, engagement
who have no idea what they are saying because of the language	neg-pro, perceptive	who agree that you are Oromo	pos-pro, signitive
who if you don't create your own community within the university	neg-pro, question	who feel alone	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation
who always have these people to kind of lean on	pos-pro, always-recurrent	who know each other when they are little	pos-retro, perceptive
who feel a part of that community	pos-pro, engagement		

Similarities. There are similar expressions of voices that recognize the social support found in one another as Oromos living in the host culture, agreeing to be Oromo and supporting one another as a result. Pointing out the fact that you can create your own culture within another culture is also heard through the voices in both Minneapolis and Stockholm*. There is also a common recognition to being able to learn the culture which is foreign to you.* Similar attention is also given to the fact of not knowing the language and not having a clue what people are saying because of it. This is similar to not really knowing the language and always having an accent.

Differences. As indicated by the asterisk, there are differences in the above noted similarities as well. Although these voices share some intended meaning, they differ first in that creating your own culture is in Minneapolis a necessity if you do not want to feel lost in the larger community. In Stockholm, this is what keeps immigrants and Swedes separate, and is thus voiced as a problem. The second voiced statement about learning the foreign culture differs in that in Stockholm this is the Oromo culture and in Minneapolis this is the American culture. This difference is further amplified by the voices expressing little interest shown in

the past for learning the Oromo culture. When voiced through the general subject **You** there is a contrast in voices feeling alone in Stockholm and voices who feel a part of the community. The different voices also approach the fact of being in touch with background or culture from different sides; in Stockholm these voices believe that you can establish such a connection, in Minneapolis you already have it and instead risk losing it. There are differing voiced opinions about the generation who grows up in the host culture and who socializes with other youngsters in that host culture as well. In Stockholm this is articulated as an advantage as it provides a way to get familiar with the culture. In Minneapolis this seen as an attempt to adjust to the norm, but at the cost of your own culture. The voices heard through the subject **You** differ in that there is an uncertainty present in Minneapolis, questions or probabilities are expressed that does not exist in Stockholm. This in turn brings the focus to the future for the Minneapolis voices. The voices of Stockholm dwell in the past more, and they are more so spoken with a negative tone.

The Oromo, expressed through the subject “We”

Table 6. Predicates of the Oromo voices in Minneapolis and in Stockholm, expressed through the subject “We”.

Oromos in Minneapolis (<i>Oromo, which is “We”</i>)		Oromos in Stockholm (<i>Oromo, which is “We”</i>)	
<i>Predicates</i>	<i>Modalities</i>	<i>Predicates</i>	<i>Modalities</i>
who want to have our human rights respected	pos-pro, wish-positive, our	who sit together, who gather together	neutral, present, engagement
who are super beautiful	pos-pro, engagement	who cannot accept it	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation
who interact a lot	pos-pro, engagement	who do not speak Swedish culture and language	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation
who appreciate the United States	pos-pro, engagement	who must do something	neutral, aspiration
who have a lot of Oromo population here	neutral, doxa-affirmation	who also talk about our culture or language	neutral, present, engagement
who at that time never got a chance to develop our language	neg-retro, our, doxa-affirmation		
who don't have strong attachment to the Oromo language	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation		
who have never had any power in that country	neg-retro, doxa-affirmation		
who are living a great life here	pos-pro, doxa-affirmation, engagement		
who were together every day	pos-retro, always-recurrent		
who are the largest	pos-pro, engagement		
who are very communal	pos-pro, signitive, engagement		

Similarities. There are voices in Minneapolis and Stockholm that both mention doing things together as Oromo, gathering and interacting as a communal people. There is also a sense of stressing language and culture as their *own*. * All voices express more thoughts about the future than the past.

Differences. The most apparent difference is the strength of the voices heard through the subject **We** which can be noticed from the small number of utterances heard from this voice in Stockholm. Other than that, the similarity in the previous paragraph contains a difference in how the voices speak about the culture and language being their own. In Stockholm, there is talk about them, but in Minneapolis the voices express a desire to have them, indicating that it might not be a reality already. Staying on the subject of language, voices of Oromo in Minneapolis do not feel that there is a strong connection to the Oromo language along with expressing an appreciation for their host culture, whereas for some voices in Stockholm this is the only language spoken when Oromos are together and the Swedish culture is not spoken of. Besides this, voices in Minneapolis are expressing many things which are not heard of through the Stockholm voices; being a beautiful people, being numerically a large group of people and living a great life in Minneapolis. There are voices that are affected by past events as well, such as not having their human right respected, not having any power in the home country and not being able to develop the Oromo country. These are experiences from the past that is heard through the subject **We** of the Oromo voices in Minneapolis that do not have an equivalent in Stockholm. In the same way, there are expressions of the Oromo voices in Stockholm that are unwilling to accept the situation of not being familiar with the society they live in and that something must be done to change it. Those few voices that are heard in Stockholm from this **We** subject are either negative or neutral in affect where in Minneapolis these voices express a positive affect. Minneapolis voices recognize the voices from the past but for those heard in Stockholm the present or the future is where experiences of the subject **We** exist.

The Oromo, expressed through the subject “They”

Table 7. *Predicates of the Oromo voices in Minneapolis and in Stockholm, expressed through the subject “They”.*

Oromos in Minneapolis (<i>Oromo, which is They</i>)		Oromos in Stockholm (<i>Oromo, which is They</i>)	
<i>Predicates</i>	<i>Modalities</i>	<i>Predicates</i>	<i>Modalities</i>
who are going to be speaking their language	pos-pro, their, doxa-affirmation	who were born completely in the culture	pos-pro, doxa-affirmation
who preserve our language and our culture	pos-pro, our, doxa-affirmation	who are interested in where their parents come from	pos-pro, engagement
who are proud of their language	pos-pro, their, doxa-affirmation	who only have identity in the head	neg-pro, signitive
who suddenly speak English and it's hard for them	neg-retro, signitive	who have mastered the Swedish language very easily	pos-retro, doxa-affirmation
who then can be more easily integrated than us	pos-pro, wish-positive	who never learned the language either	pos-retro, doxa-affirmation
who don't meet the Oromo community that much	neg-retro, signitive	who maybe don't call themselves Oromos	neutral, present, possibility
who didn't have that connection	neg-retro, signitive	who perhaps are with Amharas or Tigres	neutral, present, possibility
who consolidated all the power	neg retro, doxa-affirmation		
who made the Tigrean ethnic group have supreme power	neg-retro, doxa-affirmation		
who kicked out Oromo Liberation Front	neg-retro, doxa-affirmation		

Similarities. In both Minneapolis and Stockholm there is evidence of voices expressing the presence of other Oromos who are not a part of their group or community; those who maybe do not say that they are Oromo or do not have a connection to the Oromo culture.* When speaking about language, voices of the Oromo share the experience of a younger generation that manages a language other than the Oromo language better. Generally when speaking of this generation, the thoughts on the future are positive. Stockholm voices see the positive side of them being born into the Swedish culture and simultaneously being interested in where their parents came from, and Minneapolis voices see that they are going to become more integrated than older generations. These voices are most strongly heard as positive.

Differences. The difference found in the above stated similarity is that the entity which these Oromos turn away from is more explicitly called the "Oromo community" by the Minneapolis voices, but in Stockholm speculation is instead about whom else these Oromos are socializing with, maybe Amharas or Tigres. When referring to the younger generations of Oromos, voices in Stockholm note the fact that they never learned the Oromo language. In

contrast, Oromos in Minneapolis speak of them as the generation who are proud of and will preserve the language; they will learn both English and the Oromo language. The acquisition of language knowledge is also contrasted in that the Swedish language will easily be learned by this generation in Stockholm, but the Oromo language will be hard to learn for those in Minneapolis. There are thus contrasting forces interfering with the processes of learning. In general, the Oromo voices in Stockholm refer to the younger Oromo generation in their usage of the subject **They**. In Minneapolis, this is however more divided between the younger Oromo generation, the generation of Oromos who come to Minneapolis in more recent years, and those who remain in the memory of the Oromo voices from a past of political turmoil. These latter groups expressed as the subject **They** are not heard through Oromo voices in Stockholm. However, in Stockholm voices speak of a conflict in identities since the generation who left their home country maintains their identities in the mind only. Despite these flashbacks, Oromos in Minneapolis speak through voices that look to the future more than the past. Oromo voices in Stockholm speak more of the past memories.

DISCUSSION

Influences on the voices

The assumption that guides this discussion and paper in general, is that there is a multiplicity to identities. Multiple voices exist and are expressed in our everyday lives as a result of the multiple interactions with other people and places in it, in our life-worlds. As we have seen exemplified through the case of the Oromo people, these multiple voices can co-exist within the same individual, and as indicated here, within the same group of people. Still a unifying entity is implied; that of being Oromo, and sharing a historically and politically influenced cultural heritage. The different representations that exist in the context of the Oromos have mostly been expressed through the entities “**You**”, “**We**” and “**They**” and they all appear as external positions that are in constant dialogue with the internal positions of the *I*, this being most strongly expressed through the entity “**I**”. But as has been seen, the influence of the different socio-cultural contexts has taken multiple shapes and strengths that in turn have yielded some differences in how the voices of the Oromos in Minneapolis and Stockholm are modulated. The attention is thus finally turned to what the implications for these different voices are, and how they are similar and different for Oromos in Stockholm and Oromos in Minneapolis.

Similarities. Being of Oromo heritage is the pretence under which all individuals participated in my research. Still, there are expressions that reiterate this fact in the narratives of Oromos, both in Minneapolis and Stockholm. Distinguishing this fact, as opposed to saying that one is American, Swedish, or Ethiopian, is important to take note of as it implies a strong influence of the subject speaking as the **I**. It is significant seeing how these voices are embedded in a context where other Oromos that can influence them are not a numerical majority. Even though this fact is note-worthy in the Minneapolis voices, considering that they as well live in a host country that constitutes the majority, it is especially important in the Stockholm voices where this majority is even bigger. Despite being a numerical minority, this position of the *I* has maintained a strong voice. The voices that express these statements are heard through the **I** entity, which means that the subjects are speaking about themselves, with emphasis and with agency. Returning to the introductory quote where the participant is negotiating and questioning the hyphen between “Oromo” and “Swedish”, the final answer is that of being Oromo. So in a sense, the power struggle that can present itself in the hyphen is not heard through this specific voice of the Oromo people. It is a fact that dominance was exercised over the Oromo people for years in their home country and through the dialogical self theory this influence could be seen as a repression of certain voices. But it seems as these voices have been re-instated within the Oromo people as a result of being free to utter them both to others and to themselves in their host countries

Furthermore, when these voices heard through the **I** entity talk about the other Oromos in their life-worlds, they exist as extensions of the *I* by belonging to the *Me*-positions. They are seen as *my* family and the community which is felt like *my* community. As most of us share the experience of having a family, we can recognize family as one of the cornerstones of society, as well as a source of cultural heritage, knowledge and connectedness. Family consists of people who you feel close to and a tie is indicated that will remain even if you might “disagree with some stuff” that they do (as expressed through the Stockholm voices). We also sense that recognition of the specific Oromo culture is important. It could be seen as a way to stay connected to the country of origin, as if being connected through, for example, listening or creating music will compensate for being physically disconnected. As was previously mentioned, the production of music, poetry and literature about the home country is especially high in diasporic communities (Bulcha, 2002).

Being able to acknowledge the presence of the own culture as distinct from others is a privilege which has not always been given to the Oromo people either, keeping in mind that

their history is full of an active denial of aspects of their culture, the biggest one perhaps being the language. It is also pointed out that within culture are other more practical aspects that most of us take for granted and sometimes do not even consider. They are a part of the everyday life and culture we consider our own, but the new contexts that the late arriving Oromo generation came into consisted of these things that had to be learned all over again.

Being together and acting as a community are aspects of the Oromo life-worlds that are expressed through those entities that have formed different *I*-positions as a result of interactions in a group that the narrator feels belongingness to. One of them is the **We** entity that gives a voice to the desire to gather together as Oromo, to talk the Oromo language and act as a community. The more distant **You** entity is as well expressing having a social support system in other Oromos as a result of recognizing that you belong to the same ethnic group. The social part of the Oromo voices do not exist as an *I*-position expressed through those in the surroundings that are not part of the social group (**They** entity).

Keeping your own culture and learning a new culture – these are two points expressed as being of concern to the voices of Oromos. The Oromo culture that is expressed as an extension of the *I*, as being *our* culture, is emphasized and distinguished from other cultures. If we revisit the previously mentioned importance of the Gadaa system as an institution in the Oromo society, we begin to understand the connection between the Oromo culture and the very being of the Oromo people. Hussein (2004) states, “Gadaa is the most complex word of Oromo social organization with multiple meaning /.../ It is, first of all, the concept standing for the whole way of life.” (p. 105). The very specific way of being Oromo was distinguished many years ago, through every aspect of life, and this is expressed through voices of today as well. But these voices also recognize the act of maintaining your own culture in light of threats from other cultures that might impose and create the risk of losing the culture of origin. It seems as though the experience of not being allowed to express ones culture in the past is affecting the present and creating a fear of losing it again. At the same time, there is an expressed willingness to familiarize oneself with the host culture, as it is seen as an advantage to have knowledge of the culture of majority that one lives in. There are those Oromos who exist as voices in *I*-positions that do not feel a strong connection to the Oromo culture. They as well have a voice that expresses a distancing from the Oromo community or group, who maybe do not recognize their Oromo heritage. As they exist among the multiple voices of Oromos, they pose a contradiction to the voices which feel that the Oromo culture is inherent in their very being.

The relevance of language is often expressed through Oromo voices and its importance as a symbiotic tool was given some attention in the introduction. The Oromos who realize this importance voice reflections such as “language is really, it’s one of the identity of a person”, “language is a key to adjust to a society” and “language is a prerequisite if one is to get by.” In addition to serving as a tool for communicating and understanding meanings and intentions, language has an importance to the Oromo voices that goes beyond this. The prohibition of the Oromo language was once used as a political strategy to maintain power over the Oromos in Oromia, Ethiopia and it was not only effective in putting restraints on the ability to develop the Oromo language, it has also left an imprint that we hear through the Oromo voices of today. There has been an increasing growth in the written and spoken language of the Oromo today, but the memories of an unjust past are what fuel this emphasis on the language. What is more, these are the intentions that drive the particular narratives of the Oromo voices that express a concern for future aspects of language. Knowing what difficulties language incomprehension can pose, those who live in a new culture where the new language is not managed so easily, they might not get by. The power-imbalance has thus followed these Oromo voices to Minneapolis and Stockholm, demanding an adjustment by them, imposed by others who have decided what is the norm needed to get by.

Similarly, there is the continuous presence of the other’s voices that are taking positions of the *I* within the Oromo and pointing out that there is “an accent in the language.” There is the other pointing out when the level of “mastering the language” has been reached, as well as that you “can’t really speak the language.” These are thoughts formulated by the Oromo voices as they have been formed in the interactions with people in their surroundings, both in Minneapolis and in Stockholm. Noting the shift of the entity as these narratives are expressed in more general terms through the **You** entity, we can consider whether this is an attempt to keep these opinions at an arms-length distance; not quite saying that they are personal experiences, but still expressing some relation to them. When instead the voices of Oromos are taking the position of others who are in their surroundings, more specifically those who belong to the younger Oromo generations, it is the **They** entity which is spoken through. The narrator has attributed one of the *I*-positions to a specific outside groups, those who seem to see the value in learning another language over the Oromo language. This fact in itself might be contrasted to what was mentioned earlier about the importance of learning the language of the host culture but the predicament is not hard to understand. There are motivations behind learning Swedish or English very well as they are the languages spoken by the majority of people living in Sweden and the U.S., respectively. However, these motivations as they exist

with more force and to a greater extent due to the dominating culture, rule out the motivations for learning the Oromo language. Even though it might not be so explicitly stated that this generation is not motivated to learn the language, the voice of this motivation is drowned out by more overpowering voices that lobby for another language to be learned.

Differences. We learn that as the socio-cultural context of the Oromo voices differ, so do their expressions and experiences. Voices in Minneapolis express a process of adjustment leading to the point when one feels at ease and at home. The context that Oromos are living in there gives rise to expressed hope for a bright future. In Stockholm, there is instead the expressed sense of things being unnatural and there are positions of the *I* that are affected differently depending on what generation of Oromos that are heard through them. There is focus on those Oromos who belong to one generation and those Oromos who belong to another generation as being faced with different realities. This distinction is as well made in Minneapolis but the contrast is not emphasized as the older generation having more difficulties, like in Stockholm. Instead the potential held by the younger generations is lifted. As the Oromo community in Minneapolis has grown, so has the means to guarantee that the culture is carried on across generations grown, thus the future is looking bright. If we look to the Oromos living in Stockholm, we can wonder if there is the same sense of growing together present. There is a sense of a **We** as expressed through this entity, but this voice is not expressed with the same intensity as in Minneapolis.

There is another division within the Oromos in Stockholm that is heard of through voices expressing existing conflicts. As was discussed before there are divisions within the Oromo community in Minneapolis as well, but the voice of *conflict* is not present. Could it be that the experience of disagreement is felt more as a dividing factor in the context of a smaller group? When expressing that it is a “silly” conflict it could also be an indication that within such a small group it should be easier to get along. On the contrary, is it so that in a larger community like in Minneapolis, disagreements instead exist as a natural part of life where they are in competition with all the ways that one agrees instead? With a greater number comes a greater variety and the possibility that different ways to do or reason about things can change from one day to another. In this sense, every way is the right way. On the contrary, in a smaller and more homogenous group, such as a group of only 50-60 Oromos, it seems as though differences instead are viewed as conflicts. The question we should ask ourselves is why it is that these differences are not seen as resources instead. In addition, we need to

consider in what ways the influences of the specific context of Oromos in Stockholm is affecting this reasoning of the voices.

There seems to be differing views expressed by Oromo voices in how the act of creating your own culture should be justified. In the context of Stockholm this does not seem equally justifiable as it creates a rift within the larger Swedish community that is not considered favourable. Instead, creating your own culture is in Minneapolis a necessary means to fend off influences that might drown the presence of your own culture. So the question then arises which consequence is of greater relevance to the Oromo voices – having a sense of togetherness within the Oromo community, or having a sense of togetherness across all communities within the country one lives? One could consider this a question of outside influence as well, and not something that is decided upon by the Oromo voices themselves. If so, the influence of the socio-cultural context is of importance to how the Oromo voices think of themselves as a unified group. Furthermore, is it this influence in the Stockholm context that drives the voices of Oromos to feel that their association to a culture is not limited to the Oromo, but that it is to the general community? We can hear that these are voices that have been influenced by the world society in a way that makes them belong to an even bigger group than the Oromos comprise.

It is perhaps these influences that position the Oromo voices differently in relation to their culture depending on the socio-cultural context they live in. In Stockholm there is a sense that you are far away from your own culture but have the option of approaching and getting to know it, but in Minneapolis you are in it and instead risk losing it. In Stockholm you approach it from a place where you are familiar with other cultures and can embrace yet another one. In Minneapolis you instead have to compromise your culture if you adjust to another. If we think about the relevance history has bestowed in the Oromos feeling today to rightfully have their own culture, their own language and their own region, could this be why Minneapolis voices are more concerned with teaching the Oromo language and preserving the culture? Is it so that just because these voices are not expressed with the same concern in Stockholm, that they do not exist? In relation to the voices of the past that are carried into the present we hear a past of hardship expressed more often by Oromos in Minneapolis. These are memories of being deprived of the very basic aspects of human life – the right to live in your home, to speak your language, to practice your religion and to have an education that you could fulfil. These are undoubtedly experiences of all Oromos that once lived in Oromia, Ethiopia, but they are voiced more strongly by Oromos in Minneapolis. As time is an inherent part of human development, the present in which these Oromos narrate their experience of

their past is directly connected to and influencing their future. Knowing this, we still remain at the question of where these voices have gone in the group of Oromos in Stockholm, those voices that express a past of unjust treatment. Is the answer to this question the same one that could tell us how it is that the culture considered as the foreign one is the American culture in Minneapolis, whereas in Stockholm it is the Oromo culture? Returning to the acculturation strategy of *assimilation*, not wishing to maintain one's own culture and instead turn to the dominant society (Berry et al., 1992), it seems as though the influence of the socio-cultural context of Stockholm (perhaps even the socio-cultural context of Europe) is pushing Oromo voices more in the direction of this acculturation strategy.

The contrast in the socio-cultural contexts of Minneapolis and Stockholm is obviously numerical in the two groups, but it is what the group does with its situation that affects the individuals within it. As a diasporic community, political movements, cultural shows and language classes are prevalent and maintained by the number. It is already an established thought that the past has effects in the present, which in turn creates our future. In a similar way, you would need to know who you once were in order to know who you are today, and will be tomorrow. In the diasporic community the Oromo heritage, culture and language is very much present and recognized today, and because of this the past is always making itself reminded. In Stockholm the number is organizing itself as well, but mostly for reasons that are social. Politics are not discussed, you meet for the children's sake and you enjoy being together all the same. It is inevitable that these differences influence the modulation of the Oromo voices differently, as the different positions of the *I* are constantly being constructed, de-constructed, negotiated and re-constructed as a result of the context. So it would be a mistake to say that these memories of the past are not borne within the Oromos in Stockholm. Instead, we should think of it as the influence of different forces in their surroundings that make them either appear to the surface or be dormant below.

Concluding remarks and future research

As the nature of knowledge can be approached in many different ways, this paper presents the phenomenological approach that has been devoted to studying the fundamental experience of how Oromos living in two different socio-cultural contexts make sense of their multivoiced identities. An important part of doing research with this approach is the ability to adopt a flexibility in the process of finding the best way to make the phenomenon under study appear to you in its purest form, "peeling the onion" in a different sense than what

conventional cross-cultural psychological theorist would do. When presenting the research findings, a reflective stance and openness as to what is presenting itself is absolutely fundamental and will affect the way the material finally is presented. As much as the act of retaining the material demands an emergent design, so does the presentation of the analysis. This way of studying identities could thus be considered a unique contribution to research within the field.

To further make my point of the contribution of such research to the larger research society I would like to reiterate the distinction earlier presented between explanatory and descriptive science. As has been learned from the present study, there are endless ways to interpret the words expressed by individuals in their everyday lives. The outcomes treated in my study comprise approximately 10 pages of compiled narratives, taken from a total of 92 pages of 20 different narratives. In June of 2012 I presented some research findings at a conference for Work and Organizational Values in India that were derived from the same narratives. The chosen word groups then included expressions of the working place instead. This goes to show that the information which could be further derived from the narratives of the Oromo can have even more large scale implications for the understanding of identities formations, specifically for this case, but also in general terms.

This is not to say that the realm of explanatory science is not a necessary contribution to the research society, on the contrary, my position is that each approach to the study of knowledge has its own value and should not be diminished in light of another. However, when studying human beings it is necessary to take into consideration our very innate ability to constantly change and develop as a result of time, the very context we live in and the people we interact with – including the researcher conducting the very investigation, as perhaps one of the most influential aspects.

The information gained through the current research indicates that there could be differences in experiences of identities whether one is born in the host country, arrives as a young child/teenager, or as an adult. Future research could benefit from further investigating this aspect. In addition, the influence of gender on identities formations could shed light on an important aspect of today as the re-shaping of women's identities are often seen as a direct result of moving from one culture to another. Future research aims could also include a similar comparison with a "baseline" group – those still living in the home country - since the way in which the Oromos living in Oromia, Ethiopia, express their narratives could provide even further clarity in this query. Collecting material from this group could provide an interesting comparison to diasporic communities of all natures and cultures.

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APPENDIX

Appendix A

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Background

My name is Hawine Merdasa and I am a psychology student at the University of Lund, Sweden. During the fall of 2011 and spring of 2012 I will write my master thesis under the supervision of associate professor Roger Sages. The subject of my thesis is the formation of identities under different socio-cultural conditions. Being of Oromo heritage myself and growing up in a country like Sweden, it has always been an interest of mine to learn more about my cultural background. Because of this I will study the question of identities formations within the Oromo people.

Aim

The aim of this study is to gain more knowledge about the question of identities formations using different socio-cultural conditions of the Oromo people, such as the native country (Oromia, Ethiopia), a bigger community outside of the native country (Minneapolis) and a smaller community outside of the native country as well (Sweden).

Method

I will use a phenomenological approach in my study. This approach will allow me to get as close as possible to the person's own experience. The emphasis is put on the person's life-world as the individual chooses to describe it, using his/her own words and expressions.

Participants are asked to answer one open-ended question and to write down all their thoughts, feelings, ideas etc. on the question, in their own words and as freely as they want. Structural or grammatical concerns are of no importance, the contents are of far greater interest. Participants are guaranteed complete anonymity.

The material will be analyzed using MCA (Meaning Constitution Analysis), a software for meaning analysis developed by Roger Sages, and Sphinx Lexica, developed by Jean Moscarola, Prof of Management, Université de Savoie. The study will be presented in a master thesis during the spring of 2012 at the Department of Psychology, Lund University.

I hope you would like to help me with participation and mediating participants to me. Feel free to contact me if you have any questions. Your reply and questions can be sent to the email address given below.

Thank you for your cooperation!

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Instructions

Please would you write, without any restrictions, all of your thoughts, feelings, associations... anything you would like, for at least half a page, about your life... (work, school, family and friends)... your dreams... way of life... of this being Oromo...everything or anything...of your interests... ambitions...life in Minneapolis...

Don't worry about your spelling or grammar, there is no “right” or “wrong” way to answer the question. It is your reflection on the topics that is important to me. So please don't think about spelling or structure, feel free to use the words and expressions that you feel most comfortable with.

Age: _____

Sex: _____

Appendix B

All predicates of Oromos in Stockholm treated in the phenomenological analysis.

Oromos living in Stockholm	
<i>Predicate</i>	<i>Modality</i>
who had friends coming home with me	pos-retro, probability
who think it was easy for me*	pos-retro, probability
which it was very (Easy)	pos-retro, doxa-affirmation
who never understood this	neg-retro, doxa-negation
who disagree with some stuff*	neg-pro, signitive
who don't want anyone I don't know at my wedding	neg-pro, my, perceptive
who know that for them it is not a major problem as it is for us*	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation
who know society, culture, language...bureaucratic system*	pos-pro, doxa-affirmation
who have the culture inside of me even though*	pos-pro, doxa-affirmation
who always choose Oromo music	pos-pro, always-recurrent
who can know about your background*	pos-pro, engagement
who can know where you come from	pos-pro, engagement
who know better	pos-pro, doxa-affirmation
who know each other when they are little	pos-retro, perceptive
who have never shown any interest in it before*	neg-retro, doxa-affirmation
who still are, in their eyes, foreign	neg-retro, probability
who create only your own culture*	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation
which is a different one (Culture)	neutral, future
who also have a problem knowing who the immigrants are	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation
who sit together, who gather together*	neutral, present, engagement
who also talk about our culture or language*	neutral, present, engagement
who cannot accept it*	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation
who do not speak Swedish culture and language*	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation
who know each other when they are little	pos-retro, doxa-affirmation
who were born completely in the culture*	pos-pro, doxa-affirmation

who are interested in where their parents come from*	pos-pro, engagement
who had all kinds of nationalities as friends	pos-retro, perceptive
who have a better chance than Swedish children	pos-pro, signitive
who have a slightly larger conscience	pos-pro, signitive
who only have identity in the head*	neg-pro, signitive
who learned the language very quickly*	pos-retro, engagement,
who know Swedish the best since I was little	pos-retro, doxa-affirmation
who remember strongly	pos-retro, doxa-affirmation, engagement
who can express myself	pos-pro, engagement
which it is easier to express yourself in the one you know best (Language)	pos-pro, perceptive, doxa-affirmation
who think that the first problem is the language	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation
who see that for us immigrants it is a problem with the language	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation, perceptive
who absolutely have some responsibility for the fact	neg-retro, doxa-affirmation, engagement
who do not know the language	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation
who were not allowed to write in your language	neg-retro, doxa-affirmation, perceptive
who were not allowed to study the history of your people	neg-retro, doxa-affirmation, perceptive
who have this accent in the language*	neg-retro, doxa-affirmation
who can master the language easily	pos-pro, wish-positive
who it can be easier for	pos-pro, wish-positive
who come are different people with different languages	pos-retro, signitive
who have come here when they are 15-17 years	pos-retro, perceptive
who have different languages	pos-retro, signitive
who have mastered the Swedish language very easily*	pos-retro, doxa-affirmation
who never learned the language either*	pos-retro, doxa-affirmation
who saw then that it's very simple	pos-retro, signitive, doxa-affirmation
who don't think one thing is so natural*	neg-pro, signitive
which children are who socialize almost exclusively with immigrant children (My)	neg-pro, perceptive
who see this problem*	neg-pro, engagement
who know there is much conflict in the Oromo society in Stockholm too*	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation, signitive
who think it is so silly	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation, engagement
who like to socialize with people	pos-pro, signitive
who see the Oromo community as my family*	pos-pro, perceptive
who am Oromo*	pos-pro, perceptive
who is not only Oromo but also citizen of the world*	pos-pro, doxa-affirmation, engagement
who would like to put aside a few hours per day for a healthy community service	pos-pro, wish-positive
who meet for the social aspect*	pos-pro, engagement
who meet for the children's sake	pos-pro, engagement
who don't have to discuss it	neutral, present, signitive
who agree that you are Oromo*	pos-pro, signitive
who come when you are 30 years old	neg-retro, doxa-affirmation
who feel alone*	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation

who could use the spare time for education, exercise and voluntary community service*	doxa-affirmation, perceptive
who have achieved today	neutral, present, engagement
who cannot sit at home waiting for social services	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation
who must do something	neutral, aspiration
who know each other when they are little*	pos-retro, doxa-affirmation, perceptive
who maybe don't call themselves Oromos*	neutral, present, possibility
who perhaps are with Amharas or Tigres*	neutral, present, possibility
who are Oromo	neutral, present-future, doxa-affirmation
who are married with foreigners	neutral, present-future, doxa-affirmation

All predicates of Oromos in Minneapolis treated in the phenomenological analysis.

Oromos living in Minneapolis	
<i>Predicate</i>	<i>Modality</i>
who lived in a multicultural society	pos-retro, doxa-affirmation, signitive
who easily could establish contact	pos-retro, engagement
who started to feel at home in my new country and culture*	pos-retro, my
which it was too late for to get married and build a family	neg-retro, doxa-affirmation
who had to struggle	neg-retro, aspiration
who now started to wonder what my destiny really is*	neg-retro, question, imaginative
who couldn't go and take care of my sick mom	neg-retro, my, doxa-affirmation
who felt it was my duty to teach high school peers	neg-retro, aspiration
who are Oromo immigrants	neutral, past, doxa-affirmation
who continue to suffer*	neg-pro, always-recurrent
who knows in my mind I am full blood Oromo*	pos-pro, doxa-affirmation
who easily can integrate them	pos-pro, doxa-affirmation
who enjoy the fellowship I see at my church	pos-pro, my, engagement
who now feel good and comfortable*	pos-pro, engagement,
who are considered an individual	pos-pro, doxa-affirmation
who understand how the culture works*	pos-pro, probability
who learn the culture*	pos-retro, probability
who adapt to things	pos-pro, signitive
who improve your English	pos-pro, engagement
who are trying to fit in*	neg-retro, probability, aspiration
who lose some of your culture*	neg-retro, doxa-affirmation, signitive
who need to stay in our region	pos-pro, wish-positive
who want to have our human rights respected*	pos-pro, wish-positive, our
who want to have our culture and our language	pos-pro, wish-positive, our
who felt like we and Ethiopia were not represented	neg-retro, perceptive
who are not Somali	neutral, present, doxa-affirmation
who have completely different culture, language and all	neutral, present, doxa-affirmation

who are super beautiful*	pos-pro, engagement
who are the one largest Ethnic group in East Africa	pos-pro, engagement
who interact a lot*	pos-pro, engagement
who appreciate the United States	pos-pro, engagement
who have a lot of Oromo population here*	neutral, doxa-affirmation
who all went to obviously English speaking schools mainly	neutral, plast
who culturally contribute a lot	pos-pro, engagement
who appreciate multiculturalism	pos-pro, engagement
who have the right to exercise their religion	pos-pro, doxa-affirmation, their
who don't have much understanding of the culture	neg-pro, signitive
who are becoming more defensive	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation
who consolidated all the power*	neg retro, doxa-affirmation
who made the Tigre an ethnic group have supreme power*	neg-retro, doxa-affirmation
who kicked out Oromo Liberation Front*	neg-retro, doxa-affirmation
who still managed to hear and understand the language*	pos-retro, engagement
who grasped some technique, education, culture and language*	pos-retro, engagement
who didn't speak the language	neg-retro, engagement
who had to struggle with the language	neg-retro, aspiration
worked hard on my language	neg-retro, my, engagement
who didn't have anybody I knew	neg-retro, doxa-affirmation
who worry*	doxa-affirmation, signitive
who don't agree	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation, signitive
which is going to be changed (Integration)	neg-pro, signitive
who don't have hatred for the language	pos-pro, doxa-affirmation
who can teach	pos-pro, engagement
who even teach my language in church	pos-pro, my, engagement
who want him to speak Oromo language*	pos-pro, wish-positive
who can't really speak the language*	neg-pro, probability
who don't know the subject	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation
who have no idea what they are saying because of the language*	neg-pro, perceptive
who see many lost identities, many lost nations or ethnicity	neg-pro, question
who didn't have any idea how far, how close, its language and so forth	neutral, past, doxa-negation
who have to go through ESL	neg-pro, aspiration
who don't have strong attachment to the Oromo language*	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation
who at that time never got a chance to develop our language*	neg-retro, our, doxa-affirmation
who have never had any power in that country*	neg-retro, doxa-affirmation
who do have youth organizations that promotes our language	pos-pros, our, doxa-affirmation
who want to have our language	pos-pro, our, wish-positive
who are the largest*	pos-pro, engagement
who are proud of their language*	pos-pro, their, doxa-affirmation
who are going to be speaking their language*	pos-pro, their, doxa-affirmation
who can hear us	pos-pro, wish-positive

who can understand things	pos-pro, signitive
who preserve our language and our culture*	pos-pro, our, doxa-affirmation
who then can be more easily integrated than us*	pos-pro, wish-positive
who whenever they go to school say "I speak two languages"	pos-pro, perceptive, always-recurrent
who are going to lose it	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation
who when they went to school just got English	neg-retro, doxa-affirmation
who suddenly speak English and it's hard for them*	neg-retro, signitive
who were not allowed to use our language as a language in school	neg-retro, doxa-affirmation
who along the way were dropping and dropping and dropping	neg-retro, signitive
who grew up within the community*	pos-retro, doxa-affirmation
who appreciated that	pos-retro, engagement
who took me to meetings	neutral, past, perceptive
who took me to weddings.	neutral, past, perceptive
who never had a problem with social life*	pos-retro, doxa-affirmation
who saw the fruit too	pos-retro, signitive
which it is more (Helpful)	pos-pro, signitive
which could easily be developed (Multiculturalism)	pos-pro, signitive, doxa-affirmation
which community is (My)	neutral, my, present
who for some reason was prevented from getting a green card	neg-retro, imaginative
who doubted myself	neg-retro, doxa-negation
who don't think I can do	neg-retro, doxa-negation
who one who community-wise am having a hard time	neg-pros, signitive
who never get a chance to do that	doxa-affirmation, signitive
who can help my people	pos-pro, wish-positive
who wish I would have been home to help my people*	doxa-affirmation, wish-positive
who really appreciate that about my community	pos-pro, engagement
who feel that's my community*	pos-pro, engagement
who can represent my community as an Oromo	pos-pro, aspiration
who, hopefully very soon, would like to go to school for public health	possibility, wish-positive
who can be a better person	question, wish-positive
who am very happy that it's reached on that level	pos-pro, engagement
who think our future looks brighter to me*	pos-pro, signitive
who think that the youth in Oromia are so much stronger	pos-pro, signitive
which is not the future for Oromia (the Diaspora)	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation
who have to consider the world we live in	signitive, aspiration
who don't get into the societies you visit	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation
who if you don't create your own community within the university*	neg-pro, question
which it is so easy to get (Lost)	neg-pro, signitive, doxa-affirmation
who always have these people to kind of lean on*	pos-pro, always-recurrent
who can vete	pos-pro, doxa-affirmation
who have a life	pos-pro, signitive
who feel a part of that community*	pos-pro, engagement

who are not a citizen of Oromia	neg-pro, doxa-affirmation
who are living a great life here*	pos-pro, doxa-affirmation, engagement
who are very communal*	pos-pro, signitive, engagement
who have a good reputation in the community	pos-pro, doxa-affirmation
who encourage our community	pos-pro, engagement
who were together every day*	pos-retro, always-recurrent
who were trying to help them with all necessary things	pos-retro, engagement
who have adapted that male dominated culture	neg-retro, doxa-affirmation
who forgot about ours	neg-retro, signitive
who are doing such an amazing job	pos-pro, engagement
who are going to be more contributing to the community	pos-pro, doxa-affirmation
who are the ones who are going to make a difference	pos-pro, doxa-affirmation, wish-positive
who become self-sufficient	pos-pro, doxa-affirmation
who get the job	pos-pro, signitive, aspiration
who influenced the community	pos-retro, engagement
who as a community are not quite as involved	neg-pro, signitive
who don't quite need the assistance the Oromo community offers	neg-pro, perceptive
who didn't have that connection*	neg-retro, signitive
who don't meet the Oromo community that much*	neg-retro, signitive
who never really went to community stuff	neg-retro, signitive
who love Oromo culture*	pos-pro, engagement