

Diasporic Life, Images and Aspirations of Ethiopians in Ethiopian Diaspora Novels: A Socio-Cognitive and Historical Approach

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Abstract

Ethiopians have gone through four major waves of migration since the late 1970s. The first wave was triggered by the ill-treatment meted out to opposition groups by the military government while the second was due to the fear of persecution by the EPRDF government. The third wave was the time when Ethiopian Jews made successive aliyahs since 1984. The last wave of migration, on the other hand, was the result of the lack of economic opportunities at home since the late 1980s. The major objective of this study was to explore how Ethiopia and Ethiopian Diasporas are perceived, to unfold the experiences and future aspirations of Ethiopian migrants in their diasporic life. Critical Discourse Analysis was used as the theoretical framework and text analysis as the methodology. The study revealed that host communities in different destinations of Ethiopian Diasporas view Ethiopia as a land of famine and Ethiopians as poverty-stricken, unrighteous, sub-human, and barbaric people. It is concluded that Ethiopia's image abroad is severely damaged, and the government shall take proactive measures to redress it. Furthermore, it is found out that a significant number of Ethiopian migrants aspire to return home, and the government must instill a greater sense of confidence in the Diaspora community.

Keywords: Images, Diasporic-Life, Aspirations, Hunger, Disenchantment, Humiliation

Background

Ethiopian Diasporas dates back to the 1974 revolution, when the provisional military council declared *Qay-Shibr* and *Netsa Ermija*, which allowed members to detain torture and execute anyone suspected of being counter-revolutionary. This caused mass departure of Ethiopians out of their homeland, leading to two major waves of political migration, making Ethiopia the "single-largest refugee producing country through late 1970s and early 80s" (Dereje, 2012 & Solomon, 2007).

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The Beta Israelis (Ethiopian Jews) were granted the right to return to Israel by Rabbi Ovadiah Yosef and Shlomo Goren in 1973 and 1977 respectively. They prepared to return in collaboration with the American Jews Association and the government of Israel, making three successive operations of aliyahs from 1984-1991. The most successful one was operation Solomon, which airlifted 14,310 Beta Israelis in 33 flights within 36 hours. As a result of these three operations and many individual and group pilgrimages, there are more than 105,000 Beta Israelis and their descendants in Israel today.

Ethiopian Jews can be considered as Ethiopian Diasporas given diasporic identity is mixed by its very nature and the concept of Diaspora today refers to the “trans/ national movements of people, information, cultures, commodities and capital” (Brah, 1996, p.204)..

Ethiopian Diasporas have been forming for decades due to political insecurities, mass aliyahs and economic dissatisfactions, with the Middle East being the largest recipient with 37.5% of Ethiopians. Major actors of the Dergue regime sought refuge in neighboring countries due to lack of security at home when EPRDF came to power. Illegal youth migrations, particularly women between the ages of 20-30, have begun to flee to the Middle Eastern countries in search for better economic and job opportunities.

Ethiopian Diasporas have recorded their experiences in foreign land using memoirs, travelogues, autobiographies, and imaginative literature (Getatchew, 2006), which resulted in the formation of a new brand of literature called the Ethiopian Diaspora literature.

Objectives of the Study

This study was mainly interested to:

1. How Ethiopia and Ethiopians are pictured abroad as reflected in selected Ethiopian Diaspora novels.
2. Uncover the feelings of Ethiopian Diasporas towards their diasporic life as represented in the selected novels analyzed in this studied.
3. Unveil the dreams and aspirations of Ethiopian migrants as portrayed in the selected novels of Ethiopian Diasporas.

Methodology

This study generally adopts qualitative research method for two main reasons. First, the data are excerpts from the selected novels which are

difficult to quantify and their quantification has no scientific significance for the achievement of the objectives of the study. Second, the project is by and large interested in uncovering belief systems (the host communities' view of Ethiopia and Ethiopians, the feelings of Ethiopians towards their diasporic life and the beliefs they have regarding home comeback and staying abroad) using Critical Discourse Analysis as a framework of analysis.

Bases of Selection of Novels

This study aimed at uncovering images of Ethiopia and Ethiopians abroad as viewed by their host communities, the valuations of Ethiopian migrants of their diasporic life and the aspirations of Ethiopians in selected Ethiopian Diaspora novels. Seven novels (*Eshohama Worq* (1992), *Sidetegnaw Beawuropa* (1995), *Mignote* (1996), *Tikurua Pilot* (1996), *Chawota Tobia Beyerusalem* (1989) and *Kedembia Gondar Eske Washington DC* volume one (2002) and two (2004) are selected as they meet the requirements better.

Methods of Data Analysis

The first analytical step was to identify parts of the novels that represent images of Ethiopia and Ethiopians overseas, Ethiopians' assessment of diasporic life and aspirations of Ethiopian migrants in different destinations. The most representative texts were excerpted and translated to English, and then critically discussed and interpreted by referring to the necessary cultural, historical and cognitive contexts. The second analytical section discussed Ethiopian Diasporas' aspirations, specifically their dreams and plans to return back home or remain abroad. This study adopts Wodak's hermeneutic approach, which places an extract from novels in the context of the entire discourse. Extracts of similar subjects taken from the selected novels were discussed to uncover parallel and peculiar elements between and among Ethiopian Diasporas novels.

Review of Related Literature

This section reviews previous studies conducted on the literary works of the Ethiopian Diaspora so as to show the gaps and how it attempts to bridge such gaps.

Review of Related Studies

Taye Assefa's study on Ethiopian Diaspora literature in 1993 identified three major themes: violation of human rights, unity, and nostalgia for home. His study was a survey of seventeen literary pieces, but failed to provide detailed accounts of Diaspora life.

Endalkachew's MA thesis identified major themes and sub-themes in Ethiopian Diaspora literature, such as economic and political woes, disillusionment, frustration, homesickness, racism, and lust for love (Endalkachew, 2008).

Haftu Kahsay's MA thesis, "The Ideological Plane in Selected Ethiopian Diasporic Prose Narratives: a Comparative Study of Political Philosophy," (2012) examined four diaspora prose narratives written in English and found that the political realities in Ethiopia were insecurity, subjugation, injustice, dictatorship, inequality, and lack of freedom.

Mesfin Adinew's PhD work focused on Ethiopian Diaspora writings in English, identifying five major themes: disillusionment, a visit to the past, racial prejudice, identity crisis and isolation, interest in domestic affairs, and social and psychological traumas (Mesfin, 2012).

Gedefaw Abie and Tari Bonaya conducted two narratological studies on *The Beautiful Things That Heaven Bears* in 2012. Gedefaw found that the presentation of time begins in the middle of the story and most of the incidents are presented in analepsis. Tari found that the novel is narrated predominantly in first person narrative. This study differs from previous studies in three major aspects: it includes Amharic novels, focuses on works that show Ethiopians abroad, and follows a comparative approach.

The current study differs from previous studies in three major aspects: it includes Amharic novels that are least researched before; it focuses on works that show the lives of Ethiopians abroad, and it addresses novels written by Ethiopian Diasporas in different parts of the world. It also follows a comparative approach as it deals with the novels of Ethiopian Diaspora with different Geographical, social, political and economic settings. This study is believed to bridge the gaps left unaddressed before.

Theoretical Framework

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an approach in discourse study that seeks to uncover the relationship between language, society, power, ideology, values and opinions in a given discourse (Rahimi & Riasati, 2011, Rogers, 2004). Three major CDA frameworks have been devised by pioneer authorities in the field to provide a practical analytical and interpretive approach.

Fairclough's framework of CDA argues that language is a representation of interactions and relations between and among participants in a discourse and a marker of their roles and identities in a society (Fairclough, 1995, Fairclough, 1989).

Fairclough's three part analytical model of text analysis focuses on three important values: experiential, relational, and expressive. The most important questions are whether a given word choice, grammatical feature, text structure traces experiential, relational, and expressive beliefs. Any level of linguistic organization is important to make the working ideology visible.

Fairclough's framework of critical discourse analysis focuses on the production, distribution and consumption aspects of a discourse. It also covers social practice, which includes societal circumstances, economic situations, ideological backdrops and political systems. Textual features can only be interpreted in the right contexts.

Dijk proposes a model of critical discourse study with three focus areas of analysis: structural analysis, social context, and cognitive dimension (Van Dijk, 1988). Structural analysis is similar to Fairclough's text analysis, while social context is related to societal establishments and institutional norms.

Tuen Van Dijk argues that participants in discourse need a mental model to facilitate acceptable inferences from their interlocutors and actively engage in communicative activities to read and understand their interlocutors' mind (Van Dijk, 2009).

Dijk's framework views social cognition (socially and culturally shared beliefs) as a necessary interface between text and society. It maps textual features of a discourse to the social, cultural, historical, economic and ideological contexts, so they can get the right values and meanings. Cognitive analysis is more helpful to uncover the beliefs systems of participants in a discourse than studying other aspects of a discourse. Dijk's framework can be applied to describe parts of the novels that feature modally said ideas, as modal expressions are the primarily targeted textual features.

However, two major components (the production and reception sides of a discourse) of Dijk's social analysis dimensions have no practical application in this project. Instead, another approach to CDA is proposed which has a practical relevance to make the interpretation of the novels chosen more viable.

Wodak's approach to critical discourse study is based on the view that language use demonstrates power relations and ideological orientations of participants. She also shares Fairclough's view that language is centrally involved in power and struggles for power. Her discourse-historical approach seeks to incorporate historical contexts in the analysis

and interpretation of a specific discursive occasion (Wodak & Koller, 2008).

Wodak and Chilton believe that socio-cultural knowledge is the only way to locate and articulate governing principles and values in a discourse. They use a hermeneutic approach, which involves collecting information from the whole body of the discourse and tracing meaning relations between and among it. The three scholars approach discourse from similar perspectives, with language as an indicator of power relationships and historical backgrounds as a contextual input (Wodak & Weiss, 2003). So, hermeneutic interpretative approach, socio-cultural, cognitive, and discourse-historical models are used to uncover major beliefs, aspirations, and ideological orientations that shape beliefs and aspirations in novels. All three models are similar and internally compatible (Wodak & Chilton, 2005).

Images of Ethiopia and Ethiopians in the Diaspora

This section examines the images of Ethiopia and Ethiopians abroad as reflected in selected Ethiopian Diaspora novels. It also looks at the ideological predilections of host communities of Ethiopian migrants in imaging Ethiopia and Ethiopians.

The Image of Hunger

As depicted in the novels of Ethiopian Diaspora writers in Europe and North America, Ethiopia is portrayed as a land of famine and destitution, and Ethiopians as poor, poverty-stricken and emaciated creatures in the eyes of the host communities. The following passage is taken from (Asmamaw, 2002):

“አንድ እድሜያቸው ገፋ ያሉ ሽማግሌ ወደ እኔ ጠጋ ብለው ረወጣቱ እንኳን ወደ አሜሪካ በደህና መጣህ፤ እዚህ አሜሪካ ስለ ምግብ ቅንጣት ታህል ማሰብ የለብህም...”

“An old man approached me and said ‘[w]elcome to America young man. You don’t need to have even the slightest worry about food here in America...’ (Asmamaw, 2002, p. 17).

This extract represents the narrator's judgment of Ethiopia made on behalf of an old American man. It can be seen as an expression of gladly accepting Sileshi's arrival in America and as an informative sense that food is abundant in the US. It can also be assumed that it is the ideology of Christianity that shaped the old man's utterances, given they were in a church compound after a Sunday prayer as ideologies define the thoughts and acts of a group and its members. Textual descriptions and addressing

institutional norms and values alone can't bring out the full sense of the old man's utterances. The most important details in this text are the analysis of the wider socio-cultural, socio-cognitive and historical contexts by which the discourse is envired.

The statement "[y]ou don't need to have even the slightest worry about food here in America" implies that the speaker sees Ethiopians struggling for food before they come to America. The lack of documents on Ethiopian history, culture and tradition for the Parker family (a family in from the US that adapted Silesi from Sudan) suggests that viewing Ethiopia as a country of impoverishment is a shared knowledge of the American society, as knowledge is one of the sub-systems of a social cognition. Mr. Parker's view of Ethiopia as a country of emaciated people due to drought and famine is pervasive and shared by the American public. This view is developed after the Korean war of 1950s, when Mr. Parker participated in the war with Ethiopians and all he knew about Ethiopians was their heroic performances in the war and their proud historical past. Ethiopians themselves seem to accept such a view though there is a difference in the valuation of the magnitude of the famine in the country.

A very similar image of Ethiopia is also portrayed in *Tiqurua Pilot* (a novel by Biruk Kebede) as shown in the following excerpt:

“ለመሆኑ የየት አገር ሰው ነህ?” አሉኝ።

“ከእትዮጵያ” አልኳቸው።

ትክዝ ብለው “ከዛ ከርሃቡ ከችግሩ አገር” ብለው እውነትም ደግ ሰው ብትሆን ነው አግዜር የልብህን አይቶ ከዛ አውጥቶ ከዚህ ያደረገህ። ስንቱ የሃገርህ ህዝብ እዛ እየተራብ በችጋር ሲሟቅቅ አንት እዚህ ጠግበህ ተርፎህ ለወፎች የምትሰጥ በጣም እድለኛ ነህ። አሉኝ።

Then after, he asked me, “Which country are you from?”

“Ethiopia,” I answered.

“From Ethiopia! The country of famine and hunger,” he responded sadly. “It is because you are really kindhearted and God has seen it that he helped you get out of Ethiopia and brought you here,” he added.

The shift in the old German's mental model is attributable to the wider historical context of the discourse when Ethiopia was equated with acute food insufficiency and starvation. Joni's unexpected encounter with the

old German suggests that getting out of Ethiopia requires a kind-hearted disposition and the rescuing power of God. He assumed that Joni's act of feeding the ducks was motivated by pure love of animals, but later changed his mental model to conclude that he (the Ethiopian) knows hunger more than anyone else.

The narrator of the novel explains that people form a mental model and actively engage themselves while taking part in a conversation in an attempt to understand their conversational partners' mind. Joni fed the ducks not because he had a special affection for animals, but because dumping food items into a garbage box is against his cultural values. This shows that the old German's failure to properly model the communicative event was evident.

We can also find an exactly similar image of Ethiopia in *Sidetegnaw Beawuroopa* as stated in the text below:

ከየት አገር እንደመጣ ጠየቀችው። ከኢትዮጵያ መሆኑን በኩራት ገለጸላት። ሞኒካ የአገሩን ስም ስትሰማ ሽምቅቅ አለች። ፊቷን ክስክስ አድርጋም፣ «ኦ፣ ኢትዮጵያ! ምስኪን ህጻናት በርሃብ የሚያልቁባት አገር!?» አለችው።

She asked him where he is from. He proudly said that he is from Ethiopia. Monika recoiled herself with fear when she heard the name of the country, and she grimaced her face and cried “O! Poor Ethiopia! A country where many children die of hunger!?”

The narrator's reportage of a conversation between Fekade, an Ethiopian immigrant in Sweden, and Monika, a Swedish woman, showed that institutional values shape the thoughts and acts of participants in a discourse. Language use is a socially and historically situated mode of action, and understanding its historical backdrop (Ethiopia's economic history) facilitates understanding of a discourse.

Monika's positive response to Fekade's romantic offer was based on an assumption that he was from somewhere else. She asked him if he was from Ethiopia, assured him that Africans' undiplomatic approach is the result of ignorance, and interrupted his explanation of the famine and the root cause of Ethio-Eritrean conflict. She left him without bidding him farewell and began to kiss another man before his eyes. Again, Ethiopia is imaged as a land of starvation as vividly portrayed in *Chawota Tobia Beyerusalem* excerpted below:

የኢትዮጵያዊያን ግን፣ ሰው በመርዝ እንደፈጀው ከምስስ ጉንዳን የሰው ልጅ በስልጣኔ ጎሳ ቀርቶ በርሃብ እያለቀ የሚበላ ጠፍቶ እዚያው አገረን እንጨርሳለን የሚል ቀናተኛ ውድድር ነው።

Ethiopians' refusal to let the Felashas go to Israel, however, is the result of jealousy that is intended to kill them in hunger, as people in Ethiopia are backward and dying in their masses in hunger like an army of ants that are massacred with a poisonous chemical.

The speaker's argument that Ethiopians should happily let the Felashas go to Israel is based on his knowledge of Ethiopia as the land of impoverishment. He believes that Ethiopians' refusal to let the Felashas go to Israel is the result of jealousy and defective moral development of Ethiopian elites. He also believes that Ethiopians should be happy when their citizens leave their country, as they leave all their belongings behind. This socially shared view of Ethiopians as the most famished people in the world is a socially shared view of the Israeli public.

The Image of unrighteousness

The subject that is going to be discussed in this sub-section is the image of Ethiopians in the Arab world, specifically in Saudi Arabia as reflected in *Eshohama Worq*. The following text is taken from an old Saudi Arabian landlord's view of Ethiopians reported by the narrator:

የምስራውን እኔ አውቃለሁ! ደግሞ ለሃጅ ነብይ (ለውጭ ዜጋ) ልስገድ? ለያውም ለሃበሻ? እሰራልሻለሁ! ማንነትሽን የማላውቅ መሰለሽ? ያወሰኸ!

I know what I am going to do! Should I worry for foreigners? Especially for Habeshas? I will get you back! Do you think that I don't know who you are? Filthy! (14).

The text is taken from a monologue made by a Saudi Arabian landlord who was offended by his Ethiopian tenants' refusal to open even though he knocked on their door repeatedly. The landlord's words of warnings against his Ethiopian tenants can be regarded as an attempt to sustain the old social convention which requires tenants to be obedient to the demands of their landlords. The landlord also asked himself whether he the native Saudi Arabian should care for newcomers, an inquiry which anticipates a no answer. The landlord's claim that he needs not to worry even the least if the immigrant is from Ethiopia which shows the least position he assigned to Ethiopians in his value ladder of humanity, which necessitates a deeper investigation of the cultural, economic, religious and ideological contexts of the discourse.

The novel follows the story of Semira and Aida, two Ethiopians who immigrate to Saudi Arabia. Semira's decision to quit her university education was initiated by her encounter with Hanna, her former friend, and the success stories she heard from her. However, after arriving in Saudi Arabia, Semira realizes that the country is actually a storehouse of misery, especially for illegal residents. Hayat, Fissaha, Araya, and Kerim are three Ethiopian men who have been forced to engage in illegal practices in Saudi Arabia, such as drug and alcohol dealings and commercial sex workers trafficking. The easily available and supposedly reliable business for Ethiopian women in Saudi Arabia is prostitution, as indicated in many parts of the novel.

The narrator reports that Ethiopians in Saudi Arabia joined the sector of prostitution due to disappointments and lack of choice. Aida, Semira, and Hayat were all Ethiopians who had been spending their vacation with commercial sex workers in Hayer Bewadi. Aida's decision to join the sector shows her refusal to return home without achieving her goal, while Hayat had no courage to return home after her employer tried to run over her by car and members of a police task force raped her. Ethiopians' decision to stay in Saudi Arabia despite the harsh life there, is because they lack moral to return home empty handed.

Therefore, Mr. Ibrahim's attachment to Ethiopians is attributable to different socio-economic realities and the resulting social cognitions of the Saudi population, such as chronic poverty, wrong understanding of Saudi Arabia as a paradise on earth, mass engagement in illegal sectors, and the Arabs' revolution against their old social system due to their frequent contact with the Western world. The Saudi Arabians have experienced a shift in world views due to their interaction with the free and democratic Western lifestyle.

This has led to a deep-rooted problem of bachelorhood. A section of the Arab society believes that Ethiopian prostitutes are the best solutions for this problem of bachelorhood. The old landlord's anger against his Ethiopian tenants and his valuation of them as 'yawoswh' comes from the larger number of Ethiopians working in illegal and immoral sectors in the Arab world. Aida and Semira feel relieved when they realize that the man knocking and threatening them was Mr. Ibrahim.

The Image of Sub-humanity

The issues addressed in this sub-heading are the host communities' view of Ethiopians from the perspectives of equality, humanity and capability. The novels that visibly depict such aspects of the lives of Ethiopian

Diasporas are Ymanebirihan Emagnu's (*Mignote*) and Tesfa Sintayehu's (*Chawota Tobia Beyerusalem*). So, let's begin with Yemenebirhan's portrayal of the subject:

እኔ ከሰው የተፈጠርኩ አልመስላትም። በመልክ እና በውበት አሳምሬ አንደምበልጣት አውቃለሁ። ግን ከራሷ ዘር ውጭ በመሆኔ ብቻ ትንቀሳላች። እናቷም እሷም «አንች አበሻ ያን አቅርቢ ያን ስራ» ይሉኛል። ቢሞቱ በስሜ አይጠሩኝም። ሌላውም ቤታቸው የሚገባው የሚወጣው ሰው በንቀት መልክ «አበሻ» ይሉኛል።

She doesn't think that I was born from a humankind though I know that I am more beautiful than her. But she looks down on me for a very simple reason that I am not of her type. Both she and her mother say '[y]ou Habesha [a derogatory term for Ethiopians in Sudan] bring that, do that etc'. They never address me by my name. Everyone that comes to their home too calls me 'Abesh' [the shortened form of *Habesha* that carry a more scornful attitude] with a ridiculing tone (p. 127).

The story is narrated by Emuye, an Ethiopian woman who was married to a Sudanese diplomat in Djibouti. When they arrived in Khartoum, their family was not happy with their marriage, suggesting that beauty is culturally defined. Emuye's claim that she is more beautiful than her sister-in-law is the result of her employment of Ethiopian standards of measuring beauty, while Amos's family's view of Emuye as a non-human being is the result of their usage of Sudanese criteria. Amos's change in attitude towards Emuye is a result of his freedom to think and act the way he likes, as well as the derogating view of the Sudanese society towards Ethiopians.

Emuye's family's preference of the word Habesha to her proper name is an act of discrimination and a marker of the lower social status Ethiopians in Sudan have. This practice is seen as a marker of their power to do anything wrong on her and ruin her life by convincing her husband that she does not deserve to be his wife.

Now let's move on to Tesfa Sintayehu's portrayal of Ethiopians as viewed by the Israeli society in his novel (*Chawota Tobia Beyerusalem*) and the following are some of the textual evidences:

ዳኛው «ለምን በመሪህ ላይ ተኮስክ?» ሲለኝ «በመጀመሪያ መሪህ አይደለም፣ ሰድብኛል።»

«ምን ብሎ ሰደበህ» ሲል ዳኛ በድጋሜ፣

«ኩሽ! ብሎ ሰድቦኛል»

«ኩሽ ስድብ ነው?» እንደገና ጠበቃየ ቀደም ብሎ ያስለበመኝና በመጽሐፍ ቅዱስ ውስጥ ያለ እና የተጠቀሰ ስማችሁ ነው ብሎ ስለነገረኝ ለኔ ስድብ መሆኑን ማሳመን ነበረብኝና በመልሴ «አወ ኩሽ ስድብ ነው። በመጀመሪያ ሰሜ ይስሃቅ ነው። ከያዝከው መዝገብ ላይ 'ኩሽ' የሚል ስም የለም። ሁለተኛ ነገር ኩሽ በጣም የታወቀ ቤተ እስራኤላዊ ስድብ ነው፤ በራዲዮም ሆነ በቴሌቪዥን የተነገረ ነው»

The judge first asked me, “why did you fire on your commander?” “He is not my commander in the first place because he insulted me,” I responded.

“What did he say in insulting you?” the judge asked me again.

“He called me Cush,” I answered.

“Is calling someone Cush an insult?” the judge asked once more. Because my lawyer informed me that Cush is our biblical name, and I should convince the judge that the word ‘Cush’ is an insult for me. I answered “Yes, it is an insult. In the first place my name is Isaac. There is no a name called ‘Cush’ in the document you have. Secondly, Cush is a well-known Israeli insult which has a wider coverage both on radio and on television.

The text is a representation of a conflict between an Ethiopian Jew and his commander during a military mission. The commander's preference to address the soldier as Cush to his proper name Isaac caused the soldier to turn violent and fire thirty bullets in an attempt to kill his commanding officer. The defense lawyer informs the Ethiopian Jew to take care of the issue and work hard to convince members of the jury that he was insulted by his commander. The judge appears confused at the beginning of the hearing, suggesting that part of the Israeli society understands and uses the word to simply refer to the Ethiopian Jews.

The word 'Cush' is a well-known insult for the Bete-Israelis (Ethiopian Jews) used by the wider Israeli public. Golda Meir, the former prime minister of Israel, used the term "Ethiopian blacks" instead of their common names when discussing the return of Ethiopian Jews. This societal act of attaching a sub-human value to Ethiopian Jews is attributable to the color of their skin, as the Bete-Israelis are the only black Jews in the world.

This suggests that Golda Meir's hatred towards the Ethiopian Jews comes from the color of their skin and she is an impassioned advocate of white supremacy. Additionally, many Ethiopian Jews experienced discriminatory practices such as being forced to dine and play in a separate quarter in schools and being forced to sit alone in a crowded bus due to a television station declaring them to be full of diseases and bad odor.

The Ethiopian Jew's violent reaction to a white army unit commander's call to his soldier Cush was an act of resistance to the hegemonic view of white superiority. The Israeli public's dehumanizing view of the Bete-Israelis is rooted in religious and historical roots, such as mixing egg and milk, not having the bible in Hebrew, and not having oral Torah called the Talmud as recurrently mentioned in the bible.

The Image of Barbarism

The most extreme form of savagery of Ethiopians is reflected in the book "*Cawota Tobia Beyerusalem*" by Tesfa Sintayehu. A police officer once said that Ethiopian Jews encamped around Beersheba were ignorant and eating with their hands, suggesting that the officer is against the immigration of Ethiopian Jews to Israel. A television station also declared that the Bete-Israelis are patients, smell bad, and don't know how to hold a spoon and fork.

Aya Tebeje argues that taking shower for five days in a year during the month of Pagume is enough to keep people hygienic. He criticizes his host communities' culture of taking shower every morning and using different deodorants and cosmetics, as it avoids the natural odor the body produces. The modern Israeli tradition evaluates Ethiopian Jews as backward, savage, unhealthy and people who produce bad smells.

Ethiopian Jews view Israeli society as artificial, leading to ideological conflicts between the two major sections of the Israeli public. Golda Meir's statement "it is better to buy maize from Sudanese than smuggling Ethiopian blacks" is an example. Golda Meir's opposition to Bete-Israelis aliyahs is justified by two main reasons: Ethiopian Jews cannot have any significance to Israel and they are worthless or troublemakers.

The following extract from Mehaba Jemal's (*Sidetegnaw Bawropa*) also represents a similar view of Ethiopians in the eyes of the Swedish public:

“ማን ፊት ነው ታዲያ የለመድከው? ዝሆኖች ፊት?” ንግግሩ ሁሉንም አሳቃቸው።

ይኸኔ ከሶስቱ የመዝገብ ቤት ሰራተኞች አንደኛው፣ ምንድን ነው የሚያስፈራው? ሀገራቸው ራቁት መሄድ የተለመደ አይደለም እንዴት? አለች።

“If that is so, why are you not willing to put your clothes off?”

“It is because I have no experience of putting my clothes off before people”.

“What is your experience then? Before elephants?”, his question turned every one of them in to laughter.

The conversation was made in a police station in Stockholm where an Ethiopian migrant was investigated. The first instruction given to Fekade was to put all his clothes off, which made him feel uncomfortable due to the presence of three women documentation officers and four male police officers. Both parties formed different mental models of the communicative event due to differences in socio-cultural practices. The police officer's firm commitment to see Fekade undressed is due to the police's strict and coercive norm; given the discipline of the police profession requires to investigate everything in detail even by means of force if necessary.

Grievances of Ethiopian Diasporas

This section examines the views of Ethiopian Diasporas towards their diasporic life as reflected in the novels studied in this article. It also examines the different values Ethiopian Diaspora communities attach to their lives overseas and the major ideological backgrounds that contribute to their evaluation of their life abroad.

Disenchantments

Ethiopians' expectations of life overseas and the reverse realities they find in their destinations are discussed, exemplified by textual evidence. The first text that is supposed to be the best representation of Ethiopians' disillusionment in the Arab world is taken from *Eshohama Worqe*, a novel by Saada Mohammed:

በአካውንቲነግ ሙዮ ለመመረቅ ሁለት ድፍን አመታት መቆየት ይኖርባታል። ከዚያም ጠብ የማይል ደሞዝ የምትቆጥርባቸው አመታታ ይከተላሉ። እንደሃና ምርጫዎን ማስተካከል ብትችል ግን በሁለት አመት ብቻ ባለመኪና መሆንና ክርስቲያን በሆኑ ከቤተሰቦቿ ሸሽጋ የያዘችውን ጓደኛዋን ኤርምያስን ማግባት ትችላለች።..... ሳውዲ አረቢያ ግን የጣት ቀለበቶችና የአንገት

ሃብሎች የተዘረከረኩባት ሙዳይ ሆና አላገኘችትም። ሃብት እንደዋዛ ይግበሰበሰባታል የተባለችው ጅዳ በተቃራኒው በመከራ ጭጋ የተሸፈነች ንፋግ ሆነችባት። የሰሚራ ህልም መና እንደሆነ ሁለት አመታት ቢያልፉም ባዶ እጁን ወደሃገሯ ለመመለስ ግን ድፍረት አጣች። ስለዚህም በቀላሉ ሃብት ሊያስገኝላት የሚችል ሌላ አማራጭ ስለመኖሩ ለማወቅ ጣረች። አገኘችው።

She needs to stay two solid years to graduate in accounting. Then, the years that she would live with a meager salary will follow. But if she adjusted her life pathway she can own an automobile within two years and marry Ermias (her boyfriend), an issue which she kept secret from her family because he is a Christian.....Nevertheless, she didn't find Saudi Arabia as a case in which rings and necklaces are over piled. Contrary to what it had been believed to be (i.e. it is a city where one can easily amass wealth) Jeddah waited for Semira covered with smog of misery and it was stingy for her. Semira lost courage to come back home empty handed though two solid years have passed without actualizing her dream. She, therefore, endeavored to know whether there is a job that can easily prosper her, and she found it... (p. 35-36).

Semira, a character in the novel, sets several goals to achieve her dream of having a degree in accounting and becoming an employee. However, her social cognition (a shared belief that graduates live a better life) appears to cease to exist and a new one emerges. She decides to drop out of her university education and travel to Saudi Arabia to make as much money as she needs. This move is seen as a decision to shift to the business world as she could see no good future in the academic world.

Aida's experience in Saudi Arabia is similar to Semira's where she arrived at a city "covered with smog of misery". This conflict between the popular social cognition of Ethiopians that over romanticize Saudi Arabia and the harsh reality Ethiopian migrants face after they arrive is the result of the sharp conflict between the popular social cognition of Ethiopians that over romanticize Saudi Arabia and the harsh reality Ethiopian migrants face after they arrive. Semira's plan to travel to Saudi Arabia and quickly acquire a huge sum of money is not just a plan to get out of poverty, but also to get out of the cultural and religious conventions and religious sanctions imposed on her and her boyfriend, Ermyas. The most likely consequence of Semira's trip to Saudi Arabia and working there for some time and making a bigger sum of money is to

increase her influence on her family and violate the institutional norm of the family.

Semira's plan to travel to Jeddah was meant to achieve two goals: getting out of poverty and violating inter-religious marriages. However, both goals were unachievable due to Jeddah's stinginess and Ermyas' announcement of his marriage to another woman. She then set her third goal of making as much money as she aspired to have before leaving Ethiopia, based on two wrong societal perceptions: the Saudis' view of Ethiopian women as aphrodisiac beings and Ethiopians' expectation returnees to have much money as repeatedly talked about in the passage.

Traveling with an over idealized expectations of destinations and finishing up in the opposite realities is also a common experience of Ethiopian Diasporas in Europe as reflected in *Sidetegnaw Beawropa*. The following passage is taken from the narrator's account of Fekade's overly optimistic feeling regarding his future in Sweden:

ደስታ በተሞላበት መንፈስ ነበር የካምፑን ኑሮ የጀመረው። የነጻነት ስሜት አጥለቅልቆታል። እንደልቡ ይወጣል፣ እንደልቡ ይገባል። ካምፑ የተሰጠው መታወቂያ ወረቀት ከስዊድን ብሄራዊ ድንበር ውጭ አይሁን እንጅ የፈለገው ስፍራ መሄድ የሚያስችለው ነበር። ካርሉስ ሉንደ የሚባለውን የስደተኞች መጠለያ ጣቢያ እግዚአብሔር ለጸድቃን ያዘጋጅው አድርጎ ነበር የተመለከተው። አካባቢው በረጃጅምና ቀጥ ብለው በቆሙ ዛፎች የተከበበ ሲሆን፣ በህብረ ቀለማት ያሸበረቁ አበቦች በየቦታው በቅለው ይታያሉ። በአረንጓዴ ሳር የተሸፈነው ሜዳ በጣም ንጹህ ከመሆኑ የተነሳ አረፍ ለማለት ቦታ መምረጥ አያስፈልግም።

He began his life in the camp happily. He was overwhelmed with the feeling of freedom. He gets in and out of the camp without any impediment. The identity card he was given from the camp grants him the right to freely move within the national boundary of Sweden. He viewed Karlus Lund (the camp) as paradise, a place which God prepared for the blessed to stay in. The area is surrounded with tall and straight trees and decorated with flowers of different colors. Because the green field is so clean that no one needs to choose a place to sit on (p. 32).

Fekade's euphoric feeling was due to the economic and political situations of his country when he left, as well as the social convention of his people regarding migration and imprisonment. Prisons in Ethiopia are known by dispiriting names such as Esir bet, Wohni bet, and Alem

Bekagne, and these practices are viewed as a violation of human rights in European standards.

Fekade left Ethiopia during the late Dergue era, when free movement was difficult due to the civil war and recruitment of youth for military services. He felt the extreme form of freedom as the Swedish government grants him an identity card, which allowed him to freely move within the country's national boundary. So, it seems due to such contrasting realities that Fekade felt happy when he saw the quality of the encampment of migrants in Sweden. He hoped a luxurious life thereof.

However, he later discovered the ugly face of the camp life and understood that the Swedish government's suspension of the process of permitting immigrants to live and work is a pretext to cover hidden agendas. Likewise, Aya Tebeje in Chawota Beyerusalem described his life in Israel:

የዚህ አገር ትድረት [sic] አልጣመኝም። ጥላሸት ለብሶ ታየኝ።
ምን አለፋሁ፤ እጅ እጅ ያለውን፣ ተነካክቶ የደረሰውን እህል ...
በጦቢያ መብላት አምሮት ያነሳል።

Israel's culture doesn't suit me. It appears dark to me. In short, eating the leftover food that began to taste fungous in Ethiopia, tastes sweeter than living in Israel (Tesfa, 1989, p. 424-425).

Aya Tebeje's experience of meeting with Israeli officials and top executives revealed that the Israelis' culture of disrespecting elders was the one that he detested the most. In Ethiopia, elders are pillars of culture, history archives, teachers of folk knowledge and skills, and respected for their ages. In Ethiopia, respecting elders for their ages is generally considered a virtue due to a widely shared social cognition that a person who disrespects and mistreats elders will face the same treatment in their later days. People who disrespect and maltreat elders are regarded as ill-bred by the majority of Ethiopian society, and therefore, people respect elders to not be viewed as socially unpolished and unrefined individuals. Aya Tebeje's feeling of abomination is not just a consequence of a mere cultural incongruity, but also an anticipated outcome of incompatibilities between two different belief systems.

Disillusionment of Ethiopian Diasporas is also reflected in *Tiqurua Pilot*. The case in point is Rosy's ironic description of Germany as follows:

“አዎን ጅርመን ገንዘብ የሚታፈስበት ገነት፣ ትምህርት
የሚቀሰምበት ዩኒቨርሲቲ፣ ፈረንጅ አገር፣ ባህር ማዶ የሰንቱን
ቀልብ የገፈፈ ምኞት።”

Yes, Germany the paradise, where money can be easily amassed, a university where one can have an easy access to education; a wish for life in the Western world and life overseas; a desire which many are obsessed with” (p. 65).

Rosy's speech discussed the discrepancies between Ethiopian expectations before traveling abroad and the actual life they lead in the Western world. She argued that Ethiopians suffer a lot to get themselves in Western countries, but her final judgment of life in the Western world is "janitor of the whites". Anteneh and Emuye were deceived by over-sentimentalization of destinations, leading to destitution in Djibouti and Sudan.

Humiliation

The topic discussed in this sub-heading is the feelings of Ethiopian Diasporas towards the sectors they engage themselves as portrayed in the novels studied. The following text is taken from *Mignote* regarding the situation of Ethiopian women in Sudan:

አሁንም ተስፋ አልቆረጥኩም፣ ብዙ ለማግኘት ብዙ መጣር እንዳለብኝ ቆርጬ ተነስቻለሁ፣ ወንዶችን ለማጥመድ የማልሞክረው ነገር የለም። በአንድ ወቅት ከአንድ ሰው ጋር ፍቅር ይዞኝ ለትንሽ ጊዜ ተቸግራ ነበር፣ ምንም እንኳን ጊዜው አጭር ቢሆንም በከንቱ ያሳለፍኩት ጊዜ ይቆጩኛል። ሁለተኛ ለወንድ አልታለልም፣ አሁን ፍቅራ ከነሱ ጋር ሳይሆን ከገንዘባቸው ጋር ነው።

I haven't lost hope yet. I am committed to work more to earn more. I try every possible means to attract men. I once fall in love with a man and troubled for a little while. I regret the time I wasted for nothing even though it was for a short while. I will not be cheated for men hereafter. My love now is not with them, but with their money (p. 167).

Emuye reported her plan to become a prostitute in Khartoum at the end of the fifth year, and her utterances can only get the right interpretation when they are mediated by the appropriate social contexts and cognitions. Her statement “I will not be cheated for men hereafter” is directly traceable to the experience when she was cheated by Amos. Her failure to be economically self-sufficient in two years is another disappointing experience, but she still hopes to make more money through prostitution. Emuye changed her name from Emuye to Rosy to appear educated in the eyes of her customers. Her other statement “[m]y love now is not with

them, but with their money” indicates the harsh reality she was in and the disgracefulness of her job, as she had no qualification in any discipline and a fatherless son to feed.

Emuye and Birtukan are the other two characters in the novel *Mignote*. Emuye's resolution to not love her customers but their money goes against the dominant world view regarding love, which advocates that choice of partners should depend on emotional compatibilities. Birtukan's account of the lives of Ethiopian commercial sex workers in Sudan shows that sexual intercourse between followers of different religions is a customary practice. The writer's message to home audiences suggests that diasporic life is undignified as it is a life one lives doing things that go against their cultural and religious values.

The issues discoursed in this subtitle are the bitter realities Ethiopian Diasporas face in different destinations and the resulting attitudes they have of their diasporic life. Let's begin with Saada Mohammed's portrayal of the reality:

...አንገታችን ቢቀላ፣ ደማችን ቢመጠጥ እሱ ምንት ዳው? በሞት ተከበን የምንሸጠው አካላችን የሚያስገኘው ገቢ እኩል ይካፈላል።
» አይዳ በንዴት ከተንጋለላችበት ተነስታ ተቀመጠች።...

...«እሱ እንደሆነ አይዳ ብትሞት የሚያቃጥራት ሴት አያጣ! ያለክፍያ ከሚሸኝ አውሬ ጋር ቢሰደኝ፣ በርካሽ ቢደራደርብኝ ይደንቃል? ታዲያ እኔስ ድርሻውን ብካገው ምን ይገርማል?

...Should he care if we are beheaded or if we get withered?

He shares the money we make selling our body besieged with death[emphasis mine] equally, Aida stood up with the feeling of anger and sat down...

... He will never fall short of women to go-between if Aida dies! Then, what makes it surprising if he sends me with a monster that sees me off without any payment and bargained down to sell me for the least price? So, what is wrong if I refuse his share? (Eshohama Work 11-12).

The conflict between a broker and a customer in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia is highlighted by Aida's refusal to pay Fissha's mediation fee. She argues that prostitution in Saudi Arabia is a job that must be done in partnership with monsters, who pay nothing and mistreat them. Fissha's feelings suggest the inhuman treatments that prostitutes experience from their customers.

Her question "[s]hould he care if we are beheaded or if we get withered?" implies that getting decapitated and shedding one's own beauty is a common experience for Ethiopian migrants in Saudi Arabia. The feeling of animosity and ill-will of Ethiopians towards their life in Saudi Arabia is not unique to Aida, as indicated in many parts of the novel.

Another novel that represent an extreme form of bitterness of Ethiopian migrants due to racial discrimination is Sidetegnaw Beawuropan as stated in the passage below:

እያደር መሰረቱ ከየት እንደሆነ ማወቁ አይቀርም። የመጣበት አገር ደግሞ እንደ ደንቆር፣ ዝቅተኛ ዘርና ችግር የሞላበት ሆኖ እንደሚታይ ይይዘውባል። ስለዚህ በአገሩና በዘሩ ከመኩራት ይልቅ የሚጠላውና የሚአፍርበት ይሆናል። ስዊድናዊ መሆንን ይመርጣል። ብዙም ሳይቆይ ግን የህብረተሰቡ አካል መሆን እንደማይችል ይረዳል። ምክንያቱም ጥቁር ስለሆነ በየትምህርት ቤቱ በቡድንና በተናጠል ስድብና ድብደባ ይደርስበታል። ስለዚህ ገና በጨቅላነቱ አዕምሮው ይረበሻል። በየጊዜው የሚደርስበት ስድብና ድብደባ ሲሰለገው ትምህርት ቤት መሄዱን እየጠላው ይሰማል። የትምህርት ፍላጎቱም ከጅምሩ ይቀጫል...

It is inevitable that a kid who is born from African migrant families [emphasis mine] will know where he is from. He also realizes that the country of origin is viewed as a land of ignorant and inferior races which is full of problems. As a result, he begins to feel ashamed on his identity and country of origin instead of feeling proud of them, and consequently, he prefers to be a Swedish. However, he quickly realizes that he can't be part of the Swedish community for the reason that he will be insulted and beaten by groups and individuals in every school. Subsequently, his psych gets disturbed in its infancy and thus, he hates to go to school due to frequent beatings and insults and his interest for education dies from the beginning (p. 184).

The most important details in this passage are that African migrants in Sweden suffer from racial discrimination and that the Europeans' advocacy of democracy and human rights protection is not aimed at serving humanity. Monika's evaluation of Africans as people who do not know to resolve differences through democratic discussions is an indication of the depth of the racial discrimination experienced by African migrants. Additionally, the downplaying mental position of the Swedish society of the migrant communities is another cause of the downplaying mental position of the migrant communities. Children are

the most affected section of the African migrant community due to the lack of a permanent life philosophy and racist psychological attacks from white chauvinists.

The other source of Ethiopian migrants' grievance is the monotonous nature of their lives as manifestly depicted in almost all the novels studied. Asmamaw Hailu's portrayal of such nature of Ethiopians' life abroad appears to be the most representative one as discussed below:

ከቤት ወደ ስራ፣ ከስራ ወደ ቤት ከሚባክነው የባተሌ ህይወት ጎን ለጎን የልጆችና የቤተሰቦች ሃላፊነት እንቅልፍ የማያስተኛ ማህበራዊ እዳነው። የቤት ክራይን ወንድም የሞርጌይ ክፍያን ቀን ሳያሳልፉ መክፈል ለአንድ ሙሉ ወር ፋታ የሚነሳ የየላቱ የአፊሪካ የቤት ስራ ነው። ለቤተሰቡ ምግብና እንዳየሩ ጠባይ የሚገዙ ልብሶች ሊዘነጉ የማይገባቸው ተግባሮች እንደሆኑ ቢታወቅም ልጆች ያሉበት ቤተሰብ ደግሞ ወጥረቱ ይከብደዋል።

In addition to the repetitive nature of life (a life that recycles from home to workplace and workplace to home), shouldering familial responsibility is a social obligation that makes people sleepless. Paying a house rent on time [emphasis mine] is also another urgent homework that preoccupies mind for the whole month. Although, shopping food for a family's consumption and clothes that are appropriate to the weather conditions are pressing tasks for everybody, the pressure is greater for people who have children (Asmamaw, 2004, p. 30).

The first root of bitterness of Ethiopian Diasporas in America as stated in this passage is the monotonous nature of life and its understanding requires detail investigation of the socio-cultural and socio-cognitive contexts of both Ethiopian and American societies. As indicated in the extract, life in America lacks variety and simply recycles from home to workplace and from workplace to home. This reality can really make life wearisome and dull, especially for an immigrant whose origin is rural Ethiopia like Sileshi (the speaker in the text extracted above), because life in rural Ethiopia is seasonal and full of varieties. Part of the year is a season for sowing seeds and cultivation. The other part is a time when crops are collected and harvested. The season that follows the harvesting period is a time when people generally get relaxed since they finalize their prime task of collecting as much crop as they need for their yearly consumption unless there is a crop failure. Thereafter, farmers in rural Ethiopia begin preparing their land for another round of sowing and cultivation. So, the farming duties of Ethiopian farmers vary following

the variations of seasons. At times, they plough their lands and sow seeds. At another time they remove weeds from their farms. Then after, they mow crops and pile them in places that are comfortable to separate the seeds from the straw. Lastly, they harvest and transport their produces to granaries. Thus, life in rural Ethiopia is seasonal and full of varieties unlike life in America which recycles from home to workplace, and workplace to home and it is reasonable if an immigrant from rural Ethiopia feels boredom in America.

The other issue that makes the lives of Ethiopian immigrants bitter in America as stated in the extract above is the incompatibility of their culture of time management with their host communities. The speaker in the passage for example, indicated that “[p]aying a house rent on time” is one of the urgent tasks that preoccupies mind for the whole month. The reason that generated acrimony on Ethiopian Diasporas in America as indicated in this statement is not just the issue of paying house rent but it is the issue of ‘paying it on time’ that preoccupies mind for the whole month, which once more is attributable to the incongruity of the time management culture of the Americans and the rural Ethiopians where the speaker (Sileshi) is migrated from.

According to Sileshi, people in his village (Dembia, a rural district in North West Ethiopia) say let’s meet in the market around the week of Mikael (a monthly memorial of Saint Michael that is celebrated at the twelfth day of a month) in making appointments. Around the week of Mikael as Sileshi explained it further includes the time between a week before to after the twelfth day of a month which is a clear indicator of an extreme flexibility of their culture of time management. The market is also a place where thousands of people gather from around the district which makes the identification of individuals difficult. Let’s see first how endurance is represented in *Mignote*:

‘ማሽላ እያረረ ይስቃል’ እንደሚባለው ችግሩን በሆዴ አምቁ ይገጩ ደንበኞቻችን በፈገግታ ተቀብሮ አስተናግዳቸዋለሁ።

As the saying goes ‘maize laughs while burning,’ I serve my customers gleefully, disguising all my problems inside (p.166).

Emuye outlined three major institutional norms of prostitution as a business institution: prettifying oneself with beautiful apparels and cosmetics, polishing one's speeches and approaches to appear urbanely, and welcoming customers even though they may be distressed. Prostitution is a sinful religiously, disgraceful socially, and unjust morally, as it requires one to sleep with anyone who is capable of paying

the required amount of money. It is also disesteemed socially as it endows participants with a personality of sex commodities.

The importance of endurance and endurance is equally emphasized in *Eshohama Worq* as plainly stated in the following passage:

ጅዳ የሆደ ሰፊዎች ከተማ ናት። በየለቱ የሚገጥሙ አስቸጋሪ ፈተናዎችን ተቋቁሞ ማለፍ የግድ ነው። እያንዳንዷ ደቂቃ ለጭንቀት በሚዳርጉ የህይወት ውዉጣ ውዉረዶች ተሞልታለች። ስለዚህ ነገሮችን እንደየአመጣጣቸው መቀበል ይኖርብሻል።

Jeddah is a city of forbearing people. It is a must to pass through adverse circumstances every day. Every minute in Jeddah is full of ups and downs that are accompanied by anxiety. So, you need to respond to things according to their contexts (Saada, 1992, p. 79).

The text discusses the issue of endurance and the obligation migrants have to live with adversities. Kerim, the speaker in the text, evaluated Jeddah as a city of forbearing in an attempt to appease Hayat, an illegal immigrant in Saudi Arabia. Kerim's recommendation suggests that Diasporic life is not only bitter but also unavoidably bitter, especially for victim Diasporas, victims of natural disasters, poverty, maladministration and civil wars. The novel follows the experiences of victim Diasporas in Saudi Arabia, such as Hayat, Aida, Semira, Kerim, and Fisssha. Hayat chose to stay in Saudi Arabia, even though she was gang rapped by an unknown number of a police task force. Aida and Semira chose to dive deep into prostitution, while Kerim and Fisssha chose to continue their dangerous and criminal acts of dealing drugs and alcoholic drinks and accessing commercial sex workers.

Likewise, patience and endurance are portrayed as an integral part of diasporic life in *Tiqurua Pilot* as indicated in the following poem:

ካገሩ የወጣ ሀገሩ እስኪመለስ
በጭኑት አህያ በለጉሙት ፈረስ
እውነትም ተብሏል እመሰክራለሁ
ከየት ሸንጎ ቁሜ ከማ እሚገታለሁ
በደሌን ስቃየን ላምላክ እነግራለሁ
ፍርድ አያንድልም ከእሱ እጠብቃለሁ።

An immigrant is a donkey if he is loaded and

A horse if he is bitted, until he returns back home
 Is true; for I am a witness.
 Where shall I appeal? Whom shall I charge?
 I shall just tell my grievance to God and
 I expect justice from him, as his judgment is fair always (Biruk,
 1996, p. 290).

In a very similar fashion, Sileshi himself described life in America as follows:

የአሜሪካ ህይወት ድል እንደተመታ ሰራዊት መሸሻን ወደ ፊት እያዩ እንደመጣደፍ ነው። ወደ ኋላ የሚዞረው አባራሪው ሰራዊት የቱን የህል እንደቀረበ ለማረጋገጥ ነው።

Life in America is like retreating fast, surveying the way out ahead like a defeated army. The reason why one looks back is to see how far the chasing army is (Asmamaw, 2002: 214).

Sileshi's metaphoric description of life in America and a retreating army reveals three common features: quick actions, high degree of caution, and individualism or self-reliance. Delaying means falling in the hands of the enemy force, lack of care may lead to homelessness, and individualism or self-reliance is essential for gaining support from others during the withdrawal of an army. However, gearing everything towards personal benefits was not an easy experience due to the life pathways he had passed through as a member of EPRA.

Aspirations of Ethiopian Diasporas

Ethiopians migrate with the motives of political maltreatment, better economic future and spiritual satisfaction as discussed in the background of this article. These motives are reflected in the novels studied, which qualify them as victim Diasporas as they migrated due to both natural and manmade disasters.

Migration Due to Political Maladministration

Tiqurua Pilot is a novel that portrays the lives of Ethiopian political migrants. Rosa and Joni left Ethiopia due to their membership of the EPRP, which was persecuted and massacred by the military government. Their migration was motivated by pure political interests.

ግን እኔ ርዘ ካገራ የወደጣሁት ተርቤ ሳይሆን የብልሹ አሰራር ጅራፍ ሳይለመጥጠኝ፣ ታስራ ሳልማቅቅ፣ በጥይት ተመትቸ

ሳልሞት አምልጮ እውስጥ የጀመርኩትን የጋራ ትግል እውጭ ለመቀጠል ፈልጌ ነው።

However, I left my country not because I was hungry, but to escape the lashes, imprisonments and massacres of the corrupt government and to continue the collective struggle that I began at home in overseas.

Joni's statements reflect the late 1970s Ethiopia, where torture, mass detention and indiscriminate killings were common. Rosy's motive of migration was to save her life from the military government. Joni also indicated that he had a plan to resume the collective struggle against the Dergue regime. Asmamaw Hailu divided the destinations of EPRP members after the collapse of the party, with some travelling to Tigray and formed EPDM, while others migrated to Sudan to hold a conference.

Migration Due to Lack of Economic Prospects

Ethiopians are driven out of the country due to a gloomy economic future due to civil wars, droughts, and poverty. This belief that no one can achieve economic prosperity unless they travel abroad has been recurrently reflected in novels studied in this article.

Aspirations from abroad

Ethiopian Diasporas in different destinations can be divided into two groups based on their dreams of returning to their homeland. Some have clear plans to return, while others are undecided and lead their diasporic life with divided souls.

Pure Plan to Return

Saada Mehammed's novel *Eshohama Worq* reflects the struggles of Ethiopian Diasporas to make money to live better when they return back home as stated in the following excerpt:

ካለችኝ ገንዘብ ላይ ከመጅድ የምበደረውን ጨምራ እጹን እገዛለሁ።ፍስሀ ደጋግሞ ለፈላጊዎች ያደርሳል። በቃ፣ከዚያ አለፈልን ማለት ነው።ኢንሻ አላህ አምላኬ ለሃገሬም ያበቃኝ ይሆናል' እያለ ያወጣል ያወርዳል።

‘I will buy the drug for the little money I have adding up what I will borrow from Mejid. Then, Fisssha will deal it to consumers. That is it! And that means we break away from poverty! God willing, my God may help me even to return back to my country’, he chews over (P. 46).

So, the purpose of the monologue undoubtedly comes from what Dijk calls the institutional norm of his business; the very secretive norm of drug dealing as a business institution, given it is one of the top criminal activities in Saudi Arabia. Second, Kerim's plan buying drugs, dealing it to consumers through Fisseha and ultimately returning back home after making presumably a big sum of money. So, the only reason that made Kerim to stay outside is only acquiring as much money as he needs, which shows that he has a pure plan to come back home.

The following passage from *Sidetegnaw Beawuropa* also shows a perfectly parallel business plan plotted by an Ethiopian in Sweden:

ዳሩ ግን በለጠ ከቁምላቸው ከተለያዩ ወዲህ ገንዘቡ ቶሎ አልተጠራቀመለትም። ገንዘቡ ፈጽሞ መቅኖ የለውም። እያደር እሱም እንደቁምላቸው 'እኔ እኮ የምጠብቀው በርከት ያለ ሸቀጥ እጅ እስኪገባ ነው' ማለት ጀመረ። ያም ቀን ይኸው ደረሰ። ሃያ ኪሎ ግራም ኮኬይን ያለ ጥርጥር ህልሙን እውን ያደርግለታል። እስከ ምሽቱ አንድ ሠዓት ድረስ ከቤቱ አልወጣም። አልጋው ላይ ተጋድሞ ሲያልም፣ ማድ ቤት ሲያንጎዳጉድና የሽያጭ ፕላን ሲያወጣ አመሸ።

However, he couldn't save enough money since he parted himself from Kumlachew. The money he makes is totally wasteful. As a result, he began to say that 'I am waiting until a bulk of commodity comes to my hand'. For sure, twenty kilograms of cocaine will materialize his dream. He didn't get out of his home until 7:00 pm, as he spent the whole evening sleeping on his back and fancying, racing in the kitchen and preparing business plans (p. 166).

The novels *Sidetagnaw Beawuropa*, *Kerimin Eshohama Worq* and many others show that economic migrants leave the country with the intention to work and earn money legally. However, circumstances in their destinations led them to engage in criminal sectors due to enforcements of circumstances. Belete was a self-reliant man who studied the Swedish language and graduated in micro-data technique, but his dream of possessing the desired amount of money vanished due to refusals of recruiting institutions. Kerim and Belete both had dreams of economic prosperity, but they were unable to save enough money due to the money they would make through drug and alcohol dealing.

Belete detach himself from his friend Kumlachew, who introduced him to the business of drug dealing, but this didn't help him to actualize his

dream of acquiring as much money as he needed to establish a business institution related to computer science. He also plans to merchandize in bulk.

Indecisiveness

Chawota, Tobia Beyerusalem, is a novel that explores the confusion of Ethiopian migrants to decide whether to return home or remain abroad due to cultural, religious and political reasons.

ልቤን አላምነውም፤ እዚህ ስትሆን የዚያ ማዶ ልማድ፤ ከወዲያ ስትሆን ደግሞ የዚህ ወለል ብሎ ይታይሃል። እንደ ገደል ማሚቶ ከወዲያ ማዶ ሲጮህ ይሰማሃል። ዝም ብሎም አይጮህም፤ አሻግሮ ይጠራሃል እንጅ። ታዲያ ያዝኩህ ስትለው ዝም ብሎ መሄድ፤ መራቅ፤ አንተመከተል፤ መዳረሻ የለውም። አሁንም ከወዲያ ማዶ የሚጠራው ማሚቶ አላሰተኛኝ አለ።

I don't trust by heart, because the tradition thereof longs you more when you are here, and the tradition here hankers you when you are there. You hear it echoing from the other side. It doesn't merely echo, however. It rather calls you from thence. So, the echo calling from thereof made me sleepless as it endlessly distances itself whenever you try to approach it (p.437).

One of the justifications for Aya Tebeje's aspiration to get back to Ethiopia is the cultural differences between the two countries (Ethiopia and Israel). Because he spent most of his life in Ethiopia (as he was one of the few old Ethiopian Jews who made it to Israel because many of them died before they arrive due to the precarious nature of their routes), the cultural standards with which Aya Tebeje measures things as good/bad and right/wrong are exclusively Ethiopian as frequently indicated in the novel. Thus, it seems normal if he aspires to return to his birth culture as his ancient thoughts and acts, like having more wives are totally incompatible with the modern and democratic traditions and beliefs of his host community

A very similar experience of Ethiopians is also reflected in the following extract taken from *Kedambia Gondar Eske Washington DC (vol. II)* although the causes of irresolution are different from the ones discussed above as explained beneath:

አንሆ ወደ ሰሜን አሜሪካ የምመለስበት ጊዜ ደረሰብኝ። ለሁለተኛ ጊዜ ህይወቴን ከማንነቴ የምነጥልበት አጋጣሚ በመሆኑ ውስጤ ተረበሽ። [...] ካደግኩበት መንደር ለመውጣት የመጀመሪያውን

እርምጃ ስማትርም ጡንቻወቸ ተሳሰሩ።[...] መሄዴ ግድ ሆኖም መሄድ አቃተኝ።ከብዙ አመታት በኋላ የቋጠርኩትን ማንነቴን እንደገና ፈትቻ ለመጥፋት ድፍረትና አቅምአጣሁ።[...] ያደግኩበትን መንደር ወደ ኋላ እየተውኩ በሄድኩ ቁጥር ወደ ሰሜን አሜሪካ እየቀረብኩ መንደሩን አላጣሁትም። [...] ጀርባዬን ወልዶ ላሳደገኝ ሀብረተሰብ፣ ፊቴን ደግሞ ላያሌ አመታት ኑሬበትም ላልተረዳሁትና ላልተረዳኝ አገርና ማህበረሰብ እየፈራሁ አዞርኩ።

The day when I must return to North America came against me. I felt disturbed inside as it was a day when I must detach myself from my genesis for the second time. [...] My muscles limped when I began to take the first pace out of the village where I was born and grew up. [...] I failed to go out of my village while going out of it was a must. I lacked the courage to disappear untying my selfhood for the second time which I bonded with its original self after many years of detachment. [...] I was not incognizant of the fact that I am approaching North America whenever I travelled leaving my birth village behind. [...] So, I turned my face with fear to a society which I couldn't understand and never understood me though I lived in it for so many years and my back to a community in which I was born and grew up (p. 192).

This excerpt represents the experience of an Ethiopian immigrant who is entrapped between two different types of socio-cultural, economic, political and historical forces. He failed to decide whether to return to America or remain in Ethiopia due to the strong familial, social and cultural attractions from his birth village and the repulsive forces of fear of detachment from one's own root. However, there were also hideous domestic forces that pressured him to leave Ethiopia and attractive qualities from his diasporic life that draw him to America. Sileshi's search for his original self (his family, his culture and his country) had been giving him a continuous moral pain throughout his life in America. He would drink, dance, and sleep with many women in an attempt to create a pseudo-happiness and guise the moral pain he had been suffering from. Sileshi's visit to Ethiopia was a solution to his psychological wound, as he assumed that he had accomplished one of his greatest missions in life.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Conclusions

The majorities of Ethiopian Diasporas view their life abroad negatively and aspire to return to their homeland, Ethiopia. Diasporic life is viewed negatively by Ethiopians abroad, creating a feeling of humiliation and offensiveness. Five of the seven novels studied in this article portray Ethiopia as the land of famine and hunger due to the fact that the majority of knowledge of the host community of Ethiopian Diasporas come from world media giants, such as the BBC and CNN.

The difference in the image of Ethiopia in Saudi Arabia is due to the difference in media technology, culture, religion, economy and history. *Eshohama Work* portrays Ethiopians as criminals, while *Chawota Tobia beyerusalem* portrays them as starved and emaciated.

The Sudanese do not view Ethiopians as highly starved and skeletal people, unlike the Israelis, Germans, Swedish and Americans. This is due to the fact that famine in Ethiopia is not an everlasting reality, and Ethiopians do not engage in illegal trade sectors like alcohol and drug dealings and prostitution more than other immigrants from other countries. Therefore, the Sudanese have no ground to rate Ethiopians as poverty stricken and ill-bred.

The Sudanese view of Ethiopians as less equal than the Sudanese themselves is rooted in their chauvinist cultural ideology, which gives them a lower place in the hierarchy of human dignity. This is expected as people usually evaluate their own group in positive terms.

The text discusses the similarities between Ethiopian Diaspora novels and their evaluative beliefs. It suggests that Ethiopia's images in the real world are similar to those in the novels studied, and that most Ethiopians abroad wish to return home. These similarities suggest that Ethiopia's images in the real world are similar to those in the novels studied.

The novelists' shared representation of diasporic life as something abominable and the aspiration of Ethiopians to come back home is an act of resistance against the recently developed domestic social cognition that views diasporic life as a sole means of prosperity. The hardships of Ethiopian migrants on inter-destination bases are in the Arab world, Israel, Sweden and Germany due to is resulted in racial and religious discriminations and assaults.

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