

Addis Ababa University
College of Education and Behavioral Studies
School of Psychology

Attitude of Addis Ababa University Undergraduate Regular Students
towards Ethnic Federalism

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Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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towards Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia**

**A Thesis submitted to the school of psychology in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts in Social Psychology**

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Abstract

This study assessed the attitude of Addis Ababa University undergraduate regular students towards ethnic federalism and the design was descriptive survey. Multi stage sampling, simple random sampling technique and proportion for gender, year of study and departments were used to select 285 subjects. Self-administered close-ended questionnaire that contained 23 items was used to collect data. The questionnaire was adapted by the researcher but before collecting data pilot test was conducted and the Cronbach alpha reliability test of the instrument was 0.938 then data was collected and analyzed using SPSS version 20. Both inferential and descriptive statistical analysis techniques (frequency, mean, standard deviation, ANOVA, Independent sample t-test, and post hoc) were employed and the result showed that 61.1% of participants have developed negative attitude, 24.3% positive attitude while the rest 14.6% reported neither negative nor positive attitude. statistically no significant difference in attitude was obtained regarding gender and year of study. However, there was significant difference on attitude between regions that students came from, SNNPR, Oromia and Tigray regions mean score was significantly differed from the rest regions.

Key words: Attitude, Ethnic-Federalism.

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ACRONYMS

EPRDF:	Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front
MA:	Master of Arts
MSc:	Master of Science
PhD:	Doctor of Philosophy
USSR:	United Soviet Socialist Republic
SNNPR:	Southern Nation, Nationalities and Peoples Region
TPLF:	Tigray People’s Liberation Front
EDPM:	Educational Planning and Management
PSIR:	Political Science and International Relationship
UN:	United Nation
CEBS:	College of Education and Behavioral Studies
CSS:	College of Social Sciences

Chapter One

Introduction

In this section the major rational, research questions, objective, purpose statement and highlight about the entire study presented and discussed.

1.1. Background of the Study

At the beginning of the second half of the twentieth century, a politics ideology called ethnic federalism came in to emergence that aimed ethnicity as a core strategy and element. In its simplest form, it advocates that individual in a given ethnic group or tribe take side and has more affiliation for their ethnic group/tribe in comparison to their national state. In other words, having strong affiliation or some sort of loyalty to the ethnic or tribal groups assumed more significance than any other way of loyalty or affiliation (Bitwoded, 2014).

This occurrence paved a new path of relationship between the tribal/ethnic group and political relation. This is ethnic politics. Particularly, after the 1994 federal constitution was ratified, certain tendency of ethnic federalism has come up in Ethiopia and challenging political actions, policy makers and tolerance among different ethnic groups who are living together in a given area as well as political thoughts. This political philosophy is arousing conflict and disturbance in different parts of the country. Higher education institutions and other academic places are also affected by this form of political dimension. The challenges were predicted by different scholars as it could even be the cause for disintegration and tribalism before the ideology approached to the ground (Ibid).

Federalism was introduced in Ethiopia in 1991 when the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) came to power and launched the idea of "self-determination for the nationalities", up to and including secession, devolving political, administrative and economic power to ethnically defined regional states. The 1994 constitution assured that both the federal and the regional governments have their own legislative, judicial and executive powers and the right to levy taxes and allocate budgets. The federal government with a bicameral parliament and a constitutional president was assigned the responsibility of national defense, foreign relations, and the setting of national standards for major policies. Regional governments, governed by the

state president/ chief executive and the state council and the woreda (district) councils was empowered to establish its own administration and formulate and execute economic, social and political strategies and plans. The most comprehensive rights of the regions, however, were probably the powers to adopt their own constitution, and if certain conditions were fulfilled, to secede from the federation (Lovise, 2002).

The federalization of Ethiopia was introduced after a long period of attempted centralization in the country and was received with both hope and skepticism from the international community and political groupings within the country. Certain Western academics considered “ethnic federalism” as innovative, “giving room for thinking differently about ethnicity in the political evolution in Africa” (Chabal & Daloz 1999, p. 58 cited in Lovise), while others saw it as a recipe for state disintegration (Ottaway 1994 cited in Lovise).

Many scholars have defined the word “federalism” in so different ways. However, according to Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, federalism is the theory, or advocacy of federal political orders, where final authority is divided between the sub-units and the center. Unlike a unitary, state sovereignty is constitutionally split between at least two territorial levels so that units at each level have final authority and can act independently of the others in some area. In countries where there is a federal arrangement of government citizens have political obligations to two authorities: the federal authorities and the state. In its most general sense, federalism is an arrangement in which two or more self-governing communities share the same political space. Citizens of federal state are members of both their sub-units (sometimes called a province, canton, land or a state) and a larger federation as a whole (Norman & Kormis, 2005).

After the downfall of the military regime, “Derg” in 1991 G.C EPRDF came to the power after the 17-year civil war, the new political formation begun to operate the countries politics which assumes ethnicity as the formal political element in the new state formation. That makes Ethiopia unique in comparison to other African countries, because, in other African countries ethnicity may be considered to be a factor in the political arena but not in a recognized condition (Abbink, 2011)

According to the study conducted by Kassaw Tafere (2017) on the “perception of ethnic federalism and the Ethiopian Diaspora community in the United States” the result shows that the negative impact of ethnic federalism is being felt by the participants as well as individuals and the large community of Ethiopian diaspora. As the author indicated that participants in his study lost good friends, were unable to make new friends across ethnic groups and also marriages disrupted due to ethnic politics system (Kassaw, 2017).

There are different communal and identity conflicts in Ethiopia that the federal government should take the responsibility for the messes happening and the loss of life. These conflicts associated with the scenario of self-determination up to secession, the social welfare, equal power sharing, resource sharing, and ethnic/tribal as well as artificial regional boundaries. The demarcation of artificial boundaries causes violence and conflicts among ethnic groups who share boundaries and the violence is almost in all regions of the country because of lack of consensus on demarcation. The Afar, Oromia and Somali regions formed permanent bureaus dealing with border affairs (Adegehe, 2009).

This ethnic federalism ideology which has been implemented in Ethiopia give access to resource, job opportunities and other related regional benefits only for those who live in their delimited ethnic homeland while excluding and ignoring others who do not belong to that ethnic identity, though, they are born and living in that region, they were denied to access what those who assumed belong permitted to access. And mostly it causes disturbance and ethnic conflicts between those who consider themselves as an indigenous and those who perceived as not belong to that ethnic or tribe group (Abbink, 2011; Adegehe, 2009).

Many researches have been undertaken about federalism. Their arguments can be classifying into two different forms. The first groups of scholars debated that federalism is a means to mitigate most of the problems raised by ethnic and minority nationalist conflicts (Lijphart, 1999 & Horowitz ,1985).

They tried to convince that granting self-rule to these ethnic groups will avoid the threat of existing as a distinctive group by which they can protect and promote their own cultures and values. Furthermore, they argued that it enables them to foster their interests both as a group and as single individuals. The second group of scholarly works on the other assertively forwarded that Federalism especially ethnic federalism aggravates ethnic conflicts in the form of deconstructing the "We" and "Those", "They" and "Us" and "Ours" and "Others" mentality that had led to the loss of togetherness, empathy and sympathy among the peoples. This opens the way for political entrepreneurs and ethnic activists to fire the tensed groups to go to ethnic conflicts (Muhabie, 2015).

1.2. Statement of the Problem

According to the study conducted by Abbink (2006) on the 'ethnicity and conflict generation in Ethiopia: some problems and prospects of ethno-regional federation' stated that the main stream of conflicts in Ethiopia labeled as ethnic is mainly caused by disagreements on the land and regional border disputes between ethnically formed groups. The author further explained that the federal structure which is based on ethnic identity leads to ethnic tension and conflict to the extreme and it makes ethnic groups to be separated more rather than to become close and create a sense of togetherness. If it would have not been ethnic federalism, other types of federalism such as symmetry model of federalism could have been used to administer the state. Symmetry model of federalism assumes proportional territorial (geographical) and population size to form sub regions under the state rather than ethnic identity. This type of federalism could have had a potential to reduce inter/intra ethnic conflicts.

Legesse (2015) conducted a study on 'ethnic federalism and conflict in Ethiopia' and stated that in Ethiopia ethnic groups are in a sense of competition and this potentially leads to ethnic groups for different inter-ethnic conflicts and many conflicts arisen across boundaries of regional states that are formed along ethnic identity. According to Human Right Watch report in 2014, ethnic based conflicts mainly cause death, displacements of peoples such as in Afar, Gambella , Oromia, Southern regional state and Somali regional state and it causes social, psychological and economic crises.

In Ethiopia, different groups and individuals have different opinion and standing point about the ethnic federalism that has been operating or being implemented in the country since 1991 after the downfall of the military regime (Derg). Despite the fact that, different researchers and professionals have done studies in the area of ethnic federalism, there is no study conducted to find out the university students attitude towards ethnic federalism system (to the researcher's knowledge). The researcher assumes that university students are one of the influential groups in the political activity since the imperial government up to the current government (EPRDF).

From my personal experience, I have seen different arguments in person between university students in relation with ethnic federalism and some totally disagree with ethnic federalism while some others agree. I have noticed two standing points/opinions from those who agree with ethnic federalism, they argued that features and essences in ethnic federalism is good and preferable for the country and the implementation also in a good condition, the second group said that the principles and features are good but not implemented properly in the ground. In the other hand those who disagree with ethnic federalism said that from the beginning on its principles and features it is problematic and failed to consider the behavior of society and their way of living, norm, trend and relation.

1.3. Objective of the Study

1.3.1. General Objective

- The general objective of this study is to assess the attitude of Addis Ababa University main campus undergraduate students towards ethnic federalism.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

- To examine the differences of the attitude of Addis Ababa University main campus undergraduate regular students on ethnic federalism based on their year of study.
- To assess the differences of the attitude of Addis Ababa University main campus undergraduate regular students on ethnic federalism based on the region they came from.
- To examine the differences of the attitude of Addis Ababa University main campus undergraduate regular students on ethnic federalism system based on their gender.

1.4. Research Questions

1. What is the attitude of Addis Ababa University main campus undergraduate regular students towards ethnic federalism system?

2. Is there a difference on attitude towards ethnic federalism between Addis Ababa University undergraduate regular students based on their year of study?
3. Is there a difference on attitude towards ethnic federalism between Addis Ababa University undergraduate regular students based on their gender?
4. Is there a difference on attitude towards ethnic federalism based on the region they came from?

1.5. Operational and conceptual Definitions

Attitude- which is measured by Attitude scale adapted by the researcher from the standardize scale.

Ethnic-Federalism- it is a form of federalism that require ethnicity to be a basis of political structure and it has been implemented in Ethiopia after the downfall of the military regime (DERG).

1.6. Delimitation of the Study

Researchers limit or set boundaries for the area of the study they conduct, in order to be able to handle the work properly and to get sound findings or results from their study. Thus, this study was delimited to Addis Ababa University main campus undergraduate regular students. Addis Ababa university was chosen because it is the nearby university easily accessible for the researcher as well as the diversified nature of students in the university also one of the reason to be the study area. The other reason was that currently in most of the universities there are conflicts and instability which could possibly hinder to undertake this study. The reason that regular students was selected as the population of this study because they available in the campus almost fulltime and this help researcher to get the required data easily compared to getting data from distance, extension and summer (in-service) students. Only Undergraduate students were targeted because it is difficult to find graduate students in the campus, specially, those who are doing their thesis and dissertation because they have done classes which deliver in the class rooms, thus finding them in specific area is does not seem feasible.

1.7. Significance of the Study

The finding of this study may possess contribution to understand regular undergraduate students of Addis Ababa university attitude towards the Ethiopian ethnic federalism that has been functioning since the 1991 G.C, especially after the ratification of the 1994 G.C constitution. The recommendation made by the researcher from this study finding may help legislative bodies, policy makers, administrative authorities and government officials as well as political parties too, because, it helps them to understand what is on the people mind and to fit their plan with it when they make policy revision and system adjustment for the sake of better plan and implementation of policies and other related works.

1.8. Limitation of the Study

This study does not address all campuses, programs (extension, distance, summer) and groups (MA/MSc, PhD) that Addis Ababa University has in different places of Addis Ababa city as well as out of the city administration. Thus only the main campus regular undergraduate students were addressed by the study. To include all campuses, programs and groups, the time allowed to complete the study may not let the researcher to do so, not only the time, it demands additional budget too.

Chapter Two

Review of Related Literature

In this chapter different literatures which are scholars' works, empirical findings, books, papers presented in conference, unpublished and published papers and other related materials are revised and presented.

2.1. Essence of Federalism

According to Elazar (1987) and Ostrom (1989), the term "Federalism" originated from the Latin term "Foedus", meaning "Covenant". Federalism is the political system, which aims to share power among more than two levels of government based on a given territorial division or any other means of classification for each level.

After the end of European colonial era federalism emerged as an appropriate mechanism of state or nation building (Watts, 1994 cited in Yash et al.). After the independence of many Asian and African state from the colonial power, they began to adopt federalism to accommodate multiethnic nature of these countries, despite many of the federations failed to sustain and continue. In the other hand, federalism has a role in balancing the competing and sometimes conflicting demands for autonomy and unity in some countries like Malaysia, India could not be doubted (Rothchild, 1966 cited in Adegehe, 2009).

When the cold war came to an end, federalism reemerged into the spotlight, there was two reasons, first, the disintegration of the socialist federations of USSR, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia raised doubts concerning of multiethnic federations stability. The unresolved deadlock in Canada on the question of Quebec's independence and the continuative political opponent's stalemates that characterized federal Belgium faces about the multiethnic federation stability (Adegehe, 2009).

Second, in respect to the first contradictory development, multiethnic nations were reconstituted by politicians through federalism after the sunset of authoritarian ideology and centralized government formation. As an example, Bosnia –Herzegovina were forced by international powers to reconstitute the country through federalism structure because of the bitter war and mass killing (genocide) that caused the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Russia also

implemented federalism as a means to maintain what is left of the Soviet Union. Ethiopia adopted ethnic federalism after the military regime that had centralized government structure overthrown from the throne in 1991. Recently Iraq led to reconstitute the country on the basis of ethnic federalism structure. The reconstitution of the nation was caused by American led international force following their invasion of the country in 2003. Somalia and Srilanka also call for a federal structuring due to the bitter civil war and conflicts in both countries (ibid).

Federalism is the mixed or compound mode of government, combining a general government (the central or 'federal' government) with regional governments (provincial, state, cantonal, territorial or other sub-unit governments) in a single political system. According to Merriam-Webster Dictionary, federalism is a political system that binds a group of states into a larger, non-centralized, superior state while allowing them to maintain their own political identities. Certain characteristics and principles are common to all successful federal systems: a written constitution or basic law stipulating the distribution of powers; diffusion of power among the constituent elements, which are substantially self-sustaining; and territorial divisions to ensure neutrality and equality in the representation of various groups and interests (Leslielansangan, 2017).

It can thus be defined as a form of government in which there is a division of powers between two levels of government of equal status. The power is divided or shared between the central government and local state governments. Federalism is sometimes viewed as in the context of international negotiation as the best system for integrating diverse nations, ethnic groups, or combatant parties, all of whom may have cause to fear control by an overly powerful Centre. However, in some countries, those skeptical of Federal prescriptions believe that increased regional autonomy is likely to lead to secession or dissolution of the nation (ibid).

2.1.1. Features of Ethnic Federalism

Ethno-nationalism is a primary justification for the ideology of ethnic federalism. Ethno nationalism is the belief which is concerned on offering a special right for a particular group of people on the basis of their ethnicity, the right to self-rule (govern) in their homeland. Enabling or reaching an agreement with a particular group of people to the right to self-rule can be done through different forms of arrangement, among them, seceding the particular groups (ethnic

groups) with the shared cultural, psychological and other related social norms with a permanent territory and stand as an independent state, forming regional government with regional autonomy while assuring the right to deal, decide and control different sectors in the region. The primary requirement of ethno nationalist is political communities or groups need to be formed on the basis of ethnic background (Alemante, 2003).

Both ethnic based federalism and geographic territory based federalism is common on the objective of decentralization and distribution of power from the central government to the states while the central government has more power than the states just to make better supervision and control over states. Additionally, ethnic based federalism in multi ethnic countries let each ethnic groups to exercise self-determination and administration in the territory that each ethnic groups live. In this context, the term self-determination means each ethnic groups in the country has the right to form and establish governmental and community based institution in their own territory or province then without doing something that could affect and jeopardize the shared rules and social values as a country, it allows them to exercise self-rule. On the other hand, some countries who preferred federal structure while they have multi ethnic composition, they implement ethnic based federalism strategy and able to achieve self-rule and shared rule by full recognition of cultural and language rights of each ethnic groups and tribes (Gebreselassie, 2003 as cited in Kassaw).

Since ethnic federalism focuses on ethnic based formation and arrangement of states and institutions under those states, it does not give a place for other models even though there are important groups which do not require ethnic background and needs to be organized without considering such criteria such as professionals, women, elders, youths and immigrants, etc. In support of this claim Fraser (2000) argues that organizing and arranging groups based on status is better than organizing groups and other related things on the basis of tribe or ethnic identity, because, forming groups by taking ethnic background as an important model may complicate the struggles within social groups for the sake of acquiring authority and representation. Fraser recommended that the status model offer acceptance based on the status of group members rather than specific ethnic identity and also status model helps to enhance economic equality across ethnic or tribal groups in the country.

Ethnicity is set as a permanent concept and linked with economic and political resource with ethnic background in the ethnic federalism government structure. This ethnic federalism is criticized for less attention for the formation of overarching identity plus lacks trust that it could create a commitment to a common citizenship (Kassaw, 2018).

As Frank (2009) stated, the idea of ethnic as the only and fixed identity and politicizing it, leads to ethnic polarization and such increments in the countries who federated based on ethnic lines could create unhealthy political environment.

2.2. Ethnic Federalism in Africa

According to Assefa (2007) federalism is related to the divide and rule mechanism which had been used in the colonial empire. Despite federalism has relatively common definitions by different scholars and researchers, it has different implication depending on the historical and cultural background of different contexts. As Agbu (2004) stated that, in the era of colonialism, colonial rulers used unitary form of government system to administer African states who were under European colonizers, but, anti-colonials and African nationalist groups stand on the opposite side of British attempt to introduce federalism in the colonized African states, those groups perceived the British attempt as to take the assumption of divide and rule further. On this ground, after the end of colonialism era different nationalist leaders like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana refused federalism and many African rulers strived to the unitary form of governance.

African leaders often incline towards the formation of a unitary government structure rather than federalism (Jnadu, 2002). Among African countries many of them stick with unitary form of government which aim on vesting political power to the central government. In Africa most of political leaders are not interested to implement federalism as a state structure in their respective country, because, they fear that it may trigger conflicts between ethnic groups and boost tribalism (Kimenyi, 1998).

According to Elaigwu (1994) African rulers who came to the power after the independency of all African states, who were under colonization, perceived federalism as a means for crises rather than solution. For Will Kymlicka (2006) there are two fundamental differences on federalism in Africa and in Europe. In Africa, politician and rulers have suspicion on minorities. They

articulate that minorities have chance to coordinate with the neighboring countries who has no good diplomatic relation with the state.

Federalism is preferable and appropriate structure to accommodate the Nigeria's ethnic diversity (Momoh, 1999). In the other hand, Awolowo (1994) argue that federalism is implemented in Nigeria as a mechanism to achieve divide and rule rather than maintaining ethnic conflicts. As Agbu (2004) conclude that federalism is no more acceptable way of governance to control and manage tribalism, sectionalism and religion.

2.3. Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia

The spotlight of federalism experiment in Ethiopia came in to existence in the 1950s, it was the time that Emperor Hile Selassie decided to expand the Ethiopian empire when the discussion held at United Nations about the Eritrean future. Italian colonial power colonized Eritrea for five consecutive decades. After the independence of Eritrea in 1941, the British caretakers acknowledged the Eritrean self-identity. At the time, Arab countries proposed Eritrea to function as an independent country and many Muslims supported the proposed idea while the Christian preferred to federate with Ethiopia. The emperor played a significant role to unify the state. The United Nations decided that to integrate Eritrea with Ethiopia (Meredith, 2011).

After the 40 years ruling period of the imperial dynasty, the socialist military group held the power. Their aim was to found socialist country but within short period of time after they came to the power, the new revolutionary government fueled even more nationalism and rebellion by groups such as the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF); Oromo Liberation Front; and the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). They wanted both a civilian control of the revolution, and an end to Soviet influence and Colonel Mengistu's efforts to turn Ethiopia into a socialist state. The result was a protracted civil war. It lasted until 1991 after Mengistu had lost Soviet assistance due to the end of the cold war, and the rebel Ethiopian and Eritrean coalition forces at the end of the day claimed success (Vick Lukwago, 2017).

Federalism in the second Republic of Ethiopia has been both "radical" and "pioneering" (Turton 2006, p. 1). According to kymlicka (2006) the Ethiopian federalism ideology is not

always the means of accommodating and managing different groups need and interest as well as ethnic conflicts and tensions, it is just formulating and exists for the sake of some group of individual's advantage rather than benefiting the people of the country.

Conflicts are frequent and common among units of Ethiopian federation. These conflicts have been arising or currently occur between different ethnic and tribal groups. This can be between majority ethnic groups and /or the majority and the minorities. For example, in western Ethiopia there are two regions, Benishangul Gumuz region and Gambella region, in both regions there are two major ethnic groups and there are minority groups as well. The word majority and minority used to refer to the number of members in ethnic groups. In both states the two majority ethnic groups have struggled against each other for the interest to handle more important places of the regional government institutions. In Benishangul Gumuz , the two major ethnic groups are Berta and Gumuz which together makeup the majority of the total population in the region , both have been in conflict and at the verge of clash with each other (Young, 1999).

Different ethnic group political parties in Benishangul Gumuz region merged as a result of the foundation of the new party which is assumed to represent the region. In Gambella , there have been fighting and clashes between Nuer and Anwak ethnic groups to have more control over the regional government. The Nuer ethnic groups live on both sides of Ethio-Sudanese border and have been a member of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army which cooperated with Derg (Kurimoti, 1997).

In the southern region which is officially known as Southern nations, nationalities and peoples regional state (SNNPRS), there is a large potential for inter-ethnic struggles for the interest of controlling the regional government. There is a large potential for conflict because of the high ethnic heterogeneity. Nevertheless, conflicts that have been arise in the region does not destabilized the regional government function as they have in the lowland regions, one reason for this might be the high ethnic heterogeneity and the existence of different small or minor ethnic groups make it difficult to establish clear alliance and fronts in the regional government (Aklilu, 2000).

The interference of from political forces like the central EPDRF party as well as the regional partner to avert any conflicts to occur in the region. Conflicts on the interest of self-governments and representation arise at local levels such as the language affair in wolita and in north omo zone (ibid). In addition to the above description, recently many of the zones like sidama, keffa, wolita, gurage and other many zones in southern nation and nationalities people region requests to transform their administrative level from zone to regional states (my own).

“The Canadian, Spanish and Russian constitutions have thus chosen to exclude the right of secession, but have in practice granted quite extensive remedies for self-determination through various areas of self-government for the constituent units” (Eshetu, 1994, p.8 as cited by Aalen). However, the Ethiopian federation preferred to do the opposite of the above mentioned countries because it offers extreme right to self-determination as well as for secession, although, regional states governments got the power just to administer daily affairs and other related tasks while the federal government capture and administer natural resources and land in the member states. It is mandatory to follow and apply national standards which is setup by the federal government in order to conduct their day-to-day affairs, which means any five year plans prepared by EPDRF must be followed by each regional states. Regional states revenue sources are few and thin when compared to revenue sources that’s left to the federal level, it is indicated that regional governments are expected to be dependent on the federal government structure in order to get relatively enough annual budget or to get budget at all (Eshetu, 1994, as cited in Aalen).

The decision that ruling party has flopped in the endeavor to accomplish authentically for its government arrangement much in light of the manner by which the alleged administrative deal was advertised. The absence of straightforwardness and accountability in the process has encouraged the contention that the EPDRF’s federalism is a method for guarantying TPLF’s authority in the country. Because, the TPLF before the change never elucidated whether it need a free Tigrayan republic or territorial self-government for Tigray in side Ethiopia. This has made the restriction suspicious of the TPLF’s pledge to abound together Ethiopia, in spite of the way that the front later has communicated its devotion to deflecting the breaking down of the nation (Lovise, 2002).

In light of the core value built up by article 46 of the Ethiopian constitution, nine regional states that are to a great extent delimited along etymological lines (based on the languages spoken in the area) and two administrative cities. More than 85 percent of the general population that live in every five of the nine regional states including Tigray, Amhara, Oromia, Somalia and afar have a place with a specific ethnic gathering. Every one of these states is additionally assigned after the name of the prevailing ethnic gathering in each states, denoting the express development and assignment of each states as the countries of a solitary ethnic gathering (Yonatan, 2018).

The inclination to accentuation ethnicity and characterized a regional unit as having a place with a specific ethnic gathering is visible even in situation where a state is while a home for more than one specific ethnic gathering. This is for instance in the case of Harari regional state, in spite of the way that the region is home to two other ethnic gatherings that are numerically higher than Harari ethnic gathering, it is named and considered essentially as having place with the latter. It additionally mirrors the obsession with making ethnic countries. This fixation is likewise apparent in the way that the arrangement of statehood to ethnic gatherings is not just restricted to what is as of now given in the constitution (ibid).

The Constitution has kept the entryway of statehood unlatched for other ethnic gatherings that would advocate for the foundation of their very own condition. Article 47 (2) of the Constitution stores to ethnic gatherings inside the ethnically plural regions the privilege to build up whenever they need to have own state. This alternative would, for instance, be accessible in the province of Gambela and Benishangul Gumuz, which are to a great extent bilingual states with three other numerically little minorities in their midst. Over the most recent two decades or somewhere in the vicinity, the Ethiopian federalism has likewise observed the making of ethnic based nearby governments, expanding the arrangement of ethnic countries to networks that are respected to be numerically too little to even think about having their own states (ibid).

Since ethnicity is considered to be the foundation to establish regional states in Ethiopia, the federations of the country have more multi-national federation character which is the opposite of mono –national federation, mono-national federation does not consider ethnicity as a

fundamental to form states unlike multi-national federation. In mono-national federation states expected to be formed on the basis of geographical setup of the country or administrative suitability of a given area or community in the country. In this case administrative suitability concerns for the social bond, norms, values as well as their psychological makeup will be kept in mind. This mono-national federation structure does not concern about the ethnic diversity while the making administrative boundaries for the federations because it does not concern about ethnic identity. Federations in mono-national structure functions on the claim that whatever the given community in the state ethnically diversified, they form something common that make the to live as a one society While a multi-national federation assumed ethnicity as the core element to organize and establish governmental offices, community settings and financial institutions in each federation as well as to delimit internal boundaries. Mainly the world ethnic-federalism related to describe such nature of a multi-national federation “ethno–regional communities are considered as most appropriately represented through their spatial compartmentalization (states, cantons, provinces, communes), predicated on the belief that ethno–regional or national communities should receive due territorial recognition” (Smith, 1995, p.6).

Since ethnic identity is becoming a key element in the Ethiopian political arena, it leads the population of the country to be divided based on their tribal or ethnic background has been noticed, the first rational for this claim is that rapid establishment of ethnic-based political parties and fronts who stands for their ethnic groups rather than for the all the population of the country (Maekakis,2011, as cited in Yonatan).

The rise of ethnicity as an essential political line is likewise clear in the interpretation of social networks in to political networks, ethnic backgrounds that before had an insignificant social measurement is progressively transforming in to politically important characteristics. Due to this reason many ethnic groups organize different political groups on the basis of their ethnic background in order to achieve, autonomy, recognition and representation in different governmental sectors both in federal and regional level. Specially in ethnically diverse regions like SNNP, Beneshangul gumuz and Gabmella the need for recognition and controlling the regional government key sectors is higher than ethnically singular states (Vaguhan, 2006).

The composition in the upper house of the Ethiopian parliament which is also known as house of federation is an evidence for the elevation of ethnic political mobilization. According to article 61 in the constitution, the Ethiopian house of federation is the composition of ethnic groups representatives. As it is indicated in the constitution, each ethnic groups shall be represented by at least one member. Likewise, ethnic groups who account more than one million populations shall have one additional representative for every increase by a million. Within one year the ethnic groups represented in the house of federation rises from 66 to 74 as a result of recognition given to other ethnic groups who were not represent in the house of federation (Yonatan, 2018).

2.4. Gender and Ethnic Federalism

There is no common theory about the impact of different governance models on the advancement of gender equality. Indeed, gender scholars have differing views as to whether a federal model a governance model where power is permanently distributed between a national parliament and sub national parliaments) has a greater capacity to advance gender equality than a unitary model a governance model where power resides in the national parliament (Gray, 2010).

More recently however increasing bodies of gender scholars have argued that a federal model can, in certain circumstances, enhance the advancement of gender equality. The effectiveness of any model of governance, whether unitary or federal, at advancing gender equality depends on a range of other factors including: the political will of central and state governments (for example whether they are progressive or conservative); the ethnic and cultural diversity of the population (for example whether ethnic minorities are regional or dispersed); the size of population; the presence or absence of conflict; the level of economic wealth; and the strength of traditional practices and cultural norms which discriminate against women. While there is no way of knowing whether a failed policy in a unitary state might have worked more effectively in a federal state, there are compelling arguments in the literature supporting the capacity of federal models to advance gender equality if the surrounding political, economic, cultural and social conditions are conducive and if appropriate gender equality mechanisms are installed (Haussman et al 2010 cited by forster).

2.5. Challenges and Opportunities of Ethnic Federalism

To advocate the values and norms in the ethnic group ethnic federalism is assumed as appropriate institutional arrangement. Some politicians argue that sharing power for ethnic groups who concentrated in defined territory, provides a chance for ethnic distinctiveness, mainly on culture and language which is publically promoted. This is also allowing individuals to live with the society they belong and feel a sense of familiarity as well as comfort (Alemante, 2003).

In the other hand, arranging state or region based on ethnic identity and affiliation is the reason for tension and conflicts among ethnic/tribal groups, because, each ethnic members needs to have a representative in key political and economic sectors from their group (Jinadu,2007). In order to handle ethnic confrontation and tense, some African countries like South Africa, Ethiopia and Nigeria have adopted a federal system. Despite still all forms of ethnic conflict such as identity, state struggle and disagreement as well as conflict remain in these states. Mistreatment and neglecting of those who is assumed not belong that particular ethnic group are common in majority of African countries (Teshome & Zahorik, 2008). Therefore, African countries are remain in challenge to setup relatively appropriate governance system to manage tribal difference and assure both individual and group rights as well as to safeguard out groups (Mengestab ,2011).

As the primordialist proponents approach for ethnic conflict claim tradition of belief and practices towards biological features and for territorial location is the cause for the existence of ethnic groups and nationalities. This approach mainly based on the idea of affiliation between members of a given ethnic group. Donald (1985) argue that this affiliation between ethnic members creates the feeling of sameness in the ethnic groups. Donald added that many political scientists and analysts do not believe that there is real ethnic war and they argue that the main factors that lead conflict between ethnic groups are institutional, economic and political rather than ethnic background or identity. According to those political analysts and scientists claim the idea of ethnic war is not the appropriate phrase or concept because it may not mean that those ethnic groups are about to fight each other rather it is the political decision which is conclude as the all members of ethnic groups agreement on that decision. Sometimes opposing groups uses ethnicity just to identify their friends and enemy, mainly in-groups considered as friends just

because they have similar ethnic backgrounds while out groups considered as enemy. Differences based on political, economic and affiliation on mainly in multi-national states may lead to ethnic tension as a result of the above factors.

Generally, federalism can be implemented by many countries in the world by keeping the countries historical, religion, cultural as well as many other related factors which is found in the society, however, in Ethiopia this federalism has been implemented irrespective of the above values, the state run the federalism structure on the basis of language, identity, consent of the people concerned. Since 1991 in Ethiopia the federalism structure mainly relies on ethnicity and ethnic groups settlement, thus, ethnic identity is considered as fundamental and core element to answer the peoples request which is assumed as failed to be answered by the previous regimes (Miressa, 2018). However, Asnake (2013) argue that one of the essential problem of Ethiopian federalism is lack of authentic decentralization which is mainly related with federalism and he further explains that in Ethiopia policy decisions came from the federal government and the regional states are responsible to implement those polices and rules without complaining about those policies and rules. The dependability of the regional states on the federal government is higher than expected in the federal form of government, thus, we cannot say it is a true federalism or there is real decentralization of power from the central (federal) government to the sub units (regional states).

Asnake further stated that ethnic identity is the number one element for the federalism structure in the country. Different regions of the country experience many types of conflict such as regional and intra-regional conflict such intra-regional conflicts mainly occur in southern nationals and nationalities people region because in this region there are many zones clustered in accordance with ethnic identity and settlement. not only SNNPR, there are multi ethnic regions such as Gambella and Benishangul gumuz regions as the SNNPR, these regions also experience mainy intra region ethnic conflicts. The silte-gurage identity conflict can be raised as an example of intra region conflict.

Inter states or inter region conflicts occur because boundaries for each states marked mistakenly and failed to compromise the local realities and the composition of the societies (heterogeneous behaviors of the society in terms of religion and ethnic background) in each states. In the case of Somali regional states, conflicts mainly occur with afar and Oromia borders

because of lack of agreement on the historical roots of the borders between regional states. one of frequently occurred conflict between the Somali regional state and Oromia regional states is on the town of moyale which is located on Ethio-kenya , however, the dispute is highly challenged for those who has dual identity (dual ethnic background) because ethnicity became a criteria to differentiate who is out group and in-group , in other words , it is used to inclusion and exclusion of individuals (Asnake , 2013).

When we look ethnic conflict among university students Teshome (2009) stated that many of leaders of both ruling and opposition parties were the 1960's students in Ethiopian higher institution, higher institutions have been the main place for the would be leaders of the country. When we go back to the history, universities where the place that many of national question came in to forefront like 'meret larashu' and 'equality for nations and nationalities'.in the time of 'meret larashu' and 'equality for nations and nationalities' agendas were not only limited to ethnically based question and protests rather many of the agendas came in to the forefronts were national agenda. However, after the current ethnic based federalism structure begun to implement in the country which is assumed that it answered the nation and nationalities question while many in the other hand do not agree with this conclusion. Another problem which is caused by this federalism experiment in the country is ethnic based conflicts and tensions is occurred and perceived in many of the Ethiopian higher education institutions.

Nowadays, it is not a surprising thing to hear that a student from one ethnic group attached or injured by the other ethnic group member students. It is difficult now to mention universities which is finished its academic year without such incidents happen in the campuses. Sometimes university students not only reflect what the assimilated from the society they grow up because if some conflicts or related things happen based on ethnic background around their localities the same things would happen among students in the university. It has been around fifteen years since such kind of incidents begun to happen in Ethiopian higher education institutions. Ethnic based conflicts have been occurred in both senior and newly established higher education institutions, this conflict is increasing as the number of higher institutions increased in the country (Mirresa, 2018).

Ethnic tensions or conflicts have been spreading between different ethnic group member students in higher education institutions in Ethiopia, mainly after 1991. This tension and conflict

is spreading from first generation to second and third generation higher institutions, here what we have to keep in mind is that the ethnic conflict by itself do not create the tension among students rather the situation and the thoughts that they acquire from their localities about each ethnic groups causes a feeling of suspiciousness and hatred, thus, we can conclude that there are ethnic tensions and conflicts among students in almost all governmental higher education institutions. The fabricated information provided for those students when they were in primary education level and secondary education create more hatred and tension for other ethnic groups, this information spread through history subjects and via locally created political ideologies (ibid).

The ruling party (EPRDF) set up the federalism structure, specifically ethnic based federalism type and ratified the new constitution in 1994 G.C which is classified the country in to nine regional states and two administration cities. and, article 47 (1) described about how the regional states classified in to nine regions and two city administration (Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa). At this point classifying the country along ethnic lines leads the country ethnic composition to be distracted interrupts their common ground like social bond, common norm, a sense of togetherness plus it created a feeling of ‘we’ and ‘those’, thus, it leads the country to be at the way of disintegration and ethnic polarization (Bekalu, n.d).

In the other hand, Sisay (2007) argue that some of historical backgrounds in the country boosts the ethnic conflict and tension, historically the imperial regimes (emperor Minilik 1844-1913, Haile Sillassie first 1930-1974 and the military regime 1974-1991) have been criticized by not involving all ethnic groups equally to the power as well as in the economic and other associated areas. It is assumed that one or few ethnic groups were monopolizing all sectors of the country and due to this reason they were failed to fairly administer and treat all ethnic groups in the country.

The EPRDF’s federalism structure by itself is responsible for creating tension and conflict between ethnic groups because of competition for achieving economic resources, since boundaries of the regional states is delimited along ethnic identity many experience displace by considering as an out group just because of their ethnic background. Policies and administrative rules which is ratified by the government failed to consider the interest and need of many groups here we can raise the pastoralist’s case as an example because they may not be allowed to cross

and settle their cattle in other regional states for grazing land and water as the season and the climate get changed because ethnicity is used for manipulation of the countries politics plus to access resources in each regions. Local political elites got enough ground to compete for the power on the basis of their ethnic background. The system is criticized for failing to assure accountability, economic equality and transparency of the government officials, thus, such shortcomings lead the country to ethnic tension and conflicts. Additionally, undermining traditional way of conflict prevention and resolution methods, psychological fear of uncertainty about the political condition of the country, deliberate arming of certain communities without worrying about the others security contribute to the tension and fear between ethnic groups (ibid).

Different ethnic groups support ethnic federalism even though it is difficult to display numerically, protests and the way political mobilization running are an indication as many people fall in to their ethnic group frame. Regional states like of Tigray, Oromia, Somalia and even Amhara which was historically known having a desire for unitary state formation type are domination by political parties which are formed on the basis of ethnic background (both opposition and ruling parties) (Goitom, 2019).

When university students join universities they have a desire to question and get the response for what they request and some of the issues raised by them may create conflict between university students and such experiences may lead to hatred and tension between different ethnic groups members in the campus, many of the questions raised in the university are assumed as the social realities and these realities are different in different societies even for a single issue students brought different realities which is the reflection of the society they came from, but , ethnic conflicts and tensions mainly caused by institutional , political , social and historical factors (Miressa , 2018).

Even if Awassa is located in the Sidama zone, it is a home for many ethnic groups and it is also the capital city of southern nations and nationalities people region. Residents in Awassa interviewed and reflected different view about the composition of the regional government. Among interviewees who is a teacher in Awassa argue that the regional government is highly worrying about balancing the ethnic composition in the regional administration offices because

ethnicity became more important and key thing than skill and qualification in the regions governmental sectors (Aalen, 2002).

In Awassa and many other urban centers in Ethiopia, many of its inhabitants have a mixed ethnic background and use Amharic to communicate each other, but, these peoples became disadvantaged for not being able to get hired in regional offices /sectors because the language policy let each region to use local languages in administration places and educational sectors except universities (Aklilu, 2000).

2.6. Comparative View of Ethnic Federalism and Other State Formation Systems

Making ethnic federalism as a way for solution to address ethnic related problems remains debatable, many complain or criticize it as it is an unwise institutional preference that potentially boost and create more and more tension and widen division between ethnic groups as well as it could possibly lead them to approach to secession and cause state collapse. To terminate ethnic federalism as hasty or imprudent, however, there are many other suggested institutional arrangements over ethno federalism that are both possible to implement and that would credibly succeed where ethno federalism failed. But, many struggled to convince from either perspective. The problem at this point is that whatever the success rate of ethno federalism turns out to be, it is only could be valuable when compared to the success rate of achievable institutional alternatives. Even if eight out of ten ethno federalism got success, it may still be an imprudent choice of institution if some other institutional structures, unitary, say accomplished at a higher rate in the same cases. Similarly, if two of ethno federations got success out of ten, it could be a conducive institutional choice if other alternatives not exist yet or if feasible alternative institutions obviously have less accomplishment or success. This is necessary information for policy-makers and practitioners facing the challenging undertaking of institutional design in real world post-conflicts, however, using systematic process of comparison of political institutions is essential for purpose of assessing the perspective of the arguments of ethno federalism's critics, critics usually spend more time on indicating the shortcomings of ethno federalism than pinpointing and defending their favored alternatives (Liam, 2015).

However, pinpointing the failures of ethno federalism is not enough, it needs to be demonstrated scientifically that some institutional alternatives exist that could be feasible and got

success in the same phenomena or case. The logical consequences of ethno federalism failure is not necessarily the success of an alternative institution. For those who need alternatives to ethno federalism, the available institutional arrangements are limited. The most known institutional arrangement is unitary system in which sovereignty and power constitutionally vested in the central government, and more or less power may share to the other sub units, however, at any time the devolved power may restored by the central government. The other institutional alternative is a federal model in which regional boundaries do not assume to the territorial distribution of ethnic gatherings, either because ethnicity is not relevant to the definition of sub unit's boundaries or because boundaries are marked intentionally to cut across ethnic group concentrations. One of the reason that ethno federalism criticized is all alternatives have them succeeds. Identifying potential alternatives is more important and straightforward rather than the challenge of comparing them systematically (ibid).

According to Roders's (2005) assessment of the impacts of various political institutions on different measures of ethno national crises and armed clash is indicative of this confused pattern of statistical results. Roder obtained positive correlation between his dependent variable and a dichotomous measure of territorial autonomy, however, similar analysis showed that both non ethnic federalism and disfranchised ethnic groups (those denied homeland autonomy) are also more likely to increase clash and get in to armed conflict. This indicated that negative outcomes result from both who denied and gained autonomous state of ethnic groups.

Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia both began life by holding unitary institutional arrangement, however, minority groups were not interested with this type of structure. In the Yugoslavia case (the Croats, Slovenes, and kingdom of Serbs), Serb political elites used their numerical majority as an advantage in the constitution in 1920 in by contradicting with the clearly articulated wishes of Croats political elites. From the beginning, the Serb's unitary, centralized version of state arrangement was extremely opposed by a majority population of the kingdom (Banack, 1984).

According to Irvine (1993, p.36), "the most urgent question in the new kingdom became designing a constitutional order that would, if not ensure Croats' support, at least diminish their hostility to a manageable level." In the Czechoslovak case, while the Pittsburgh Agreement of May 1918 recognized two different national identities within the common state, selected the Slovak language as "the official language in schools and in public life" in Slovakia, and

recognized autonomous political institutions for Slovakia, the new state's first constitution, publicized in 1920, “was in every respect the constitution of a centralized, unitary state” (Bakke 2004, p.9).

The document failed to assure the Slovak autonomy while declaring Czechoslovak language to be the official or working language of the state and refusing the Slovak demand to have independent linguistic identity. In both cases, there was anger caused by imposition of unitary institutions was compounded by state funded programs which aimed to dominate the minority ethnic groups by assimilation using the majority ethnic groups tradition by targeting to build national identity. However, the unitary institutions were failed to keep or achieve interests of both Slovak and Croat demands became obvious and sure at the late 1930s, at this time both governments were obliged to grant autonomy. Hereafter, unitary form of institutions removed and full ethno federalism became the institution to run and administer both states, however, it failed in both states, “but these were failures to resolve a problem that only became a problem under, Ethno federalism and the Management of Ethnic and, arguably, because of unitary. To characterize both as failures of ethno federalism is to simplify and distort a complex reality” (Cervenka 1977, p.41).

When we come to the other cases it takes us to the east African countries, Ethiopia/Eritrea and Sudan/South Sudan, have been peripheral to the argument on ethno federalism, however, it is the right question to question that if either really belongs in the argument or debate at all. Having said this, the two merit brief consideration, if for no reason other than that they highlight the difficulties involved in attributing blame for failure to specific institutions. Prior to South Sudan's recognized separation from the rest of the country in 2011, Sudan had been suffered by civil war for most of its independent existence. During its fifty-five-year life span, the country tried multiple institutional solutions to its ethnic (North/South) problem, none of which succeeded to any visible degree. By any reasonable assessment, every trial of designing institutions to keep both north and South Sudan together resulted to failure. Unitary institution was implemented again by attempting forceful assimilation, but, it failed twice to create a unified nation state (1956–1973, and 1983–2005); but ethno federalism also failed twice (1973–1983, and 2005–2011). This miserable track record of failure means that, realistically, the case of South Sudan provides evidence of very little, other than the apparent inability of South and North

to coexist in the same state regardless of institutional design. The case of Ethiopia–Eritrea stands out as rare, if not unique, in that involved a sub state entity, Eritrea, seceding from a unitary state, Ethiopia. Ethiopia–Eritrea began life in 1952 as a UN-created federation after the big four post-war powers proved unable to decide how to deal with the former Italian colony of Eritrea. But the federation almost immediately began to unravel. Eritrea's autonomy was formally eliminated in 1962 when the Eritrean Assembly voted for its own elimination at gunpoint and Eritrea was officially annexed to Ethiopia, by this point, armed resistance to Ethiopia had already begun to form and, following a protracted military struggle, Eritreans voted almost unanimously for independence from Ethiopia in a 1993 referendum endorsed by a new regime in Addis Ababa (Liam,2015).

In Nepal, ethnic federalism does not fit, maybe other model of federalism which focused and assumed the cross-ethnicity cooperation could work, in the case of resource distribution, several locations of resources and the need for adaptation to climate change require willingness of federal regions to cooperate. In such structural arrangement, the regions need to be formed by sharing of power and resources to local units of self-governance which formed on the basis of geographical nature of the state. The Nepal congress(NC), which has been historically struggling for both democracy and to keep and preserve the Nepal's nationalism, struggles for the formation of six cooperative federal regions with a powerful center that could control and able to take responsibility for international agreement, foreign affairs. Currency, defense, collaboration between rich and poor regions would play key role on preventing and avoiding the existing conflicts. For that matter, federalism that assume territorial structure, economic viability, social cooperation, political factors may lead to stability in a way that ethnic federalism could not achieve (Dev Raj Dahal & Yubaraj Ghimire, 2012).

Both ethnic federalism and unitary form of institutions failed to get success in all cases. All four states had an ethnic problem to be solved at their foundation, among the four states, three states were adopted unitarism institution, however, none of states able to resolve the problem with this institution. The sources showed, indeed, that ethnic relations in all four cases weakened under unitarism and, in part, because ethnic autonomy (i.e., ethno federalism) was either revoked or denied to an important minority group. The original denial of self-government to South Sudan, despite promises to the contrary, assisted trigger the country's first civil war and the cancelation

of its Autonomy in 1983 was a proximate cause of the second (Wai 1981; Deng 1995 as cited by Liam).

When we evaluate institutions from comparative point of view, were ethnic affairs and relations in these four cases handled in a relatively better way in unitary institution rather than ethno federalism? However, to argue either ways we need to make detailed and deep case studies, but, it is noticed that Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia attached with ethno federalism for longer when it is compared to unitary institution, and that in the rest cases there was peaceful periods between among the different armed forces only during ethno federalism (1952–1962 in the case of Ethiopia–Eritrea, and 1972–1982, 2005–2011 for Sudan-South Sudan). These four remain ambiguous cases, however. By the established criteria for success/failure, both institutional forms failed in all four cases (ibid).

According to Liam (2015) first, based on the Roder's criteria, unitary institution only able to succeed one case from twenty seven cases (unitary institutions were discarded in favor of ethno federalism) while ethno federalism has better achievement in all cases (institutions have not been discarded as well as none of cases faced secession affairs) second , and approaching beyond these narrowly defined standard , the fundamental pattern is that unitary institution also lacked success in many cases when it is evaluated by more accurate criteria, from several cases , we can raise as an example the case of the two Atlantic regions with Nicaragua , in these cases , ethno federalism was implemented because it was believed that it is the appropriate way to deal with the erupted ethnic conflict that had erupted in the region, partially, the unitary nature of the state and the associated denial of granting autonomy to ethnic groups. In every related cases, offering of autonomy to ethnic or tribal groups either it helped to reduction of ethnic violence or at least reduced violence to the low level that occurred in the era of unitary institution.

In many of other cases (like, Moldova with gagauzia) ethno federalism was chosen to be the state structure in order to handle low level violence or to prevent perceived ethnic tension that could be escalated to losses of life and injury. Third, in almost all of these cases, unitary institution failed to reduce the efficiency of ethnic groups to establish and mobilize institutional resources (political parties, governments, organized leadership and the like) to strive to offer

autonomy or independence. At the same time, unitary institution basically failed to diminish the need of these groups to challenge the central government. In many cases, the reason that ethnic groups forced and challenging the central government is the absence of assurance of the autonomy for ethnic groups. The achievement rate of ethno federalism is higher than it is critics, even many those who have been criticizing it are at the verge of admitting its goodness. Out of the forty-three post war ethno federations thirty-four survive up to the present day. With the success rate of 79% while unitary institution has 28% of success rate with thirty-one case failures, thus, when we compare both institutions, ethno federalism has higher success rate than unitary institution (ibid).

The other reason why a federal form of government is chosen over a unitary form is to accommodate divergent local interests that cannot bear centralized rule (Alemante 2003 as cited in Bekalu). Owing to this, a federal system of government as a solution was high on the agenda during the early phase of post-colonial politics in Africa as a potential way to reconcile unity and diversity. Unfortunately, such attempts ended up being rather short-lived experiments (Erk, 2014 as cited in Bekalu).

In the other hand, countries who had been employing federal system for a short period of time and dissolve it were Congo (1960–1965), Kenya (1963–1965), Uganda (1962–1966), Mali (1959), and Cameroon (1961–1972). Federalism is known as a source of tension, instability and violence and it might lead to secession too and implementing this type of government structure for sub Saharan African states might not be conducive (Alemante, 2003).

By assuming negative consequences, many African countries overlooked or refused ethno federalism forms of government. The reason behind is that the socio- cultural characteristics of many African states is highly hybrid in terms of, religion, language, identity, cultural practice and social realities are not conducive and even entertain the federal form of government institution. The most challenging character of African identities and communities were the heterogeneity, fluidity and hybridity (Berman, 2010).

Even though there are many good ideas and best principles in the assumptions of federalism, there are dangers things that must be considered when accepting federalism in the African context. It should be lined that federalism alone is not the factor that trigger conflict; there are a

number of other reasons alongside that should be critically addressed such as the nature of federalism (ethnic, geographical, multi-nation), the socio –cultural setup of the society, psychological makeup, the degree of power that aimed to be devolved for the regional or sub-national governments. Under the shade of federalism, the above stated or mentioned factors are simply manipulated by African leaders for the sake of their own advantage. And by doing this, they misinterpret the central and fundamental ideologies of the institution. Many of the leaders ethnicize the politics to achieve their plan to inherit power (Ake, 1993).

“Federalism, not ethnic, if appropriately applied, ‘might be an effective method of bringing about political stability and order’ but in the Ethiopian case, the politicization of ethnic identity by self-seeking political leaders causes political instability. The desire of the self-seeking political leaders is manifested through the politicization of tribal identity – in their design of the federal states, their fiscal federalism and their dominant-party system. All these (politicization of tribal identity, design of the federal states, fiscal federalism and dominant-party) cause ethnic conflict and anomaly in the country” (Bekalu, n.d,p. 60).

2.7. Theoretical Framework

2.7.1. Attitude Formation

Attitude Formation Definition

An attitude is a general and lasting positive or negative opinion or feeling about some person, object, or issue. Attitude formation occurs through either direct experience or the persuasion of others or the media. Attitudes have three foundations: affect or emotion, behavior, and cognitions. In addition, evidence suggests that attitudes may develop out of psychological needs (motivational foundations), social interactions (social foundations), and genetics (biological foundations), although this last notion is new and controversial.

2.7.2. Emotional Foundations of Attitudes

A key part of an attitude is the affect or emotion associated with the attitude. At a very basic level, we know whether we like or dislike something or find an idea pleasant or unpleasant. For instance, we may say that we know something “in our heart” or have a “gut feeling.” In such cases our attitudes have been formed through our emotions rather than through logic or thinking. This can happen through (a) sensory reactions, (b) values, (c) operant/instrumental conditioning, (d) classical conditioning, (e) semantic generalization, (f) evaluative conditioning, or (g) mere exposure.

2.7.3. Sensory Reactions

Any direct experience with an object through seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, or touching will lead to an immediate evaluative reaction. We are experts at knowing whether we find a certain sensory experience pleasant or unpleasant. For example, immediately upon tasting a new type of candy bar, you know whether you like it or not. This also applies to aesthetic experiences, such as admiring the color or composition of an artwork. We form attitudes about objects immediately upon experiencing them.

2.7.4. Operant Conditioning

Operant or instrumental conditioning is when an attitude forms because it has been reinforced through reward or a pleasant experience or discouraged through punishment or an unpleasant experience. For example, a parent might praise a teenager for helping out at an after-school program with little kids. As a result, the teen may develop a positive attitude toward

volunteer work. Similarly, many people find that broccoli has a terrible taste, and so they dislike broccoli because of its punishing flavor.

2.7.5. Evaluative Conditioning

An object need not directly cause us to feel pleasant or unpleasant for us to form an attitude. Evaluative conditioning occurs when we form attitudes toward an object or person because our exposure to them coincided with a positive or negative emotion. For example, a couple may come to feel positive toward a particular song that was playing on the radio during their first date. Their positive attitude to the song is a result of its association with the happy experience of a date.

2.7.6. Cognitive Foundations of Attitudes

The cognitive foundation of attitudes, what might be called beliefs, comes from direct experience with the world or through thinking about the world. Thinking about the world includes any kind of active information processing, such as deliberating, wondering, imagining, and reflecting, as well as through activities such as reading, writing, listening, and talking. If you believe that insects are dirty and disgusting, then you will probably have the attitude that insects are not food. However, if you read that locusts and other insects are happily eaten in some cultures, then you may come to believe that locusts may not be so bad. Your attitude here comes from thinking about the new facts you read.

2.7.7. Attitude has Direction, Degree & Intensity: -

An attitude expresses how a person feels towards an object. It expresses

- (i) direction-the person is either favorable or unfavorable Toward, or for or against the object
- (ii) Degree-how much the person either likes or dislikes the object,
- (iii) Intensity-the level of sureness or confidence of expression about the object, or how strongly a person feels about His or her conviction.

2.7.8. Theoretical Perspective of the Study

In formulation of a theoretical perspective for studying students' attitude towards ethnic federalism, theory of attitude formation provides a useful perspective. Since humans experience different kind of things that lasts for long period of time such as person, administrative structures, social practices (norm, values and habits), individuals expected to have some sort of feeling towards those things and the feeling can be positive, negative and sometimes and it could be neutral too.

The target population of this study are students and they may have negative or positive attitude towards ethnic federalism, but, to develop either direction, it depends on the experience they have, if they have pleasurable and healthy experience with it, there is high possibility of developing positive attitude, however, if they experience worst and unattractive things regarding ethnic federalism, the probability of having negative would be greater.

2.8. Summary and Implication

In the literature review section many ideas, study findings, scholar's recommendations and other suggestions and explanations which is related with this study was reviewed." Once the researcher identifies a topic that can and should be studied, the search can begin for related literature on the topic. The literature review accomplishes several purposes. It shares with the reader the results of other studies that are closely related to the one being undertaken. It relates a study to the larger, ongoing dialogue in the literature, filling in gaps and extending prior studies" (Cooper, 2010; Marshall & Rossman, 2011 cited in Creswell, 2014 p.59).

Many scholars in the area of federalism wrote, conduct studies and recommend their professional recommendation. Mainly there are two types of federalism as its explained in the literature. The first one is geographical based federalism and the second one is ethnic based federalism.

The second one is the type of federalism which has been implemented in the country since 1991 G.C after the military regime overthrown by EPDRF which is the current ruling party of Ethiopia. The rational given by the EPDRF elites of that time to implement this type of federalism (ethnic based federalism) was to offer self-determination for each ethnic groups in the

country and to promote their culture, language and related things within a given society then the state formed nine ethnically based regional states while assuring the unconditional right for secession when needed and two city administration cities formed (Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa). However, it separate scholars and other politicians into two different sides, the first group argue that as it provides a better way of overcoming problems occurred and occurring in the country while others warned as it could be the cause for ethnic based conflicts, tension and leads the state to disintegrate and as it failed to consider the psychological and social bond of the society. Specially, allowing states the right to secession could possibly lead to ethnic polarization and increase a sense of strong affiliation for ethnically arranged regions rather than for the nation. Different professionals and scholars suggested that geographical based federalism could have been the best than ethnic based federalism.

Unlike ethnic federalism, geographical based federalism does not focus on ethnicity to form regional states and administration strategies. It focuses on the size of population in a given area and uses geographical setup of the state to classify regions as needed. However, many studies conducted in the area of ethnic federalism and many studies showed that as it has negative impact in different aspects of the social, psychological and historical aspects while other studies showed as it has positive significance on promoting each ethnic groups values, languages and other related things. I could not find the studies conducted on examining the university students' attitude towards it and as an educated group, university students' attitude towards ethnic federalism must be studied, thus, this study was conducted to fill this gap.

Chapter Three

Methods

In this chapter the procedures, design, study site, and techniques used to undertake the study presented and discussed.

3.1. Study Design

This study stands on the positivist philosophy which has great emphasis on objectivity, thus, the study employed descriptive survey design. “A survey design provides a quantitative or numeric description of trends, attitudes, or opinions of a population by studying a sample of that population. From sample results, the researcher generalizes or draws inferences to the population” (Creswell, 2014, p.200). Employing survey design assumed relevant and appropriate to collect and analyze the data for this study. So, researcher employed and followed quantitative research approach and Descriptive and inferential statistical techniques employed.

3.2. Study Site

This study area is Addis Ababa city administration, which is the capital city as well as the largest metropolitan city of Ethiopia and the continent too, it is also the fourth political center in the world as well as a seat for different continental, governmental, international and non-governmental organizations.

3.3. Population and Sampling

The population of this study was Addis Ababa university Sidest kilo main campus undergraduate regular students. There are four colleges in the main campus; these are College of education and behavioral studies, College of social sciences, college of law and governance, and college of humanities, language studies, journalism and communication.

Multistage sampling was used because there were more than two steps for selecting the final participants for this study. First, college of social sciences and college of behavioral studies were selected among the total four colleges in the main campus by using simple random sampling technique. Second, from those two Colleges six departments were selected using the same sampling technique that's planned to be used for selecting Colleges. Then proportion was adjusted for each departments as well as for sex.

Finally, by using lottery method sampling technique which is a part of simple random sampling method 304 respondents were selected. The sample size was determined by using Yamane's (1967) formula for sample size determination ($n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$) Where n is the sample size, N is the population size, and e is the level of precision. The required sample size was 277 and researcher adds 10 percent of the required samples in order to obtain good quality data. Then 285 questionnaire taken from samples analyzed out of 304 questionnaires and 19 questionnaires were removed because they were not filled properly. Random sampling technique was planned to be used when selecting participant from the general population because this sampling technique provide equal chance for the study population to be the part of sample. Additionally, it allows the researcher to infer the finding of the study from the sample to the total population.

Table 1.

Randomly Selected Departments and Number of Respondents from each Department Based on Proportion

Department	Year 1			Year 2			Year 3		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
EDPM	6	0	6	4	1	5	11	2	13
Psychology	7	9	16	6	9	15	6	9	15
Geography	8	7	15	9	7	16	18	7	25
PSIR	13	9	22	7	6	13	10	8	18
Social work	18	19	37	13	5	18	8	10	18
Sociology	8	8	16	9	11	20	7	9	16
Total	60	52	112	48	39	87	60	45	105

Sample size determination

$$277 = \frac{884}{1 + 884(0.05)^2}$$

$$10 \times 277 = 27.7$$

$$27.7 + 277 = 304$$

3.4. Data Collection Techniques

To collect data, the researcher used quantitative data collection method which is closed ended questionnaire and Likert item rating scale which had five-point scale. The questions were adapted from the standardized scale which is ‘Attitude scale towards web-based examination system’. It contains 16 standardize question and has 0.873 reliability of Cronbach’s alpha value. The scale was developed by Basaran. B, Yalman. M and Gonen. S (2016). The scale was applied in Turkey universities to examine the attitude of undergraduate students towards web based examination as well as evaluation system. To check the validity and reliability of the data collection instrument, pilot test was conducted by selecting 36 students randomly and analyzed by using SPSS version 20, the result was 0.938 in Cronbach’s alpha reliability test value. Due to the result no question was excluded from the total 23 question because of the good reliability result. The reliability and validity of the instruments helps the researcher to exclude the questions which are not relevant and to modify the questions which contain vagueness. The instrument was translated to Amharic by language professional and to check the validness of the instrument back translation to English was conducted (see App). Prior to data collection a letter of support was issued from the school of psychology for the researcher then one data collector was trained by the researcher himself on the procedures that must be followed during data collection and the data collected in the classrooms at the day time.

3.5. Scoring

The data collection instrument that contained 23 items with five point Likert scale scored as follows: strongly Disagree (1), disagree (2), neutral (3), Agree (4), Strongly Agree (5). Then strongly disagree and disagree sections combined together and recoded as (1) disagree, the neutral section transformed as (2) neutral and agree and strongly agree parts combined and labeled as (3) agree. Total score was calculated by summing up the total obtained scores of each item within a range of 23-115. Scores 23-57.5 indicate that negative attitude, scores 57.73-80.5 showed that there is neutral attitude and scores 80.73-115 interpreted as positive attitude (Carmichael et al, 2014).

3.6. Data Analysis Techniques

To analyze the data that was collected by using close ended questionnaire, quantitative data analysis method was used which is both inferential statistics (independent sample t-test and one-way ANOVA) t-test employed to check if statistical significant difference exist between male and female attitude and one way ANOVA employed to assess if statistical difference exist between participants on their attitude towards ethnic federalism based on the region they came from and their year of study descriptive statistics (mean, median, standard deviation, and percentage) using statistical package for social science version 20 (SPSS).

3.7. Ethical Considerations

As this study utilizes human participants, certain issues were addressed. The considerations of these issues are necessary for ensuring the privacy as well as the confidentiality of the participants was prioritize by the researchers as well. In order to do so, the names of the participants are kept confidentially and the participants consent was asked to be a part of this study.

Chapter Four

Results

In this chapter findings obtained from the analysis presented.

4.1. Demographic Characteristics of Participants (N=285)

Table 2.

Demographic Characteristics of the Participant

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Male	161	56.5
Female	124	43.5
Total	285	100.0
Year	Frequency	Percent
First year	106	37.2
Second year	81	28.4
Third year	98	34.4
Total	285	100.0
College	Frequency	Percent
CEBS	64	22.5
CSS	221	77.5
Total	285	100.0

As it is indicated in the table 2, among the participants of this study males consisted 56.5% of the total sample while females consisted 43.5% of total sample. During the sampling process proportion was considered in order to have balanced representation. In terms of year of study, 37.2 % of students were from first year batch, 28.4 % students were from second year batch and 34.4% students were from third year batch and regarding to college 22.5 % of participants were selected from College of Education and Behavioral Studies while 77.5% of the participants were selected from the College of Social Sciences.

Table 3.
Departments That Participants Were Selected From

Department	Frequency	Percent
Psychology	43	15.1
Sociology	48	16.8
PSIR	51	17.9
Social work	70	24.6
Geography	52	18.2
EDPM	21	7.4
Total	285	100.0

As the table 3 indicated 15.1% of the participants were from Psychology department, 16.8% of participants were from Sociology department, 17.9% of participants were from Political science and international relationship department, 24.6% of participants were from Social work department, 18.2% of participants were from Geography department and 7.4% of participants were from Educational planning and management department

Table 4.
Regions Participants of This Study Came From

Region	Frequency	Percent
Addis Ababa	80	28.1
Afar	3	1.1
Amhara	94	33.0
Dire Dawa	4	1.4
Gambella	5	1.8
Harari	3	1.1
Oromia	55	19.3
SNNPR	27	9.5
Tigray	14	4.9
Total	285	100.0

As table 4 indicated 28.1% of the participants were from Addis Ababa city administration, 1.1 % of participants were from Afar region, 33% of participants were from Amhara region, 1.4 % of participants were from Dire Dawa city administration, 1.8 % of participants were from Gambella region, 1.1% of participants were from Harari region, 19.3% participants were from Oromia region , 9.5% of participants were from Southern nations, nationalities and peoples region and 4.9% of participants were from Tigray region.

4.2. Result of the Self-Reported Data

Table 5.

Attitude of Students Towards Ethnic Federalism

Attitude	Frequency	Percent
Negative attitude	174	61.1
Neutral	41	14.3
Positive attitude	70	24.6
Total	285	100.0

As table 5 indicated, the data collected from the participants to examine their attitude towards ethnic federalism in Ethiopia showed that 61.1% of the participants have a negative attitude towards ethnic federalism system in Ethiopia, 14.3 % have neither positive nor negative attitude and 24.6% have positive attitude towards ethnic federalism in Ethiopia.

Table 6.

Attitude of Male and Female Towards Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia

Gender		Frequency	Percent
Male	Negative attitude	94	58.4
	Neutral	24	14.9
	Positive attitude	43	26.7
	Total	161	100.0
Female	Negative attitude	80	64.5
	Neutral	17	13.7
	Positive attitude	27	21.8
	Total	124	100.0

As it is indicating in the Table 6. from the total of 161 male participants in this study, 58.4% participants have negative attitude towards ethnic federalism structure in Ethiopia, 14.9% of the participants have neither positive nor negative attitude and 26.7 % of participants have positive attitude towards ethnic federalism in Ethiopia. In the other hand, from the total 124 female participants 64.5% have negative attitude towards ethnic federalism in Ethiopia, 13.7% have neither positive nor negative attitude and 21.8% have developed positive attitude towards ethnic-federalism in Ethiopia.

Table 7.

Attitude of the Participants Based on the Region They Came from

Region they came from		Frequency	Percent
Addis Ababa	Negative attitude	63	78.8
	Neutral	11	13.8
	Positive attitude	6	7.5
	Total	80	100.0
Afar	Negative attitude	3	100.0
Amhara	Negative attitude	61	64.9
	Neutral	10	10.6
	Positive attitude	23	24.5
	Total	94	100.0
Dire Dawa	Negative attitude	2	50.0
	Neutral	1	25.0
	Positive attitude	1	25.0
	Total	4	100.0
Gambella	Negative attitude	5	100.0
Harari	Negative attitude	2	66.7
	Positive attitude	1	33.3
	Total	3	100.0
Oromia	Negative attitude	24	43.6
	Neutral	12	21.8
	Positive attitude	19	34.5
	Total	55	100.0
SNNPR	Negative attitude	9	33.3
	Neutral	5	18.5
	Positive attitude	13	48.1
	Total	27	100.0
Tigray	Negative attitude	5	35.7
	Neutral	2	14.3
	Positive attitude	7	50.0
	Total	14	100.0

As the result indicated in the table 7 among the total participants of this study 80 participants indicated that they are from Addis Ababa city administration and 78.8% of the participants have negative attitude towards ethnic federalism system in Ethiopia, 13.8% of the participants have

neither positive nor negative attitude and 7.5% of participants have positive attitude towards ethnic federalism system in Ethiopia.

Among the total participants of this study three participants identified themselves as they came from Afar region ,100% of the participants have negative attitude towards ethnic federalism system in Ethiopia. Five participants identified themselves as they came from Gambella region, 100% of the participants reported negative attitude towards ethnic federalism system in Ethiopia.

Participants who identified themselves as they came from Amhara region are 94 individuals and among them 64.9% of the participants have negative attitude towards the federalism system which is based on ethnic identity, 10.6% of the participants have neither positive nor negative attitude and 24.5% of the participants have positive attitude towards ethnic federalism structure in Ethiopia.

Participants who identified themselves as they came from Dire Dawa are four individuals of which 50% of the participants have negative attitude towards ethnic federalism in Ethiopia, 25% of the participants have neither positive nor negative attitude and 25% of the participants have positive attitude towards ethnic based federalism in Ethiopia.

Among the total participants of this study three students identified themselves that they came from Harari region 66.7% of the participants have negative attitude towards ethnic federalism structure in Ethiopia while 33.7% of the participants reflected positive attitude towards ethnic federalism in Ethiopia.

Participants who identified themselves as they came from Oromia region are 55 individuals and among them 43.6% of the participants have negative attitude towards ethnic based federalism structure in Ethiopia, 21.8% of the participants have neither positive nor negative attitude and 34.5% of the participants have positive attitude towards ethnic federalism in Ethiopia.

Among the total participants of this study 27 participants identified themselves as they came from Southern nations, nationalities and peoples' region and 33.3% of the participants have negative attitude towards ethnic federalism in Ethiopia, 18.5% have neither positive nor negative

attitude and 48.1% of the participants have positive attitude towards ethnic federalism system in Ethiopia.

Among the total number of participants of this study 14 participants identified themselves as they came from Tigray region, 35.7% of the participants have negative attitude towards ethnic based federalism in Ethiopia, 14.3% of the participants have neither positive nor negative attitude and 50 % of the participants have positive attitude towards ethnic federalism system.

4.3. ANOVA Result for Regions and Departments Comparison

Table 8.

ANOVA Results for Region Comparison

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	27.940	8	3.492	5.412	.000
Within Groups	178.110	276	.645		
Total	206.049	284			

A one way between subjects' ANOVA was conducted to check differences on participants' attitude towards ethnic federalism based on the region participants came from and the result showed that there was a significant difference between subjects on their attitude at $p < 0.5$ level for the nine regions. [$F(8, 276) = 5.412, P = 0.000$].

Post hoc comparison using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for participants who identified as they came from Addis Ababa city administration ($M = 1.28, SD = 0.59$) was significantly different than participants who identified themselves as they came from Oromia region ($M = 1.90, SD = 0.88$), Southern nations, nationalities and peoples' region ($M = 2.148, SD = 0.90$) and Tigray region ($M = 2.142, SD = 0.94$). However, participants who identifies as they came from Afar region ($M = 1, SD = 0$), Amhara region ($M = 1.59, SD = 0.85$), Dire Dawa city administration ($M = 1.75, SD = 0.95$), Gambella region ($M = 1, SD = 0$) and Harari region ($M = 1.6, SD = 1.15$) did not significantly differ from participants who identified as they came from Addis Ababa city administration. In the other hand, participants who identified themselves as they

came from Amhara region ($M=1.59$, $SD=0.85$) was significantly different from participants who identified themselves as they came from Southern nations, nationalities and peoples' region ($M=2.148$, $SD=0.90$). (see App for the detail).

Table 9.

ANOVA Results for Year of Study Comparison

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1.054	2	.527	.725	.485
Within Groups	204.995	282	.727		
Total	206.049	284			

A one-way ANOVA was conducted to check differences on participants' attitude towards ethnic federalism based on their year of study and the result showed that there was no significant difference between subjects on their attitude at $p>0.5$ level for the three college levels [$F(2, 282) = 0.725$, $P=0.485$].

Table 10.

ANOVA Results for Departments Comparison

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	3.726	5	.745	1.028	.402
Within Groups	202.323	279	.725		
Total	206.049	284			

A one-way ANOVA was conducted to check differences on participants' attitude towards ethnic federalism based on their department and the result showed that there was no significant difference between subjects of various study groups on their attitude at $p>0.5$ level for the six departments [$F(5, 279) = 1.028$, $P=0.402$].

4.4. Independent-sample t-test Result for Gender and College Comparison

Table 11.

Comparison on Attitude towards Ethnic Federalism Based on Gender

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
	F	Sig.	T	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
								Lower	Upper
Equal variances assumed	1.970	.162	1.088	283	.278	.11065	.10174	-.08961	.31091
Equal variances not assumed			1.094	270.533	.275	.11065	.10110	-.08840	.30969

An independent sample t-test was conducted to compare the male and female attitude towards ethnic federalism. There was no significance difference in the scores for males ($M=1.68$, $SD=0.86$) and females ($M=1.57$, $SD=0.82$) groups; $t(283) = 1.08$, $p=0.278$. This result suggests that there is no attitudinal difference between male and female students towards ethnic federalism.

Table 12.

Independent-sample t-test Result for College Comparison

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	F	Sig.	T	Df	Sig. (2- tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
Equal variances assumed	.829	.363	-1.612	283	.108	-.19436	.12057	-.43169	.04297
Equal variances not assumed			-1.605	101.703	.112	-.19436	.12107	-.43451	.04580

An independent sample t-test was conducted to compare College of Education and Behavioral Studies undergraduate regular students and College of Social Sciences undergraduate regular students' attitude towards ethnic federalism. There was no significant difference in the scores for College of Education and Behavioral Studies students ($M=1.48$, $SD=0.85$) and College of Social Sciences students ($M=1.67$, $SD=0.84$) groups; $t(283) = -1.61$, $p=0.108$. This result suggests that there is no attitudinal difference between College of Social Sciences students and College of Education and Behavioral studies towards ethnic federalism.

Chapter Five

Discussion

The main aim of this study was to examine the attitude of Addis Ababa university main campus undergraduate regular students. Four research questions were raised, Quantitative data was collected to get primary data and findings gained from data analysis are discussed by relating with the existing related literatures.

5.1. What is Attitude of Students towards Ethnic Federalism?

The findings of this study revealed that 61.1% of participants among the total participant has negative attitude towards ethnic federalism while 24.6% participants have positive attitude and the rest 14.3% of the participants has neither positive nor negative attitude towards ethnic federalism which has been implemented in Ethiopia.

Among the total participants of male students, 58.4% of participants showed as they have negative attitude while 26.7% of participants has positive attitude and the rest 14.9% of participants has neither negative nor positive attitude. In the other hand, from the total female participants of this study 64.5% of participants has negative attitude while 21.8% participants showed as they develop negative attitude and the rest 13.7% participants has neither negative nor positive attitude towards ethnic federalism in Ethiopia.

5.2. Is There Attitudinal Difference towards Ethnic Federalism Based on the Region Students Came from?

When we come to discuss the attitude of participants based on the region they came from, among the total participants who identified as they came from Addis Ababa city administration 78.8% of the participants have negative attitude towards ethnic federalism system in Ethiopia, 13.8% participants have neither positive nor negative attitude and 7.5% of participants have positive attitude towards ethnic federalism in Ethiopia. Participants identified themselves as they came from Afar region 100% of the participants have negative attitude towards ethnic federalism system in Ethiopia and participants identified themselves as they came from Gambella region 100% of participants have negative attitude.

Participants who identified themselves as they came from Amhara region, 64.9% of participants have negative attitude towards the federalism system which is based on ethnic identity, 10.6% of participants have neither positive nor negative attitude and 24.5% of participants have positive attitude towards ethnic federalism structure in Ethiopia. In the other hand, participants who identified themselves as they came from Dire Dawa , 50% of participants have negative attitude towards ethnic federalism politics in Ethiopia, 25% of participants have neither positive nor negative attitude and 25% of participants have positive attitude towards ethnic based federalism in Ethiopia.

From the total participants who identified themselves as they came from Harari region, 66.7% of participants have negative attitude towards ethnic federalism structure in Ethiopia while 33.7% participants consisted positive attitude towards ethnic federalism in Ethiopia. Participants who identified themselves as they came from Oromia region , 43.6% of participants have negative attitude towards ethnic based federalism structure in Ethiopia, 21.8% of participants have neither positive nor negative attitude and 34.5% of participants have positive attitude towards ethnic federalism in Ethiopia.

Among the total participants of this study those who identified themselves as they came from Southern Nations and Nationalities Peoples region, 33.3% of participants have negative attitude towards ethnic federalism in Ethiopia, 18.5% have neither positive nor positive attitude and 48.1% of participants have positive attitude towards ethnic federalism system in Ethiopia.

Among the total number of participants who identified themselves as they came from Tigray region, 35.7% of the participants have negative attitude towards ethnic based federalism in Ethiopia, 14.3% of participants have neither positive nor negative attitude and 50 % of participants have positive attitude towards federalism system which is based on ethnic identity.

According to this study finding majority of the participants showed their negative attitude towards ethnically formed federalism and the related study obtained the same result with this study which is conducted by Kassaw (2017) on the perception of ethnic federalism and the Ethiopian diaspora community in United States revealed the negative impact of ethnic federalism is being felt by the participants as well as individuals and the large community of Ethiopian diaspora. As the author indicated that participants in his study lost good friends, were unable to

make new friends across ethnic groups and also marriages disrupted due to ethnic politics system.

Another study conducted by Bitweded (2014) on ethnic federalism and its implication for university students in the case of Gondar university supported this result and the author concluded that higher education institutions and other academic places also the areas affecting by this form of political dimension, these things were predicted by different scholars as it could be the cause for disintegration and tribalism before the ideology approached to the ground.

A study conducted by Asnake (2013) on federalism and ethnic conflict in Ethiopia showed that Inter states or inter region conflicts occur because boundaries for each states marked mistakenly and failed to compromise the local realities and the composition of the societies (heterogeneous behaviors of the society in terms of religion and ethnic background) in each states. In the case of Somali regional states, conflicts mainly occur with Afar and Oromia borders because of lack of agreement on the historical roots of the borders between regional states.

The article which is written by Goitom (2019) on the Aljazeera opinion website related with this study result. In the article it is said that different ethnic groups support ethnic federalism even though it is difficult to display numerically, protests and the way political mobilizations running are an indication as many people fall in to their ethnic category. Regional states of Tigray, Oromia, Somalia and even Amhara which was known historically as favoring unitary state formation are dominated by political parties which are formed along ethnic lines both opposition and ruling parties.

5.3. Is There Attitudinal Difference Based on Gender towards Ethnic Federalism?

This study finding also showed that as there are no significant differences between males and females attitudes towards ethnic federalism in Ethiopia and independent sample t-test statistical method was carried out to check if there were differences among male and female participants. However, a study conducted by Gray (2010) which was focused on federalism, feminism and multilevel governance revealed that there is no common theory about the impact of different governance models on the advancement of gender equality. Indeed, gender scholars have

differing views as to whether a federal model a governance model where power is permanently distributed between a national parliament and sub national parliaments has a greater capacity to advance gender equality than a unitary model a governance model where power resides in the national parliament.

In the other hand, Haussman et al (2010 cited in Forster) also argued that the effectiveness of any model of governance, whether unitary or federal, at advancing gender equality depends on a range of other factors including: the political will of central and state governments (for example whether they are progressive or conservative); the ethnic and cultural diversity of the population (for example whether ethnic minorities are regional or dispersed); the size of population; the presence or absence of conflict; the level of economic wealth; and the strength of traditional practices and cultural norms which discriminate against women.

5.4. Is There Attitudinal Difference Based on Year of Study of the Participants?

By using independent sample t-test two colleges that students were selected were compared to check if there was difference. However, the result obtained from the test showed that there is no significance difference between College of social science students and College of education and behavioral studies students. Year difference was also checked by employing one-way ANOVA and the result revealed that there is no significant difference between year of study of participants.

Chapter Six

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1. Summary

The main objective of this study was to examine undergraduate regular students of Addis Ababa university attitude towards ethnic federalism and four research questions were raised. The study focused on university students because university students are one of the communities who are in the forefront to support or to protest policies and government actions starting from the imperial government. Thus, assessing and knowing the students and public attitude will help and enhance the successfulness of policies and to tackle related administrative problems across the country.

Multi stage sampling, simple random sampling, proportion and lottery method sampling methods were used to select 304 participants from the study population. The data was collected by using close ended questionnaire which was adopted by the researcher and it had 23 items and the psychometric issues were addressed.

The result showed that 61.1 % of participants has negative attitude towards ethnic federalism, 24.6% of participants has positive attitude while the rest 14.3% participants reported that they have neither negative nor positive attitude. One-way ANOVA was used to check the difference between regions that students came from and the result indicated that there was significance difference. SNNPR, Oromia and Tigray regions have positive attitude towards ethnic federalism compared to other regions. In the other hand, there is no significant difference on attitude based on the participants' year of study and departments.

Independent sample t-test was carried out in order to check if there were attitudinal differences between men and female students. However, there was no significance difference. There was no significance difference on attitude of participants based on their College either.

6.2. Conclusion

This study assessed Addis Ababa university undergraduate regular program students' attitude towards ethnic federalism with the aim of answering four research questions. The result indicated that 61.1% of students have negative attitude towards ethnic federalism, 24.6% students reported that they have positive attitude and 14.3% students have neither negative nor positive attitude. There was no significance difference between male and female students as well as year of study of students. However, there was significance difference on attitude towards ethnic federalism between regions that students came from, Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's region, Oromia and Tigray region students have positive attitude towards ethnic federalism when compared to other regions. Therefore, students who developed negative attitude towards ethnic federalism are abundant while students who showed positive attitude are lower in number.

6.3. Recommendations

6.3.1. Policy related Recommendations

- Public attitude toward policies must be understood before issuing and approaching to implementation because knowing the public attitude will help to get comparatively better policies and good impact (if people are committed and in favor).
- Making discussion on policies with potential associations like university teachers, and different other associations which is based on professional background is important because there could be so many reflections, suggestions and recommendations that could help to amend the existing policies and to create the new one.
- The policies must be good enough to offer equal benefits regardless of ethnic, tribe and language throughout the country.

6.3.2. Research related Recommendation

- For future researchers in this area, this study did not cover all university students in the country. It was only delimited to specific area, thus, addressing by studying the other university students or other community's attitude towards ethnic federalism will be helpful for government and political parties in order to amend and reconsider about the policies (such as the constitution).

- By using different variables (interpersonal relationship, living environment and the socio cultural setup of the society etc.) that possibly expected to affect attitude towards ethnic federalism must be studied and more advanced statistical procedures like sequential explanatory model would be good technique to conduct it.

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Appendix A

Addis Ababa University
College of Education and Behavioral Studies
School of Psychology

This questionnaire is prepared to be filled by students of Addis Ababa University Sideset Kilo campus who are randomly assigned to be the part of this study sample. The purpose of the study is for the partial fulfillment of Master of Arts degree in social psychology. This study focuses on examining the attitude of Addis Ababa university sideset kilo campus undergraduate regular students towards ethnic federalism in Ethiopia. I am kindly requesting you to fill the questionnaire properly.

Please do not write your name since the confidentiality of the participant must be kept confidential. Thank you!

If you have any question related with the study you can contact the researcher through the following addresses;

- Tel - 0910711409
- Email- nattyethio8@gmail.com

Part one – personal information

1. Write your college
2. Write your department
3. Year of study 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
4. Gender: Male
Female
5. Region you came from – Addis Ababa
Afar
Amhara
Benishangul gumuz
Dire Dawa
Gambella
Harari
Oromia
Somali
SNNP
Tigray

Part two - questions

Instruction- please provide your answer (choice) by putting a ✓ mark in a given box for each

		1	2	3	4	5
No	Items	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE
1.	Ethnic federalism has an important role in governance system.					
2.	Ethnic federalism is appropriate to manage ethnic conflict					
3.	Ethnic federalism could contribute to promote the values of community					
4.	Ethnic federalism has significant role for ethnic polarization.					
5.	Ethnic federalism is as reliable as other form of state structure methods.					
6.	Ethnic federalism is consistent in terms of avoiding frequent tribal conflicts.					
7.	I prefer ethnic federalism to other types of government structure.					
8.	Rights and practice provided via ethnic federalism contributes for peace and stability for the country.					
9.	I feel that ethnic federalism is easy to implement in the ground.					
10.	Ethnic based federalism has more advantages when compared to other types of state structure.					
11.	Ethnic federalism structure has capability to significantly overcome problems that happen in the country.					
12.	Seeing each ethnic group governing them self is an advantage for the state.					
13.	Assumptions directed in ethnic federalism are relevant for the country when compared to those directed in centralized and other types of governance system.					
14.	Assumptions directed in ethnic federalism are more manageable in practice.					
15.	Ethnic federalism is as successful as other types of government structure which are implementing in developed countries.					
16.	Ethnic federalism has made adverse effect in Ethiopia.					
17.	Ethnic federalism is not beneficial in comparison to other forms of government.					
18.	I feel that assumptions and principles in ethnic federalism are not conducive for the nature of Ethiopia.					
19.	I feel that ethnic federalism creates a sense of competition between ethnic groups rather than cooperation.					
20.	Essences in ethnic federalism are not manageable when they come to application.					
21.	Allowing each ethnic groups to govern them self may cause a feeling of secession.					
22.	I feel that ethnic federalism failed to keep the country from instability.					
23.	Ethnic federalism structure failed to offer equal rights for citizens.					

Appendixes B

አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ
የትምህርትና ባህሪ ጥናት ኮሌጅ
የስነ-ልቦና ትምህርት ቤት

ይህ መጠይቅ የተዘጋጀው የአዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ የዋናው ግቢ ቅድመ ምረቃ ተማሪዎችን ስለ ብሔር ፌዴራሊዝም ያላቸውን አመለካከት ለመለካት መረጃ ለመሰብሰብ ሲሆን የዚህ ጥናት ዋና አላማ በማህበራዊ ስነ-ልቦና (Social Psychology) የማስተርስ ዲግሪን ለማጠናቀቅ ነው።

ይህንን መጠይቅ እንድትሞሉልኝ ስል በትህትና እጠይቃለሁ።

መጠይቁን በምትሞሉበት ጊዜ ስማችሁን በመጠይቁ ላይ መፃፍ አስፈላጊ ስላልሆነ አትፃፉ
አመሰግናለዉ።

ጥናቱን በተመለከተ ማንኛውንም ጥያቄ በሚከተሉት አድራሻዎች መጠየቅ የምትችሉ መሆኑን ለማሳወቅ እወዳለሁ።

ሰልክ 0910 71 14 09

ኢ.ጤል nattyethio8@gmail.com

ባዶ ቦታዉን ይሙሉት ፤ ወይም በምርጫዎ ፊት ለፊት ባለው ቦታ መልክት ያድርጉ

ክፍል አንድ ግላዊ መረጃ

1. የምትማርበት/ሪበት ት/ቤት ኮሌጅ _____

2. የትምህርት ክፍል (department) _____

3. ስንተኛ ዓመት ነህ/ነሽ

1 ☐

2 ☐

3 ☐

4 ☐

5 ☐

4. የታ ☐ ወንድ

☐ ሴት

5. የመጣችሁበት ክልል

አዲስ አበባ ☐

አፋር ☐

አማራ ☐

አሮሚያ ☐

ቤኒሻንጉል ☐

ድሬዳዋ ☐

ሐረር ☐

ሶማሌ ☐

ደቡብ ☐

ትግራይ ☐

ጋምቤላ ☐

ክፍል ሁለት ጥያቄዎች

እባካችሁን መልሶቻችሁን ለእያንዳንዱ ጥያቄ በተቀመጡት መልስ መስጫ ሳጥንዎች ውስጥ የ✓ ምልክት በማስቀመጥ ይመልሱ።

ተ.ቁ.	ዝርዝር	1	2	3	4	5
		በጣም አልስማማም	አልስማማም	ገለልተኛ	እስማማለሁ	በጣም እስማማለሁ
1.	በመንግስት ስርዓት ውስጥ የብሔር ፌዴራሊዝም ጠቃሚ ሚና አለው።					
2.	የብሔር ፌዴራሊዝም የብሔር ግጭትን ለመቆጣጠር ተገቢ ነው።					
3.	የብሔር ፌዴራሊዝም ለማህበረሰቡ እሴት እድገት አስተዋጽኦ ሊያበረክት ይችላል።					
4.	ለብሔሮች መራራቅ የብሔር ፌዴራሊዝም ወሳኝ ሚና አለው።					
5.	የብሔር ፌዴራሊዝም እንደ ሌሎች የመንግስት መዋቅሮች የሚተማመኑበት ነው።					
6.	የብሔር ፌዴራሊዝም በተደጋጋሚ የሚከሰቱ የጎሳ ግጭቶችን በማስወገድ ረገድ የሚተማመኑበት ነው።					
7.	ከሌሎች የመንግስት መዋቅሮች ይልቅ እኔ የምመርጠው የብሔር ፌዴራሊዝምን ነው።					
8.	በብሔር ፌዴራሊዝም በኩል የሚቀርቡ መብቶች እና ተሞክሮዎች ለአገሪቷ ሰላም እና መረጋጋትን ያበረክታል።					
9.	የብሔር ፌዴራሊዝምን ስራ ላይ ማዋል ቀላል መሆኑ ይሰማኛል					
10.	ብሔርን መሰረት ያደረገ ፌዴራሊዝም ከሌሎች የመንግስት መዋቅር አይነቶች ጋር ሲነፃፀር አብላጫ ጥቅሞች አሉት።					
11.	የብሔር ፌዴራሊዝም መዋቅር በአገሪቷ ውስጥ የተፈጠሩ ችግሮችን በሚገባ ለመቅረፍ አቅም አለው።					
12.	እያንዳንዱ ብሔር እራሳቸውን ሲያስተዳድሩ ማየት ለመንግስት ጠቃሚ ነው።					
13.	በብሔር ፌዴራሊዝም ውስጥ የተቀመጡ					

	ሃሳቦች በማዕከላዊ እና በሌላ የመንግስት ስርዓት ውስጥ ከተቀመጡ ሀሳቦች ጋር ሲነፃፀር ለአገሪቷ ተገቢ ነው።					
14.	የብሔር ፌዴራሊዝም ውስጥ አቅጣጫን ያሳዩ ሃሳቦች በትግበራ ውስጥ ይበልጥ ለመቆጣጠር ምቹ ናቸው።					
15.	የብሔር ፌዴራሊዝም ባደጉ አገሮች ውስጥ ስራ ላይ እየዋሉ እንደሚገኙ ሌሎች የመንግስት መዋቅር አይነቶች ስኬታማ ነው።					
16.	የብሔር ፌዴራሊዝም በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ የከፋ ጉዳት አስከትሏል።					
17.	የብሔር ፌዴራሊዝም ከሌሎች የመንግስት አይነቶች ጋር ሲነፃፀር ውጤታማ አይደለም።					
18.	የብሔር ፌዴራሊዝም የሚገኙ ሀሳቦች እና መርሆች ለኢትዮጵያ ባህሪ ምቹ እንዳልሆኑ ይሰማኛል።					
19.	እኔ የብሔር ፌዴራሊዝም በብሔሮች መካከል የውድድር ስሜት እንደሚፈጥር ይሰማኛል።					
20.	የብሔር ፌዴራሊዝም ሀሳቦች ወደ ተግባር በሚወጡበት ጊዜ ለመቆጣጠር ምቹ አይደሉም።					
21.	እያንዳንዱ ብሔር እራሳቸውን እንዲያስተዳድሩ መፍቀድ የመገንጠል ሀሳብ እንዲኖራቸው ሊያደርግ ይችላል።					
22.	የብሔር ፌዴራሊዝም አገሪቷን ካለማረጋጋት ሊጠብቃት እንዳልቻለ ይሰማኛል።					
23.	የብሔር ፌዴራሊዝም መዋቅር ለዜጎች እኩል መብቶች ሊሰጣቸው አልቻለም።					

አመሰግናለሁ።

Appendixes C

Post Hoc Result

Tukey HSD

(I) region you came from	(J) region you came from	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Addis Ababa	Afar	.28750	.47241	1.000	-1.1895	1.7645
	Amhara	-.30824	.12220	.226	-.6903	.0738
	Dire Dawa	-.46250	.41158	.970	-1.7493	.8243
	Gambella	.28750	.37031	.997	-.8703	1.4453
	Harari	-.37917	.47241	.997	-1.8562	1.0979
	Oromia	-.62159*	.14071	.000	-1.0615	-.1816
	SNNPR	-.86065*	.17879	.000	-1.4197	-.3016
	Tigray	-.85536*	.23273	.009	-1.5830	-.1277
Afar	Addis Ababa	-.28750	.47241	1.000	-1.7645	1.1895
	Amhara	-.59574	.47114	.941	-2.0688	.8773
	Dire dawa	-.75000	.61355	.951	-2.6683	1.1683
	Gambella	.00000	.58666	1.000	-1.8343	1.8343
	Harari	-.66667	.65591	.984	-2.7174	1.3841
	Oromia	-.90909	.47628	.608	-2.3982	.5800
	SNNPR	-1.14815	.48889	.317	-2.6767	.3804
	Tigray	-1.14286	.51108	.385	-2.7408	.4551
Amhara	Addis Ababa	.30824	.12220	.226	-.0738	.6903
	Afar	.59574	.47114	.941	-.8773	2.0688
	Dire Dawa	-.15426	.41012	1.000	-1.4365	1.1280
	Gambella	.59574	.36869	.796	-.5570	1.7485
	Harari	-.07092	.47114	1.000	-1.5440	1.4021
	Oromia	-.31335	.13638	.347	-.7397	.1130
	SNNPR	-.55240*	.17540	.047	-1.1008	-.0040
	Tigray	-.54711	.23013	.301	-1.2666	.1724
Dire Dawa	Addis Ababa	.46250	.41158	.970	-.8243	1.7493
	Afar	.75000	.61355	.951	-1.1683	2.6683
	Amhara	.15426	.41012	1.000	-1.1280	1.4365
	Gambella	.75000	.53888	.900	-.9349	2.4349
	Harari	.08333	.61355	1.000	-1.8350	2.0016
	Oromia	-.15909	.41601	1.000	-1.4598	1.1416
	SNNPR	-.39815	.43039	.991	-1.7438	.9475
	Tigray	-.39286	.45544	.995	-1.8168	1.0311
Gambella	Addis Ababa	-.28750	.37031	.997	-1.4453	.8703

	Afar	.00000	.58666	1.000	-1.8343	1.8343
	Amhara	-.59574	.36869	.796	-1.7485	.5570
	Dire Dawa	-.75000	.53888	.900	-2.4349	.9349
	Harari	-.66667	.58666	.968	-2.5009	1.1676
	Oromia	-.90909	.37523	.276	-2.0823	.2641
	SNNPR	-1.14815	.39111	.085	-2.3710	.0747
	Tigray	-1.14286	.41852	.142	-2.4514	.1657
Harari	Addis Ababa	.37917	.47241	.997	-1.0979	1.8562
	Afar	.66667	.65591	.984	-1.3841	2.7174
	Amhara	.07092	.47114	1.000	-1.4021	1.5440
	Dire Dawa	-.08333	.61355	1.000	-2.0016	1.8350
	Gambella	.66667	.58666	.968	-1.1676	2.5009
	Oromia	-.24242	.47628	1.000	-1.7316	1.2467
	SNNPR	-.48148	.48889	.987	-2.0100	1.0471
	Tigray	-.47619	.51108	.991	-2.0741	1.1218
Oromia	Addis Ababa	.62159*	.14071	.000	.1816	1.0615
	Afar	.90909	.47628	.608	-.5800	2.3982
	Amhara	.31335	.13638	.347	-.1130	.7397
	Dire Dawa	.15909	.41601	1.000	-1.1416	1.4598
	Gambella	.90909	.37523	.276	-.2641	2.0823
	Harari	.24242	.47628	1.000	-1.2467	1.7316
	SNNPR	-.23906	.18877	.940	-.8293	.3512
	Tigray	-.23377	.24047	.988	-.9856	.5181
SNNPR	Addis Ababa	.86065*	.17879	.000	.3016	1.4197
	Afar	1.14815	.48889	.317	-.3804	2.6767
	Amhara	.55240*	.17540	.047	.0040	1.1008
	Dire Dawa	.39815	.43039	.991	-.9475	1.7438
	Gambella	1.14815	.39111	.085	-.0747	2.3710
	Harari	.48148	.48889	.987	-1.0471	2.0100
	Oromia	.23906	.18877	.940	-.3512	.8293
	Tigray	.00529	.26457	1.000	-.8219	.8325
Tigray	Addis Ababa	.85536*	.23273	.009	.1277	1.5830
	Afar	1.14286	.51108	.385	-.4551	2.7408
	Amhara	.54711	.23013	.301	-.1724	1.2666
	Dire Dawa	.39286	.45544	.995	-1.0311	1.8168
	Gambella	1.14286	.41852	.142	-.1657	2.4514
	Harari	.47619	.51108	.991	-1.1218	2.0741
	Oromia	.23377	.24047	.988	-.5181	.9856
	SNNPR	-.00529	.26457	1.000	-.8325	.8219

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Declaration

I, the undersigned, declared that this thesis is my original work and has not been conducted or presented and all the materials used for this thesis have been duly acknowledge.

Name: Natnael Betre

Signature _____ Date _____