



Addis Ababa University

School of Law and Governance Studies

Center for Federalism and Governance Studies

**Urbanization and its Cultural Impacts in the Ethiopian
Federation: The Case of Addis Ababa and the Oromo**

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Addis Ababa, 2020

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Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Addis Ababa
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Declaration

I the undersigned, declare that this work which is entitled Urbanization and its Cultural Impacts in the Ethiopian Federation: The Case of Addis Ababa and the Oromo is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university, and that all sources of materials used for this thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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Table of Content

| Title | Page |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Acknowledgements..... | i |
| Table of Content | ii |
| List of Figure and Tables | vi |
| Acronyms | vii |
| Abstract..... | ix |
| CHAPTER ONE..... | 1 |
| 1. Introduction..... | 1 |
| 1.1 Background of the Study | 1 |
| 1.2 Statement of the Problem..... | 4 |
| 1.3 Objectives of the Study..... | 6 |
| 1.3.1 General Objective | 6 |
| 1.3.2 Specific Objectives | 6 |
| 1.4 Research Questions..... | 7 |
| 1.4.1 Main Research Question | 7 |
| 1.4.2 Sub-Research Questions | 7 |
| 1.5 Methodology of the Study | 7 |
| 1.5.1 Research Design..... | 7 |
| 1.5.2 Data Sources | 8 |
| 1.5.3 Data Collection Instruments and Procedures..... | 8 |
| 1.5.4 Data Analysis | 10 |
| 1.6 Significance of the Study | 10 |
| 1.7 Delimitation of the Study..... | 10 |
| 1.8 Limitation of the Study | 11 |

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| 1.9 Ethical Consideration..... | 11 |
| 1.10 Organization of the Study | 11 |
| CHAPTER TWO | 13 |
| 2. Review of the Related Literature | 13 |
| 2.1 Introduction..... | 13 |
| 2.2 Concept and Definition | 13 |
| 2.2.1 Urbanization..... | 13 |
| 2.2.2 Culture..... | 16 |
| 2.3 Theoretical Framework of the Study | 18 |
| 2.3.1 Melting Pot Model- Cultural Assimilation Theory..... | 18 |
| 2.3.2. Salad Bowl Model- Accommodation of Cultural Diversity | 22 |
| 2.4 Empirical Literature of the Study | 24 |
| 2.4.1 Mature Multinational Federations..... | 25 |
| 2.4.2 Emerging [Multi] national Federations..... | 30 |
| 2.5 Conceptual Framework of the Study | 34 |
| 2.6 Conclusion | 37 |
| CHAPTER THREE | 39 |
| 3. Urbanization, Nation Building and the Culture of Oromo in Ethiopia..... | 39 |
| 3.1 Introduction..... | 39 |
| 3.2 The Culture of Oromo People..... | 39 |
| 3.3 Urbanization in Ethiopia | 44 |
| 3.3.1 Addis Ababa and Oromo Culture during Pre-Menelik | 45 |
| 3.3.2 Urbanization of Addis Ababa and its Impact on Oromo Culture during Menelik..... | 47 |
| 3.3.3 Urbanization of Addis Ababa and its Impact on Oromo Culture during Italian Occupation | 48 |

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| 3.3.4 Urbanization of Addis Ababa and its Impact on Oromo Culture during Haile Selassie | 49 |
| 3.3.5 Urbanization of Addis Ababa and its Impact on Oromo Culture during Derg | 52 |
| 3.4 Nation-State Building and issue of Oromo in the Pre 1991 Ethiopia | 54 |
| 3.4.1 Nation-State Building Processes and Addis Ababa in the Pre-1991 Ethiopia..... | 54 |
| 3.4.2 Nation-State Building and Cultural Identity of Oromo in the Pre 1991 Ethiopia | 56 |
| 3.5 [Multi] nation and State Building and the Cultural Identity of Oromo in the Post 1991 Ethiopia | 65 |
| 3.6 Place of Addis Ababa in the Federal System of Ethiopia..... | 70 |
| 3.6.1 The “Special Interest” of Oromia in Addis Ababa | 72 |
| 3.7 Conclusion | 75 |
| CHAPTER FOUR..... | 76 |
| 4. Rapid Urbanization of Addis Ababa and its Impacts on the Oromo Culture under the Federal System of Ethiopia..... | 76 |
| 4.1 Introduction..... | 76 |
| 4.2 Characteristics and Background of the Research Participants..... | 76 |
| 4.3 Urbanization of Addis Ababa City and the Oromo Culture | 78 |
| 4.4 Federalism, Oromo Culture and Urbanization of Addis Ababa City..... | 83 |
| 4.5 Institutional Mechanisms and Measures taken to Develop Oromo Culture in Addis Ababa /Finfinnee | 87 |
| 4.5.1 Oromia National Regional State | 87 |
| 4.5.2 Addis Ababa City Administration | 90 |
| 4.5.3 Non-governmental, Civil Societies and Private Organizations | 91 |
| 4.6 Naming of the City and its Implications on the Oromo Culture..... | 95 |
| 4.6.1 Change of ‘Finfinnee’ into ‘Addis Ababa’ and its Implication on Oromo Culture in the pre-1991 | 95 |

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 4.6.2 Naming the City in the Post 1991 Federal Ethiopia | 97 |
| 4.7 Challenges of Promoting and Developing Oromo Culture in Finfinnee and its Surrounding | 101 |
| 4.7.1 Challenges of Federal Institutional Design | 101 |
| 4.7.2 Public Policy Related | 102 |
| 4.7.3 Political Practices/Implementation | 103 |
| 4.8 Conclusion | 104 |
| CHAPTER FIVE | 106 |
| 5. Summary of Findings, Conclusion and Recommendation | 106 |
| 5.1 Summary of Findings..... | 106 |
| 5.2 Conclusion | 107 |
| 5.3 Recommendations..... | 108 |
| References..... | 111 |
| Appendix I | 123 |
| Appendix II..... | 127 |
| Appendix III..... | 129 |

List of Figure and Tables

| Figure/Tables | Page |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Figure 1: Conceptual Diagram of the Study | 37 |
| Table 1: Characteristics of Participants by Sex, Language and Ethnic Identity..... | 77 |
| Table 2: Respondents opinion on whether urbanization of Addis Ababa positively influences the culture of the Oromo in Addis Ababa city and its surrounding..... | 80 |
| Table 3: The respondents opinion on to what extent do they manifest their culture in the city...80 | |
| Table 4: Respondents opinion on whether they attended any cultural ceremony or festival in the city of Addis Ababa and its vicinity..... | 82 |
| Table 5: Respondents opinion on whether federalism has been promoting multiculturalism in Addis Ababa city..... | 84 |
| Table 6: Respondents opinion on whether they encountered a sense of cultural inclusion in the city..... | 86 |
| Table 7: Respondents opinion on whether the Oromia National Regional State is effective in retaining the culture of Oromo people in and around Addis Ababa..... | 88 |
| Table 8: Respondents opinion on whether the government policies have positive effect on the culture of Oromo people in the city and its vicinity..... | 92 |
| Table 9: Respondents opinion on whether EPRDF/OPDO/ODP government took appropriate measures to promote Oromo culture in the city..... | 93 |
| Table 10: Oromo names of places in and around Finfinnee..... | 97 |

Acronyms

| | |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| AAIMP | Addis Ababa Integrated Master Plan |
| AD | Anno Domini |
| CDE | Centre for Development and Enterprise |
| COC | Center of Oromo Culture |
| EPRDF | Ethiopian Peoples Republic Democratic Front |
| EU | European Union |
| FDRE | Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia |
| IACC | Inclusive African Cities Conference |
| IGR | Intergovernmental Relations |
| IOS | Institute of Oromo Studies |
| MTA | Mecha and Tulama Association |
| NATO | North Atlantic Treaty Organization |
| OECD | Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development |
| OLF | Oromo Liberation Front |
| ONRS | Oromia National Regional State |
| OPDO | Oromo People's Democratic Organization |
| PCC | Population Census Commission |
| SABC | South African Broadcasting Corporation |
| Sida | Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency |
| TGE | Transitional Government of Ethiopia |

| | |
|--------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| TPLF | Tigray Peoples Liberation Front |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization |
| US | United States |
| WEF | World Economic Forum |

Abstract

The aim of this study is to assess how the rapid urbanization of Addis Ababa affects the culture of Oromo in the Ethiopian federation with particular reference to Addis Ababa and its surrounding. It specifically examines the contribution of federalism for the recognition and development of Oromo culture in and around Addis Ababa. The Thesis not only investigates the role of Oromia National Regional State (ONRS) in retaining Oromo culture but also identifies the challenges of promoting the Oromo Culture in and around Addis Ababa. In order to achieve these objectives, the study mainly relied on qualitative research approach to analyze the data obtained through key informant interview, while those obtained through questionnaire were analyzed through simple statistics. Different primary data collection instruments, including key informant interview and questionnaire were used to obtain primary data sources. It has also utilized different secondary sources including Books, journal Articles and published and non-published sources. The ONRS has tried to revive the Oromo culture in the city through opening Afan Oromo schools, revitalizing Gada system and conducting studies if an efforts made by the ONRS to preserve and to promote Oromo culture in the city are not adequate. The study found out that, at present, there are several undermining factors of Oromo culture including politicization of Oromo culture including identity, language, religion and social organization. The Addis Ababa city administration and the federal government are not concerning and giving credit as much as for the efforts of ONRS. The rapid pace of urbanization of Addis Ababa has been in contradiction with the Oromo culture (including identity, language, and religion/Waaqeffannaa in the city as well as with the interest of the surrounding Oromo inhabitants who also want to use, manifest and maintain its culture stuffs, under the current federal system. In contrast to the federal state set up that give equal recognition to diversified cultures and tradition, the centralized political practice, not cooperation of Addis Ababa city administration and federal government are among the challenges to recognize Oromo culture in the Addis Ababa/Finfinnee city. It is, therefore, an argument of this thesis that a multicultural city of Addis Ababa/Finfinnee can be created when the culture of diversified groups including Oromo culture are recognized, freely manifested and treated equally in the city without favoring a certain group culture.

Key words: Federalism, Urbanization, Culture, Addis Ababa, Oromo

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

Urbanization refers to a growth in the proportion of a population living in urban areas and the further physical expansion of already existing urban centers (Leulseged, 2015:1). The UN defines urbanization as the course of shift in population from a rural to urban civilization (Mefekir, 2017:1). According to Tsegaye (2010:2) “A population that is urban is one in which vast numbers of people are clustered together in very small areas called towns and cities, and urbanization is a process of population concentration”.

Currently, more than 54 percent of the world’s inhabitants are living in urban regions. Africa is the least urbanized continent with 43 percent of its inhabitants living in the urban regions (Berhanu, et al. 2019). Urbanization in Ethiopia dates back to the 1st Century AD, during the state of Aksum. Then after, in the mid-11th century the Zagwe Dynasty built Lalibela and eventually urban center flourished in Gondar. The urban centers before the 19th century was related to the rise of political capitals as these towns were also served as centers of commerce, administration and culture other than many cities and towns in Ethiopia before the foundation of Addis Ababa (Habitat, 1996:3).

Urbanization in the periods before the 19th century was very limited, largely as a result of the frequent transfer of the military headquarters by the kings and feudal nobilities and their effects were also not visible. The 19th century, the Menelik’s period witnessed the establishment of a number of a new settlement and following problems such like forced eviction, by far the most important being Addis Ababa (Habitat, 1996:3)

Addis Ababa was founded as the center of power during the reign of Menelik II towards the end of the 19th century (Shimelis 2013; Asrat, 2019). Shimelis (2013:168) notes that “in November 1886, a settlement began on the plains south of Entoto, the seat of the Shewan kingdom of Menelik since 1881. This new site, around the hot springs of Finfinnee, heralded the beginning

of Addis Ababa, which was to become Ethiopia's capital". He sees the foundation of Addis Ababa in two perspectives: first, as a continuation from Ethiopia's historical urban past, particularly from Aksum and Gondar; and second as it marked a departure- the city was to evolve as the birthplace of the modern Ethiopian state and the center of most national processes.

Prior to the naming of the place as 'Addis Ababa', the rolling plain of the area was called Finfinnee by the Oromo inhabitants of this place at the time. This place was well known for its fertile farm land and dense forests with the streams and sloping terrain (Emile, 1987; cited in Dandena, 2008:30). The settlement pattern practiced in the city was scrambling the occupied land to the feudal chiefs, and military base of the king following the military hierarchy (Tamirat, 2016:309).

Shimelis has rightly put the inextricable linkage between the modern Ethiopian nation-state building project and the city of Addis Ababa. In this perspective, he notes that Emperor Menelik II (1889–1913) laid the foundation for the modern Ethiopian state, and Emperor Haile Selassie I (1930–1974) represented the culmination, if not consummation, of its "nationalization" and modernization. And for him, Addis Ababa was both the text and the context for the process. It was evolving as the biggest urban space and the site of the most unprecedented social and spatial change in the country. The capital was the place for the making of the nation and the attainment of certain attributes of modernity that were considered the basis of a strong nation and society; such like clean neighborhoods, healthy citizenry, organized and ordered community, and economy (Shimelis 2013:172).

This process of nation-state building project in Addis Ababa, however, did barely include the Oromo inhabitants. It is for this reason that Getahun (2002:116) states: "whatever innovation was achieved in Addis Ababa was geared to benefit the occupiers rather than the original inhabitants. The Oromo were excluded from integration into the urban economic, social, and politico-cultural developments in the city". Thereby, Oromo's were lowered and consequently lacked the power to develop within structures and to make a plan for a national project of modernization.

Different Oromo clans inhabited on the Finfinnee land had their own Gada governance system and leaders, their own beliefs, language and other cultural traditions, before the foundation of Addis Ababa/Finfinnee as a capital seat (Abera, 2019:35). The Oromo culture could not able to

continue to reveal on Addis Ababa/Finfinnee after the occupying of their land by Abyssinians and their leaders. Gonfa (2018:2) states that the conquered peoples spoke dozens of languages and exercise different cultural practices before Menelik's reign, and with the coming of Menelik II; the government policy aimed to transform this heterogeneous group into a homogeneous Ethiopian nation. Among the Abyssinians culture, the Amhara culture and language were strongly propagated, while others languages and cultures were degraded.

These the process of prevailing of one's group culture in the country and also over Addis Ababa and the surround goes with the theory of Berray (2019:144) the Melting Pot theory were the identity and influence of the dominant ethnic group prevails regardless of the transformation resulting from the assimilation and cultural morphology. The Salad Bowl theory that retains the individuality and independence of ethnic groups, and permits their existence side-by-side dominant culture(s) and thereby removes the pressure to create homogenous identity not applied.

From its early foundation, Addis Ababa was established and imagined as a capital city for the strong unitary government that could not give recognition to cultural diversity and equality. With the radical shift of state building project in 1991 and adoption of federalism as a form of multinational state approach, "through a process of devolution of powers and functions to local government, Addis Ababa city have been elevated to a similar level of authority as the nine Ethiopian states, with powers over service delivery, housing and job creation" (Habitat, 2014:56).

The transitional government (later on EPRDF), established in 1991 has pursued a relatively centralized state-led development model, with restrictions on foreign investment and complete state ownership of the land. In 1999 a policy reforms and initiatives made to give greater priority to addressing the challenges and opportunities of urbanization. The first stage was to modernize their outdated planning and land legislation and create an enabling environment for more coherent urban development. The second priority was to strengthen the technical capacity of local, state and national government officials to plan and manage urbanization (UN-Habitat, 2014:56).

The main objective of this study is, therefore, to find out whether the adoption of federalism brought a new effects for Addis Ababa/Finfinnee in recognizing multiculturalism in the city and

the surrounding and to what extent the coherent called development followed and approved. This study evaluates whether Addis Ababa/Finfinnee city is inclusive of the Oromo culture as it expands towards the Oromo land and the capital for the Oromia National Regional State and shares historical events with Oromo peoples and thereby analyze to what extent the Oromo culture advanced with the development of the city; by taking, the recently included/added and automatically developed and changed their form sub-cities of Yeka and Akaki Kality on the side of Addis Ababa and Burayu Woreda from surrounding as Burayu maintained and manifest Oromo culture other than areas in and around the city.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Ethiopia adopted federal system that accommodates diversity and gives equal chance for the development and advancement of different culture and norms of the people in 1991, after the experience of unitary system in the past history of the country. “The federal system is the governance system which acknowledges and promotes the culture, norms and values of the society” (Habib, 2018:4). Exercising federalism means “accommodating, preserving and promoting distinct identities within a larger political union”, as it depends on the supposed value and validity of linking unity and diversity (Habib, 2018:12).

Adoption of federalism in its nature is to bring equality, particularly of Ethiopia is to correct the past injustice as stated in the Preamble of the constitution itself. In this line, (Alemante, 2003:54) argues that:

The Ethiopian Constitution provides for ethnic-federal government as the principal institutional means for accommodating ethnic groups' cultural, linguistic, and political claims. To accomplish this purpose, the constitution has divided the country into nine ethnic-based federal states. The animating idea behind ethnic federalism thus seems to be the desire to foster and nurture the emergence of ethnic-national groups as distinct political, geographical, cultural, and linguistic units.

The EPRDF government declared that the culture and language of all nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia have equal recognition. The 1995 FDRE constitution Article 39(2) states that: “Every Nation, Nationality and People in Ethiopia has the right to speak, to write and to

develop its own language; to express, to develop and to promote its culture; and to preserve its history” (1995 FDRE Constitution).

The 1995 FDRE constitution Article 41(9) also impose responsibility on states as: “The State has the responsibility to protect and preserve historical and cultural legacies and to contribute to the promotion of the arts and sports”.

However, in this respect, the Oromia National Regional State (ONRS) does not seem to protect and preserve and thereby contribute to the development of Oromo peoples’ culture in Addis Ababa/Finfinnee. Despite having its seat in the city, ONRS appears as the guest rather than as a host in promoting the Oromo cultural interests.

On the contrary, Alemseged (2004:604) argues that with the demise of the Derg and the accession of the TPLF-dominated EPRDF to power, Ethiopia's political course changed. And for him “the Oromo cultural grievances were genuinely accommodated as Afan Oromo became an academic and administrative language; the Oromo elite have elected to drop the Geez script in favor of the Latin alphabet, and they can now freely enjoy their distinct identity”. However, the argument of Alemseged does not concern the issue of Oromo’s in Addis Ababa/Finfinnee.

The EPRDF government planned “subsequent urban development strategies in the social, economic, as well as governance structure and processes demonstrate the expressed commitment of the city government to transform Addis Ababa/Finfinnee as a hub of innovation, economic production, and as a culturally diverse and environmentally sustainable capital city” (Habitat, 2017:91). However, Addis Ababa’s/Finfinnee’s dominant image has not changed significantly, even under Ethiopia’s post-imperial regimes, despite the rhetoric of representing a rupture with the past or restructuring the political-economy of the country (Shimelis, 2019: 184).

Urban areas are grounds for the collection of diverse population, culture, beliefs and values and they are probable centers for the emergence of plurality of cultures. Urbanization bears a strong force that immensely affects the socio-cultural components of nations (Adaku, 2017:9). Compared to the political realm, the cultural accommodation appears to have been well taken in the federal system of Ethiopia (Alemseged, 2004:604). Nonetheless, the case of Oromo culture in and around the city of Addis Ababa/Finfinnee tends to contradict the cultural record of federalism in Ethiopia. Even though the 1995 FDRE Constitution stipulate equal recognition and the right to protect and

promote their cultures, in Oromia mainly in multiethnic towns there is ‘shadow’ of the previous marginalization which indicates that the cultural policies have limitation in implementing the Oromo culture as Addis Ababa/Finfinnee is the most exposed to this case.

The issue of the urbanization of Addis Ababa/Finfinnee and its impact on the Oromo land has been studied extensively from the historical, legal, sociological and political science angles. Shimelis (2013:169) studied “the exploitation of the peasantry, the loss of the south their lands through the campaigns of the nineteenth century”. Charles (1990:2) also recorded that “Addis Ababa/Finfinnee, founded a century ago, has exerted influence over its periphery like no other Ethiopian town before it. From a straggling, disjunctive village in the 1880s, Addis Ababa/Finfinnee developed into one of the largest urban centers in Africa”. He argues that modern firearms permitted the subjugation of areas never before subject to the Abyssinian monarch. What all these scholars studied were more on the loss of physical land, but the cultural impact of such process of urbanization of Addis Ababa/Finfinnee on the culture of the Oromo has hardly been studied. This study, therefore, aims to study the effects of the urbanization of Addis Ababa/Finfinnee on the Oromo culture in and around the city and whether the inception of federal state set up brought new thing for the Oromo’s in and around the city.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General Objective

The overall aim of this study is to examine how the urbanization of Addis Ababa affects the Oromo culture in Ethiopian federation.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

- ✓ To examine the contribution of federalism for the recognition and promotion of Oromo culture in and around Addis Ababa/Finfinnee;
- ✓ To assess the role of Oromia National Regional State in retaining the culture of Oromo people in and around Addis Ababa/Finfinnee;
- ✓ To examine the efforts of Addis Ababa/Finfinnee city administration for promoting Oromo culture in the city;
- ✓ To identify the challenges of maintaining the culture of Oromo people in and around Addis Ababa/Finfinnee; and

- ✓ To forward alternative solutions for improving the status of Oromo culture in the context of rapid urbanization and federal political order of Ethiopia.

1.4 Research Questions

1.4.1 Main Research Question

1. How does urbanization of Addis Ababa/Finfinnee impact the culture of the Oromo people in and around the city in the Ethiopian federal setting?

1.4.2 Sub-Research Questions

1. What are the contributions of the federal system of Ethiopia for the recognition and promotion of Oromo culture in and around Addis Ababa/Finfinnee?
2. What is the role of Oromia National Regional State in retaining the culture of Oromo people in and around Addis Ababa/Finfinnee?
3. What are the efforts made by the Addis Ababa/Finfinnee city administration for promoting Oromo culture in the city?
4. What are the challenges of maintaining the culture of Oromo people in and around Addis Ababa/Finfinnee?
5. What are the possible ways for improving the status of Oromo culture in the city of Addis Ababa/Finfinnee?

1.5 Methodology of the Study

1.5.1 Research Design

This study is a descriptive case study research. The study aims at providing “thick description” of the subject under inquiry. This research design has also permitted for involvement of the purposely selected and pertinent research participants, and for the inclusion of their stories in their own words about the effects of the urbanization of Addis Ababa on the Oromo culture.

Case study design, in qualitative research, helps to explore processes, activities, and events. It therefore enables the researcher to conduct an in-depth analysis of the research problem at hand by using different data gathering instruments. For investigating the nature, process, challenges and impacts of urbanization on the Oromo culture in and around Addis Ababa, the study focuses

on the case of Yeka and Akaki Kality sub cities of Addis Ababa and Burayyu from the surrounding of Finfinnee.

1.5.2 Data Sources

The researcher used both primary and secondary data sources to gather necessary data and thereby conduct this study. The primary data were collected through questionnaire and interview. Questionnaire was employed to collect data from residents. Both close and open ended questions were prepared and distributed to the respondents. Personal Interview was also conducted with well-informed key informants. The secondary data sources were collected from books, journals, articles, official reports and internet.

1.5.3 Data Collection Instruments and Procedures

1.5.3.1 Data Collection Instruments

Questionnaire: The researcher has prepared open ended and close ended questions to collect primary data successfully. The questionnaires were directed to the study group that selected through purposive sampling technique from the residents of the areas to collect the data easily at one time and needed information as the respondents are free. As a result, the researcher collected the data from eighty five (85) residents of Yeka and Akaki Kality sub-cities by self-administered questionnaire to clarify the questions needs clarification and thereby get necessary data.

Interview: Both structured and semi-structured interviews were used seek primary data from different informants who work at different capacities, to ask questions those target bodies' the different related issues with face to face interview to get detailed and relevant narrative data from the Oromo people live in Yeka and Akaki Kality sub cities and Burayyu. The interviews were directed to the purposively selected twenty five (25) officials, experts and residents from the Yeka and Akaki Kality sub cities. Besides, the researcher interviewed three (3) informants from Addis Ababa city cultural and tourism Bureau, three (3) informants from Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau and experts from Center of Oromo Culture, three (3) from Burayyu woreda Culture and Tourism Bureau officials, four (4) Oromo's and ten (10) non-Oromo residents from Yeka and Akaki Kality sub cities, and two (2) from Burayyu *Abbaa Gadaa's*.

1.5.3.2 Sampling Techniques and Procedures

The researcher has used purposive and snowball sampling methods to get narrative information about the effects of expansion of Addis Ababa city on the Oromo culture from concerned residents of Yeka and Akaki Kality sub cities. The researcher used this technique based upon the variety of criteria that include experience, responsibilities and level of knowledge of the respondents to provide the researcher with relevant information with regard to the subject under study. Likewise, for the case of Burayyu city Administration, the key informants from the city's culture and tourism office including *Abbaa Gadaa's* were purposively selected.

From the total of ten (10) sub-cities two sub cities, Yeka and Akaki Kality selected. As the study conduct on the two sub-cities of Addis Ababa the residence of Oromo's in Yeka sub-city (64,051) and Akaki Kality sub-city (66,549) in total (130,600) are target population. Therefore, the sample size for the study selected based on based Yamane's (1969) sample determination formula as follows:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where

n= sample size

N= Total population

e= level of precision which chosen by the researcher which is put 0.1

1=constant

✓ Therefore, $n = \frac{130,600}{1 + 130,600(0.1)^2} = 99.92 \Rightarrow 100$ respondents were selected

within two sub-cities.

Among one hundred (100) eligible informants selected purposively, the researcher prepared questionnaire for eighty five (85) respondents and the left fifteen (15) were included to interviewees to conduct this study. Additionally, the researcher interviewed five (5) informants from Burayyu city administration.

1.5.4 Data Analysis

The data gathered are analyzed by using both of qualitative and quantitative techniques. Mainly the study employed the qualitative technique because of the nature and objectives of this study mainly seek this research approach. Thereby, by analyzing and interpreting the collected data the researcher sorted out the information or the raw data into the category they belong and gave meanings to those data based on the approach of qualitative research technique. Thus, the qualitative data that were generated from both primary and secondary sources through interviews and document analysis were analyzed through careful interpretation of meanings and contents by organizing and summarizing in accordance with the thematic issues under investigation. Additionally, the researcher used quantitative technique to analyze the data generated through questionnaire where the findings were presented in the form of tables and pie charts. The case study in obtaining information for this research preferred due to its ability to provide depth insight in the unit of the studies. The effect of urbanization on Oromo culture investigated on the two sub-cities (yeka and Akaki Kality) as a notch of the unit of analysis assumed high on these sub-cities and Burayyu on the contrary.

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study has the following significances: the theoretical understanding on the relationship between Addis Ababa and Oromo people in cultural context. It might also initiate further study on the issues with the cultural effects in the urbanization of the city. In practical sense, it can provide the needed information both in political and policy decision making processes for concerned body in the area. It may be serve as secondary source for others who are interested to conduct research on the study area, to provide a lot of information about the urbanization and its cultural effects with the surrounding environment. In addition, the findings of the study will provide additional inputs to recognize and include the cultural development and advancement as one aspect of development in the urbanization process of Addis Ababa.

1.7 Delimitation of the Study

Even though the study focused on the Addis Ababa and the surrounding part of Oromia region, it was difficult to conduct the study by exploring the all rounded and inclusive of the peoples of all parts of Addis Ababa and the surrounding Oromia areas. Therefore, to achieve the objective of the study, the research was conducted by taking yeka and Akaki Kality sub-cities from Addis

Ababa and Burayu from the Surrounding side. The study mainly focuses on the Oromo side of the story of the impact of urbanization on the Oromo culture, but also the researcher tried to include the views of non-Oromo in this concern. Conceptually, this thesis delimited to examining the cultural impacts of the expansion of the city on selected areas.

1.8 Limitation of the Study

This thesis is not without limitations. It was not easy to get adequate information from the population and the concerned government officials. Particularly, on the side of Addis Ababa and due to the scattered settlement of the Oromo's in the city, it was difficult to find out research participants. Some informants were also reluctant to participate due to fear of probable consequences such as demotion or related politicization of the issue, lack of reach research skill on the part of the researcher, lack of adequate fund to undertake comprehensive study, and the happening of COVID19 pandemic disease on the research process and in finding out the data. The other thing is lack of written history and researches on the effect of nation building project of Ethiopian empire on Oromo culture by the Abyssinian writers enforced the researcher to focus on the Oromo side trajectories, if the researcher tried a lot to balance the existing perspectives.

1.9 Ethical Consideration

This research is undertaken by taking major research ethical rules into account. Accordingly, on the data collection process; first, the researcher asked the respondents consent and willingness to participate in the study, while at the same time ensure the confidentiality of the information gathered will not be given to third party without their consent. The researcher has also presented the questions in clear and in the language the respondents understand. Moreover, all information's that were taken from the existing studies were fully acknowledged and appropriately cited. In addition, the researcher focus on the ideas that believed objective and avoided unnecessary terms used by the respondents to reflect the current and past coincidences on Oromo culture, to not to harm the others feeling in conducting this study.

1.10 Organization of the Study

This thesis is organized into five chapters. The first chapter is an introduction of the study. The second chapter dwells on the review of the related literature. This chapter has enabled the

researcher to set conceptual, theoretical and empirical frameworks of the study. The third chapter laid down the historical trajectory of urbanization, nation building and cultural factors in Ethiopia in general and Addis Ababa in particular. The fourth chapter deals with data presentation, analysis and interpretation. The last chapter provides the summary of the key findings, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Review of the Related Literature

2.1 Introduction

This chapter dwells on the examination of different theoretical perspectives on urbanization and culture mainly in the context of federal state set up and multinational cities/urban areas. In the first part, the researcher has attempted to provide definitions on the basic concepts of urbanization and culture. Then, the researcher has tried to look different theories of culture and the experience of mature and young federations reviewed. And also attempted to look how urban areas can be cultural inclusive space in federal contexts.

2.2 Concept and Definition

2.2.1 Urbanization

Urbanization is the increase in the proportion of people living in towns and cities and it occurs because people move from rural areas to urban areas. This usually occurs when a country is still developing. Thereby, Urbanization results in Social & cultural integration (Vimala, 2019:1). Likewise, Mefekir stated the UN argument of urbanization as ‘urbanization is the course of shift in population from a rural to urban civilization. Because of net rural to urban migration predominant numerically expressed urbanization denotes the increases in the share of the population that resides in urban areas’ (Devis, 1972; cited in Mefekir, 2017:2).

Urbanization is a force and inevitable demographic movement and this process should not certainly be neglected as it leads to the growth of cities due to industrialization and economic development, and that leads to urban-specific changes in specialization, labor division and human behaviors (Noreen, 2012:911). Most urbanization is the result of net rural to urban migration, according to Davis and Henderson (2003:99) urbanization can also occurs as countries shift from rural-agricultural activity into urban industrial activity.

According to Tombari (2019:32) urbanization can also result from natural increase (the excess of births over deaths) especially where this population increase take place in urban areas as advance

technology and developmental projects are present there, besides the very dominant concept of urbanization that concentrates the steady increase in the number of people living in cities or urban centers that results from the continuous mass movement of people from the villages or rural settlements to cities or urban areas.

Urban centers offers huge potential for the development of the country and well-managed cities contributes to reduce poverty through economic diversification and innovations, growing markets and the potential for urban rural linkages (Maria et al., 2014:1). In this regard Andrea (2015:11) concludes that “Urbanization is a world-wide phenomenon. It is a process of relative growth in a country’s urban population accompanied by an even faster increase in the economic, political, and cultural importance of cities relative to rural areas”.

Having of the collection of different peoples and individuals’ of urban areas benefits the cities, the society of the city and the country “the city is one of the highest pinnacles of human creation through agglomeration, cities have the power to innovate, generate wealth, enhance quality of life and accommodate more people within a smaller footprint at lower per capita resource use and emissions than any other settlement pattern” (Blake and Swilling, 2012; cited in Turok and Granahan, 2013:466).

Density is needed for economic prosperity and urban growth is a necessary condition for accelerated growth and shared prosperity (Maria et al., 2014:1). Paul and Emily (2010) also studied that economic transformation can be achieved following urbanization. In this line, Paul and James (2013:113) argue that “rapid urbanization is an important characteristic of African development and yet the structural transformation debate focuses on agriculture’s relative merits without also considering the benefits from urban collection”.

Akguner in his research Cyprus case study stated the importance of multiculturalism as that the concept of social connectedness is critical to ensure the functioning of a secure and multicultural city or urban. Both local efforts and global perceptions are pivotal for successful and sustainable urban spaces. The necessity of local grassroots efforts to form or re-build and re-create shared spaces with a focus on urban areas and the importance of globally focused combined efforts within urban areas are both pivotal to further forge social connectedness (Akguner, 2017:13).

Cities are where cultural diversity is respected and promoted as a foundation for the stability and sustainability of urban societies. Scott (2000:19) argues the representation or figure of Capital cities more than others cities as:

Capital cities serve complex symbolic functions. They make the large nation-state more readily accessible by translating the vast state structure that lies beyond immediate human comprehension into the more tangible community-scale of the capital city. Though capitals may not be typical of the average city in the nation, they do serve as a link between the nation-state as an abstraction and the local experiences of the nation's citizens. Capital cities arise as the replacement for the lost city-state community. And for the actual residents of the capital city, this role creates particularly complex identities; capital city dwellers are most acutely reminded of their "dual citizenship" to both city and nation.

Federal arrangements are deemed the most appropriate when there is diversity pertaining to cultural, ideological, racial, religious, and linguistic predispositions, as they may be more difficult to manage institutionally, when these are concentrated territorially, federal state structure (Moreno and Colino, 2010:3). Which means federal system best serves the diversified nature of urban areas and thereby makes it conducive for all to survive in.

Federation took different measures in recognizing diversity in their urban; in matured federation of Canada and Switzerland, federalism enabled introductions of the institutional infrastructure for urban governance to remain confined to the most urban jurisdictions. By doing so, more limited urbanization produced fewer national conflicts over urban problems, and more limited national institutional infrastructures (Sellers, 2019:9).

The rate of urbanization that has been highest in Africa has brought about a mixture of opportunities and challenges. On the one hand cities are seen as great places of socioeconomic opportunity and it makes it easier for governments to reach a lot of people concentrated in one area with services and on the other hand African cities are currently marked by high levels of inequality, low levels of infrastructure development, slow service delivery and declining job opportunities (IACC, 2007:2). So that the natural phenomena of urbanization characterized by bringing diverse groups of people together, making it difficult to manage differing interests and

expectations in Africa as the countries of the continent lack capability on how to react to diversity.

2.2.2 Culture

“Culture is a very difficult term to define. In 1952, the American anthropologists, Kroeber and Kluckhohn, critically reviewed concepts and definitions of culture, and compiled so many lists of different definitions” (Spenser, 2012; cited in Gonfa, 2018:12). Then after the definition of culture has become much broader since 1982 World Conference in Mexico City on Cultural Policies, encompassing the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group (Ibid).

Although culture is a difficult concept to provide one definition to which everybody agrees. Broadly, Culture is defined as the totality of a society’s distinctive ideas, beliefs, values, and knowledge. It exhibits the ways humans interpret their environments (Serrat, 2010:1). It is the complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, arts, morals, laws, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. Spenser notes that as all folks “have” culture, which they acquire by virtue of membership in some social group or society (Tyler 1970; cited by Spenser, 2012:1).

Even though, defining the term culture is difficult, Culture is as old as human kind according to experts, but is constantly changing; particularly, how to relate to our ancestral roots in an urbanized world is difficult and that is why one cannot easily determine where do he/she comes from and how does that change in a modern context (SABC, 2019:1). In very simple terms, we can say that culture is the embodiment of the way in which we think and do things. But Culture is argued as a way of life- the food we eat, the clothes we wear, the language we speak in and the God we worship all are aspects of culture. All the achievements of human beings (Art, music, literature, architecture, sculpture, philosophy, religion and science) as members of social groups can be seen as aspects of culture and can be called culture (Module I, 2019:1).

Some scholars (Indria, 2015 and Prato, 2009) define culture as the ways people agree to be. Over periods of time groups of people reach agreements about how they will see the world, behave, interact with each other, judge each other, and organize themselves how they will exist. The anthropological view of culture largely contains the characteristics shared by all members of the

cultural group, including morals, custom, law, arts, belief, knowledge and religion (Prato, 2009; cited in Gonfa, 2018:12). According to Indria (2015:405) culture is made up of traditions, beliefs, and way of life, from the most spiritual to the most material. It gives us meaning, a way of leading our lives. Human beings are creators of culture and, at the same time, culture is what makes us human. And it concluded as without culture, there would be no humans.

All the products of human thought and action both material and non-material, particularly those that exist because we live in groups are considered as culture of the respective society. It defined in OECD (2018:13) as many cultural forms are properly understood only within the context of a given country or civilization, though they are acknowledged and appreciated by a larger human constituency, if not others scholars do not agree on the relating culture with civilization. Even though culture is the expression of a certain group or a certain society identify one' self from others by its own culture, we are not born with culture, rather we are born into culture, we learn it by living in human social groups and culture is something that is transmitted from one generation to the next and this is how we become 'enculturated' (Rebus, 2019:1).

In this line, if where the borders lie between human nature and culture, and between culture and personality, is a matter of discussion among social scientists; for Spenser (2012:6) Culture is learned, not inherited. It derives from one's social environment, not from one's genes. Culture should be distinguished from human nature on one side, and from an individual's personality on the other, although exactly.

The different cultures, identities, history and heritages that characterize the society in urban areas are called diversity. People form the core of cities and cities need to be designed for all citizens and not just for the elite, for the tourists, or for the investors. People should be regarded as the key city asset and not as a demographic or social problem (Hahn, 2011:34).

In the current world the system that treats and serve different cultures by giving equal recognition and respect rather than creating the status of superiority and inferiority among culture introduced and practice in the countries of the world, particularly those of the federal states that is "multiculturalism". As Grishaeva (2012:916) stated "It is currently one of the most articulated concepts within social theories and practice, as the term "multiculturalism" as well as its multiple derivatives such as "multicultural society", "policy of multiculturalism" came into

academic glossary in 1960-s in Canada, nowadays many countries adapt and use it for their cultural diversity and it is part of academic programme.

2.3 Theoretical Framework of the Study

This study attempts to provide a foundational understanding of the presence of multiculturalism in the federal state cities through an evidence-based approach. The rationale for the analysis adopted revolves around the need to improve cultural diversity in multinational cities that encompasses the value of different groups in urban areas of the countries.

We have two theories that the culture exposed to; the ‘Melting Pot Model’ or Cultural Assimilation, one that applied in the past experiences of the countries of the world and it cannot be succeed to assimilate different cultures into one as it aimed so. And following the disappointment of cultural assimilation, ‘Salad Bowl Model’ that accommodates cultural diversity started to apply in different countries of the world. This is also not an easy task to apply an accommodation of cultural diversity as intended to and different countries tried to show the culture of specified group as a culture of the nation. And also in their capital cities that have to represent different cultures inclusively, the culture of specified group dominantly demonstrates.

2.3.1 Melting Pot Model- Cultural Assimilation Theory

Defining the concept of ‘Melting Pot’ was/is not the same over the different periods of time. As its early articulations it was the issue of immigrants and used to determine the issue of their difference that depend on their mixture of blood whether found in other country and immigrant individuals melt to a new race of another in America from either European, or the descendent of an European. The concept of the melting pot was later expanded to include people from different races and backgrounds as it became one of the cornerstones of assimilation theory and melting pot offers an idealistic vision of the American society and identity that offers the possibility of bringing people from diverse ethnic, religious, political and economic backgrounds together in a single American nationality (Vesselinov and Cazessus, 2008:1).

For Gloor (2019:29) the melting pot is cultural assimilation as it revolves around the analogy of “the ingredients in the pot or people of different culture and religions are combined so as to lose their discrete identities and yield a final product of uniform consistency and flavor, which is quite different from the original inputs (melting pot).

Assimilation process that occurred along a clearly defined hierarchy along ethnic and racial lines, and the extent to which one needed to 'melt' in the pot was a direct function of where they fell on social hierarchy. Taylor (2019:3) presents a very powerful challenge to this idea of assimilation that is perhaps one of the most misunderstood ideas in the American society as a certain 'one-wayness', whereby the foreign element has to conform to the ideal of 'American', which was considered to be a superior way of being, in contrast to the life styles of the ethnic foreigner seeking to become part of the American society. And these goes with the argument of Gloor (2019:29) the aim of melting pot that of all culture become reflected in one common culture, usually the culture of the dominant group.

Throughout the 19th century, the idea of America as a unique site for cultural assimilation continued to be echoed by presidents and poets alike as new waves of immigrants sought American citizenship that applied to European immigrants, and even “the black and yellow races” into a universal American culture. As once established, the icon of the melting pot served to legitimize American ideologies of equal opportunity and independence from European nations, as immigrants could recast themselves as Americans by learning English and adapting to American norms. So that in Melting Pot it believed new immigrant groups adopted an accommodating stance to the host culture and it argued over generations, these cultural compromises gradually led to conformity of language, opinion, and belief (Steinberg, 1981:7).

Later on this idea of assimilation or melting pot started to apply in Western Europe also following the too, large-scale immigration. Western Europe is one of assimilation—the gradual erosion of ethnic, racial, religious, and other differences as determinants of life chances for immigrants and their children. Specifically, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, Spain, and Belgium are well known by the assimilation (Drouhot and Nee, 2019:2).

The idea of the melting pot is interpreted as a precursor of the assimilationist idea of immigrant incorporation: a complex and multidimensional, yet mostly “straight line” adaptation of immigrants into the American society, even in contemporary accounts of assimilation theory also according to Vesselinov and Cazessus (2008:2). On the other hand immigrant has advantage as they compared with similar natives in terms of aspirations and achievement as well as an

attenuated effect of parental social background and also there exists variation in educational outcomes within groups in Europe (Drouhot and Nee, 2019:10).

Americans applied the melting pot idea into religious aspect also. Melting pot became associated with a nexus of religious values towards which all others were eventually integrated. And in the mid-20th century they realized that the structural societal conditions prevented the existence of one homogeneous melting pot; rather there appeared to be multiple melting pots and groups that did not seem to belong to any particular pot (Vesselinov and Cazessus, 2008:2). As the same as in Europe it was an issue of what constitutes national identity; as well as in 2009-2010 in France, Switzerland, and Belgium, even recently with respect to integration of religious minorities, and wearing a full-face Islamic veil as an affront to the national values (Algan, 2010:4)

In Europe “the politicization of migration, identity and integration issues resulted in the shift towards “assimilative measures” in countries such as the Netherlands, Germany, France, Austria and Belgium” (Lesinska, 2014; cited in Khin, 2019:7). According to Khin (2019:7):

They are more commonly known as “civic integration” policies and show that national governments have imposed more stringent criteria for immigrants to obtain citizenship. They come in the form of mandatory language instruction courses and civic tests. If the specifics of these tests differ from country to country, generally the immigrants required to have some knowledge of the host countries’ cultural norms and social etiquette in addition to national language requirements.

As Algan (2010:4) argues assimilation is a very complex phenomenon and it may be taking place along some, but not all dimensions. For instance, it may happen along language improvement, citizenship acquisition, or employment, but not necessarily religiosity. Its speed also varies greatly depending on the outcome in question. Further, assimilation may also be heterogeneous across destinations, across origin groups, or both. As most of the studies are done on different subsamples of immigrants, in different countries, and often using a different methodology, it is difficult to reach a conclusion on the overall assimilation.

Jacob (2017:9) argues that America’s “Melting Pot” ended up being more like a “salad bowl” instead, with distinct cultures being thrown together in a bowl, not mixing together, just being individual pieces serving as parts of a whole. The way “Melting Pot” applied to America is

meant to represent the way that differing immigrants (usually European) who would have had little to no contact or interaction in the Old World all came together to create a homogenized new culture in the United States.

Berray (2019:144) argues that the coercive assimilation policies of melting pot model induce fear into minorities seeking to preserve their heritage, and threaten to fracture the common ground social framework that holds the inclusive unity of groups, promote discriminatory legislative policies by eliminating programs aimed at helping minorities that melting pot theorists claim to be protecting. That is the case of why Berray criticize the Melting Pot theory due to it ignores existing local contexts that influence the choices and actions of both dominant and minority groups, and the impacts of it on acculturation.

It seems impossible to achieve national unity by applying the Melting Pot at the country level to promote a sense of community and social solidarity as Berray argues. Berray (2019:143) argues his supports of the Melting Pot theory as:

By extension, expands national identity to be inclusive of different ethnicities and the values they bring with them, it removes the singular homogenous identity attached to nation states, i.e., one federal government, a single national flag, defined territory, singular passport, all of which can be extended to mean a single national identity. By doing this the Melting Pot theory redefines this concept and solidifies the idea that national identity can be made up of multiple identities fused together under a single national emblem.

Cities are also not exceptional to this as they are place of policy formation and first and nearly implementing area for that of melting pot. According to Shimelis (2013:172) Cities are both the text and the context for the national processes. Particularly, the capital and/or the major cities were/are the place for the making of the nation and the attainment of certain attributes of modernity that were considered the basis of a strong nation and society; such like clean neighborhoods, healthy citizenry, organized and ordered community, and economy. The issue of assimilation that followed by the countries of the world as their national policy was also the same with this as it first applies in the cities (place of administrative structure).

One sees these complex differences, for example, in the very different material and cultural experience of New York City and Washington. These differences extend far beyond the obvious functional contrast between Wall Street and Capitol Hill to shape different municipal politics, high and low cultures, and the residential neighborhoods (compare Greenwich Village to Georgetown). More than others, Capitals are thus both directly and indirectly different from other cities (Campbell, 2003:4). As he argues more, capital and major cities are usually larger, more subsidized, or more bombastic than the rest of the nation's cities. National governments treat capital cities differently, wanting the capital to look and act differently than other cities in the nation.

2.3.2. Salad Bowl Model- Accommodation of Cultural Diversity

Following to impracticability of the “Melting Pot theory, the new model of cultural treatment started. In case of America, according to Berray (2019:143) Starting in the 1960s, a new vision of American pluralism arose metaphorically similar to the salad bowl. For him this “Salad Bowl model” maintains the unique identities of individuals that would otherwise be lost to assimilation. The Salad Bowl theory acknowledges the discrete identities and cultural differences of a multicultural society. This appreciation for the individual contributions of each ethnic group to society transcends the overarching ascendancy of the dominant culture at the expense of imperceptible minority groups.

For Europe multiculturalism that has arisen due to immigration from other parts of the world is even pertinent to say that it is a state of affairs to be grappled with requires that we look at it in light of integration and other normative challenges. To paint a clearer picture of what has transpired in Europe with regards to multiculturalism (the narrative arc of multiculturalism), it have to be understand within the context of immigration and the integration of these migrants. This is because multiculturalism in Europe is inseparable from migration as a driver of ethnic diversity (Khin, 2019:2).

In contrast to the Melting Pot in the Salad Bowl different groups do not need to leave their prior identity or culture to be in a given area or country, that best serve different groups equally and allow to maintain and develop their culture. That is why Taylor (2019:5) argues as “Multiculturalism celebrates differences, rather than trying to ignore or eliminate them. People have historically been treated differently because of their group membership, and a truly just and

fair approach requires that we acknowledge this fact and then try to push for policies that would ameliorate the effect of such differential treatment for certain groups”.

“Canadian political-philosopher, Will Kymlicka views multicultural movements as part of three successive movements that are centered on the principles of human rights: the struggle for decolonization, the struggle against racial segregation and against discrimination and finally, the struggle for minority rights and multiculturalism” (Khin, 2019:9). For him, multiculturalism is part of the process of increasing “democratic citizenization” based on liberal principles of equality and inclusiveness.

The salad bowl also applies to immigrant groups but as it termed as multiculturalism or cultural pluralism because of it celebrates inter-group differences as a valuable resource and a foundation for cultural strength. Accordingly, multiculturalism strives to be fully inclusive, with all cultures having a reciprocal relationship - a healthy balance of give and take. Therefore, within a truly multicultural society, there is no dominant culture that takes precedence over any other (Chand, 2012:7). Berray (2019:143) also shares this idea; the Salad Bowl retains the individuality and independence of ethnic groups, and permits their existence side-by-side dominant cultures. This removes the pressure to create homogenous identities as in the Melting Pot theory, especially since such homogenous identities are not representative in equal proportion of their constituent identities.

As Berray (2019:144) argues more, the salad bowl metaphor does not only allow for the individuality of ethnic identities it represents, but also paves the way for selective integration between ethnic groups based on their need to integrate in host societies. And this advantage of the Salad Bowl theory holds important application to immigrant communities giving their different propensity to integrate based on their predispositions for specific cultural norms and lifestyles in their host societies for him.

More than others cities have to be cultural accommodative as they are environment preferred by all to live in. In Canada, multiculturalism refers to the presence and persistence of diverse racial and ethnic minorities who define themselves as different and who wish to remain so. The cities of Canada were/ are also not unlike of this. Canada’s largest cities owe their multiculturalism to decades of immigration (Kurtz, 2014:1).

Kurtz (2014:123) stated the existence of the “Official Plan can accommodate cultural differences through various methods, which include a cultural lens, strategic elements, cultural land use elements, a chapter, or a linear thread, or various methods combined” for promoting multiculturalism in Canadian cities. His research demonstrated that “most planners agreed that a cultural lens, or culture as guiding principle, would be a good way to incorporate multicultural planning into the Official Plan. For the most part, planners believed cultural elements should be throughout the document as a linear thread”.

2.4 Empirical Literature of the Study

As the same as the emergence of Melting Pot and Salad Bowl theories, the issue of multiculturalism was/is also directly related to how to deal with immigrants and later on multiculturalism or Cultural diversity has become a central feature of contemporary world or society. Kymlicka (1996:3) in his study that focused on Canadian multiculturalism stated that “Increasing contact among societies as a result of improved communication and transportation has made for population movements and population change. As the same as, increased diversity in Canada is the result of changed patterns of immigration, with many more people of color immigrating to Canada”.

For Belay (2016:28) it is not only in Canada, but also in the Western countries, including, the United States, Western Europe and Australia, multiculturalism has mentioned to policies formed to manage the ethnic and linguistic diversity represented by the native and immigrant inhabitants; and in the non-West countries including in South America, Africa, Asia and Eastern Europe “the term ‘multicultural’ has been used descriptively to refer to societies that are multiethnic” and multiculturalism is a way of various cultures living with respect and understanding of each other without dominating or repressing one another. It is supposed to celebrate cultural ‘variances’ and encourage tolerance and acceptance among different ethnic backgrounds.

Korteweg (2014:4) argues multiculturalism as it is in favor of granting cultural groups formal recognition and special rights in an effort to acknowledge the value of group membership for group members’ self-esteem (via an ethic of recognition) and enhance the standing of minority cultural groups vis-a-vis the majority society through the conferral of minority rights and accommodations.

Akguner (2017:14) studied that on the cities, by improving the physical conditions and safety of neighborhoods, involving residents, and creating or establishing programs that provide opportunities for interaction between residents of all ages, cultures, and socioeconomic classes (bridging social capital), including use community planning and design elements that encourage active living, creating opportunities for greater interactions between residents. Likewise, Amartya (2016:9) in this regard also argues that:

The national strategies and cities centered policy of federal countries need to be adapted to their cultural context to be effective and that a broad understanding of skills and capacities should prevail, including the ability of key stakeholders to be sensitive to cultural aspects, recognize cultural diversity and heritage and embrace creativity.

The subsequent section reviews how selected multinational federal states from both mature and young federations approached accommodation of diversity in their respective urban places.

2.4.1 Mature Multinational Federations

Canada

Canada was the first country to fashion a multicultural approach to diversity by promoting integration while enabling minority groups to maintain their cultural practices according to Hiebert. Canadian multiculturalism has had multiple objectives including reflecting an unresolved tension between the concepts of difference and belonging, since its introduction in 1971. “The policy acknowledges that Canadians of all cultural backgrounds make a contribution to the nation and that the maintenance of a variety of cultures does not undermine the nation; it is an invitation for people to feel a sense of belonging while giving them the freedom to be different” (Hiebert, 2016:9).

Canada referred as a good example in multicultural sense, according to Korteweg (2014:4) Canada offers a clear example of the policies, acknowledging the value of cultural diversity and encouraging the maintenance of immigrant groups’ cultures, while also enabling their individual members’ integration thus Canadian multiculturalism policy is tied to an officially embraced public philosophy.

Reitz (2013:9) point out the Kymlicka's statement on Canadian multiculturalism by linking it with the past and comparing with real world's multicultural aspect as:

Multiculturalism is working in Canada more appropriately and the practical circumstance there show that immigrant groups integrate more quickly and more effectively today than they did before the adoption of multiculturalism policy, and they do so more successfully in Canada than in any other country that does not have such a policy.

Kymlicka (2015:14) argues the Canadian multiculturalism at the national level and/or in their cities enabled particularly Quebecois national group to live more completely within their own institutions operating in their own language, in spite of in the past, this group often faced extensive economic, political and social pressure to participate in institutions run in the dominant language.

The Canada's largest cities Ottawa, transformed to an extreme rapid demographic change and Canada managed peacefully and efficiently face these changes, despite many challenges, Unlike Europe, where similar change has resulted in riots and cultural tensions that have tarnished the concept of multiculturalism there (Bohatyrets, 2017:38). With regards to Ottawa's multiculturalism and its affiliation he concludes that:

Cultural policy of Ottawa strives to build cross-human bridges and interactions, identifying networks and power domains within cultures and transcending national and cultural boundaries. With information technologies presence, soft power incorporates national culture including knowledge, belief, art, morals and any other capabilities and habits created by a society.

Multiculturalism that embraces racial and cultural differences within a society is well established aspect of Canadian life in other Canada's largest cities in addition to capital city due to the majority of immigrants prefer to settle in major urban areas. Planning practice in large cities has evolved to reflect and incorporate considerations of multiculturalism in Canada. The largest cities do have a clear perception of multicultural planning to incorporate multiculturalism in order to promote more inclusive planning practice in Canada (Kurtz, 2014:2).

According to Leman (2015:1) the case of Canada's more diversifying of different cities as long as to the capital was/is resulted from immigration policy that make difference on Current levels in immigration that attracted a vigorous immigrants and applicants from Asia, Africa, Central America, and the Caribbean. And that manipulated much of this diversity is concentrated in Ontario, particularly in the metropolitan region of Toronto, as well as in the metropolitan areas of Vancouver and Montreal.

With regards to diversified city of Ottawa Goldney et al., (2017:61) argues that the inevitable increase in immigration may increase social tension, particularly if there is an economic downturn. Increasing diversity in Ottawa may require more culturally appropriate services and languages beyond English and French.

The Ottawa city located at the heart of the National Capital Region, with additional municipalities such as the City of Gatineau in Quebec located in the surrounding areas. The City of Ottawa is itself the largest municipality in Canada's Capital Region, which is a region of comparable size to the entirety of Prince Edward Island (City of Ottawa, 2003; cited in Borderick, 2019:3).

The City of Ottawa was amalgamated in 2001 from the municipalities that previously made up the Region of Ottawa-Carleton, including the old City of Ottawa, to create the current boundaries we see today. The new city of Ottawa incorporates an urban growth boundary into its Official Plan in order to limit the potential for urban sprawl. As this was not the first instance of a growth boundary being implemented in the region, as the first urban growth boundary dates back to the 1950s with the creation of the National Capital Greenbelt (Ibid).

Ottawa is guided by the Corporate Diversity and Inclusion Plan, which outlines how it will diversified environment that reflects the communities it serves and adapts to changing needs, including those of newcomers (WEF, 2017:45). When it was created, the Greenbelt was placed outside the built-up urban area of the city of Ottawa; with the intention being that urban development would remain inside that built up area and not expand outwards outside the boundary (Borderick, 2019:5).

Switzerland

The Switzerland's multiculturalism that evolved over centuries understood as the first and foremost in experience of the world. When one talks about multiculturalism in Switzerland more than others the existence of many languages including Swiss German speakers, French speakers, Italian speakers and those that speak Romansch and non-undermining of them were the most vivid (Magdalena, 2014:7).

The Swiss (Multi) nationalism prominently promoted by the Swiss Federal Constitution and in various Cantonal Constitutions, especially in the multilingual urban areas of the country the promotion of culture is primarily the responsibility of the cantons and municipalities. The role of the Confederation was/is to promote cultural activities that are of national interest and encouraging artistic and musical expression, mainly through training. Accordingly, Switzerland implements an active policy for the promotion of cultural exchanges between the Swiss linguistic regions and other countries, as the Switzerland foreign policy also recognizes the role of culture in development cooperation and in promoting the image of the country (Exsummary, 2012:2).

However, the Swiss multiculturalism is not an overnight exertion and Matyja (2018:84) argues the Switzerland's multiculturalism passed through challenges, First Confederation (1798) of Switzerland was the domination of German language and Germanic culture by German-speaking state and other cantons (including French and Italian) joined it along with the development of the Confederation. So that for him, the recognition of those of three languages (German, French and Italian) as national language by the 1848 constitution, previous dependent French- and Italian speaking territories gained a status of equal cantons and the Swiss society became more and more diversified and multifaceted, and that was the stage of Swiss transformation into a multilingual and multicultural country.

On the experience of inclusive multiculturalism in Switzerland, Linder (2011:4) argues that the Switzerland Multicultural nation as the Federation of the peoples of the cantons becomes successive because of the "bottom up" Nation-building applied and central government is weak and most competencies rests with the cantons characterized the Swiss federation. For him that is the result for the recognition of different religions, four languages, and different history of the cantons properly in Switzerland according.

With regards to the concern of diversified cities in Switzerland a researchers including (Cheruiyot, 2019:2) argues that Switzerland is a county without capital city, as the government alone found in Bern while many other important services found scattered in other cities. The Federal Supreme Court found in Lausanne, Francophone city; the Federal Criminal Court located in Bellinzona and these building are placed in different cities in order to include all Switzerland's major linguistic communities in a way that is as fair and equal as possible.

Dealing of Swiss urban by de-attaching from the rural parts do not seems like bid difference, as Switzerland was/is made up of immigrants and people of diversified nature. In this regard Zurich (2003:52) placed the idea of Carroll (1988) as follows:

Ethnographically speaking, there is no Swiss people and no homogeneous Swiss nation. Nor can one talk about a Swiss culture, because various cultures came into contact with one another and even today still overlap. Switzerland has remained a mosaic of world and regional history, religions, languages, and dialects, all confined in a very small space. The basic principle that holds the country together is a political will to remain culturally independent, and not just a collection of peculiarities in the heart of Europe.

So that it is possible to conclude that, in Switzerland it is not only the cities the Switzerland's rural areas were/are also more diversified and conducive for diversified peoples with different ethnic and cultural backgrounds to live in. for instance as Einstein (2019:27) stated the name of the group says, the founding members of Bern ist überall were from Bern and its environs and spoke the Bernese dialect variant of Swiss German. Currently, their performances are also peppered with the sounds of French and Roumansh. This happened after the focus of Bern ist überall is on performative acts by various and varying authors.

At the very beginning Bern was chosen in 1848 for pragmatic reasons since Lucerne as a conservative, catholic stronghold was still skeptical of the new federal state and Zurich was already economically too powerful. The choice of Bern as a capital city was furthermore an inclusionary gesture because of Bern's centra geographic location and in particularly because of its proximity to the French speaking parts of Switzerland. Zurich received compensation through the location of the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (Kaufmann, 2016:6).

As Kaufmann (2016:14-15) argues, in Bern local decision-makers have better access to their federal counterparts given their spatial proximity. The municipal administrations in the agglomeration of Bern are well embedded in an institutionalized cooperation called regional conference that is active in fields of public transport infrastructure, land-use and culture. Thereby this served as progressive tools for tackling governance problems in agglomerations and no confusion on the urbanization of the city.

2.4.2 Emerging [Multi] national Federations

South Africa

According to Leilde (2008:153) South Africa is a model of multiculturalism to the rest of the world based on the existence of cultural (religious and linguistic) accommodation and tolerance towards differences. He argues Johannesburg city a multicultural city, diverse and must build social cohesion amongst diverse communities and create spaces for multiple expressions and ways of being in the city is the on-going work of multicultural cities.

The big cities and the most important cities in South Africa are Johannesburg and Cape Town. They are very developed and have very different cultures and traditions. Johannesburg a fast paced city is a multicultural, multiracial and diverse city. If quiet and slow Cape Town the legislative capital of South Africa is also very natural and very urban at the same time. It is rich mix of diverse cultures and a city of stark contrasts (Briand, 2019:1).

Johannesburg's history along with South Africa's riven with class inequalities and conflict; it was the city in South Africa that most resisted 'the politicization of race' throughout the apartheid period. It has also been South Africa's least racist, most cosmopolitan and urban place. Johannesburg now contains a weight of media excellence and cultural diversity unmatched by any other South African city and has long had the reputation of being more tolerant in its approach to race issues than any other South African city, with much evidence of white civic and business leaders finding themselves in conflict with the apartheid government (CDE, 2002:4).

Likewise, Leilde (2008:61) stated the transformation of Johannesburg into multicultural as that: "The 1990s saw a clear shift in focus of identity studies toward the process of nation-building in a united South Africa and newly renamed 'cultural' (from 'ethnic') identities" following the

1992 UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities and with the growing recognition of indigenous peoples' rights worldwide.

According to CDE (2002:5) "Johannesburg's urbanity was advanced by the fact that its local political and economic elite was always more multi-ethnic than its counterparts elsewhere in the country. It is the most cosmopolitan of South African cities, with a great diversity of languages and cultures; this is as true of predominantly black areas as of white areas, with the city's townships linguistically more diverse than those of any other South African city".

Johannesburg is the wealthiest as well as the largest city of Gauteng province of South Africa. Various buildings and townships have been raised over agriculture lands increasing the buildup areas. Along with main city, urban sprawl is also increasing in the outskirts. Johannesburg and its surrounding biophysical systems is the complex interaction between rapidly growing urban agglomerate (Verma, et al., 2016).

Up to 1994 greater Johannesburg had been controlled by numerous racially based local authorities and agencies. Under the transitional local government dispensation introduced in 1995, control over these areas was consolidated into a two-tier system consisting of the greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council and four local councils. This was a considerable breakthrough in that it introduced non-racial metro government, and also recognized Johannesburg's transition from a narrowly defined 'city' to a much larger metropolis (CDE, 2002:6).

Then after South Africans shift their concern on how to manage their diversity and create national unity in the country, in reaction to the trauma of the past division set up by apartheid system in their country. In this regard Leilde (2008:61) stated that "South Africans were really all alike ... beneath the imposed differences ... and while it is true that all South Africans aspire, today, to the same kinds of goals, the goals that characterize life in an industrial society – to better jobs, education, proper housing, and so on".

Leilde argues that to create unity in the country, "sameness like difference can never simply be taken for granted. While apartheid created differences discursively, through a process which glossed over dissenter within communities to serve the interests of the dominant minority, these

differences reflected one section's of the autochthonous population shared interest in the differences that were imposed on them" (Sharp 1997b; cited in Leilde, 2008:62).

Belgium

"Belgium is a Federal state, composed of three territorial regions, Wallonia, Flanders and Brussels Capital Region, and three linguistic communities, the Francophone, the Flemish and the German" (Ghanem, 2019:11). An integration assigned to the authority of linguistic communities in Belgium is resulted by the separation competences, as it was considered a policy field belonging to the sphere of culture. The capital region of Belgium is Brussel; however, there are two linguistic communities with competence on integration policies in the same territory, the French Community Commission and the Flemish Community Commission (Ibid).

The 'cultural attachment' of Brussels residents is indirect; it is determined by the choice of institutions from which individuals request services, and it is not exclusive. A Brussels resident can become a member of one community for some services and a member of the other community for other services. Membership in a community is also not permanent as Brussels residents can change their memberships by switching from a Dutch-speaking institution to a French-speaking institution or vice versa as they have opportunity and full right to do so. Basically, the communities in Brussels have jurisdiction over cultural and educational matters (Moreno and Colino, 2010:49).

The urban geography as a democratic contrasts best worked in Belgium, as cities host a large share of the immigrant presence in country. Forty five (45) percent of the foreign population lives in one of the five largest Belgian cities (Brussels, Antwerp, Charleroi, Liège and Ghent) and one in three non-Belgian citizen lives in the capital city of Brussels. Geographers and sociologists articulated the argument that some neighborhoods of Belgian large cities were politically alienated, when the first urban unrest broke out in Brussels during the 1990s, academics, due to local politicians were not attracted by areas with high numbers of foreigners and with low levels of voters of the area (Hassan, 2009:3).

Brussels in the year 2000 is headed for a triumphant reassertion of its deeply rooted cultural heritage and dynamism, and its emerging multi-cultural and multi-lingual future. There is an affiliation that the European Cultural Capital of 2000 (Brussels) will assert a new multicultural

identity and public face, which underlines the reality of its present population composition: with its most national Belgian population, its large minority of foreign residents, made up of a EU-centered pan-European elite, NATO personnel, multinational elite working for transnational corporations and sizable numbers of immigrant Italians, Spanish, Turkish, Moroccans and ex-Zairians, most of whom came originally either as part of state-sponsored guest worker programmes or as part of Belgian postcolonial arrangements (Favell and Martiniello, 2019:1).

Taras (2013:123) argues the exist comfortable situation that describes the migration patterns in Belgium that include the existence of many highly qualified EU citizens who work in Brussels choose to live in the green belt around Brussels, which is largely part of the Flemish region. Outstanding differences appear in the regional profiles of immigration. For instance, Polish and Romanian immigration settlement is high in the Brussels region.

Moreno and Colino (2010:55) argues the diversity in Brussels as, “A special Brussels identity was born, correlated to Belgium in general and its capital in particular.” They could be able to argue as because of it resulted after the struggle for recognition of their identity, basically the Flemish movement was thus originally a movement for linguistic and cultural freedom.

Kymlicka (2015:14) also shares this idea of Belgium’s multiculturalism at the national level and/or in their cities. Multination federalism has enabled particularly Flemish national group to live more completely within their own institutions operating in their own language, in spite of in the past, these group often faced extensive economic, political and social pressure to participate in institutions run in the dominant language.

When Brussels was founded, the indigenous population spoke a Low German dialect called Dietsch. The city belonged to the principality – and later, duchy – of Brabant, which was bilingual in terms of its administrative use of languages: Welche (Walloon) in the 'Romanic country of Brabant' and Dietsch in the rest of the territory. So that, the current French-speaking character of Brussels is the result of a long process which began in the Middle Ages (Francard, 2010:2).

In the mid-eighteenth century the city of Brussels was almost homogeneously Dutch speaking, with only a small francophone urban nobility. However in the last two centuries the metropolitan

area of the capital has gone from being predominantly Dutch speaking, to francophone domination, to multilingualism (Mulle 2019:5).

Just as in all large urban agglomerations, the 1950s saw the start of suburbanization in Brussels. This outflow soon extended increasingly beyond the 19 Brussels municipalities and population growth in Brussels came to an end in the middle of the 1960s. The population in the urban agglomeration continued to grow, but from 1965 onwards, this growth took place outside the Brussels region (Deboosere, 2009:5).

The establishment of the region's borders automatically turned the urban exodus into relocation away from Brussels. Such residential relocation increasingly took place further from the capital city, with the price of living (affordable rent or affordable private housing) forcing many young families beyond the region's borders. For those working in Brussels, the daily commute was the trade-off that they had to accept for affordable housing (Ibid).

However, in Belgium the composed of three regions of Flanders, Wallonia, and Brussels that further subdivided into the ten provinces, the Brussels region that has a mixture of the Flemings and Walloons is not free of ethnic and linguistic tension. The small number of people who speak German lives mainly along the eastern border. Each region is fairly self-governed, but tension due to language, ethnicity, and national identity among the Flemings and Walloons still exists today (Blackmon, 2006; cited in Toni, 2010:24).

2.5 Conceptual Framework of the Study

2.5.1. City as Cultural Inclusion Space in Federal Contexts

The modern Cities have changed from small, isolated population centers to large, interconnected economic, physical, and environmental features; as a result of high population growth and rapid development in recent years that has also resulted in high dynamic changes of land use in most of the cities (Andrea, 2015:2).

Cities are highly diverse including those existed for long periods of time. Cities existed for long periods of time have developed a large diversity of urban neighborhoods in the process, as they influenced by government input and markets (Zurich, 2017:9).

In the cities the inclusion of diversity is the contemporary issue. Duxbury (2014:167) stated that in this regard, 'to advance the inclusion of culture into 'sustainable city' public policies and practices, that is, into the frameworks through which urban environments and living conditions are collectively envisioned and constructed, artistic and cultural practices must be recognized as integral to sustainable development and supported in more regularized ways'.

Culture is the fabric for the dynamic construction of individual and collective identities and is an integral to human development. The active participation of people in local cultural activities (such as poetry, dance, sculpture, theatre, music, etc.) improves their quality of life and well-being and enhances life opportunities and options. And this is more a fuel in cities or urban areas by serving different identities found as well as the cultures of new arrivals to the area. Thereby, the evolutionary and hybrid transformations that evolve from living and creating within culturally diverse contexts characterize urban areas (Duxbury, 2016:9).

The cultural policy of federal or decentralized states is a poorly studied subject of study despite its growing importance as a public policy and its relevance to building connections between communities in multicultural and multinational framework according to (Joaquim and Mariano, 2014:22). As the same as the cultural policy of urban centers in federal systems has been hardly studied, the concern of this study.

But also the study of Adam (2015:23) argued that 'federal system as not a panacea, but in many situations they may be necessary as the only way of combining, through representative institutions, the benefits of both unity and diversity. Experience has shown that federations, both old and new, have been difficult countries to govern'.

The serving tendency of diversified groups in the federation and urban areas also depends on the space of the federation for diversity. It is not similar what prevail in India, Canada and Switzerland, as they applied more recognition for diversity and in many other countries in Africa, Eastern Europe, and Asia as the citizens are also resistant to the idea of accommodating national and ethnic communities (Garry, 2005:15).

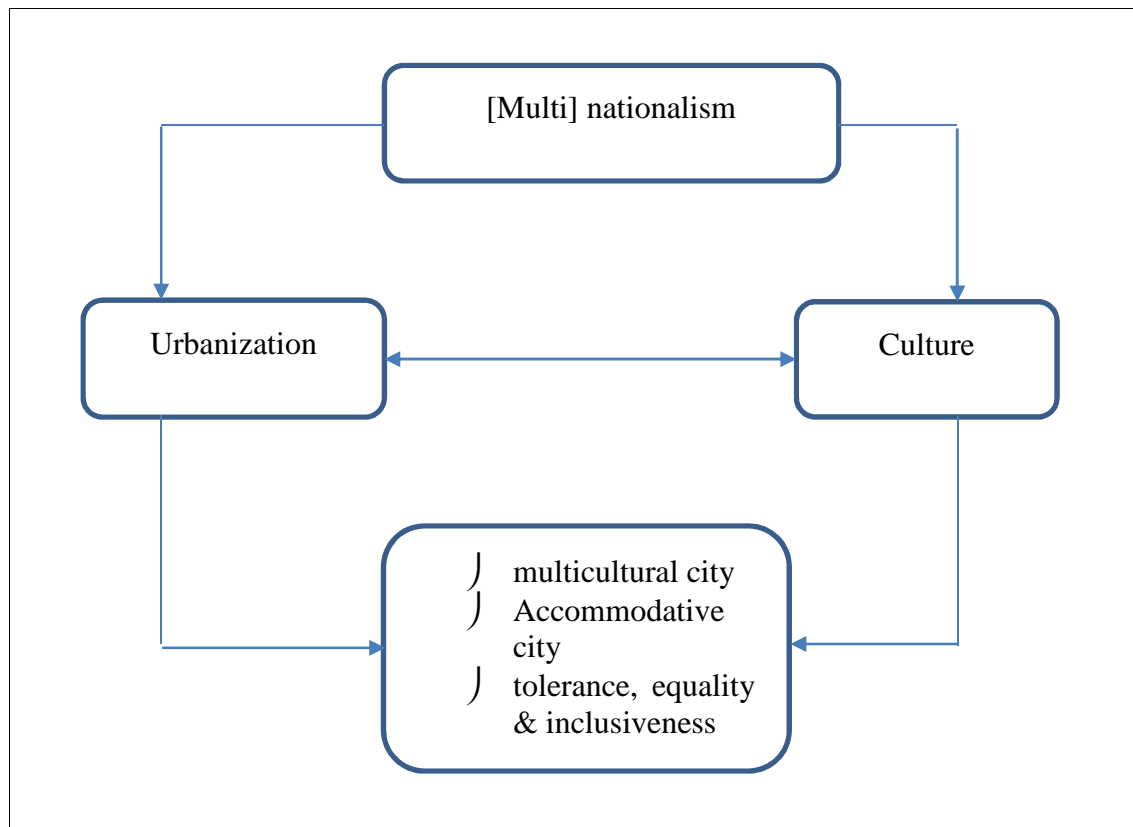
Bollens (2007:230) stated the reality of diversity and demand in diversified cities as:

The political control of multinational cities is often contested as nationalists push to create a political system that expresses and protects their distinctive group characteristics. Whereas in most cities there is a belief maintained by all groups that the existing system of governance is capable of producing fair outcomes, governance amidst severe and unresolved multicultural differences is viewed by at least one identifiable group in the city as artificial, imposed, or illegitimate.

While demonstrating important differences between the cities, there is a common thread that is well understood by national governments and city managers alike: a combination of enabling national policies, strong institutions, well-resourced and accountable local governments, and informed and engaged citizens are essential for local and national prosperity. On the African continent also it is precisely these types of cities, in every country to have inclusive and participative cities with diversified groups (Cobbett, 2016:1).

In African continent as the majority of the population will shift from rural to urban in the next coming years/decades, future Cities of Africa have to be aims to help cities to achieve inclusive economic growth, inclusive social development, manage demographic change, and address environmental risks (Cobbett, 2016:1).

Figure 2.1 Conceptual Diagram of the Study



Source: Researcher's Design, May 2020

2.6 Conclusion

Although urbanization does not have generally accepted definition, the physical enlargement of urban areas towards the outskirts and the increase of population number as a result of migration from rural to urban areas override the definition of urbanization.

Serving of different interests in the cities and making cities the home of all is a recent issue. Allowing and recognizing diversity in urban areas and make urban areas the place preferred by all to reside in is another issue of the contemporary world. Federalism can address the issue of diversity in the country and also in urban areas of the country for many countries. These countries apply federalism to preserve diversity and thereby balance unity and diversity.

Cultural diversity is one and the most aspect of diversity that needs important concern in urban areas. The major cities of different federal countries like Canada and Switzerland exerted best policy of cultural diversity and took different measures in recognizing diversity in their urban to comprise groups and individuals with different cultural background.

The emerging federations like South Africa and Belgium dealt in this thesis has also a best exemplary. The big cities of South Africa, Johannesburg and Cape Town are known by multicultural character. They are diverse and known by building social cohesion amongst diverse communities and create spaces for multiple expressions and ways of being in the city of the citizens of the county.

What a conceivable from Belgium experience is, the society's culture manifest in the Brussels's capital through their representative, as the citizens can has a freedom to be a member of one of a Dutch or French, the residents can also change their memberships by switching from a Dutch-speaking institution to a French-speaking institution or vice versa. In Belgium, the communities have also jurisdiction to determine over cultural and educational matters.

Among the studied two theories of culture melting pot and salad bowl theories the researcher advices the salad bowl for the federal countries, particularly in their urban areas. Applying the salad bowl enables constituent unit of diversified nature to be treated equally and serve different cultural groups inclusively in contrast to the melting pot of cultural assimilation.

How countries react to diversity in their urban centers has an effect on the existing cultures and groups of the areas. The different federal countries have also different ways of reacting to diversity in their cities. The best policy of multiculturalism in federal system can bring cultural equality and inclusion of different groups that in turn develops a sense of patriot to one's identity. By doing so, federalism can recognize the existing diversity and enables the diversified community to feels represented and/or inclusive.

CHAPTER THREE

3. Urbanization, Nation Building and the Culture of Oromo in Ethiopia

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher first briefly discusses urbanization in Ethiopia. He then discusses the trend of urbanization of Addis Ababa/Finfinnee under different historical epochs. In the Chapter the researcher further dwells on the nation and state building approaches in Ethiopia. The researcher assesses how the nation and state building projects shaped not only the process of urbanization of Addis Ababa/Finfinnee, but also the status of the Oromo culture in the city.

3.2 The Culture of Oromo People

One of the known African people for their indigenous knowledge system, egalitarian institutions and astronomical observation is the Oromo, a Cushitic people that are the largest ethnic group in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa. As illustrated in IOS (2017:1) scholars like Asmarom Legese investigated calendrical investigations and also studied the most complex democratic and administrative system, called Gadaa.

Keller (2005:98) similarly argued that, the Oromo people are the largest ethnic or nationality group in Ethiopia with its own culture and other traditional practices. Oromos are disproportionately represented in the southern parts of Ethiopia and were militarily incorporated into the empire during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, resulting in the configuration of the present boundaries of the state.

However, “for many years the so called Ethiopianist writers have presented Ethiopia as a unified and monolithic bloc, and Abyssinian culture as the driving force of national history and identity in the country. These Ethiopianist narratives have constructed the Abyssinians as civilized, moral, and powerful and the Oromo as Ethiopia's 'other': uncivilized barbarians lacking any original or creative cultural tradition” (Teferi 2015:85). Among those narratives, Andargachew (1990:26) justifies the necessity of incorporation of the south by the north as:

The northern socio-economic order was introduced into the southern highlands during Menelik's conquests of the region in the last quarter of the 19th century and superimposed on the pre-existing agrarian system about which very little is known. Though important as animal rearing communities, the nomadic peoples who inhabited the vast expanses of the arid and semi-arid lowlands along the Red Sea Coast and Somali frontier have not been absorbed into the northern socio-economic order.

In the same token, in Ethiopia particularly during the imperial regimes to be an Ethiopian one should have subordinate and omit one's own identity in our case being an Oromo, one's culture of Oromo and language according to Abyssinians. In contrast to this Ethiopianess (being an Ethiopia) and Oromoness (being an Oromo) has some contradictory perspective along Oromo scholars. In this regard Teferi (2015:86) argues that:

Ethiopianness, though, is perceived from a very different angle in Oromo literature, especially in recent Oromo novels, in contrast to Ethiopianist accounts, Oromo writers associate Ethiopianness with imperialism, with forceful processes of cultural assimilation, with the denigration of non-Abyssinian ethnic identities, with exploitation and corrupt rule. In these novels, in contrast, Oromoness is constructed as a sophisticated and unified expression of an egalitarian society with a long history - a history that literature is primarily suited to tell.

ElAmin (2009:58) is other non-Oromo who stated this people as; “the Oromo were once culturally homogeneous mixed farmers sharing common political, social and religious beliefs and institutions”. As he argues more, by the time they settled in the regions they had occupied they became divided into a number of independent tribes or groups of tribes, each of which was governed by its own ‘gadaa’ system and owed no allegiance to any outside authority.

Oromo lived for centuries as a powerful, independent, and respected people in the vast territory of its region prior to the occupation can be a justification for this perspective. The secret behind their strength were their unity as a cultural group, their democratic ‘Gadaa’ system that was capable of mobilizing their material and spiritual resources, their military ability derived from their formidable cavalry, effective war strategy, and the firm determination to defend their independence (Mohammed, 2008:34).

This enabled Oromo people to resist the colonizers for centuries and protect themselves and their land according to Solomon (2017:59). However, since the 19th century, Oromo have been crushed/ captured by their enemies through war and their history and culture have been violated and destroyed then after the history of the Oromo people has been continuously disturbed and cracked for centuries; the Oromo livelihood becomes suffering symbolic and cultural segregations within the Ethiopian Empire (Ibid). In this regard Mohammed (2008:34) argues that, because of the external conquest of Egyptian on the side of Hararge Oromo and internal invasion by the northern Abyssinian state Oromo force has been divided to campaign and this disunity allowed King Menelik II of Shewa to conquer and subdue the Oromia.

Then after, following the fall of Oromo in the hands of Abyssinians, the Oromo culture and organizations were disrupted. Mohammed (2002:18) stated this as:

After the conquests, the Oromo institutions of self-government (including the Chafee assembly or parliament) were abolished. The indigenous leadership was liquidated or co-opted, the land confiscated, and cultural institutions destroyed. The conquerors banned religious pilgrimages to the land of Abba 'Muudaa' and looted the property of both the settled and the pastoral communities.

The majority of the non-Oromo writers such as the Habesha, Europeans and the Arabs reflected their hatred and tried to despise the Oromo history and culture (Solomon, 2017:59). This despising act against the Oromo has confused the foreigners to know about the history of this (Oromo) people and also as a result of being denied access to education and equal treatment, Oromo people lack substantial writers of its history in the past (Ibid).

“Habesha are who migrated from the Sahartan province of Yemen the main Semitic influx, who gave their name to the whole country affecting by the settlement and occupied the northern parts of Tigray and Amhara and they are also called by Abyssinians” (Trimingham, 1976; Lewis, 2001 and Budge, 1928; cited in Daniel, 2014:3). They have dominated the Abyssinian or Ethiopian state structure for long lapse of age by deserving as they have divine right to rule. Teshale Tibebe (1995:7) concludes that in this regard the myth of descending to the illegitimate son of King Solomon of the Israelites shared by Abyssinians commonly among Orthodox Christianity religion. And the merger of this myth with religion resulted in the formation of a type of

Christianity that is unique to the Abyssinians, called 'tabot' Christianity that of the cultural uniqueness of the Ge'ez civilization.

More than others, the overriding authority of the Ethiopian colonial state with the support of the imperial interstate system has tried its best to destroy the Oromo cultural identity, with resultant ramifications, by denying Oromo's the freedom of having their own cultural institutions and developing an authentic Oromo culture according to Asafa (2010:10). He argues Oromo's have been denied opportunities necessary for developing their own institutions and the Oromo system of knowledge that could have facilitated the transmission of cultural experiences from generations to generations.

Solomon (2017:59) illustrates these as a campaign on the Oromo culture and religion:

Some Habesha writers (historians) like Abba Bahire had had strived a lot to harm the psychology of the Oromo people and thereby destroyed culture and religion. He said the Oromo people are cruel and inhuman in his book entitled as history of the Oromo. Moreover, Professor Mesfin Woldemariyam says, "The Oromo military force has no other objective than destroying" (Mesfin, 1972) [40]. Furthermore, Professor Getachew Haile argues that the Oromo people were ignorant and destroyed the Habesha's civilization by invading civilized Habesha people (Getachew Haile, 2002[41] The European writers have affected and blurred the history of the Oromo system.

Conversely, some other Habesha writers like Asmerom Legesse argue that "the Oromo 'Gadaa' system embodies the totality of the people's life system and is believed to contribute to world's democracy and wellbeing of humanity if it is genuinely embraced. It operates based on a complex system of social organization". For him the Oromo 'Gadaa' is a "a system of 'Gadaa' classes (luba) that succeeded each other every eight year in assuming political, military, judicial, legislative, and ritual responsibilities" based on an ancient calendrical system and with mythological narratives (Asmerom, 2006; cited in IOS, 2017:1).

On the other hand, Since Oromo scholars and others have been discouraged or prohibited by the Ethiopian colonial state from documenting Oromo oral traditions, adequate information is lacking so that the knowledge of the social history of Oromo is very limited and fragmented. For

generations, the Oromo have mainly transmitted their history through oral discourse (Asafa, 2010:2).

For instance, the suppression of language identity of the Oromo people highly affected the documenting of Oromo culture. In this line, Alelign (2013:7) stated that:

The explicit rationale behind the language policy of the Imperial regime was the creation of a centralized, homogenous state. The assumption was territorial legitimacy would be created as a result of the imposition of Amharic on the various ethnicities (80 of them) living in the territory of Ethiopia. Language policy was therefore to serve as a primary tool of nation-building, highlighting the close connection between language and politics.

By using this chance, Habesha writers presented the culture of Oromo people negatively to the world, due to lack of impeccable knowledge about this people or intentionally. Solomon (2017:56) justifies the Oromo culture and ‘Gadaa’ system as: The Oromo believe or have had a premise which claims that the law stands above all men. “The Oromo are governed by the law made by the people” as they conceive that laws are treated as a product of human deliberation not a gift of God or of heroic ancestors.

According to IOS (2017:3) Oromo ‘Gadaa’ system is a culture of democracy and hence, democracy is a culture of the Oromo:

‘Gadaa’ system and its institutions are so intact that they overcome the challenges of time and space. ‘Gadaa’ has a cherished value of indigenous mechanisms of settling disputes and/or preventing them. It has its own indigenous laws and well-structured institutions devoted to fair representation, accountability, participation, checks and balances and consultation/ consensus, which have been actively operational.

All these things added together and influenced the persistence of Oromo cultural practice without interruption. Karbo (2013:49) concludes that in this regard, “The history of cultural homogenization, together with a pressure for modernization, has undermined the value of cultural diversity. Cross-ethnic and religious dialogue has not been encouraged, further weakening the indigenous production systems”.

3.3 Urbanization in Ethiopia

The Study of present urbanization character in Ethiopia that isolated from its historical background is hardly possible according to Habitat (1996:3). Urbanization in Ethiopia dates back to before the fourth century state of Aksum and important towns that flourished following the shift of centers of power and trade were serving as centers of commerce, administration and culture (Habitat, 1996:3).

Likewise, the study of UN Habitat 2007 discloses that “being one of the oldest sovereign nations of the world, Ethiopia since long had got an indigenous way of urban development. Increase of small, roadside towns and service centers that mediate of local commerce are a peculiar nature of native urban growth in Ethiopia”. But as these studies reveal the majority of such centers have minimal or no administrative function (UN Habitat, 2007; cited in Dereje et al, 2014:126).

However, if Ethiopia has a long history of urbanization, Ethiopia has one of the lowest levels of urbanization in Africa; mainly due to lack of peace and stability that has characterized its past and current history, as war affected the continuous growth of established urban centers and thereby led to constant shifts of capital towns. And this has limited external influences (that include inserting new achievements, appropriate plans and administration) for the cities and urban development in Ethiopia (UN Habitat 2003:10).

When we come to the modern phenomenon of urbanization in Ethiopia, most of the important urban centers of Ethiopia were founded during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century. These modern centers include Addis Ababa founded by Emperor Menelik II in 1886, Asmara (the current capital city of Eritrea) in 1889, Dessie founded in the second half of the nineteenth century, Mekele in 1871-89, Dire Dawa in 1904; and Adama, Bishoftu, and Akaki in the first half of the twentieth century (Ibid).

However, unlike the recent situation, available historical accounts reveal the fact that the pace of urbanization during the Imperial regimes was relatively slow, making Ethiopia one of the least urbanized countries in the world. The main reasons for this were war with neighboring countries including civil war, recurrent drought and famine, disease, and terrible governance (Welde Gebriel, 2005; cited in Brightman, 2015:2).

The modern Ethiopian urbanization illustrates unbalanced distribution of urban population, as industrial activities and infrastructural facilities are concentrated in the capital city, Addis Ababa, which is the main administrative, economic, and financial center; it makes up 30% of the country's urban population (Samson and Alok (2012:68).

On the other hand, according to (PCC, 2008; cited in Leulseged, 2015:2) urban population percentage of total in Ethiopia was reported at 20.31% in 2017, according to the World Bank collection of development indicators. Even though there are more than 900 urban centers in Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, its capital city, consisted of about 30% of the total urban population the country as Addis Ababa is the destination of many in rural to urban migration of people.

The existing inequality in urban Ethiopia is not only related to their founding place/location, but also in the context of favoring one's culture and marginalizing others. In this line, Shimelis (2013:169) argues that there is no better illustration of this systemic inequality and lopsided urbanization than the state of urban land ownership (and housing) in imperial Addis Ababa before 1975. Zelalem (2018:85) stated more about this event as remembered by the Oromo as a moment of material and cultural loss, politico-military humiliation, dispossession of land, disorientation of one's way of life, expropriation of the means of livelihood, and wanton destruction of the natural environment”.

3.3.1 Addis Ababa and Oromo Culture during Pre-Menelik

The Abyssinian state in the north had existed with its mobile capitals for several centuries prior to the formation of modern Ethiopia and Addis Ababa as a permanent capital city; and the non-Abyssinian peoples and states in the south had also existed with their mobile centers of powers for several centuries (Asmarom, 2000; cited in Milkessa, 2017:110).

Among the peoples that had strong self-administration system Oromo is one with its center Finfinnee- the heart land of Oromo (Getahun, 2002:116; Shimelis, 2013:169 and Dandena, 2008:30) that cannot be continued with the coming of the northern part of Abyssinian group that occupy Finfinnee and used it as a center for their nation building project. Teferi (2015:1) notes that on this, ‘the modern Ethiopian state created by the Shoan Emperor Menelik II by occupying people living to the south, east, and west of the Abyssinian Empire, the Oromo among them,

were incorporated into the Solomonic polity through successive military campaigns, and have been subjected to the rule of Addis Ababa ever since’.

Akalou (1973:1) presents the Menelik’s period as a time when Ethiopia began to get today’s form by acquiring the geographic size it has today. According to Akalou, as the country expanded geographically, garrisons were set up all over newly acquired territories to hold down the conquered people. And Addis Ababa was/is one of the significant and known that they used to control the newly conquered or included areas, particularly to hold Oromo and its land.

As it is known, before the coming of Abyssinians, different Oromo groups and Oromo as a whole govern themselves by forming autonomous Gadaa governments, establishing autonomous local governments through the Oromo alliances, federations, and confederations to maintain their political and cultural solidarity and to defend their security and interest from their enemies (Asafa, 2008:140).

Addis Ababa the Oromo village of Finfinnee has fared since it fell under the control and tight management of Abyssinians more than a century ago according to Getahun (2002:116). Before the coming of Abyssinians, the rolling plain of Finfinnee that was known by its fertile farm land and dense forests with the streams and sloping terrain, was inhabited by the Oromo people who were mostly pastoralists and it has a great position before Oromo due to its interesting natural hot spring that Oromo used for health treatment by drinking it or taking bath (Dandena, 2008:30).

In this regard, it is possible to understand the occupation of Finfinnee by Menelik from Addis Hiwet (1975:5) statement, if the name Finfinnee/Addis Ababa does not stated there it clearly reflect the areas of Addis Ababa/Finfinnee, “The first Oromos to fall victims of Menelik’s conquest were those inhabiting the territory adjacent of Manz/Shewa”. By continuing a series campaigns all the Liban tribes inhabiting the area between the Muger and the headwaters of the Awash Rivers in the east and River Guder in West conquered (Ibid).

By the coming of Menelik and its relatives Oromo forbidden from this ‘Hora Finfinnee’ (Finfinnee spring) and “a cluster settlements developed around the churches in the period between 1884 and 1903, ten churches were built within the area occupied by the safar of the then Addis Ababa” (Haile, 1987; cited in Dandena, 2008:33). That is the reflection of starting the replacement of Oromo culture by the Abyssinians culture over Finfinnee during Menelik regime.

As it stated in the book of the ‘The History of Oromo and the foundation of Finfinnee City’ the writers of Ethiopian history focused on the Orthodox Christianity religion, the civilization of Christians, the peoples of Semitic language groups alone. Finfinnee is also not exceptional to this effect, as the prior Oromo interaction with Finfinnee before it occupied by new comers of northern group; the Oromo clan of ‘Tuulamaa’ exercised the autonomous ‘Gadaa’ governments that do not written by the historians of them (COC, 2020:66).

Therefore, if the Oromo of different parts were forced to adopt the Christian religion or they turned to Islam often as a reaction to the culture of their oppressors during the nation building strategy of pre-Menelik. Addis Ababa does not castrate of the effect as Oromo of the place independently exercise and governed by its own administrative structure of ‘Gadaa’ system until the coming of Menelik II around the end of nineteenth century (Keller, 1995:626).

3.3.2 Urbanization of Addis Ababa and its Impact on Oromo Culture during Menelik

At its early foundation Addis Ababa did not flourish as an inclusive city, basically to the original Oromo inhabitants. The Oromo were forcibly evicted according to Getahun (2000:145) and the Oromo culture removed with them from the area. Getahun (2002:116) again argues that ‘in Menelik's time, many Oromo’s were physically removed from the city and its environs.

The Amhara expansion was accompanied by a diffusion of Amhara cultural influences in the spheres of language, religion, moral values, and political style (Jan Zahoric, 2011:164). As Assefa (2006:2) stated basically the way of impacting Oromo religious practice and/or administration system as that of all things for Oromo:

The surviving Oromo who used to enjoy an egalitarian democracy known as the ‘Gadaa’ system were forced to face state terrorism, genocide, political repression, and an impoverished life. Alexander (2000:68) explains about the philosophers and writers of the eighteenth century, if they had known it, were completely changed. Their peaceful way of life is broken; freedom is lost; and the independent, freedom loving [Oromo] find themselves under the severe authority of the Abyssinian conquerors.

Then after according to Getahun (2002:116) whatever innovation was achieved in Addis Ababa was geared to benefit the occupiers rather than the original Oromo inhabitants. The Oromo were excluded from integration into the urban economic, social, and politico-cultural developments in

the city. They were marginalized and consequently lacked the power to develop within structures and to make a plan in the city.

With regards to language aspect “Menelik’s regime promoted covert monolingual language policy (Amharic) through the support of soldiers, the church, and together with the nominated local elites” (Cohen, 2000; cited in Alelign, 2013:7). Likewise, Fiseha (2019:3) also notes that the people of the conquered areas were forced to adopt the language and religion of the conquerors, when Menelik expanded the empire by conquering neighboring peoples to the south of the traditional Abyssinian heartland. So, according to Fiseha, that is the de facto imposition of a sole official language ‘Amharic’ in the empire by forcing the people to not use their language for official purposes.

However, during the early decades of its existence (during the Menelik II era), fluency in Amharic was not possessed by the majority of the residents of the city as largest Oromo inhabitants use Afan Oromo. By 1910, the total population of Addis Ababa was estimated at 65,000 (excluding foreigners) of which the numerical size of ethnic Amhara constituted less than 20% and Oromo was the largest ethnic group thereby, and at this time, Amhara minority rule was being imposed upon the local indigenous community of the Oromo (Milkessa, 2017:117).

3.3.3 Urbanization of Addis Ababa and its Impact on Oromo Culture during Italian Occupation

“The short lived Italian occupation (1936-41) brought vital changes to the physical structure of Addis Ababa” (Danadena, 2008:36). Large scale urbanization is said to have started during the Italian occupation as there was a flight of people to urban center due to the war which loosened the rural social structure (Habitat, 1996:3). Tolon (2008:17) also stated a short period of Italian occupation as a longer period of modernization.

During their period, Italy proposed a plan concentrating on the-expression of the colonial domination of the Italian empire in Addis Ababa, by separating the city into native and European quarters and then by sub-dividing the native quarter into Christian and Muslim sectors and tribal blocks that more diminish Oromo culture from the area and enable others culture to compete over the area (Danadena, 2008:40).

After their occupation two years later “in 1938, an Italian proclamation organized the country into six administrative regions with languages of education: Eritrea- Tigrigna and Arabic; Amhara- Amharic; Addis Ababa- Amharic and Afan Oromo; Harar- Harari and Afan Oromo; Sidama- Afan Oromo and Kafficho; Somali- Somalia” (Richard Pankhurst, 1974; cited in Alelign, 2013:7).

During the Italian war of aggression, the Italians helped introduce local languages even as media of instruction at primary school level, if Scholars explain that the changes Italy introduced as it was part of their divide and rule policy (Getachew and Derib, 2006:45). And also these cannot be continued then after when Haile Selassie come again to power with the assistance of British and return to its monolingual policy.

Even though, Oromo literature and language showed remarkable progress during this period (1936-1941). In the five years of Italian occupation, about 35 publications were produced in Afan Oromo (more than 19 dictionaries, eight grammars, three anthologies of proverbs, and five other forms of publications). All of them were published either in Dire Dawa, Harar, Jimma, Addis Ababa, or in some cases in Italy (Teferi, 2015:88).

Italian colonial mayors of the city prepared the first master plan of Addis Ababa during the five-year of their occupation and with this urban planning, Italians started to destroy pre-existing urban socio-political and physical structures. The settlement of the city was divided according to color, ethnicity and religion. To implement the plan Italy dislocated 10,000 natives of the city in 1937 to segregate the city for Europeans and non-Europeans (Milkessa, 2017:120).

3.3.4 Urbanization of Addis Ababa and its Impact on Oromo Culture during Haile Selassie

The Haile Selassie government conscientiously avoided any reference to ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity and eschewed mentioning such matters in official documents and the imperial regime devoted most of its energies toward discouraging or destroying the culture, language, and religions of non-Amhara ethnic groups, particularly those in the south and east of the empire that of Oromo extremely suffered by (Keller, 1998:110).

During the reign of Emperor Haile Sellassie (r. 1930-1974) government education and language policies, aimed at Amharizing the Oromo in the name of forging a "national" culture, effectively

purged the city of its Oromo components and made it impossible for Oromo's to succeed both individually and corporately according to Getahun (2002:116)

During Emperor Haile Selassie's regime that followed Emperor Menelik's period, a similar land tenure system continued, favouring a few members of the royal family, important personalities and military chiefs according to Elias and Laura (2018:6). They are also stated some areas are still named after the owners of that time such as:

Dejazmach Wube (Dejach Wube Sefer), Fitawrari Aba Koran (Aba Koran sefer), and the bridges named after Fitawrari Habtegiorghis (Hbtegiorghis Deldey) and Ras Mekonen (Ras Mekonen Deldey). Certain areas retain names based on occupational segregation such as The Palace Guards' Quarter (Kibur Zebegna), the Butchers' Quarter (Siga Meda), the Workers' Quarter (Serategna sefer), and the Riflemen's Quarter (Tebmenja Yaj). Other areas are based on the names of churches: for instance Tekelehaimanot, Urael, and Giorghis.

During the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie "Amhara culture was implicitly presented as the defining trait of the 'Ethiopian' nationality. In other words, the state was at a fundamental level based on the Amhara language and the Orthodox religion that highly prevails over Addis Ababa as the churches used to expand their culture and language on the area (Keller, 1995:628).

To ensure the dominance of Amhara culture and language Emperor Haile Sellassie promoted the first overt language policy in Ethiopia that had adverse effects on Oromo in and surrounding Finfinnee more than others as it could more practice on Finfinnee due to the area choice for their seat of the empire. As overt and endoglossic policy it explicitly declared Amharic as it is the official language of a country (Alelign, 2013:7).

The hegemony of Amharic was officially established with the promulgation of the 1955 Revised Constitution of Ethiopia Article 125 during this reign. The Amharic language was legally imposed on all non-Amharic speaking ethnic and linguistic groups as Amharic was legally declared as an official language of the country and given a legal protection to consolidate and maintain its dominant position. And many non-Amharas came to view Amharic as a symbol of repression, particularly Oromo exposed to this effect as "the official use of the Oromo language was prohibited at the same time" (Bereket, 1997 cited in Aberra, 2008:75).

Bedassa (2016:6) stated the measures that Emperor Haile Selassie took after coming to power again with the assistance of British and the struggle of internal patriots against Italian colonial rule because of starting to use Afan Oromo and other language in the country for education, religious purpose and others during their period as:

The Ethiopian government in the post-Italian period was even more blatant in its actions vis-à-vis Oromo religion. The place of the Orthodox Church was rendered enormously dominant by state support. Officials continued to assault on Oromo culture and identity thorough a policy of Amharization. Even Protestant missionaries were prohibited from using the Oromo language in their religious practices and from using the Oromo Bible in religious observances.

Oromo people did not remain silent about the relegation of Afan Oromo and Oromo culture to an inferior one in the empire and on their land. During these reign the Oromo association of Mecha-Tulama aimed to bring equality of Oromo and its culture in Ethiopian empire and it was cruelly oppressed by the Emperor. As Keller (1995:627) argues, Haile Selassie's regime had become alarmed at the growth in Mecha- Tulema's popularity later on and called for the arrest of its top leadership due to their quest for equality. The association was banned shortly thereafter and its leaders arrested and others exposed to death as the Emperor informed their aim of searching for equality by opposing the existing status.

Thereafter, the Emperor even worked more on avoiding such associations and (also the Imperial language policy avoids the use of other languages for communication that seems to restrain language related problems and facilitate national unity thereby. Alelign (2013:8) notes in this regard:

In all activities of the government, it was tried to make sure that every member of a speech community is able to use the dominant language- Amharic. This is a cause for Amharic to gain prestige and become superior over other languages during the time. As the aims of language policy are different depend on different context.

As a result, Amharic as an established state language was challenged with the increase in influence of modern education in the country's social, economic, and political domains. University students who were becoming increasingly political espoused strong criticisms against

the regime and the imperial regime did not have the administrative ability among its agents to undertake any successful amendment to appease the public demand (Zewde, 2002; cited in Mehari, 2015:69).

Left wing Marxism became the dominant ideology among the Addis Ababa University students. Among them Walelign who belonged to the ruling class and play a lion role in the struggle merged the Leninist/Stalinist idea of the nation with Frantz Fanon's justification of violence against colonial oppression. His argument was that Ethiopia was not a nation; rather it was a collection of nations (Gurage, Somali, Oromo, etc.) that had been subdued by the "Amhara-Tigre (two of the dominant ethnic groups) hegemony." These oppressed nations, he explained, can only reclaim their freedom through "revolutionary armed struggle" (Mekonen 1969; cited in Mehari, 2015:69). Since then, the language issue has clung to Ethiopian politics as a symbol of identity recognition for ethno-linguistic groups in the country. And finally it contributed to the demise of the imperial regime and system in the country (Ibid).

3.3.5 Urbanization of Addis Ababa and its Impact on Oromo Culture during Derg

As Getahun (2002:116) stated the reign of the military regime of Mengistu Haile Mariam (1974-1991), education and language policies of the government also aimed at Amharizing the Oromo in the name of forging a national culture and unity and they effectively purged the city of its Oromo components and made it impossible for Oromo's to succeed both individually and corporately.

Milkessa (2017:116) notes that on the Derg regimes urban policy and its reflection to culture as:

As the same as Imperial regime's the Dergue urban ethnic conditions and culture of Ethiopia show that urban centers were characterized by Amhara ethno-linguistic domination. Speaking fluent Amharic was a typical symbol of 'urban-ness' or "yeketame lij" (sons of town). Consequently, Ethiopian urban ethno linguistic policies of the Imperial and Dergue regimes gave the advantage to the Amhara and those who were able to assimilate to Amhara culture and language (Asafa, 2010; cited in Milkessa, 2017:116).

"Under the Dergue regime the state-owned broadcast media - including Ethiopian Television and Ethiopia Radio - began broadcasting in such languages as Tigrinya and Afan Oromo though the

broadcast time remained ever dominated by Amharic” (Fiseha,2019:5). Again also there was a defect in the new language policy as there was imposition of the Geez script - used by the Semitic languages - on all the other languages, as well as the continuing dominance of Amharic-speaking teachers (Ibid).

The issue of the national question failed to be effectively addressed, as a result of introducing a new social myth based upon the principles of scientific socialism that holds ethnicity as a not legitimate organizing principle by the regime. Instead people are grouped into mass organizations based upon their economic or social roles and positions (Keller, 1998:111). That had adverse effect on the Oromo and Oromo culture, as the Oromo were forced to use others languages and organize on the interest of others rather than using its own organization. The policy of this regime by promoting Amharic as a language for education and work, and as it belief in socialism Oromo religion and administration system (Gadaa) suffered deterioration as the same as the fate of other religions during this regime. The regime was against any religion.

Getahun (2002:118) stated how social interaction and the regimes in Finfinnee affected the culture of Oromo as:

The dominance be actively supported by the state and accompanied by the imposition of Amhara political will, culture, and social values on other ethnic groups. The numerical preponderance and the politico-cultural hegemony of the Amhara in Addis Ababa made adopting their way of life the only avenue for upward mobility, a scale of status to which all others had to conform.

Amharization which lasted for a century promoted no other language and culture but Amharic and Amhara’s culture and banned the use of Afan Oromo in any form of public communications a result of their policy. And as the researchers including (Robichaux 2005 and Amanuel Raga 2012) argued the Amharization process was not simply a nation-building tool as it involved cruel and racist intentions of oppressing the Oromo language and identity which ended in creating strong ethnic boundaries between the Oromo and the Amhara (Alelign, 2013:11).

3.4 Nation-State Building and issue of Oromo in Pre 1991 Ethiopia

3.4.1 Nation-State Building Processes and Addis Ababa in the Pre-1991 Ethiopia

Ethiopia did not have a permanent capital city until Addis Ababa was founded. Different towns of the northern part of Ethiopia served as the center of power at different time by the rulers of the area and there was shift of power with the changes of the rulers. The selection of Addis Ababa is concerned with the completion of State building by Menelik II. “As pointed out by a historian, ‘Tewodros’s vision of Ethiopia [Abyssinia] was limited to the central provinces, with Shewa. Yohannes’s conception, while extending further in the north, was broader in the south by proxy, through his vassal[s]’, the kings of Shewa and Gojjam” (Bahru, 1991).

Elias and Laura (2018:4) note on the foundation of Addis Ababa as a garrison:

The emergence of Addis Ababa, can be traced back to 1886 and its initial founding as a military camp in the strategic area of Entoto hills. In 1888, it was moved to the plains surrounding the hot springs (filwoha) located near the present-day city centre. These origins followed much the same path as other garrison towns established by Ethiopian kings in the modern era. Emperors moved about different parts of the country with their garrisons and temporarily settled in a given area to assert control over their subjects.

Since most of the large-scale settlements of that time were military garrisons, Addis Ababa is not exceptional to this; it was a very serious problem for the indigenous people at the time. Even, this garrison later developed into administrative towns for holding the surrounding areas and people and it resulted in eviction (Ibid). This eviction continued as the city experienced rapid population growth and physical expansion. Consequently, Addis Ababa’s demand of ecosystem services has increased more rapidly. It gets major ecosystem services from the surrounding Oromia areas (Fekadu, 2014:24).

Mohammed Hassen (2002:20) stated how the Oromo people left their land as:

The conquered Oromo territories experienced a catastrophic population decline and unprecedented levels of exploitation owing to the avarice of Menelik’s colonial governors and armed settlers from the northern lands, known as naftagna, who were granted land and laborers. In most areas, two-thirds of the lands of the Oromo were taken away and distributed among the naftagna, the Orthodox Church and the state. Only one-third was

left for the Oromo, on condition that they supplied forced labor to the armed settlers, as well as taxes, dues, and tithes to the imperial court and the Orthodox Church. Menelik's colonial establishment in all the Oromo territory was built on and sustained by the labor of Oromo farmers, whose status was reduced to that of gabbars (serfs).

In this regard Elias and Laura (2018:5) also argue that: The main focus of Menelik II was occupying mountainous landscape to secure strategic advantage from which to expand territory. The early palaces of Menelik II and the residences of the nobility were located on hilly and prominent sites. Then, after founding the city, Menelik II began to allocate land to his noblemen, the chiefs and the church.

Youssef (2004:109) stated the suffering of non-Amhara group as: “In other newly conquered areas however, many ethnic groups (especially non-Christians) were excluded both from power and holding high public offices. Instead the new settlers (Neftegna) of northern origins and newly appointed bureaucrats played a considerable role”. Although, different ethnic groups get opportunity to administer themselves and enabled to be treated equally, the legacy of the past continued on Addis Ababa even until nowadays, the Oromo people whose daily life is highly connected with Addis Ababa are excluded from getting employment opportunity due to language barriers, lack of domicile in the city as a result of existing social bond in the city that is difficult to survive for Oromo, administrative exclusion that undertake in a hidden social link to bring one's group individuals into the area and like challenges. And also Oromo people that unfamiliar to Amharic language cannot get access to services that cannot communicate without translator.

Getahun (2007) stated the condition of Oromo and Addis Ababa as follows: “The policy of exclusion of Oromo's from participating in the administration, economic activities, and cultural functions of Addis Ababa has had an adverse effect on Oromo's and on Ethiopian politics as a whole”. Zelalem (2018:87) stated the argument of “Tsegaye Regassa that describes this event as remembered by the Oromo as a moment of material and cultural loss, politico-military humiliation, dispossession of land, disorientation of one's way of life, expropriation of the means of livelihood, and wanton destruction of the natural environment”.

So, Abera (2019:37) stated the interrelationship of Oromo and Addis Ababa as: The Oromo living in the suburbs of Addis Ababa gained nothing except for the loss of livelihoods from the ongoing growth and expansion of Addis Ababa. For the evicted Oromo farmers, the so called

‘development’ and ‘investments’ determined only the loss of their ancestral land and their Oromo identity (Oromumma).

3.4.2 Nation-State Building and Cultural Identity of Oromo in Pre 1991 Ethiopia

The confrontation and interrelationship in Ethiopia or the past Abyssinia started in the medieval period to have dominance in the region. As Keller (2005:89) stated:

Between the early fourteenth and fifth centuries, the state was able to become strong enough to venture expansion again. During this period the core was significantly reconsolidated and the Abyssinian-Christian culture was diffused to all regions of the state. Kings from the Amhara ethnic group dominated this phase of expansion, and there was a conscious effort to bring conquered peoples firmly under the sway of the Amhara and Christian- dominated culture. They were often forced to abandon their animist belief, adopt Coptic Christianity and speak Amharic language outside the home.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Abyssinians were again severely challenged by hostile peoples who were also expanding their domains: the Ottoman Turks, the Somalis and the Oromo. In between this as Keller (2005:89) argues even as the Christian Abyssinians and the Muslim Somalis were engaged in protracted struggle for hegemony in the Horn of Africa, the Oromos were making inroads into the territories of both protagonists. At the height of their expansion the Oromo occupied as much as one third of the Abyssinian heartland. The Oromo culture mingled with the Abyssinian culture to the extent that the Oromos had a presence and influence in the royal court of the Abyssinians (Ibid).

On the other hand, Andargachew (1990:20) argues that on the contrary, for the fifty (50) years the animist Oromo migrated into the eastern, western, central and northern highlands. And subsequently, the Oromo settled in the territories which they conquered and they adopted either Christianity or Islam depending on the religion of the people among whom they settled. Thereafter, “the greatly weakened Christian kingdom established its capital in the north-western part of the highlands (Gondar) in the second half of the 16th century and later on it was able to flourish once again at Gondar between the 1640’s and the 1770’s. From then to the 1850’s” (Ibid)

Medhane and Alagaw (2014:2) argue that by stating Ethiopia as an independent state of ancient time, “Its independent political survival was ensured through the imposition of imperial power

over peoples to the South and West of historic Ethiopia which resulted in a deeply unequal political structure in which power was derived from the Christians of the historic state (especially Amharas, but also Tigrayans and others)”.

The modern history of Ethiopia started, arguably, with the coming to power of Kasa Haylu (Tewodros II (1855-1868)) who became the Emperor of Abyssinia in 1865. He tried to unite only the northern part that is the traditional Abyssinian state that had disintegrated into its regional or provincial components of Gojjam, Tigray and Shawa Amhara. He had a great empire building ambition and as many historians argue, “the state building started by Tewodros II (Mekuria, 2005:10).

The present state of Ethiopia was constituted of two parts that are referred to by scholars as ‘the north’ (the traditional Abyssinian state), and ‘the south’ (the regions conquered and annexed by the north) (Mekuria, 2005:7) Mekuria illustrates the terms north and south as not referring exactly to geography but rather to culture and power relations. Geographically, the north refers to the central part of northern Ethiopia that is inhabited mainly by the Abyssinians – the Amhara and Tigrean peoples as most scholars and historians opt to call it by Abyssinia Empire also. As pointed out by a historian, the Habesha (Abyssinians) saw themselves as a people inhabiting a historically and geographically identifiable region, sharing a common linguistic origin (Geez), a common religion in the Tewahdo or Orthodox Church, a mythically derived common cultural frame (Tareke, 1996; cited in Mekuria, 2005:7). The indigenous peoples in the south speak mainly Cushitic languages and have different religious faiths, including Christianity, Islam and traditional religions. Though they are given phenotypical and sometimes even racial characteristics in the writings of scholars, the differences between the Abyssinians and these peoples are cultural rather than ‘racial’ for Mekuria (2005:7).

According to Medhane and Alagaw (2014:2) Ethiopian society became a highly heterogeneous society unlike the Abyssinian state proper that had an integrated society adhering to similar social organizations and normative orders. The process of conquest and state formation also involved the superimposition of the socio-economic order of the Northern society on the newly incorporated people the result of which was ‘a politically explosive conjunction of ethnic and class divisions.

Bahru (2002:16) by giving the definition of the southern- states and people which did not directly engage in or were peripheral to the imperial politics of Gondar, argued it was the unification of these two parts (northern Abyssinian and southern states and peoples) in the second half of the nineteenth century that gave birth to modern Ethiopia. Bahru (2002:18) clearly notes that the inclusion of Oromo who initially had an egalitarian and republican system of socio-political organization based on age-groups known as 'Gadaa' is one of the most interesting processes of social transformation in Ethiopian history. However, the effects of the coming together of these two very different parts of the county have hardly been studied by Bahru as he focuses on studying the modern Ethiopian state.

The history of conflict between the Semitic-speaking Abyssinians and the Cushitic-speaking peoples predates the conquest, while conquest and colonization may explain the genesis of much of the present socio-cultural, and socio-political cleavages that characterize the relations between the north and the south since the creation of the modern Ethiopian state, and the Historians have argued that the history of Ethiopia in the last 500 years is basically the history of the relationship between two great antagonists – the Abyssinians, particularly the Amhara, on the one hand, and the Cushitic-speaking peoples, particularly the Oromo, on the other (Teshale, 1995; cited in Mekuria, 2005:8).

The Shewan Amhara elite was able to assimilate the elites of the conquered areas especially the Oromo elite who were proved to be able military commanders (Ras Gobana, Fitawrari Gebeyehu, Ras Mekonnen, Daj, Balcha) and political 'wizards' like Empress Taitu and Fitawrari Habte-Giorgis easily won the battle for hegemony, by using the opportunity of the political disorientation, economic exhaustion and the military weakness thereof of the Tigrayan elite and the rest of the northern elite following with Yohannes's was eventful in consolidating his authority over what he had inherited from Tewodros and defending his domains against foreign intruders-the Egyptians, the Italians and the Mahadists (Merera, 2001:2). "And, for a century to come, the Shewan Amhara elite - the embodiment of Orthodox Christianity, Amharic language and the Abyssinian cultural values dominated multi-ethnic Ethiopia in a manner hitherto unprecedented in the country's history" (Ibid).

The study of the nation building of modern Ethiopian falls under three perspectives, these are the national oppression thesis, nation-building thesis and colonial thesis. Among them the Oromo

perspective emphasizes the colonial thesis. This resulted from “the distribution of power in the imperial state that was based on an ethnic calculus that gave a near monopoly to the Amhara, or Amharicised, ruling class” (Sarah and Kjeril, 2003:82). And also do not have space for Oromo to integrate and develop with the system. While for Amhara’s (Shewan Amhara elite for some researchers including Merera Gudina) it is the process of ‘making’ modern Ethiopia, and for Tigrayans there was national oppression in the nation building process of Ethiopia. Markakis, 2011; cited in Semir (2019:5) stated this as:

The peculiar ‘Ethiopianising’ project anchored in the promotion of common culture and language was not, however, seen favorably by certain groups of people, especially outside the Amharic-speaking north. It was rather understood as an attempt to destroy the existing cultures and languages of ‘other nations’ in the country. Hence counter-nation-building projects were crafted and put into practice on a massive scale.

Merera (2019:2) stated these as expansion, the Shewan expansion and the resultant politico-economic consequences were far more profound, far more brutal and far more devastating in the south than in the north. In the north, it was the issue of re-unifying regions, which constituted part of the Abyssinian polity for centuries, and peoples who were sharing the Christian tradition and Semitic cultural ethos for millennia. In the south, it was the issue of mostly bringing in new lands and new peoples into the emerging empire state on unequal terms. The resultant outcome was a dual oppression: national as well as class - one polity but two markedly different systems, the dichotomous north-south relations thus emerged in the country's politics.

Akalou (1973:2) concludes that Menilek II actually began to expand his domain when he was still a regional king (1871-1889). His early effort was directed at conquering the region of Wallo, immediately north of Shewa and he then turned his attention to the regions lying to the south and east of his kingdom which he annexed between 1883 and 1889, because of that most scholars prefers to write/call the name the country during the pre-Menelik by ‘Abyssinian Empire’ and after Menelik by ‘Ethiopi’a.

On the other hand, according to Sarah (2013:431) the modern Ethiopian state formation reflects a peculiar mixture of European and African patterns and processes. At the old Abyssinian core (essentially what is now the two northern highland states of Tigray and Amhara, together with

parts of highland Eritrea), a more centralized polity evolved in the mid-19th century, regulating its frontiers through the kind of warfare between neighbors familiar from Europe. In this line Pausewang (2009:3) concludes that:

In the 19th century the Amhara-dominated Ethiopian Empire expanded to the South, making use of larger quantities of firearms imported from Europe. When European powers engaged in competition for partitioning Africa among themselves as colonies, a strengthened Ethiopian State could as the only African nation claim a stake in this “scramble for Africa”. European weapons allowed the Empire to subdue the different small kingdoms and communities of many ethnic groups; Ethiopia more than tripled its territory southward. This expansion allowed to amass resources for a strengthened and centralized state structure, and gave the strength in terms of military, manpower and economic clout to resist European attempts at colonizing it.

By depending on this interaction of north-south relation, and this is the finding of many recent authors, Ethiopia can be seen as colonial state of the Amharas that colonized dozens of ethnic groups as Oromo's or Somalis and others in what is now known as Ethiopia but before 1855 these were independent territories according to Jan Zahoric (2014:152). On this Kumsa (2019:510) argues that: “At the end of the 19th century, the occupation of Oromia and other neighboring nations became a part of the colonization of Africa by West European states. King Menelik II participated in this colonization and negotiated with European leaders to divide the Horn of Africa between himself and others”.

Kumsa (2019:510) qualifies the north south relation as colonization:

The Horn of Africa was colonized by Abyssinia like other African nations who were the victims of West European states. But what makes the Abyssinia colonialism exceptional is its brutality as half of the Oromo population was destroyed. Independent states to the south of Oromia including Kaffa, Wolaitta, Gurage and others suffered the most after the Oromo were defeated.

Assefa (2008:2) argues that due to the former centers of power was limited to the northern part of the country, he opt to call it Abyssinian Empire and argue the time of Menelik as the starting of colonization of the southern peoples:

Unlike his predecessors, Menelik's territorial ambitions were not limited to the Abyssinian heartland. Menelik had adopted a policy of conquest and colonialism even before ascending the Abyssinian throne. Since he was receiving many European travellers, fortune-seekers and adventurers at his court, Menelik was informed about developments in other parts of Africa. Thus, impelled by the appearance of European colonialist in the region, he 'embarked on a much larger scale of colonization in the 1880s' than what was attempted previously

Jan Zahoric (2014:150) also shares the view of Ethiopia as a colonial power of Amhara, which colonized and subjugated a wide range of minorities inhabiting mainly the southern, eastern and western fringes of the Ethiopian Highlands; by adding many other factors which are even more important including land, societies, social changes, classes, power relations, military, international dimensions. And according to him States and societies undergo perpetual changes and progresses in a context of wide range of factors, both internal and external. Menelik followed a top-down nation building approach that imposed Amhara culture, language and religion on the newly conquered ethno-linguistic groups, and thereby introduced stratified ethnic relations into the political tradition of the state. And up until 1991, his successors pursued the same strategy-Amharizing the non-Amhara nations.

Alemayehu (2013:116) portrays the domination of Abyssinia (Amhara and Tigray) over other nations like Oromo, Somali (in Ogaden), Afar, Sidama and others, who were incorporated into the Ethiopian empire at the end of the nineteenth century by conquest and colonization as a clear example of inter-group domination. Amhara and Tigrians have been living in one state from ancient time until today, having similar languages, the same religion and similar political culture. They established Ethiopian empire by Abyssinian emperor Minilik II during this historical period in the same time when Africa was colonized by Western European states.

Likewise, Marcus notes that on this “Compared with the Amhara elites, the subject peoples in the empire were generally seen as primitive, without culture or effective government, and lazy, dirty, and warlike: they were naked or dressed in skins; they were heathen who needed the word of God” (Marcus 1975 cited in Hawi, 2016:23).

However, the reality is far away from this as the southern people have their own culture independent of Abyssinian culture, were not without their own government, and were not warlike as argued by the writers from Abyssinian and use their writings as a source. As Kumsa (2019:505) argues even, among the southern peoples Oromo people have ‘Gadaa’ democracy governance system that is peaceful and well-organized than of the Abyssinians, their own culture and live in peace with each other in their respective territories before the occupation.

The study of modern Ethiopian history disclose the subjugation of Oromo and other southern peoples and their inclusion to Abyssinian empire studied, however the study do not want to reveal any of the disruption of the traditions, practices, customs and religious practices of these southern peoples and Oromo. The time of Menelik was the culmination of territorial expansion by subjugating Oromo and other southern peoples that started by its predecessors as studied by Bahru (1991:61).

Asafa (2016:184) argued that “The colonial terrorism that started during the reign of Menelik has continued under successive Ethiopian governments. The Haile Selassie government continued the policies of Menelik until it was overthrown by the popular revolt of 1974”. The Selassie government terrorized the Oromo of Raya-Azabo, Wallo, Hararghe, Bale and other regions because of their political and cultural resistance to the Amhara-Tigray domination and it was not limited to its surrounding center of power Addis Ababa. And it also imprisoned, tortured or hanged prominent Oromo leaders because of their resistance.

In the same vein, Bahru (1991) cited in Mulugeta and Fiseha, (2015:99) concludes that:

The imperial regimes of Menelik and Haile Selassie perused open policies of assimilation in their efforts to bring together a centralized Ethiopian state. Once the current Ethiopian territory was brought under the imperial regime, Emperor Haile Selassie, in the first half of the 20th century, structured the country into fourteen provinces. He appointed governors from the center, in most instances undermining preexisting traditional structures.

Emperor Haile Sellaise’s regime worked on the protection of the Emperor’s dignity and his relative and worked on neglecting and dehumanizing of the Oromo peoples to perpetuate the feudalism system and the dominance of the group that he subject to until the culmination of its

regime. He did his best by neglecting popular revolt that led and forced Oromo people to fight against these forces. Oromo people also experienced sour struggle against the regime. Alemayehu (2013:112) argue it as: “The first and largest nation was the Oromo people, southern neighbor of Abyssinia, which fought against the expanding imperial conquest for more than quarter of a century but finally was defeated like other African nations”. The Oromo people tried all alternatives to protect themselves from this horrendous, cruel act against them. Some fled to the forest, whereas some took refuge in British Sudan, Kenya, and British Somaliland/Somalia to escape slavery (Alemayehu, 2013:125).

According to Asefa (2002) Oromo nationalism has undergone three stages of development such as: reform nationalism in 1960s, revolutionary nationalism in 1970s, and mass movement since 1990s. With the suppression (closure of Oromo self- help *Mecha* and *Tulama* Association (MTA) and arrest of its leaders such as general Tadesse Biru) of Oromo reform nationalism (calling for reform but not overthrowing the empire’s political and economic system), some Oromo nationalists fled to Somalia, the Middle East and elsewhere to continue the struggle, whereas others remained in Ethiopia.

Thereby, this caused the emergence of an increasing awareness of being discriminated against, of alienation from the center and the growth of more pan-Oromo political movements. “The arrogant abuse of power by Shoan officials and Amhara landlords encouraged more opposition from Oromo. Thus, there was a continuing movement in Oromo self-awareness from merely passively knowing that they were a distinctive people occupying a territory which had been colonized, to the creation of an active consciousness of being part of an Oromo nation” (Salih and Markakis, 1998:55).

By stating this as the decolonization movement, Semir (2019:5) argues that the existence of other reasons interacted with the state’s nation-building policy to produce counter-nation-building efforts. For him these factors include the legacies of Italian colonialism (especially in Eritrea), and Marxist-Leninist thoughts and movements of the 1960s and 1970s, contributed to the rethinking of the whole project of nation building that was under way at the time. These factors led to the ripening of sub-nationalist sentiments across the country.

Andargachew (1993) also agrees with how the question of nationalities and the class contradictions played out basically in the 1960s to weaken the Haile Selassie regime, and

precipitated its eventual collapse. The prevalence of widespread tenancy in the south generated a call for land reform that entitles the peasants to land and in a radical turn the students argued that Ethiopia was not a united multi-ethnic nation but a ‘prison house of nations and nationalities’.

Following the demise of the Haile Selassie regime, the military regime that emerged in 1974 under the leadership of Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam continued state intimidation, dictatorship, and Ethiopian colonial policies and consequently the regime faced strong resistance from ethnic liberation movements at the periphery. Intrastate conflicts were experienced in Ethiopian history between the central government and local governors urging for decentralization and autonomy (Siraw, 2015:50).

With regards to the era of the regime, Andargachew (1993) concludes that:

“what appears to be the loss of the 'mandate of heaven' by His Majesty, even the lower echelon of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, one of the pillars of imperial rule in Ethiopia came out against the Emperor's government with the grievances of their own, breaking the tradition of a symbiotic relationship and the trinity between the Church and state in Ethiopian history”.

Ethiopia, the home for more than 80 ethnic communities with different languages, cultures and religions expressed only in one group’s domination. For most of Ethiopian history, the Amhara ethnic group, and hence the Amharic language, and the Ethiopian Orthodox church have dominated and defined the political, social and cultural affairs of the country (Merera, 2007; cited in Bethlehem, 2017:3). The socio- economic inequalities along ethno-linguistic lines were prevalent, until the downfall of the Marxist Dergue regime (1974-1991) in the early 1990s, ethnic groups other than Amharas and Tigrayans were not given a deserved recognition and their rights were not respected. The topic of ethnicity, and hence the language and identity of other ethnic groups, was very much suppressed in the political and social discourses during the Monarchical system until 1974 and the Dergue regime. This changed in 1991 after the Dergue regime was overthrown by the guerrilla movement composed of multi-ethnic political groups and with the coming of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) and later the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) rather the start of an EPRDF dominated transitional government (Bethlehem, 2017:3).

On the other hand, Amhara writers including Zola (2020:3) perceive the multi-ethnic and multicultural nature of Ethiopian state and society as backwardness: “Ethiopia’s population seems not to have reached the stage where individual merit receive higher premium than membership to a particular group. This has made nationalism a very potent weapon to claim and secure political and economic power”.

3.5 [Multi] nation and State Building and the Cultural Identity of Oromo in the Post 1991 Ethiopia

Federalism stems from the need of people and polities to unite for common purposes yet remain separate to preserve their integrity. Federalism is concerned simultaneously with the diffusion of political power in the name of liberty and its concentration on behalf of unity or energetic government (Elazar, 1987; cited in Balcha, 2007:25).

“Federalism is not an abstract ideological model to which political society is to be brought into conformity, but rather a way or process of bringing people together through practical arrangements intended to meet both the common and diverse preferences of the people involved” (Watts, 1991:4).

In 1991, the transitional period charter adopted by the transitional government, “The charter aimed at ending “an era of subjugation and oppression, and replacing it by a new chapter of ‘freedom, equal rights and self-determination’ of all peoples. The charter was thus meant to democratize the unitary Ethiopian state, which was dominated by one ethnic group, and replace it with a federal system in which all citizens enjoyed equal rights” (Mohammed 2002:27). The emperor’s defunct policy of unmediated assimilation in which the culture and language of the ruling class was forcefully imposed on the subordinated nationalities brought this radical stance (Medhane and Alagaw, 2014:5).

Then after Ethiopia adopted an ethnic based federal state structure and Ethiopia’s ethnic federalism resulted from the system of the past as Solomon (2009) argued “Since late 19th century, successive Ethiopian leaders governed the country by denying or suppressing ethnic diversity. Starting from the 1960s, however, several ethno-nationalist groups bitterly fought central governments for decades and defeated the last unitary government in 1991”. To solve the problem experienced in the previous centralized unitary administration, decentralization and

autonomy formulated under the federal system following the enactment of the 1994 constitution (Siraw, 2015:50).

According to Gonfa (2018:33) also the main aims behind transition to federalism were to address issues of equality of the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia that were raised and expressed during the marginalization and centralization regimes. The former assimilation and centralized policies failed to accommodate the religious, linguistic and cultural diversity. Furthermore, there was political and economic dominance. These economic and cultural conquests gave birth to the 'question of nationalities that led to announcement of ethnic federalism.

The Federal system was brought to Ethiopia by a coalition of different rebellious groups (dominated by EPRDF) after holding government power, to accommodate diversity and promote power sharing. Tasew (2017:4) stated the argument of Meles Zenawi the leader of the regime (president during the transitional period) for introducing federalism in Ethiopia as follows: "The key cause of the war all over the country was the issue of nationality" and consider the restructuring of Ethiopia into an ethnic federation. That the introduction of Ethiopian federal state structure, that depends upon the free consent of the people is more appropriate as Ethiopia has diverse nature of society and culture.

Thereby, it argued as the nations, nationalities and peoples of the country get the right to determine their affair by their own. According to Hashim (2010:15) every ethnic community acquired the right to use and develop its language, to express and promote its culture, and to preserve its history. In Ethiopia, as in most other African countries, cultural and linguistic groups that have been suppressed by the homogenizing impulses of state-nationalism have deployed ethnic self-definition, which is an ordinary aspect of selfhood and a basic social relation, in the struggle for survival.

As Hashim (2010:19) and others argue the main objectives of the federal compact were fulfilled in Ethiopian federalism as the promotion of equal treatment and development of cultures and religions delivered without any discrimination as included in the principle. For Gonfa (2018:57) also- as a part of the transition since 1991, the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia have the right to proud in their culture, language and identity. The constitution gives equal recognition to all Ethiopian cultures and languages. In this regard the culture and language of Oromo (Afan

Oromo) which was highly conquered or marginalized for more than a century has become the medium of communication and instruction in the Oromia regional state.

However, this cannot bring new period for the fate of Oromo peoples, particularly Oromo of Finfinnee/Addis Ababa and surrounding areas as the scholars from this group (Oromo) argue. For instance, Asafa (2008:5) argues that the Meles regime also continued the forced removal of Oromo's from the areas surrounding Finfinnee (Addis Ababa) by evicting the Oromo farmers from their homelands with nominal or without compensation. The Meles regime leased several millions of hectares of Oromo lands to so-called investors from foreign countries and the clients and servants of the regime. Thereby, the Oromo are faced abject poverty and hunger. For Asafa "the Meles regime also sells Oromo minerals and other natural resources while evicting and impoverishing the Oromo people. Whenever the Oromo resist, the regime mercilessly brutalizes or kills them".

According to Semir (2019:7) the multinational state project of the EPRDF contributed to the intensification of an array of nationalist mobilizations, both in the ethnic and Ethiopian nationalist camps. Ethnic nationalism ripened in two ways. On the one hand it fed on the opportunities given to it by the constitutional and political structural frameworks put in place to nurture it. Elites worked hard to develop their cultures and languages, and to entice self-contentment in one's ethnicity, using the institutions and rhetoric of the state.

Again also the EPRDF has promoted the Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO), which has its base of support in some of the same areas as the OLF. But this new formulated party by TPLF for Oromo people (OPDO) was used to control Oromo people rather than serving the interest of Oromo people. Then after the EPRDF was clearly committed to the same strategy of 'divide and rule' as had been pursued by previous regimes and the OLF was told to leave the coalition (Keller, 2019:630). EPRDF the champion of self-determination of ethnic groups characterized by top-down decision making, marginalization of civil society, fusion of party, state and government, and entrenchment of structure of control and repression (Medhane and Alagaw, 2014:5).

The rule of EPRDF argues as "the EPRDF government has brought untold miseries and sufferings on the Oromo people. The OPDO is reduced to a rubber stamp for TPLF rule over Oromia. Oromo resources are mobilized and looted to develop Tigray. The ruling party is

categorically rejected by the entire Oromo nation and survives only on the back of its repressive security forces” (Almaz, 2001; cited in Mohammed, 2002:41).

Urban growth spilled across city boundaries and now significantly influences the neighbouring Oromia region. The restructuring of the surrounding small towns in Oromia Regional State into one special zone is one response to the growth and influence of Addis Ababa in the surrounding region. Such growth has sparked rural-urban conflicts in recent years, both within and outside the administrative boundaries of the city (Elias and Laura, 2018:7).

Moreover, the EPRDF regime tried to implement the Addis Ababa Master Plan in 2014 that the Oromo in general and the Oromo students in particular peacefully resisted this policy as thinking it was intended to totally uproot Oromo farmers around the capital city and transfer their lands to Tigrayans and supporters of the system. The regime killed or imprisoned Oromo students and others who opposed the Addis Ababa Master Plan. Almost all Oromo students have opposed this plan and peacefully demonstrated all over Oromia. By seeing it as it is the tamed norm of the regime, by evicting the Oromo farmers from their homelands with nominal or without compensation, as the regime has already leased several million hectares of Oromo lands to so-called investors (Asafa, 2008).

The Oromo protest movement (2014-2016) flared up in response to the implementation of the Addis Ababa Integrated Master Plan (AAIMP). The government responded to the protests with excessive force resulting in the death of an estimated 800 people while tens of thousands of people were sent to jails across the country (US Department of State, 2016)

Others including Bahru (2018:5) try to justify and observe as the Addis Ababa Master Plan is not to hurt Oromo people. For him the Master Plan is to benefit the surrounding people, but he forgets the importance of free consent and necessary deliberation of the respective people.

The Addis Ababa Master Plan, which on the surface was not really a negative thing because it was an effort to create a greater Addis Ababa while benefiting at the same time the adjoining districts. However, it was perceived by the Oromo youth in particular as being put forward at the expense of Oromo farmers on the periphery of Addis Ababa. This led to a series of protests because the farmers on the outskirts of Addis Ababa had already suffered from a large number of real estate expansions and this Master Plan was

perceived as being yet another measure to dislodge them without giving them due and adequate compensation.

For the Oromo as a group, the loss of their ancestral land will mean the loss of the essential foundations for preserving their language, culture and identity. What makes the Master Plan (that set by the occupiers at different time) genocidal is not the physical destruction of the Oromo as individuals but the destruction of the essential foundations of the Oromo (cultural genocide) which makes it impossible for the Oromo to survive as an ethnic group according to Abera (2019:38).

For Zelalem (2018:85) the issue of Addis Ababa and its surrounding towns is not only the issue of a city. It is rather about identity. We can raise this issue from several dimensions. The Master Plan must promote the culture, language, history, and political and economic interests of the Oromo if it is to apply.

Even if worked on much to destroy the name and the history of Oromo, the Oromo community retained it till today. The name indicates the abundance of hot springs (“Hora Finfinnee” in Afan Oromo) at the heart of the city, where cattle flourished (Haileyesus, 2019:87). After the 2018 reformation the change in the EPRDF prevail some changes and following to it in the 2019 the “Hora Finfinnee” welcome “Irreechaa” festival after the lapse of one and half century. So this is considered as a great win by many Oromo elites and groups.

At a national level also the reformation started to get some acceptance at the initial stage, International Crisis Group (2019:2) study reveals that “Abiy’s plan entails dissolving the four blocs’ and merging them, plus five parties that rule Ethiopia’s other regions, into a new party, the Prosperity Party. The premier aims to shore up national unity, strengthen his leadership and shift Ethiopia away from what many citizens see as a discredited system. And this of his approach enjoys some support, including from Ethiopians who see it as a move away from ethnic politics”.

But also it invites struggle, its quick decision of dissolving parties also risks further stressing a fragile state whose bureaucracy is entwined with the EPRDF from top to bottom. His EPRDF merger and other centralizing reforms move him more squarely into the camp of those opposing that system of synergizing particularly, Tigray’s ruling party and Oromo rivals oppose the move, seeing it as a step toward ending ethnic federalism (Ibid).

As the same as Morris (2020:3) notes that, in contrast to a awaited hopes the hunting of Oromo musicians in the country, demotion of a rational and intellectual Oromo leaders and substitute by others, arresting of Oromo activists and leaders of political parties those are popular in front of Oromo people as they contribute a lot for the existence of the people and more terrorizing mass population triggered massive protests in the Oromia region and led to hundreds of deaths and thousands of arrests. So that the reformation waited with a lot hopes becomes more blur for Oromo and Oromo fate in the Ethiopian empire like as the emperors' era.

3.6 Place of Addis Ababa in the Federal System of Ethiopia

Urbanization and urban development are growing phenomena at any time and Addis Ababa is not exceptional to this. Therefore, according to Birhanu (2014:4) “it is rational for the government of Ethiopia to develop a proper plan to address stakeholders’ political, economic, social, and environmental interests and thus to ensure sustainable urban development.”

In contrast to the past history of the county as there was no room to think about the interest of Oromo’s as the indigenous occupants of the capital city, in 1992, as part of its pseudo concessions to the OLF, the TPLF recognized Addis Ababa as the capital of Oromia and promised that Oromia’s interests in the city would be respected (Getahun 2002; cited in Fikadu, 2014:34). “Then, in the Transitional Period Charter that created the Transitional Government (1991-1995) and later served as the foundation for its constitution, it was stated The special national and political interests of the Oromo are reserved over regions 13 [Harari State] and 14 [Addis Ababa]” (ibid).

Though, after 1991 in the first three years of the transitional government, urban growth of Addis Ababa and others was very slow as a result of the decentralization policy of the new government, following the fall of the communist government accompanied a new era for urban development as the strong government controlled policy of urban growth of the communist period came to an end (Dandena 2008:52).

“Under the current federalist arrangement, Addis Ababa is the seat of both the federal government as well as the ONRS. Recent political tensions have shown that EPRDF’s ethno-linguistic federal system has barely provided a lasting solution concerning Addis Ababa” (Eyob, 2020:4). As Eyob argued, a historically rooted claim of ownership is being echoed primarily by

Oromo nationalists. There is also an equally valid question of belongingness to the city by rejecting this claim of ownership by a respective ethno-linguistic group.

Eyob want to justify the claim of Oromo's as not exclusive ownership, but it is different from this argument and not to own Addis Ababa exclusively, rather to have access to work and opportunities equally with others. Eyob (2020:4) himself ensured that: "legally speaking, the constitution (Article 49 (5)) recognizes the 'administrative' links between Addis Ababa and the ONRS, mainly because the city is a territory within the Oromia region".

"Addis Ababa was an enclave falling outside Oromia while also housing the Government of Oromia as its capital. In a sense, Addis Ababa is in Oromia, but not of Oromia. Oromia was a State governing from Addis Ababa without, however, governing Addis Ababa itself" (Tsegaye, 2017; cited in Milkessa, 2017:227). Thereby, it is not that difficult to predict the ethno-linguistic conditions of Oromo's and other non-Amhara nationals in the city for Milkessa. This cultural marginalization of the Oromo (inability to use its language and practice its tradition) in the federal capital is linked to, and sustained by, urban policies formulated by Ethiopia's Federal Government in which the Oromo have been kept marginalized. Hence, it is obvious that the monolingual and monocultural character of the city resulted from the government policy (Ibid).

Proclamation No.7/1992 which identified the city as one of the 14 Regions during the transitional period charter omitted by the 1995 FDRE constitution and Addis Ababa become city administration that control by the federal government with the Dire Dewa city administration (Tsegaye, 2015:2). Under the EPRDF government, Addis Ababa (which Oromo's call Finfinne) is designated as the "capital city of the federal" government (art 49(1)) whose ethnically diverse people have a right to self-government (art 49(2)) that is ultimately responsible to the federal government (art 49(3)). Being an Oromo city the constitution talks only about its 'location' in Oromia (Ibid).

With regards to language aspect the interest of Oromo to use its language to learn by and get access to work by it continue unresolved in Addis Ababa. Mequnint (2014:17) stated this as, "Being Ethiopia is one of the multilingual and multicultural countries, has faced the critical problem of development and implementation of language use policy that could satisfy the needs of various societies in question and contribute to their socioeconomic and socio-cultural

development. Because language policy plays an important role in securing the access to the power and influence, they affect access to public service or employment in public services”.

Nebyuo stated Addis Ababa, diversity and monolingual language policy as:

In Addis Ababa, all public institutions provide monolingual services, only in Amharic. Language carries culture and is seen as a symbol of identity. Due to its monolingual and cultural services, Addis Ababa continued to be an island in Oromia. Despite the fact that the city of Addis Ababa is located in the heart of the State of Oromia and also regarded as a city “of diverse nations and nationalities with a multitude of cultures and languages,” non-Amhara nationalities in the city in general had no better option than accepting marginalization and making efforts to assimilate to the dominant Amharic language and identity (Nebyuo, 2007; cited in Milkessa, 2017:225).

3.6.1 The “Special Interest” of Oromia in Addis Ababa

There are social, economic and historical grounds for the special interest of Oromia National Regional State in Finfinnee. Betru (2015:1) stated that in this regard:

The area was solely inhabited by Oromo clans of Gulale, Eekka, and Galan Abichu and was divided into 12 counties or districts; each county was being administered by the local clan chiefs like, Tufa Muna, Duta Harra, Jimma Jatani, Guto Wasarbi, Jimma Tikse, Abebe Tufa, Ware Golole, Tufa Araddo and Mojo Batora. And the history of former ‘Finfine’ shows Afan Oromo naming for each re-named sites. To mention, Genda Sokoru, Genda Sulula Garbi, Genda Garbi, Genda Hurufa Rare, Genda Kersa, Genda Boru Korma, Genda Burayu, Genda Golba, Genda Adami, Genda Didimtu, Genda Qalle, Genda Fiche, Genda Karra, Genda Harbu Irrecha, Genda Dire Arara, Genda Burka Ejere, Genda Beda Ejersa, Genda Ruma, Genda Doka Bora, Genda Bole Bulbula, Genda Birbirsa, Genda Kersa, Genda Dhoke Bore, Genda Lubu, Genda Oda, etc.

Thereby the special interest of Oromia national regional state was enshrined in the 1995 FDRE constitution Article 49(5) as a solution for the marginalization of Oromo culture and history in Addis Ababa city and seems to redress the past injustice that of treating Oromos as aliens on their home land:

The special interest of the State of Oromia in Addis Ababa, regarding the provision of social services or the utilization of natural resources and other similar matters, as well as joint administrative matters arising from the location of Addis Ababa within the State of Oromia, shall be respected.

Zelalem (2018:86) argues the special interest of Oromia as for political discontent, and to reinstall its political legitimacy, that the EPRDF attempted to enact the “special interest of Oromia in Addis Ababa” into law as part and parcel of appeasing. It was finally sent to the House of People’s Representatives for final promulgation. Before its adoption, what constitutes a “special” interest was not set clearly, the issue of “joint administration” was not considered, and above all there was no credible deliberation among the public.

As it is provided in the constitution of the country, one cannot argue that the issue of interest of Oromo in Finfinnee is not regarded; instead, it left from Oromia regional state government to take steps in realizing the special interest of Oromia in Finfinnee. Oromia regional state government lacks power to do so in Finfinnee, rather than approving what ordered to perform by others who dominate and exercise the whole system. And the Oromo people remained impacted in and around the city. In this regard Birhanu (2015:6) argues “Finfinnee is a curse for the ‘*Tuulamaa*’ Oromo’s who can only get evicted with urbanization, impoverished with development and left in darkness with expansion of education”. So, the ‘*Tuulamaa*’ original Oromo inhabitants are not destined to live on their original land or they are not compensated and able to exercise the life they deserve even under the federal system that was hoped to bring equality.

Instead, the EPRDF government planned master plan called intention that criticized by totally eliminate Oromo and Oromo culture not only in Finfinnee but also from around the city. Zelalem (2018:86) concluded the Takele Uma’s speech on the master plan and Addis Ababa following with the happened refusal from Oromo society as:

“The issue of Addis Ababa and its surrounding towns is not only the issue of a city. It is rather about identity. We can raise this issue from several dimensions. The Master Plan must promote the culture, language, history, and political and economic interests of the Oromo. We know well how the development of Addis Ababa began and where it is today. That is why we are saying that the Master Plan should have been based on the

Constitution. We do not need the kind of master plan that pushes away the farmers. Instead, we need a plan that embraces the farmers and their children in the development process. It has to be a plan that the local community and the regional government accept and endorse”.

Though the regime is against its law “Special Interest” of Oromo people on the city and instead focused on the cleansing of Oromo even from the surrounding of the city rather than respecting and doing for the fulfillment of the Oromo peoples interest on the city that provided by the law of the regime itself. And the protest of Oromo people is also for the respect for regional autonomy rights enshrined in the constitution, not only for the fulfillment of the special interest (Asafa, 2008).

According to, Assefa 2006; cited in Tasew (2017:4) “The Ethiopian federal system was introduced to guarantee the peaceful coexistence of different ethno-linguistic and religious groups”. So, this not seems valid in Addis Ababa to benefit from and access work opportunities or other services as the capital city of the country and the Oromo people feels not benefiting from Addis Ababa that has effects on their life.

So, this is part of making the Oromo people less and the expense of Oromo people by the name of Ethiopianism. As Getahun (2007:2) stated “Amharizing the Oromo in the name of forging a "national" culture, effectively purged the city of its Oromo components and made it impossible for Oromo’s to succeed both individually and corporately” as Addis Ababa is the most one in this respect and it continued without a significant changes in the current regime also.

Others like Bahru (2002) cited in Kena (2016:137) want to justify master plan and recommend for the replacing Oromo’s by Tigrayans as it did before by the emperors and their respective ethnic groups:

All other facts of government policy- administration, justice, economic organization- should be regulated by the policy of assimilation. Provincial boundaries need to be redrawn to facilitate the policy. Oromo numerical predominance in the southern provinces should be tempered by a policy of Amhara settlement. Tigreans too should be encouraged to settle in the southern provinces.

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter it was studied that as the urban history of Ethiopia reflects injustice to live in, to manifest one's identity and use one's language after the emperor's period as they use Amharic as an official language and Amhara culture as a culture of the country. That is why Oromo consider the latter phase of Abyssinian hegemony as a colonial experience, and because of its coincidence with the European scramble for Africa and the creation of nation-states based on external models applied. And the Oromo enforced to stop its practices and culture and lost all of its administration structure. Even also at personal level every individual supposed to incorporate to the monolingual and monocultural behavioral pattern which is considered to be a norm in the country. That the norm of urban in Ethiopia is speaking in Amharic language, hearing Amharic and Amharic songs, and adapt all of Amhara culture by leaving one's own culture as investigated by this study.

However, in all of these attempts to create homogenous urban identity and despite the cultural policy impositions by the state to create homogenous urban Ethiopian society, Addis Ababa and other cities in the country remained multiethnic, multilingual and multicultural.

The assimilationist' forces sought the campaign against the Oromo culture as a logic of nation-state building project and they tend to justify it as it was correct. Their campaign was/is more influential on Oromo of Finfinnee and the surrounding areas as they evicted original Oromo from the area and made Finfinnee to reflect their culture and identity.

The studies of Oromo scholars disclose that Oromo and Oromo culture should not be hated for being cruel; rather there is an unreasonable hatred/stereotype against this people. The EPRDF government that aimed to handle diversity positively and hoped to enable diversity as a valuable contributes a little to impede these problems.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Rapid Urbanization of Addis Ababa and its Impacts on the Oromo Culture under the Federal System of Ethiopia

4.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the presentation and analysis of data obtained from the field through qualitative research tools including questionnaire and key informant interview. The chapter examines the interrelationship between urbanization of Addis Ababa city and Oromo culture under the federal state set up and it inspects the measures taken by ONRS, Addis Ababa city administration and non-governmental organizations to preserve Oromo culture in the city and the surrounding areas. And the challenges of maintaining Oromo culture in rapid urbanization of Addis Ababa city are studied by this chapter.

4.2 Characteristics and Background of the Research Participants

As it is indicated in chapter one to have 25 interviewee respondents, semi-structured interviews are held with a total of 22 informants of Addis Ababa city cultural and tourism Bureau, informants of Oromia cultural and tourism Bureau and experts from center of Oromo culture, informed residents (Oromo and non-Oromo) of, Yeka and Akaki Kality sub-cities, informants of Burayu city administration and *Abbaa Gadaa's* (community elders).

Questionnaire were filled out by the target group of Oromo residents of Yeka and Akaki Kality sub-cities, and eighty-five (85) respondents have filled out the questionnaire. These respondents were selected by purposive and snowball sampling methods as stated in chapter one. The background information of respondents who have filled out the questionnaire such as sex, language and ethnic identity are presented in table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: Characteristics of Participants by Sex, Language and Ethnic Identity

| Items | Category | Frequency | Percent |
|-----------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Sex | Male | 69 | 81.18 |
| | Female | 16 | 18.82 |
| | Total | 85 | 100.0 |
| Age | 18-25 | 27 | 31.76 |
| | 26-35 | 39 | 45.88 |
| | 36-45 | 10 | 11.76 |
| | >45 | 9 | 10.60 |
| | Total | 85 | 100 |
| Language | Speak Afan Oromo | 85 | 100 |
| | Not speak Afan Oromo | – | – |
| | Total | 85 | 100 |
| Ethnic Identity | Oromo | 83 | 97.65 |
| | Not Oromo | 2 | 2.35 |
| | Total | 85 | 100 |

Source: Own Survey Result (May 2020)

This table is based on the understanding that personal characteristics could have influence on responses to the questions. For instance, the way aged respondents react to questions of cultural issues from their experience they have passed through and able to connect it with the historical events; their language characteristics whether they can speak Afan Oromo or not and thereby know the status of Afan Oromo and identify participants whether insider to the cultural group under study or not; and their ethnic identity that enable to understand the respondents whether

they are part of the group or not. Even though, the sex category was presented to see representations in the study.

As presented by the table 4.1 of characteristics of respondents regarding the sex distribution, the majority of the respondents 69(81.18%) were males while the remaining 16(18.82%) of the total respondents were females. This shows us that females' participation in the study is weak and more participants are males.

As it is shown in the above table 4.1 the respondents of this study questionnaire are categorized into different age groups. Accordingly, the age dissemination of the respondents as revealed by survey result were 27(31.76%) within the age range of 18-25 years, 39(45.88%) of them within the range of 26-35 years, 10(11.76%) within the age range of 36-45 years and 9(10.60%) of informants range above 45 years. From this fact, it could be easily understood that the majority of respondents were found in the 18-25 and 26-35, that is the young age group.

Concerning the language characteristics of the participants, all participants can communicate in Afan Oromo. . That makes sure us, as the respondents participated without language barriers. And regarding Ethnic Identity of the respondents, 83 (97.65) belongs to the study group (Oromo) while the rest few 2 (2.35) were not Oromo, besides there are interviewee participants of non-Oromo.

4.3 Urbanization of Addis Ababa City and the Oromo Culture

Until 1886 when Empress Tayitu Bitul, the wife of Menelik II founded and christened the name Finfinnee the so called Addis Ababa, the Oromo all over the country had been conducting their ritual of Irreechaa at Finfinnee. Sadly, then after, Irreechaa ritual at Finfinnee had been officially prohibited¹

Finfinnee experienced 'Gadaa' system when the Oromo had control over the land and property before the conquest by Menelik forces. Finfinnee was one of the oldest thanks giving (Ireechaa) center for the Oromos². However, by starting in the past time after taking Finfinnee from Oromo it was forbidden to close to the Finfinnee spring (Hora Finfinnee) totally for Oromo people. The

¹Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau (2019) Oromo Irreechaa: Finfinnee Oromia p.32

² Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau (2019) Oromo Irreechaa: Finfinnee Oromia p.18

founding place of Menelik’s monument was in the past, the place where Oromo exercise assembly under a large Juniper found there³.

“The Oromo religious and cultural practices became target of state repression during those times and ‘Irreechaa’ rituals were restricted and were delineated by other parties as devilish adoration”⁴. After occupying Finfinnee they primarily took measure of outlawing ‘Gadaa’ System that is all things for Oromo people (administration system, life system, social, political, economic, religion and philosophy) of Oromo people. They continually worked on the weakening of ‘Gadaa’ system, by dismantling Oromo association and social life, renaming the name of places to abolish centers of practicing ‘Gadaa’ system and thanks giving places like Hora Finfinnee (Finfinnee Spring) building Christian churches and naming places by the names that initiate the name of their religion. This worked on by aiming to forget the places and its cultural linkages for Oromo. Then after, they put the sanction on Oromo not to talk/use Afan Oromo, not exercise its religion and not practice its custom over Finfinnee⁵.

After forbidding its original thanks giving (Irreechaa) place of Finfinnee by colonizers, Oromo people started to use Hersedi spring (Hora Harsadii) that becomes the biggest ‘Irreechaa’ place as a result. This reflects as Oromo lacks power over Finfinnee and on the other hand, they started to see themselves as native on Finfinnee⁶.

Table 4.2 Respondents opinion on whether urbanization of Addis Ababa positively influences the culture of the Oromo in Addis Ababa city and its surrounding

| Item | No. of respondents | Percentage |
|---------|--------------------|------------|
| Yes | 14 | 16.47 |
| No | 68 | 80 |
| Unknown | 3 | 3.53 |
| Total | 85 | 100 |

Source: Own Survey Result (May 2020)

³ Interview with Abbaa Gadaa Fikadu; Burrayu May 16, 2020

⁴ Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau (2019) Oromo Irreechaa: Finfinnee Oromia p.18

⁵ Ibid P.18

⁶ Ibid p.18

As presented by the table 4.2 most respondents 68(80%) replied No, while only 14(16.47) of them replied Yes and 3(3.53) Unknown. This revealed as urbanization of Addis Ababa does not have positive effects on the culture of Oromo people in and around the Addis Ababa city.

As almost all respondents have put their reasons in open ended question, Finfinnee does not concern for Oromo culture at the time of its expansion, by conceiving Oromo culture as inferior. The expansionists primarily targeted land expansion and abolished Oromo organizations and social structures to replace by their own. They suppressed the self-rule right of Oromo and make Oromo to forget their identity, culture and practices rather than embracing it. As the respondents argue the current federal system also lacks commitment to enforce the constitution to protect and respect Oromo culture.

Table 4.3: The respondents’ opinion on the extent to which they manifest their culture in the city

| Item | No. of respondents | Percentage |
|------------|--------------------|------------|
| Very well | 22 | 25.88 |
| Well | 13 | 15.30 |
| Some what | 42 | 49.41 |
| Not at all | 8 | 9.41 |
| Total | 85 | 100 |

Source: Own Survey Result (May 2020)

Table 4.3 above reveals that most respondents 42(49.41) responded somewhat, 8(9.41) not at all, 22(25.88) very well and 13(15.30) of them responded well.

As stated by most of the respondents those replied somewhat and not at all in open ended questions, among the circumstances that do not allow them to manifest their culture in the city, absence of Oromo culture’s ceremonies and festival or whether they are not open to public, politicization of Oromo culture and even forbidding from participating, lack of confidence for their right and fear of unexpected accident that accustomed Oromos are the most. In addition, the festivals do not arrange in Afan Oromo and/or not state by Mass Medias are also the substances of undermining Oromo culture and obstructed to manifest it in the city.

Regarding to non-manifestation of Oromo culture in the city the key informant respondent⁷ argues that Afan Oromo and Oromo culture does not get respect and also others feels worry and unhappy by conceiving Oromo culture. As it is worked on for a long period of time by the ruling class of the country (politicization of Oromo culture) and thereby existence of too many those dislike Oromo culture in the city they do not motivate to manifest their culture. The existing bureaucracy and oppression also do not allow doing so as one who manifest Oromo culture saw as a terrorist and wait by hard punishment. The ruling system worked more on the humiliation of Oromo in its culture and the nowadays federalism also exist in name alone and even continued the same practice of dominating Oromo culture and make Oromo culture to enter more into political mouth, rather than finding space for Oromo culture to manifest in the city.

In this regard, the key informant⁸ from Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau argues that the Oromo cultural events prepare by the regional state alone in the city as the city administration and federal government are not concerned for the celebration of Oromo culture in Finfinnee. There is no interaction on the preparation of cultural events with federal government to develop and perpetuate Oromo culture in the city, and this highly confronted the manifestation of Oromo culture in the city.

The cultural events in the city prepares by Addis Ababa city culture and tourism bureau with the cooperation of the federal government predominantly. However, there is no concern of having diversified culture in the city⁹. This enables to say the cultural events and festivities of Oromo does not promote in the city notwithstanding the federalism.

⁷ Interview with Solomon Direba Akaki Kality Sub-city resident may, 07, 2020

⁸ Interview with Ato Kebede Desisa Vice Director of Oromia Cultural and Tourism Bureau; and Mr. Alemayehu Haile Expert of History at Center of Oromo Culture May, 15, 2020

⁹ Interview with Miss Emebet Mekuria expert of folk in Addis Ababa City Culture and Tourism Bureau May 16, 2020

Table 4.4 Respondents opinion on whether they attended any cultural ceremony or festival in the city of Addis Ababa and its vicinity

| Item | No. of respondents | Percentage |
|---------|--------------------|------------|
| Yes | 38 | 44.71 |
| No | 42 | 49.41 |
| Unknown | 5 | 5.88 |
| Total | 85 | 100 |

Source: Own Survey Result (May 2020)

As it could be seen from the table 4.4 the respondents shared relatively into half as 38(44.71) responded Yes and 42(49.41) No. They provided their argument for an open ended question. Accordingly, the respondents those responded Yes stated as they have not seen Oromo culture on prepared festivals and ceremonies. Only ‘Irreechaa’ festival of 2019 and the nations, nationalities and peoples day ceremony that allowed Oromo culture to manifest once a year in the city mentioned by the respondents.

As the respondents those responded ‘No’ stated, their reasons of not participating/attending cultural ceremony or festival in the city include, lack of deserved respect for Oromo and its culture on the ground, and absence of standard Oromo culture that invites to participate as Oromo lacks some organ who can work on and facilitate to participate. In addition, the respondents stated the existing bureaucratic system also do not allow any of Oromo who want to participate rather than for those the system wants to participate (client of the system) and existence of hidden influences from organized system of other groups that work to undermine Oromo culture impedes to attend even the existing cultural ceremonies, including the nations, nationalities and peoples day ceremony.

The key informant¹⁰ from Burayu culture and tourism bureau complains the distrusting of Finfinnee ownership of Oromo. For him Finfinnee is land of Oromo, anyone can come and live on it as the same as in Burayyu or other cities of Oromo, but the owner of the land is Oromo and these have to be approved. As the informant argues they are also part of the struggle for the

¹⁰ Interview with Mr. Keneni Aga Expert of Approval of the Excellency of Hotels and Restaurants Burayyu May, 5, 2020

recognition of Oromo culture in Finfinnee with their people, but it could not be ensured as it unloved by the upper level of government.

In this line, the informant¹¹ from the Center of Oromo Culture argues that, “developing Oromo nationalism is very important to make Oromo to determine its share of native (instead of a second citizen) in the country and also in the city of Finfinnee”. He stated it is clear for Oromo people, as Finfinnee does not found based on the free consent of Oromo people and the nowadays identity of Finfinnee resulted from that of not integrating the interest of inhabitant indigenous people. The language, identity, history, demography and religion that Finfinnee manifesting is evidence for this non-integration.

At the same as, the attack and killings of the Oromo transcend more to destroy Oromo nationalism by eliminating or smashing Oromo political, intellectual, cultural and business elite, who are accused of nurturing nationalism and serving as the ideological source for the Oromo struggle for self-determination. It is worked on to destroy Oromo national identity by undermining the development of Oromo language and cultural heritage. And thereby, to eliminate the limited gains the Oromo have achieved since 1991, by systematically destroying the autonomous status of Oromia, with the goal of restoring the pre-1991 status-quo in Ethiopia¹².

4.4 Federalism, Oromo Culture and Urbanization of Addis Ababa City

The federal structure of the Ethiopian state, introduced in 1991 as a response to resistance by many ethnic groups, has not been able to soothe the trauma that Oromo suffered after a century of Amhara domination, dispossession and relegation to the status of landless serfs or tenants and suppression of their language and culture¹³.

¹¹Interview with Mr. Alemayehu Haile expert of History at Center of Oromo Culture May, 15, 2020

¹²Siegfried Pausewang (2009) Exploring New Political Alternatives for the Oromo in Ethiopian Report from Oromo workshop and its after-effects: CMI Michelson Institute. P.3

¹³Ibid

Table 4.5 Respondents opinion on whether federalism has been promoting multiculturalism in Addis Ababa city

| Item | No. of respondents | Percentage |
|----------------|--------------------|------------|
| Yes genuinely | 8 | 9.41 |
| To some extent | 40 | 47.06 |
| Not yet | 32 | 37.65 |
| Never | 2 | 2.35 |
| Total | 84 | 98.82 |

Source: Own Survey Result (May 2020)

As it is shown from the above table 4.5 most respondents replied to some extent 40(47.06%) and not yet 32(37.65%). We can understand from this as federalism has not been promoting multiculturalism in Addis Ababa/Finfinnee city too much. In addition 2(2.35%) respondents replied never. Among 84 respondents only 8(9.41%) of them replied Yes genuinely.

When comparing the current federal system of Ethiopia with the past regimes in line of giving recognition for Oromo culture in the city, the respondents stated as they are not seeing changes. Under the current federal system, Oromo culture continued to weaken, as the culture of others got a chance to more development and advancement even in the outskirts of the city. As a result Oromo culture exposed to more deterioration.

As informant¹⁴ from the Center of Oromo Culture argues oppression has not stopped for the Oromo, the indigenous Oromo's are evicted from their land forcefully, replacing Oromo hills and places by churches continued. As in the past system, under the current federal system Oromo people are exposed to social, economic and political problems that deteriorate Oromo social life and break Oromo custom and values inappropriately.

As an alternative way of managing diversity in urban areas some form of federalism could be recommended as federal arrangement is basically a partnership established and regulated based on a covenant. That recommended is "whose internal relationships reflect the special kind of sharing that

¹⁴ Interview with Mr. Alemayehu Haile Expert of History at Center of Oromo Culture May, 15, 2020

must prevail among the partners; based on a mutual recognition of the integrity of each partner and the attempt to foster a special unity among them”¹⁵.

In contrast to being owner and/or inclusive to exercise its culture on Finfinnee Oromo people experienced discrimination for long period of time in its religion (particularly ‘*Waaqeffannaa*’), language, social organizations and traditional practices. Oromo literature and language only showed remarkable progress during the period of the Italian five years occupation (1936-1941) in Addis Ababa than any time before that and also after the Italian occupation. The reason behind this is the system that promotes and treats Oromo culture and others equally in practice that goes beyond the idea/theory could not set up yet in Ethiopia¹⁶.

In this line, Asafa (2010) argue that- under the current federal system, the Oromo people deserve genuine equality and inclusion in all aspects and want to regain, exercise and freely reflect its culture, its language, religion, civilization, governance and social structure rather than the continuance of politicizing Oromo and its culture¹⁷.

Table 4.6: The respondent’s opinion on whether they encountered a sense of cultural inclusion in the city

| Item | No. of respondents | Percentage |
|---------|--------------------|------------|
| Yes | 18 | 21.18 |
| No | 64 | 75.29 |
| Unknown | 3 | 3.53 |
| Total | 85 | 100 |

Source: Own Survey Result (May 2020)

From the above table 5.6 we conclude that the Oromo culture is not included in the city. Accordingly, it is counted that 64 (75.29%) of total respondents replied No, while 18(21.18%) replied Yes and 3(3.53) replied Unknown.

¹⁵ Milkessa Midega (2017) The Federal Governance of Multiethnic Cities in Ethiopia: Urban Policy and Conflict in Addis Ababa & Dire Dawa: Addis Ababa University P.83

¹⁶ Teferi Nigussie (2015) The representation of 'Ethiopianness' and 'Oromoness' in two Oromo-language novels: Journal of African Cultural Studies P.88

¹⁷ Asafa Jalata (2010) Urban Centers in Oromia: Consequences of Spatial Concentration of Power in Multinational Ethiopia: University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Journal of Oromo Studies P.59

As the respondents reflected for an open ended question that they requested their idea for their response No, Afan Oromo remained under influence as it is not serving as a working language in the capital city of the regional state government and the heart land of Oromo Finfinnee, the prevalence of previously dominant group's culture and continuation of ignorance for Oromo culture does not allow Oromo culture to be inclusive. Thereby Oromo identity and culture is continued to deteriorate in the city. The respondents reflected Oromo culture remain marginalized in the city as the government fears the well-known of Oromo culture can disrupt the conserved system in the city.

On the inclusion of Oromo culture in Addis Ababa, some informant¹⁸ respondents stated only 'Gadaa' that one cannot find the institutions and supportive organization for it in the city as the government disregard for it. In addition the other informant¹⁹ also stated that the government is working well for including 'Gadaa' system into a curriculum. While others argued the Oromo culture is not included in the city, the government is not worked for the inclusion of Oromo culture for the sake of preserving the status quo that was established in the city by the past systems²⁰.

With regards to the promotion of cultural events and festivities of Oromo due to federalism in Addis Ababa city, half of the informants²¹ replied No; while others²² replied Yes. Those replied Yes stated the recently celebrated 'Irreechaa' peace festival in the city and the nations, nationalities and people's day ceremony that celebrate once a year in the city.

¹⁸Ismael Mohammed, Meles Zenawi and Naod Dula September 25, 2020 Yeka, and Akaki Kality sub-cities.

¹⁹Naod Dula September 25, 2020 Yeka, and Akaki Kality sub-cities.

²⁰Senait G/Hiwot, Lijalem Yirga, Abenezar Bizaihu, Daniel Taso and Berhan Haile Yeka, and Akaki Kality sub-cities.

²⁰Naod Dula September 25, 2020 Yeka, and Akaki Kality sub-cities.

²¹Ismael Mohammed, Lijalem Yirga, Naod Dula and Abenezar Bizaihu September 25, 2020 Yeka, and Akaki Kality sub-cities.

²²Berhan Haile, Daniel Taso, Senait G/Hiwot and Meles Zenawi September 25, 2020 Yeka, Arada and Akaki Kality sub-cities.

4.5 Institutional Mechanisms and Measures taken to Develop Oromo Culture in Addis Ababa /Finfinnee

4.5.1 Oromia National Regional State

After the adoption of the federal system, Finfinnee was recognized as part of Oromia by the 1995 FDRE constitution. The constitution also clearly put the special interest of Oromia over Finfinnee and this re-started the interrupted interaction of Finfinnee and Oromo after more than one century. This seems as the right to self-determination of nations, nationalities and peoples approved and seems to close the chapter of evicting Oromo from its home land. However, several faults were committed at different times after the adoption of the federalism also. Then after also, as enshrined in the FDRE constitution; the issue of Finfinnee does not determine based on the free consent and interest of ONRS and Oromo people²³.

The informant²⁴ from the Center of Oromo culture criticizes the existing city administration and federation (because the city responsible for federal government) that ignores Oromo culture. For him rather than ignoring, Ethiopian federalism have to be learnt how federation from Oromo tradition- Oromo practices federalism within confederation. ‘Mecha’, ‘Tulama’ and ‘Guji’ are federations and Oromo has such like federations on different sides and as a whole Oromo has a confederation that exercise one system. So that, the ‘Gadaa’ system structure has federal form that has to be learnt from.

In this line, Lemmu (2004), cited in Asafa (2008:140) argue Gadaa government comprised a hierarchy of triple levels of government (national, regional and local). “At the pan-Oromo level, the national government was led by an elected luba council [gadaa class] formed from representatives of the major Oromo moieties, clan families and clans, under the presidency of the ‘*abbaa gadaa*’ and his two deputies, collectively known as the warana sadden”. The national leadership was responsible for important matters such as legislation and enforcement of general

²³ Interview with Mr. Alemayehu Haile Expert of History at Center of Oromo Culture May, 15, 2020

²⁴ Ibid

laws, handling issues of war and peace and coordinating the nation’s defense, management of intra-Oromo clan conflicts and dealing with non-Oromo people²⁵.

The other principles of the ‘*gadaa*’ system that Ethiopian government needs to learn from is- it have included balanced representation of all clans, lineages, regions and confederacies; accountability of leaders; the settlement of disputes through reconciliation; and the respect for basic rights and liberties. The rule of law is the key element of the *gadaa*’ system; those leaders who have violated the law of the land or whose families could not maintain the required standard of the system were recalled before the end of their tenure in the office. Gadaa leaders implemented the laws that were made by the representatives of the people²⁶.

Table 4.7 Respondents opinion on whether the Oromia National Regional State is effective in retaining the culture of Oromo people in and around Addis Ababa

| Item | No. of respondents | Percentage |
|--------------------|--------------------|------------|
| Very Effective | 1 | 1.18 |
| Effective | 5 | 5.88 |
| Somewhat Effective | 25 | 29.41 |
| Not Effective | 54 | 63.53 |
| Total | 85 | 100 |

Source: Own Survey Result (May 2020)

Table 4.7, above shows the assessment on effectiveness of Oromia National Regional State in retaining the culture of Oromo people in and around Addis Ababa. Accordingly, among a total 85 respondents 54(63.53) of them responded Not Effective and 25(29.41) respond Somewhat Effective. Only the left 5(5.88) respond Effective and 1(1.18) respond Very Effective.

On the ineffectiveness of Oromia National Regional State in retaining of Oromo culture in and around Addis Ababa the respondents clearly replied that in the open ended question, it oppressed by federal government and the party mold in the interest of federal government as federal

²⁵ Asafa Jalata (2008) foundAtions of A stAte in oromia: Applying gadaa principles in the twenty first Century: Journal of Oromo Studies, vol. 15, no. 2 pp. 133-189

²⁶ Ibid pp. 141

government determine for the region in their name. In addition it also lacks affiliation of the people and lacks commitment to self-rule.

In this regard, the discussion with interviewees²⁷ from Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau discloses that there are existing efforts, but the work of the bureau is ineffective. Their bureau is informed about the existence of political, economic and cultural impacts on Oromo language and culture. To abstain this their bureau is working by preparing symposium with Universities, as it did with Ambo University last year (2019), they are also technically conducting and initiating different researches to influence the making of Afan Oromo the federal working language in language aspect.

The key informant²⁸ from Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau underscores that, they are working for the manifestation of Oromo culture in Finfinnee, for him the celebration of Irreechaa Festival in Finfinnee in 2019 is very important and one of the best beginning to show the belongingness of Finfinnee to Oromo historically and politically. The informant raised as they are going to open Oromo art school, they aimed to start preparation of Oromo cultural food and its training place/center, displaying place and selling of Oromo ornaments, giving education in Afan Oromo in all 123 schools in the city (governmental school) to assist using Afan Oromo as language of education in beside of Amharic, assisting to open mass medias in Afan Oromo, the building of different centers by their sector and He raised as they planned to start Afan Oromo cinema next year.

On the other hand, the resident informants²⁹ stated that ONRS is ineffective to develop Oromo culture as it lacks the capacity to do so. The organs that represent Oromo lacks a fate of determining independently of other organs those want to use them to hold and have power over Oromia and that enforced the people to argue as their leader do not represent them. This can be resulted whether from its fear or lack of commitment and belongingness. Someone who comes into power in Oromia does not stand for the people rather live for power and personal interest alone and to fulfill the interest of the central organ of the government alone.

²⁷Interview with Mr. Kebede Desisa Vice Director of Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau May 15, 2020

²⁸Ibid

²⁹Tujara Chaluma and Solomon Direba Akaki Kality Sub-city residents may, 07, 2020

On the issue of interaction between Finfinnee being the seat of ONRS, and the status of Oromo culture in the city, the informant³⁰ from Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau stated that the seat is being Finfinnee and its relation with developing Oromo culture and language is not too much. The seat can be elsewhere, but the issue of Finfinnee is beyond that as Finfinnee has historical and vital symbolical relations with Oromo.

The informant³¹ from Burayyu on the other hand, stated the situations that enables them to preserve Oromo culture and enlightening Oromo as that, the existences of indigenous Oromo on the area and the unity of people and leaders of Burayyu helped in refusing the influence of the federal government that tried illegal construction and eviction at different times particularly on Melka Gefersa kebele in Burayyu. The other thing is having administration border with Addis Ababa city, restricted them from interfering and mix as they want, as they did like on the side of Gelan. He appreciates the youth of Burayyu in playing their role for respecting Afan Oromo and their influence on the Irreecha Finfinnee that celebrated in Finfinnee last time (2019). In like this, Burayyu known by expressing Oromo culture and rivaling Oromo.

4.5.2 Addis Ababa City Administration

The informant³² from Addis Ababa City Culture and Tourism Bureau raised that on the recognition of multiculturalism and multi-nationalism in the city, we know and allow individuals as they come with their own culture when coming to the city, but we do not concern for the preservation of his/her prior culture. The informant believed the deterioration of Oromo culture as a result of the expansion of the city and their bureau has no concern about multiculturalism and Oromo culture. What this informant raised with regards to multiculturalism is that we take the best exemplary of different cultures to use in the city to maintain values, but also She cannot mention the best example taken from Oromo culture.

As the key informant³³ from Addis Ababa City Cultural and Tourism Bureau underscores, their bureau do not concern about Oromo culture distinctively, there is no research conducted by their bureau on the Oromo culture. And also with regards to expansion of the city there is no study

³⁰ Ibid

³¹ Keneni Aga Expert of Approval of the Excellency of Hotels and Restaurants Burayu May, 5, 2020

³² Interview with Miss Emebet Mekuria expert of folk in Addis Ababa City Culture and Tourism Bureau May 16, 2020

³³ Ibid

conducted on the side of their bureau whether benefiting or affecting the surrounding people. As the informant argues they are working on addiction, ethics, and newcomer cultures that are unfamiliar to native cultures. She underscores that the Oromo people leave their culture and accept another culture when come into the city and live in the city. She also agreed as the culture of Oromo people is negatively impacted by the rapid expansion of the city towards the surrounding Oromo lands and to alleviate this, their bureau worked nothing.

The other informant from Addis Ababa City Culture and Tourism Bureau denoted ‘Irreechaa’ Festival as they are trying to make it international and working to publish guide book to do so and thereby make it one among festival ceremonies in the city. ‘Irreechaa’ was celebrated in the city in 2019 through a lot effort of ONRS and experts from Oromo Cultural Center and also it seems influenced by Oromia regional state government, as Addis Ababa City administration remained silent for a long period of time by starting from the banning of Oromo ‘Irreechaa’ to celebrate in Finfinnee before One century and three decades around³⁴.

Additionally, the other informant from Addis Ababa City Cultural and Tourism Bureau stated as their bureau registered ‘Irreechaa’ celebration area of Lafto that found in Nifas Silk Lafto Sub-city as one of Oromo Heritage³⁵. On the other hand, the interviewee residents have complain on this due to the celebration of ‘Irreechaa’ at the site interrupted when it taken away by the city administration and they argues as it re-given recently after a lot challenges and blaming.

4.5.3 Non-governmental, Civil Societies and Private Organizations

The concern of the government seems like low on the acknowledging of Oromo culture as ‘Abbaa Gadaas’ lacks recognition and participation from the federal government. They said this make them not to play their vital role in working on the county affairs and be with government to reduce burden from it. In Finfinnee the government is not interested to consult them on different issues that would request their role³⁶.

³⁴ Interview with Mr. Amdemariam Mamo Heritage sector expert at Addis Ababa City Culture and Tourism Bureau May 16, 2020

³⁵ Interview with Mr. Seyoum Temesgen Director of Addis Ababa City Culture and Tourism Bureau May 16, 2020

³⁶ Interview with Abbaa Gadaa Fikadu Burayyu May 16, 2020

According to the Private organization employee informant³⁷ marginalization of Oromo identity do not allow Oromo's to manifest their culture and maintain its persistence in Finfinnee. There is strong social solidarity that pushes Oromo to be out of the city and influenced Oromo's to live and work in the city. The formulated system by new comers is difficult for Oromo to pass through and access different opportunities in the city.

In addition, Oromo culture avoided with the politicization of Oromo's by their identity- the fate of Oromo in the past regimes (detention, killing, kidnapping) was/is also persisted and Oromo exposed to the same fate even nowadays as detention, harassment and killing waits the individuals wearing Oromo cultural dress and ornaments. To substantiate "the killing of Haymanot Bedada in Tikur Anbessa May 28, 2020 and Hachalu Hundessa July 29, 2020 were identity based according to BBC News (2020)". For the informant, the mere existence of government bureaus (of Oromia) and the center of Oromo culture in the city do not reflect the existence of Oromo culture in the city, as they can do nothing for bringing practical change to the fate of Oromo and its culture in the city³⁸.

As the 'Abbaa Gadaa' informant³⁹ argues they are working to advertise the 'Oromo Gumaa' system (the way of paying fee for the afflicted group and reconciliation), 'masqala Oromo' (Oromo Cross day) celebration, and Oromo cultural food within the 'Gadaa' institution and also with the concerned body of the government. The informant⁴⁰ argues as they are serving in the conducting researches and studies by giving necessary data that clearly reflect the Oromo culture rather than what just fan about Oromo people.

With regards to the recognition of Oromo culture in the city, the informant⁴¹ stated his experience as it is better in principle, but not found in practice on the ground. Ethiopian federalism left on paper or has paper value- in line with the Special Interest of Oromo over Finfinnee and the equality of nations, nationalities and peoples to use, to develop and advance their culture that in turn permits to live with each other by accepting their diversified culture in the city. The difference is only in name for Oromo as it gave celebrity than the past systems

³⁷ Buzunesh Abera work at Private Business, Kotobe 02 Woreda area May 17, 2020

³⁸ Ibid

³⁹ Interview with Abbaa Gadaa Kebede Burayyu May 16, 2020

⁴⁰ Ibid

⁴¹ Interview with Birhanu Direba Akaki Kality sub-city resident, Koye May 07, 2020

particularly as a Finfinnee there is no material change. So that, it is not true federalism and it have no federal values, rather than giving a chance of self-awareness for dominated ethnic groups including Oromo.

Table 4.8 Respondents opinion on whether the government policies have positive effect on the culture of Oromo people in the city and its vicinity

| Item | No. of respondents | Percentage |
|---------|--------------------|------------|
| Yes | 13 | 15.30 |
| No | 67 | 78.82 |
| Unknown | 4 | 4.71 |
| Total | 84 | 98.83 |

Source: Own Survey Result (May 2020)

As indicated by the table 4.8 most respondents 67(78.82%) replied No the left 13(15.30) replied Yes and 4(4.71) replied Unknown. So, we can understand that the government policy on the culture of Oromo in Addis Ababa city is not good. As most of the respondents stated their argument, there is no effort to protect Oromo culture in the city, even the principal rights (the right to life, own property) that considered as the first generation rights and needs to precede cultural right are not respected. And the respondents who responded ‘Yes’ provide the starting of education in Afan Oromo in schools and for them it can be taken as a good beginning if it has endurance.

The informant⁴² respondents replied that for whether the government policies have positive effect on the culture of Oromo people in the city and its vicinity, some policies like celebrating ‘Irreechaa’ at Hora Finfinnee and incorporating Afan Oromo in school for learning purpose recently both of them in 2019 have positive effect.

As the others informants⁴³ those responded ‘No’ provided their reasons, Oromo culture does not included in the city as there is the monopoly of one culture in mass media, social services and

⁴²Naod Dula Senior researcher at Chemical and Trade Industry Minister September 2020 Gerji Mabrat Hail

⁴³Meles Zenawi, Lijalem Yirga, Birhan Haile and Ismael Mohammed respectively September 25, 2020 Yeka, and Akaki Kality sub-cities respectively

others, as the language gradually dominated by Amharic, and because of the existence of single nation culture and language (Amharic) promotion over all others.

Table 4.9 Respondents opinion on whether EPRDF/OPDO/ODP government took appropriate measures to promote Oromo culture in the city

| Item | No. of respondents | Percentage |
|---------|--------------------|------------|
| Yes | 5 | 5.88 |
| No | 76 | 89.41 |
| Unknown | 3 | 3.53 |
| Total | 84 | 98.82 |

Source: Own Survey Result (May 2020)

Table 4.9 above shows the measures took by EPRDF/OPDO/ODP government to promote Oromo culture in the city.

Accordingly, 76(89.41) respondents ensure the absence of appropriate measure by EPRDF/OPDO/ODP government to promote Oromo culture in the city. The left 5(5.88) responded Yes and 3(3.53) responded Unknown. Those responded Yes referred the right to learn in its language and institutionalization of the center of Oromo culture. They also argue as it is not enough due to the existence of high struggle against the efforts and Addis Ababa city administration and federal government are not be happy with the measures taken by ONRS to promote Oromo culture in the city. Others criticize the current Prosperity Party (PP) as it is even working for totally eliminating Oromo culture throughout its '*Medemer*' (synergy) policy and they criticize it as it is to repeat the past history of undermining Oromo culture.

For the absence of equal treatment for Oromo culture in language and cultural aspect in Addis Ababa the respondents highly complains the federal government as they reflected in an open ended question. In addition respondents denote Oromia leading organs as a cause for undermining of Oromo culture. Lack of unity with the people they represent and resonate the others culture rather than promoting Oromo culture enabled others to do their best in Finfinnee. According to the respondents' statement, Oromia leading organs cannot make influence in the city due to a tyrannical character of central/federal government as a result this makes and/or allows them to live by corruption and remain powerless.

4.6 Naming of the City and its Implications on the Oromo Culture

4.6.1 Change of 'Finfinnee' into 'Addis Ababa' and its Implication on Oromo Culture in the pre-1991

Oromo, the largest ethnic group in the Horn of Africa, exercise 'Gadaa' system and has its own social organization. This system was said to be well functioning prior to Menelik's conquest of Southern Ethiopia. Along with the conquest came the destruction of Oromo lives, plunder of Oromo property and cultural and class domination over Oromo land⁴⁴.

According to the study by Center of Oromo culture on the history of the Oromo and the foundation of Finfinnee City, the Oromo naming system take several dimensions into account. This naming depends on color, character, strength, enlargement and its creation. In addition, Oromo naming reflects the living experiences, identity and value of Oromo people.⁴⁵.

The north comers (Abyssinians) automatically started renaming in Finfinnee by changing the name Finfinnee to Addis Ababa. They have continued to re-name the name of different parts and areas after holding Finfinnee and made it the capital for their own empire. The primary measure that Abyssinians took after controlling Oromo and its land was weakening Oromo 'Gadaa' system by dissolving social structure and organization of Oromo. Then after, they continuously worked on the renaming of places and traditions from their Oromo names to the name that reflect their culture and language in the city⁴⁶.

The rationality behind changing the name of all places of the parts in Finfinnee from their Oromo names to Amharic names is to abolish Oromo names from the center, Finfinnee, especially from areas where 'Gadaa' system was practiced like Hora Finfinnee (Finfinnee Spring), avoiding symbols, and building the Christian churches instead. They totally changed the names of some prominent places to the names that resonates their own religion and culture⁴⁷.

⁴⁴ Mohammed Hassen (1999) A Short History of Oromia Colonial Experience 1870's-1990's: The Journal of Oromia Studies, Volume 6, Number 1 & 2, pp. 109-158 P.116

⁴⁵ Center of Oromo culture (2020) Oromo History and the Foundation of Finfinnee City: Center of Oromo culture History Research Group P. 76

⁴⁶ Ibid p.254

⁴⁷ Ibid p.254

As the resident informant⁴⁸ argues Oromo became guests in the city as Oromo should speak Amharic to get services and have access to any opportunity. And the renaming of the city and replacing it with Amharic semantics was clearly the reflection of the suppression of the Oromo culture/language, and making the latter of low status. In this manner, the Oromo culture had been undermined for over a century not only in the city but also in the entire state of Ethiopia.

In this regard, Mohammed Hassen (1999) notes that:

For non-Amhara learning of Amharic and the adoption of Amhara culture and tradition were necessary steps to develop a career within the state. Amharic was imposed on the other ethnic and linguistic groups without taking into account their sentiments and opinion. Furthermore, in order to achieve linguistic homogenization in Ethiopia, the use of other ethnic groups' languages for publishing, teaching, preaching and administrative purpose was forbidden⁴⁹.

Therefore, Once the Oromo lost their sovereignty, their culture was exposed to attack; they were no longer in control of their own destiny; they were reduced to objects of history rather than makers of their own history, and their language was transformed from being a language of business and government into language of backwardness and darkness and in Ethiopia of the past not only the name of places and areas, the individuals in person also not motivated to have Oromo names and many forced to change their Oromo names⁵⁰.

The key informant⁵¹ from Burayyu City Culture and Tourism Bureau also agrees with the above view in the sense that Oromo names and culture were detrimentally affected following the control of Finfinnee and its surrounding by Menelik forces. The 'Tulama' Oromo's who were ruling over Finfinnee prior to the conquest of Menelik, had been exposed to expulsion to different parts of the country, and this has highly dwarfed the preservation of Oromo language and culture in and around Finfinnee.

⁴⁸Interview with Birhanu Direba Akaki Kaliti sub-city resident, Koye May 07, 2020

⁴⁹ Mohammed Hassen (1999) A Short History of Oromia Colonial Experience 1870's-1990's: The Journal of Oromo Studies, Volume 6, Number 1 & 2, pp. 109-158 P.113

⁵⁰ Ibid

⁵¹Feyye Tadesse Expert of Values of Culture and Historical Inventory Burayyu August 6, 2020

4.6.2 Naming the City in the Post 1991 Federal Ethiopia

After 1991 transition of the state structure to federal system, Oromo people has get an opportunity to find its historical practices and culture if it could not get back it. “The federal political system is expected to accommodate and promote cultural and linguistic diversities in multiethnic towns. It is also one of the means to conserve and re capture the conquered culture, language and identities of the political minorities in the Ethiopian urban areas”⁵².

As the key informant⁵³ notes the name of places and centers in Finfinnee have not been called by their Original Oromo names with the coming of federal system- the system that have to recognize diversity rather than continuing to “hide the true history, language and culture” of different groups of the federation. This by itself shows the lack of commitment to have a multinational federation that gives equal recognition and respect to different cultures. Another informant⁵⁴ has also underscored that if there are enough historical memories, the federal system has to accommodate the original Oromo names designated to different places in Finfinnee rather than marginalizing the historical Oromo appellations in the city like the old unitary state. A different informant⁵⁵ also calls for the recognition for the Original Oromo names in Finfinnee because this improves the role of the surrounding indigenous people in the development of the city and the relation between the Oromo people and the city.

Likewise other informant⁵⁶ argues the non-recognition of Oromo culture, language and names as directly related with the honor and dignity- the Oromo people have not got the honor and dignity that they deserve in the city. On his part the key informant⁵⁷ from Burayu City Culture and Tourism Bureau states that the “non-recognition of the original Oromo names in Finfinnee shows the lack of genuine federalism and having of federalism only on paper.

Nowadays, Oromia National Regional State along with the Center of Oromo culture has been conducting research, organizing symposium in collaboration with universities and preparing

⁵²Gonfa Debelo (2018) Oromo Language and Culture in Multiethnic Towns in Federal Ethiopia: Case Study of Bishoftu Town P.2

⁵³ Interview with Mr. Tujuba Tamiru Yeka Sub-city Resident September 25, 2020

⁵⁴Lijalem Yirga Resident of Yeka, Arada and Akaki Kality sub-cities September 25, 2020

⁵⁵Naod Dula and Birhan Haile Senior researchers at Chemical and Trade Industry Minister September 24, 2020
Gerji Mabrat Hail as a Residents

⁵⁶Daniel Taso Resident of Yeka, Arada and Akaki Kality sub-cities September 25, 2020

⁵⁷Feyye Tadesse Expert of Values of Culture and Historical Inventory Burayyu August 6, 2020

bazars on the development of Oromo culture⁵⁸.The following Table summarizes the Oromo names of places in Finfinnee before they were renamed and replaced by Amharic names, and this was studied by the Center of Oromo culture.

Table: 4. 10 Oromo names of places in and around Finfinnee

| No. | Original Oromo Name in and around Finfinnee | Change into Amharic and/or other non-Oromo Semantics |
|-----|---------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | Adaamii Tulluu | From Rufael Church to Shogole |
| 2 | Harbuu Irreechaa | Around Ras Hailu |
| 3 | Baabboo Kormaa | Sarbet and some of kera |
| 4 | Baaroo Kormaa | Tikur Ambassa Hospital and Golla Sefer |
| 5 | Baddaa Diilallaa | Intoto (Intoto Mariam) |
| 6 | Baddaa Ejersaa | Ras Kassa Sefer |
| 7 | Birbirsaa Yaa'ii | Arada Giorgis and Piassa |
| 8 | Boolee Bulbulaa | Not changed |
| 9 | Buraayyuu | Not changed |
| 10 | Burqaa Ejersaa | Not changed |
| 11 | Caffee Aannanii | Around Lideta Church and Mexico, Federal Police Bureau |
| 12 | Caffee tumaa | Shiro Meda and Intoto Atekalay |
| 13 | Calcalii | South Western Land from Sarbet |

⁵⁸Interview with Mr. Kebede Desisa Vice Director of Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau May 15, 2020

| | | |
|----|------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| 14 | Dabbasoo | The Center of Oromo Culture, Mesholokiya, up to Gennet Hotel |
| 15 | Dachee Golbaa | Wondimamachochi |
| 16 | Daalattii | Menelik Hawolt, Filoha, Arat Kilo |
| 17 | Daloo Buddeenaa | Bekilo Bet Wollo Sefer up to Gotera |
| 18 | Dhagaa Booraa | Hayahuleti Mazoria |
| 19 | Dhaka Araaraa | Tallaku Betamengist up to its round |
| 20 | Dhummuugaa | Ginfille |
| 21 | Diddiimtuu | Shogole |
| 22 | Eekkaa | Yekka |
| 23 | Fiichee | Taliyan Mishig/Sefer |
| 24 | Gafarsa | Not changed |
| 25 | Ganda Abbichuu | Feransayi Legasion and Gurara |
| 26 | Garjii | Not changed |
| 27 | Golboo | Kera |
| 28 | Aqaaqii | Not changed |
| 29 | Harbuu | Shola and Megenagna |
| 30 | Harbuu Hurufaa | Abinet and Gejja Sefer |
| 31 | Hulluqqoo Kormaa | Abiyot/ Meskel Adebabayi, Ras Birru Sefer, Esthiphanos Church |
| 32 | Hurummaa | Bella |

| | | |
|----|------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| 33 | Hurufa Boombii | Jalmeda |
| 34 | HurufaRaaree | Autobis Tera, Dejazmach Geneme Sefer |
| 35 | Jaatee | Land of Western Kality/ Kality Bus Station |
| 36 | Jamoo | Not changed |
| 37 | Karra Aloo | Eastern Kotobe (Finfinnee Entrance on the side of Tafo |
| 38 | Karra Qorichaa | Abebe Suk and Yekka Michael |
| 39 | Kattaa | Not changed |
| 40 | Kolfee | Not changed |
| 41 | Laaftoo | Not changed |
| 42 | Labuu | Not changed |
| 43 | Labuu Xarroo | Lukanda and Asira Simint Matoria |
| 44 | Lummee | Around Yosef Church |
| 45 | Bakkanniisaa | Not changed |
| 46 | Mardee | Arogee Awuropilan Marefiryu upto Zenebe Worki |
| 47 | Muujjaa | American Embassy |
| 48 | Qaallittii | Not changed |
| 49 | Qarsaa Jabbii | Sebategn and the Surround |
| 50 | Qarsaa | Kazanchis and Aware |
| 51 | Sammuu Gullallee | Yemata Daricha |
| 52 | Sokorruu | Mesalemia and Ehil Berenda |

| | | |
|----|------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 53 | Sulula Garbii | Southern Merkato and Tekle Hayimanot Church |
| 54 | Tulluu Dheertuu | Gofa Sefer |
| 55 | Tulluu Ejersaa | Hanna Mariam |
| 56 | Tulluu Heexoo | Around Eastern Menelik Monument |
| 57 | Waayyuu | Kechene Medianalem and Semen Hotel |
| 58 | Waddeessa | Atikilt Tera and Taliyan Sefer |
| 59 | Warra Ganuu | Not Changed |
| 60 | Xiixaa Harawwaa | Kecha Fabrica and Embassy of Holand |
| 61 | Keelloo Masqalaa | Arat Kilo, Parlama, Kidist Mariam Church and Kidist Silassie, Basha Weldeselassie Chilot and Tiyyit Bet |

Source: Center of Oromo culture November, 2020; and Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau September, 2019

As it could be seen from the table 4.4 almost all place names are changed from the original Oromo names. The unchanged ones are also the outskirts places and nearest to the outskirts of the city areas as the effect was not too much there as in the center parts of the city.

4.7 Challenges of Promoting and Developing Oromo Culture in Finfinnee and its Surrounding Areas

4.7.1 Challenges of Federal Institutional Design

As the researcher discussed with the key informant⁵⁹ from Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau, the challenges of promoting and developing Oromo culture in Addis Ababa/Finfinnee city were, the having of different administration of Finfinnee city with that of Oromo/Oromia regional state. As to the informant one has to pass through the bureaucracy of Finfinnee to do anything in the city. He also blames Oromo people itself by being not living in the city by being one self, for him to perpetuate Oromo culture in the city Oromo have to live in

⁵⁹ Interview with Mr. Kebede Desisa Vice Director of Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau May 15, 2020

the city by tolerating the existing challenges without expecting any affirmative action. On this, the interviewees'⁶⁰ resident state that the existing bond of others that intentionally built do not allow Oromos to live in the city, instead of having role in the city.

The key informant⁶¹ from Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau also stated the registration of 'Gadaa' system to UNESCO very recently that counted to three years as an instance of the undermining of Oromo culture. And for this the federal government condemned as it delayed because of its reluctance to do so, and registering of cultural sites and practices to UNESCO can be necessarily through federal government alone.

The 'Abbaa Gadaa' informant⁶² in addition discuss that the main problem is with the higher organ of government, as they do not want to give recognition for the promotion and development of Oromo culture and it seems as the unity of Oromo people under the 'Gadaa' system and other traditions and practices are not needed. He recommend that the government particularly federal government have to give recognition for Oromo culture and 'Abbaa Gadaa's' even for resolving the problems that can occurs at the national level and thereby create unified Ethiopia, not for the issue of Oromo alone.

4.7.2 Public Policy Related

For the informant⁶³ from Center of Oromo Culture the main challenge is unwillingness to accept the Oromo historical narrative about Finfinnee, do not want to take into account in writing the history of this country, particularly on Oromo and Finfinnee. This informant by stating the objective narration is the base for the unity of one country and ensures equality and fairness underscore that in Ethiopia individuals and groups do not rely on the objective narration of the peoples. For him, for those who need the archeology and scientific evidence on the belongingness of Finfinnee to Oromo, the living of Oromo on this land is more than that claimed evidence. And this is the idea of those who have vicious view for Oromo.

⁶⁰ Interview with Tujara Chaluma- Kality Sub-city resident may, 07, 2020

⁶¹ Interview with Mr. Kebede Desisa Vice Director of Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau May 15, 2020

⁶² Interview with Abbaa Gadaa Fikadu Burayyu May 16, 2020

⁶³ Interview with Mr. Alemayehu Haile Expert of History at Center of Oromo Culture May, 15, 2020

On this issue the informant⁶⁴ from Addis Ababa City Culture and Tourism Bureau raised that as a challenges to promote cultural equality in the city, the existed national problem (that do not give concern for tourism sector and very centralized system), the registering of the sites in Addis Ababa that tourists come and visit started in this year (2020), the tourism sector itself lacked concern as a country until the coming of Dr. Abiy Ahmad into power were the challenges that makes their work ineffective.

In addition the informant⁶⁵ stated the lapse of time needed (100 years) for the registration of cultural sites and tools, the criteria needed for registering cultural tools including its uniqueness among the seven existing criteria, and ethnography of Addis Ababa and location of national museum were among those listed challenges by the informant.

4.7.3 Political Practices/Implementation

The informant⁶⁶ from Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau stated the difficult bureaucracy of Oromia and the challenging reluctance of work in Oromia as a result of the low commitment and initiation of experts to work for the failing of implementing the cultural policies and strategies in the region and city. This informant denoted lack of resource (human and material). To fill this gap, universities provided training for human resource, but it is not enough for the existing demand and capacity of the bureau for him.

As stated by the informant⁶⁷ from Burayyu Culture and Tourism Bureau the challenges in developing Oromo culture in Addis Ababa/Finfinnee were, primarily, non-approving ownership right for Oromo. The system that respect Oromo culture does not come yet in the country and the organ that leads the country seems do not have place for Oromo culture. Not implementing the equality of nations, nationalities and peoples of the country, their language and culture as enshrined in the constitution is an obvious reflection for that. In addition, patrimonial system and the weakness of Oromo leaders to serve Oromo people are the main challenges to implement the promotion and development of Oromo culture in the city.

⁶⁴ Interview with Mr. Amdemariam Mamo Heritage sector expert at Addis Ababa City Culture and Tourism Bureau May 16, 2020

⁶⁵ Ibid

⁶⁶ Interview with Mr. Kebede Desisa Vice Director of Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau May 15, 2020

⁶⁷ Keneni Aga Expert of Approval of the Excellency of Hotels and Restaurants Burayyu May, 5, 2020

As raised by the informant⁶⁸, as in other parts of Finfinnee the challenges in Burayyu city include the farmers sell their land inaudibly for money until lacking the pathway for toilet, (different individuals comes from Finfinnee or other parts of the country for work and open working house commit the error of Afan Oromo alphabet in advertising their work as they do that without the permission of their bureau or not need any one who can work notices. And also not one selfness's of the officials in Burayyu that manifest by using Amharic language for communication with Oromos who can hear and speak Afan Oromo are the most challenges.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has examined whether the federal system brought recognition to and accommodation of Oromo culture in and around the rapidly urbanizing city of Addis Ababa/Finfinnee.

The FDRE Constitution adulates the equality of nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia and their cultures. However, this chapter revealed that the Oromo culture is not well recognized and accommodated in Addis Ababa. The study has found out that at least the Oromo appellations of the places in the city have not been recognized. Afan Oromo, the language of the largest ethnic group in both Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa, remained a non-working language of Addis Ababa/Finfinnee- both the federal and ONRS capital.

Several factors have been challenging for the promotion and development of Oromo culture in Finfinnee. Despite few efforts in recent times, the, Oromia National Regional State didn't perform well in retaining and promoting the Oromo culture in the city. The Regional State government of Oromia has been the puppet of the federal government, and the region could decide on the own and not promote the Oromo culture. The other challenge is related to heightened politicization of Oromo culture and undermining of the same in order to keep the system of mono-lingualism – only Amharic speaking city of Addis Ababa.

The lack of necessary efforts on building national consensus and unity by including the culture and history of diversified groups of the country that can also accept the Oromo culture and

⁶⁸ Ibid

historical narrative about Finfinnee that Oromo observes as the reflection of an inclusive identity of the people (Oromo). And the governance system of the country that do not gives space for 'Gadaa' system of Oromo is also another challenge that identified by this study.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Summary of Findings, Conclusion and Recommendation

5.1 Summary of Findings

Based on the data collected by qualitative and quantitative research tools including questionnaire and key informant interviews this study came up with the following main findings.

The study identified that with regards to the measures taken by ONRS to maintain Oromo culture in the city, opening of Afan Oromo schools in the city is one as it enables Oromo's to have a chance to learn in their language; and participating and preparing symposiums on the development of Oromo culture particularly to advance the use of Afan Oromo.

To maintain Oromo culture in the city, the Addis Ababa city administration is trying to make 'Irreechaa' Festival international and working to publish a guide book to make it one among the festival ceremonies in the city. Even if, if too late, it resulted from the celebration of 'Irreechaa' in the city in 2019 through an effort and influence of ONRS and experts from Oromo Cultural Center.

The ONRS and Addis Ababa have not collaborated well to promote Oromo culture in the city. As this finding illustrates, the Addis Ababa city administration is not giving concern for the existence and advancement of Oromo culture in the city. And this is the main challenge for accommodation and promotion of Oromo culture in the city, and on the contrary the city administration rely on the perpetuation of mono-lingualism and mono-cultural experience of the past systems.

The finding of the study illustrated the fact that federalism helped too little to change the mono-cultural character of the city of Addis Ababa and to enable the culture of Oromo people to manifest in the city. As it promised to bring cultural equality of the nations, nationalities and peoples of the country, Ethiopian federalism served a bit to have rare Afan Oromo schools in the city and very recently for the return of the celebration of 'Irreechaa' festival in the city.

5.2 Conclusion

The following conclusions are drawn from the study.

From the data gathered and analyzed regarding the impact of rapid urbanization of Addis Ababa city on Oromo culture, it can be concluded that as the city expands and becomes more urbanized, the Oromo culture becomes less and less visible in the city.

The nation-state building process in the pre-1991 had excluded the Oromo culture and more so in the city of Addis Ababa. Instead, the nation-state building process discouraged and even labeled the utilization of Afan Oromo in public places as a crime.

With the adoption of federalism *de facto* in 1991 and *de jure* since 1995, the state and nation building was hoped to accommodate and promote the multiculturalism in Ethiopia in general and Addis Ababa in particular. Despite few efforts such as the opening of Oromo cultural center and Afan Oromo schools in some sub-cities, the current state and nation building doctrine (federalism) has not worked well to retain and promote the Oromo culture in Addis Ababa as it aimed to accommodate and promote multiculturalism.

Though urbanization could be expected to bring benefits to surrounding peoples and areas, Addis Ababa continued to harm the surrounding Oromo people. It has been evicting, humiliating and marginalizing Oromo culture. The legislation on the particulars of the “Special Interest of Oromia in Addis Ababa” which is enshrined in the federal constitution has not been enacted and remained a predicament to the Oromo people. Hence, the federal system has not managed to reduce the negative impact of the urbanization process on the Oromo culture in and around Addis Ababa/Finfinnee.

In practice, the federal system couldn't detach Addis Ababa from the past system of mono-cultural and mono-lingualism. It couldn't ensure the multicultural character of Addis Ababa city. The working language, education/school system, mass-medias, cinemas and theatrical centers, festival and so on remained in one language (Amharic). One small exception to the rule is the recent (2018) opening of Afan Oromo Schools in few sub-cities of Addis Ababa. Even this effort seems to lack adequate and continuous support from the city.

The Oromia National Regional State has tried to retain the Oromo culture by building the Center of Oromo Culture in the city to support their effort of retaining Oromo culture in the city, reviving the original Oromo names of places and centers in the city and using Afan Oromo for schools, but nonetheless, it has not been easy to find accommodative space in the city for Oromo culture in general and Afan Oromo in particular.

The Oromia National Regional State took measure of building some schools in the city to enable the Oromo to learn in their language as the Oromo's elsewhere in the regional state of Oromia. However, it does not enough and accessed by the Oromo's because of its restriction. Very recently in 2019 starting to give Afan Oromo in all the government schools of the city is the best beginning work of the regional state government if it has endurance and acceptance by the city administration and federal government.

The lack of cooperation and not funding the promotion of Oromo culture in the city by Addis Ababa city administration and the federal government and make themselves not responsive to allow and assist different groups to develop their culture in the city encountered the development of Oromo culture in the city.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the results of the study, the following possible recommendations are forwarded to the ONRS, Addis Ababa city administration and the federal government.

Recommendations forwarded to the Addis Ababa city administration and the federal government:

- i) Make sure that the urbanization of Addis Ababa shall be Oromo culture friendly

The rapid and horizontal expansion of Addis Ababa has been marginalizing Oromo both in and around the city. Hence, the trends of evicting Oromo's from the city and its surrounding in the name of urbanization and urban growth due need to be abated. Both the city government and the federal government need to take into account the negative effect of urbanization on Oromo culture and/or find a way to balance urbanization with development of Oromo culture including

allowing the use of Afan Oromo for education and public services, and giving recognition for the history and Afan Oromo names of places and centers. Social development one aspect of development in urban areas, have to be inclusive of Oromo culture and practices to give the city more beauty.

ii) Give a deserved recognition for Oromo culture and identity

The historical narratives and symbolic identity of Oromo have to get a concern by the city administration and federal government to recognize Oromo inhabitant communities, rather than politicizing Oromo and its culture. Mainly, the using of Oromo names for places in Addis Ababa need to officially recognize the Oromo appellations as this gives respect to the history of the people and can approve equal treatment. In this regard the practical respect is important for the people to feels being inclusive in the city, rather than promoting normative respect in the constitution or policy level alone.

Recommendations forwarded to the federal government:

iii) Respect Federalism's promise to preserve and promote cultural autonomy

Rather than separating Oromo people and the leading organ in the region, it is important to allow the people to rule by its own leading organ and/or working equally by giving equal recognition by giving necessary attention for the development of Oromo culture and language as federal/central government blamed for the non-promotion of Oromo culture in the city and being reluctant for the registering of Oromo cultures to UNESCO timely. Otherwise, rule Addis Ababa by IGR particularly of Oromia and Federal governments.

The adaption of federal system of Ethiopia, expected as promote equality of culture and languages, if promoting equality of culture is needed the original Oromo names and culture of Oromo in Addis Ababa/Finfinnee is important. The federal government as represented all nations, nationalities and peoples of the country needs to serve all of these diversified groups equally without favoring certain group and use the culture of that group as the culture of the country while open campaign on the culture and identity of others groups. Thereby, Addis Ababa the most dominant urban area in Ethiopia has to be the best democratic example in the country.

Recommendations forwarded to the ONRS:

iv) ONRS government have to be empowered

ONRS needs to have high commitment to work on the retaining of Oromo culture in the city and the surrounding areas. In determining in the city of its capital seat the consultation of ONRS have to be taken into consideration particularly with regards to expansion of the city as it has adverse effects on the culture of Oromo people.

ONRS have to be talented to have a role in deciding the vital issues those can affect the culture of the society. For the protection of language rights and culture of the people to resolute the feelings of marginalization created by the federal rule organization. ONRS have to work more on the using of the Oromo names for places in Addis Ababa and for official recognition of the Oromo appellations as this gives respect to the history of the people.

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Appendix I
Questionnaire

Addis Ababa University
School of Law and Governance Studies
Center for Federalism and Governance Studies

Dear Respondents,

These questionnaire and interview questions are designed to collect primary data for the MA Thesis entitled: Urbanization and its Cultural Impacts in the Ethiopian Federation: The Case of Addis Ababa and the Oromo. I kindly request you to provide accurate information with respect to the following questions on the impact of urbanization on culture in the Ethiopian federation with particular reference to the city of Addis Ababa and the Oromo. The answers you give are highly valuable, and the information gathered will be confidential and will solely be utilized for the purpose of this research. I am, therefore, grateful for your attention and for the time you devote.

Instruction:-

- ✓ You are not required to write your name
- ✓ Please! Encircle your letter of choice and write your opinion clearly and briefly on the provided blank space.

Part I: Personal Information

Sex _____ Age _____ Language (speak Afan Oromo or not) _____ Ethnic Identity
(Oromo or not) _____

Part II: Urbanization of Addis Ababa City and the Oromo Culture

1. Whether urbanization of Addis Ababa positively influences the culture of the Oromo in Addis Ababa city and its surrounding?

- A. Yes B. No C. Unknown

2. If your answer to question 1 above is “No”, would you describe why you say so?

3. To what extent do you manifest your culture in the city?

- A. Very well C. Some what
B. Well D. Not at all

4. If your answer to question No 3 is C or D, would you briefly explain the reason that explains it? _____

5. Have you ever attended any cultural ceremony or festival in the city of Addis Ababa and its vicinity?

- A. Yes B. No C. Unknown

6. If your answer to Question No 5 is Yes, would you provide the manifestation of the Oromo culture you have seen over the festival(s)?

7. If your answer to question No 5 is No, why you didn't attend the cultural ceremony?

Part III: Oromo Culture and Federalism in the Context of Rapid Urbanization of Addis Ababa City

8. Do you think that federalism has been promoting multiculturalism in the city of Addis Ababa?
- A. yes genuinely C. not yet
B. to some extent D. never

9. How do you compare the current federal system that Ethiopia exercising, with the past regimes with regards to recognition of Oromo culture in the city, based on your experience? _____

10. Have you ever encountered sense of cultural inclusion in the city?
- A. Yes B. No C. Unknown

11. If your answer to question No 10 is Yes, what are the elements of culture that enabled you to feel culturally included in the city of Addis Ababa? (Multiple / more than one answers are possible) A. Language B. Religion C. Dressing style D. Dancing /Music E. Food/ Dinning F. Others, specify _____

12. If your answer to question No 10 is No, would you provide what explains your sense of cultural exclusion in the City? _____

Part IV: Institutional Mechanisms and Measures taken to develop Oromo culture in Addis Ababa /Finfinnee

13. Do you think that the government policies have positive effect on the culture of Oromo people in the city and its vicinity?
- A. Yes B. No C. Unknown

14. If your answer to question No 13 is Yes, what are these government policies that have been positively contributed to strengthening the Oromo culture?

15. If No please write your argument

16. Do you think the OPDO/ODP government took appropriate measures to promote Oromo culture in the city? A. Yes B. No C. Unknown

17. If your answer to the above question No 18 is yes, what kind of visible measures were taken? Would you list them down! _____

18. How much the Oromia National Regional State is effective in retaining the culture of Oromo people in and around Addis Ababa?

- A. Very effective B. Somewhat Effective
- B. Effective D. Not Effective

19. If your answer to question No 20 is C or D, what do you think is the reason behind this ineffectiveness? _____

Thank You!

Appendix II

Guiding Questions for Interview

I. Interview Questions for Non-Oromo Residents

The following questions are only for the purpose of academic research. Please, make a contribution your idea and remarks truthfully.

1. Do you think the cultural events and festivities of Oromo promoted due to the federalism in Addis Ababa city? If yes how much please specify
2. Do you think that the government policies have positive effect on the culture of Oromo people in the city and its vicinity? How
3. How do you see the measures taken by the government to promote and develop Oromo culture in the rapidly urbanizing Addis Ababa as a character of federal state
4. How much Oromo culture included in the city
5. Oromo call Addis Ababa and its different areas/parts by Oromo names including Finfinnee what do you think in the giving recognition by the government and how to balance it in federal set up of Ethiopia
6. How to make Addis Ababa a diversified city and conducive for all to live in, by sewing the city as their own

II. Interview Questions for key Informants from Addis Ababa City Cultural and Tourism Bureau

- A. How you see Ethiopian federation, particularly Addis Ababa in concern to multi-cultural and multi-national?
- B. How do you see the effect of rapid urbanization of Addis Ababa city on the Oromo culture and Oromo presence in and around the city of Addis Ababa?
- C. From your experience, what do you think are the challenges facing the government in promoting and developing Oromo culture in the city?
- D. What do you suggest to resolve these challenges?

III. Interview Questions for key Informants from Oromia Cultural and Tourism Bureau

- E. Whether the seat of Oromia, Finfinnee being served as center of promoting the Oromo culture?

- F. What you say on the status of Afaan Oromoo in Addis Ababa and in the Ethiopian federation? (Addis Ababa is the seat of Oromia National Regional State, in Oromia Afan Oromo is working language all over the region why not in Addis Ababa you think)?
- G. What expect from the Oromia Regional State Government to promote Oromo culture in the city and its role really fulfilled; if not what are the problems?
- H. What you are working on the preserving Oromo culture from deserting by expansion of Addis Ababa city to the more Oromo lands?
- I. What challenges you faced on the promoting and working to develop Oromo culture in Addis Ababa city and around?

IV. Interview Questions for the Experts from Center of Oromo Culture

- J. What are the opportunities for Oromo people in the Addis Ababa city and around to manifest their culture?
- K. How much the culture of Oromo has concern from the concerned government bodies?
- L. Which level of government you work with more on the promoting and preserving of Oromo culture in Addis Ababa you think?
- M. What you are doing on the identification of Oromo culture (traditions and practices) and their persistence?
- N. How much you empowered to advertise and develop Oromo culture in Addis Ababa and thereby at the national level; and
- O. What are the major challenges you are facing on your work and what you recommend that solve this challenges?

V. Interview Questions for Abbaa Gadaa's

- P. What do you know about the effects of rapid urbanization of Addis Ababa city on the Oromo culture in and around the city?
- Q. How much you have hearing and play their role in acknowledging Oromo culture?
- R. What role you can play in acknowledging Oromo culture, as you get regard?
- S. Where are the major challenges you can identify on the developing of Oromo culture in the city and around you think?
- T. What you recommend in recognizing Oromo culture in Addis Ababa city and around?

Appendix III

Persons Interviewed

1. Abbaa Gadaa Fikadu; Burrayu May 16, 2020
2. Abbaa Gadaa Kebede Burayyu May 16, 2020
3. Abenezar Bizaihu, resident of Yeka sub-city, Gerji September 25, 2020
4. Ato Kebede Desisa Vice Director of Oromia Cultural and Tourism Bureau, 15, 2020
5. Berhan Haile, resident of Akaki Kaliti sub-city, Gerji September 25, 2020
6. Birhanu Direba, Akaki Kaliti sub-city resident, Koye May 07, 2020
7. Buzunesh Abera work at Private Business , Kotobe 02 Woreda area May 17, 2020
8. Daniel Taso resident of Akaki Kaliti sub-city, Gerji September 25, 2020
9. Feyye Tadesse Expert of Values of Culture and Historical Inventory Burayyu August 6, 2020
10. Ismael Mohammed, resident of Yeka, sub-city, Gerji September 25, 2020
11. Keneni Aga Expert of Approval of the Excellency of Hotels and Restaurants Burayyu May, 5, 2020
12. Lijalem Yirga, resident of Akaki Kaliti sub-city, Gerji September 25, 2020
13. Meles Zenawi, resident of Akaki Kaliti sub-city, Gerji September 25, 2020
14. Miss Emebet Mekuria expert of folk in Addis Ababa City Culture and Tourism Bureau May 16, 2020
15. Mr. Alemayehu Haile expert of History at Center of Oromo Culture May, 15, 2020
16. Mr. Amdemariam Mamo Heritage sector expert at Addis Ababa City Culture and Tourism Bureau May 16, 2020
17. Mr. Seyoum Temesgen Director of Addis Ababa City Culture and Tourism Bureau May 16, 2020
18. Naod Dula, resident of Yeka sub-city, Gerji September 25, 2020
19. Senait G/Hiwot, resident of Yeka sub-city, Gerji September 25, 2020
20. Solomon Direba Akaki Kaliti Sub-city resident may, 07, 2020
21. Tujara Chaluma- Kaliti Sub-city resident may, 07, 2020
22. Tujuba Tamiru Yeka Sub-city Resident September 25, 2020