



**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**  
**COLLEGE OF LAW AND GOVERNANCE STUDIES**  
**CENTER FOR FEDERAL STUDIES**

**THE ACCOMMODATION OF ETHNIC DIVERSITY IN SNNPRS; A COMPARATIVE  
STUDY OF ETHNIC ACCOMMODATION BETWEEN THE ETHNIC GROUPS OF  
D'IRASHE WOREDA AND OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS OF SEGEN**

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**BY**  
**TEFERA KEGNALEW HALE**

**ADDIS ABABA**

**MAY 2015**

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY CENTRE FOR  
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**ADDIS ABABA  
MAY 2015**

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**Declaration**

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university and all the sources of material used for the thesis have been dully acknowledged.

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This thesis was submitted for examination with my approval as advisor of the candidate

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**May 2015**

# Approval

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY  
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## **List of Acronyms**

<b>CoN</b>	Council of Nationality
<b>D'i Ku Ma Mo</b>	D'irasha, Kussume, Masholle and Mossiye
<b>EJFS</b>	Ethiopian Journal of Federal Studies
<b>EPRDF</b>	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
<b>FDRE</b>	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
<b>HoF</b>	House of Federation
<b>HoPR</b>	House of Peoples Representatives
<b>ICCPR</b>	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
<b>ICESCR</b>	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
<b>IJMS</b>	International Journal on Multicultural Societies
<b>NNPs</b>	Nations, Nationalities and Peoples
<b>SEPDF</b>	South Ethiopia Peoples' Democratic Front
<b>SEPDM</b>	South Ethiopia Peoples' Democratic Movement
<b>SLM</b>	Sidama Liberation Movement
<b>SNNPRS</b>	Southern Nation Nationalities and Peoples Regional State
<b>SPDC</b>	South Peoples' Democratic Congress
<b>TGE</b>	Transitional Government of Ethiopia
<b>TPLF</b>	Tigray People's Liberation Front
<b>UDHR</b>	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
<b>UNESCO</b>	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

## Glossary

**Kebele:** It is the lowest administrative unit in Ethiopian local government structure since 1974.

**Liyu Woreda:** It is made up of a single ethnic group. It is called liyu (special) as opposed to simply a Woreda, for its boundaries are demarcated along ethnic line and is meant to serve as a territorial area wherein the relevant ethnic community exercises self-government.

**Nationality Zone:** It is established to serve the same purpose as the liyu Woreda even though it is larger than liyu Woreda covering two or more Woredas which are inhabited by a particular ethnic community or some two or more ethnic groups.

**Pottaya:** It is indigenous water harvesting system of the D'irasha ethnic group

**Ras Gez Astedader:** It refers to self-governing autonomous administrative area introduced after 1987.

**Targa:** It is indigenous soil fertility management system of the D'irasha ethnic group.

**Woreda:** It is equivalent to district level of government in the context of Ethiopian local government structure; it constitutes a number of Kebeles within it.

**Zone:** It is the highest level of local government in the context of the Ethiopian local government structure, and which has basically two features. In some states such as the SNNPRS, Gambela, and Benshangul-Gumuz it is autonomous local self-ruling entity devised for distinct ethnic group's (NNPs) self-rule. Whereas, in relatively homogeneous states such as Oromia, Somali, and Tigray, Zonal Administration remains a delegated organ of the respective States, and has no constitutional autonomy.

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*The author is exclusively responsible for all faults that reader may find out in this piece of work.*

## Abstract

*This thesis attempts to assess the ways of ethnic accommodation between the ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda and that of Segen Zone. Contemporarily, accommodation of ethnic minorities has become a hot issue in many parts of the world. Consistently, the thesis highlighted the recent global issues of ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural minorities and the ways of accommodating their rights. Indeed; the corner stone used as a device of accommodation in Ethiopia is its federal political system. Of course, the research analyzed the reason why federalism is introduced in Ethiopia, its way of arrangement, and the mechanisms how it has been managed and accommodated its ethnic, linguistic religious and cultural minorities. Furthermore, it discussed the geographic and institutional arrangements, the exercise of political power and other instrument of ethnic accommodation in SNNPRS. Among the seven multi-ethnic Zones of SNNPRS, Segen Zone is the one which is recently established having eight ethnic groups that are arranged in to five Woredas. Generally, as a central team; the thesis assessed the ways of ethnic accommodation in comparative perspectives using different parameters such as: recognition, representation, self-determination, distribution of infrastructure, power sharing on the executive organ and participation of the people in the political, economic and social affairs. Finally, the study suggested possible devices of accommodating the minority ethnic groups existing in D'irashe Woreda and Segen Zone.*

**Key terms:** *ethnicity, federalism, minority, recognition, representation, self-determination and local government.*

# Chapter One

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. Background of the Study

Today, federalism is increasingly suggested and applied as a political constitutional mechanism to accommodate ethnic pluralism.<sup>1</sup> Contrary to the one nation state model that favored the assimilation and homogeneity of culture in the modern period, since the end of Cold War era, there is a tendency of accommodating diversity in the state system.<sup>2</sup> There are countries replacing their former centralized unitary state structures with decentralized multinational or ethnic federal state systems. This process of state building can be related to two factors: First, it is a response to the growing demands from national minorities in multinational/multi-ethnic states for autonomy and self-governance. Second, it is the difficulty of managing country's political, social, and economic activities from the center, because of the concentration of decision-making power at the central level which results in delays in responding to citizens' basic demands and in the implementations of important activities at the local level.<sup>3</sup>

In the case of Ethiopia, the process of decentralization and the introduction of federal political setup in the state building system has its own unique characteristics. Before 1991, the creation of the Ethiopian state by the process of internal expansion did not give rise to an alternative nation building strategy.<sup>4</sup> Just like the leaders of the postcolonial African states, the Ethiopian power holders, for the largest part of the twentieth century, strived for the creation of one nation within the state, without recognition of its national or ethnic diversity, but by the disavowal of and the attempt to erase that diversity.<sup>5</sup> This strategy remained until the fall of the Derge<sup>6</sup> in May 1991,

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<sup>1</sup>Beken V. C (2013) *Federalism in a Context of Extreme Ethnic Pluralism: The Case of Ethiopia's Southern Nation, Nationalities and Peoples Region*. Article of VRU - 46

<sup>2</sup>Firew Tesfaye (2012); *The Quest for Empowering Indigenous System in Local Self-Governance among the D'irasha of South Western Ethiopia*; Unpublished MA Thesis; AAU Center for Ethiopian Studies.

<sup>3</sup>Assefa, Fiseha (2006 p. 132) '*Theory versus Practice in the Implementation of Ethiopia's Ethnic Federalism* in D. Turton (ed.), *Ethnic Federalism: The Ethiopian Experience in Comparative Perspective*, London: James Currey.

<sup>4</sup>Walker Conner, *Nation Building or Nation Destroying?*, World Politics, Vol.24, No.3(1972), Johns Hopkins University Press, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2009753>, accessed on 07/2008 06:53 , pp. 319-20

<sup>5</sup>Beken, V. C. (2007). '*Ethiopia: Constitutional Protection of Ethnic Minorities at the Regional Level*', *Recht in Afrika Focus*, vol. 20, No. 1-2, pp. 106.

<sup>6</sup>Derge is Literally Means 'Committee'. It is Also Known as Military Junta that Ruled Ethiopia From 1974 – 1991.

when the new power holders, under the leadership of the EPRDF (the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front),<sup>7</sup> a coalition of ethnic-based liberation movements, declared their radical aim of breaking away from the past through persistent armed struggle and introduced the strategy of nation building based on equality of all Ethiopian ethnic groups. The base of this nation building strategy was started with the introduction of the 1991 Transitional Charter.<sup>8</sup>

Thus, the 1991 Transitional Charter has opened a new chapter in the political history of Ethiopia in which freedom, equality and self-determination of all Nations, Nationalities and Peoples have to be the governing principles of economic, political and social lives of the country. This indicates radical change in the political landscape of Ethiopia, that 1990s brought crucial and fundamental changes in the process of accommodating ethnic diversity. Following the Transitional Charter, after four years in 1995, Ethiopia introduced the current Constitution. In stark contrast to strong unitary nation state in the past, the 1995 Constitution established a federal and democratic state structure. In the effort to reconstruct the Ethiopian state as a multi-cultural and multi-national political entity, federalism and ethnicity have been taken seriously by the EPRDF regime.<sup>9</sup> In the Ethiopian federal political system, the maximum importance has been given to the ethnic groups termed as “Nations Nationalities and Peoples (NNPs)”<sup>10</sup> This is evident in that they are holders of sovereign power of the state.<sup>11</sup> Nations Nationalities and Peoples have also constitutionally guaranteed right to self-determination including secession. Thus the introduction of decentralized political, economic and social powers through federal political order is projected to resolve the nationalities question.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>EPRDF Consists; Three Ethnic and One Multi-Ethnic Organization, Namely, the TPLF ( Tigray People's Liberation Front), ANDM (Amhara National Democratic Movement), OPDO (Oromo People's Democratic Organization) and SEPDF ( Southern Ethiopia People's Democratic Front)

<sup>8</sup>The Preamble of TGE (1991) ‘*The Transitional Period Charter*’, Addis Ababa: *Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE)*, Addis Ababa.

<sup>9</sup>Asnake K. (2013) *Federalism and Ethnic Conflict in Ethiopia: Comparative Regional Study*. London: Taylor and Francis.

<sup>10</sup>The Meaning and the Distinction Between “Nation Nationality and People” is Not Clarified In 1995 Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) Constitution. For the Purpose of this Study, However, the Researcher Took the Three Categories as Ethnic Groups.

<sup>11</sup> The 1995 FDRE Constitution: Article - 8

<sup>12</sup>Assefa, Fiseha (2006 p. 131) ‘*Theory versus Practice in the Implementation of Ethiopia's Ethnic Federalism* in D. Turton (ed.), *Ethnic Federalism: The Ethiopian Experience in Comparative Perspective*, London: James Currey.

In Ethiopia, there are more than 80 ethnic groups with distinct cultures and languages. The 1995 Constitution divided Ethiopia into nine regional states. They are the states of: Tigray, Afar, Amhara, Oromia, Somali, Harari, Gambella, Benishangul-Gumuz and SNNPRS, including two city administrations of Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa.<sup>13</sup> However, there is a possibility for this number to increase as the constitution allows the different nationality groups within the existing regional state to establish its own state. The key factor in establishing these states seems to have focused on addressing the past state-society crisis in relation to ethnicity. Notwithstanding constitutionally entrenched equal rights and powers, the interesting point about the Ethiopian regional state is practical asymmetry in ethnic composition, territorial and population size. The level of ethnic heterogeneity differs from one state to the other. The regional states also exhibit wide variations in terms of size ranging from the largest Oromia state, both in territorial and population terms, to a tiny Harari region.

Among the nine regional states of Ethiopia, the Southern Nations Nationalities and People's regional state stands as the most ethnically diverse having more than 56 officially recognized ethno-linguistic groups.<sup>14</sup> The region is characterized by extreme pluralism in terms of culture, language, identity and ethnic group.<sup>15</sup> The governance of the majority of the ethnic groups in the region has been arranged along ethnic lines. However at the local level, it is possible to obtain minority of minorities like the case in D'irashe Woreda of Segen Area Peoples Zone. According to the SNNPRS revised Constitution of 2001, the region has vertically arranged in to Zonal/Special Woreda, Woreda, and Kebele levels of administration. Zones and Special Woredas possess almost similar status with slight differences. While Zonal administration constitutes Woredas, Special Woreda constitutes Kebeles. Currently, altogether there are 14 Zones and 4 special Woredas which constitute the Southern Nation Nationalities and Peoples Regional State (SNNPRS) since 2011.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> The 1995 FDRE Constitution: Art.47

<sup>14</sup> Beken, V. C. (2012). *Unity in Diversity; Federalism as a Mechanism to Accommodate Ethnic Diversity*; the Case of Ethiopia; Zurich, Minster Litvelag press.

<sup>15</sup> Beken, V. C. (2012) pp-268

<sup>16</sup> Misganaw Addis "Self-rule in Segen Area Peoples Zone" Unpublished MA Thesis A.A.U. Center For Federal Studies 2014

## 1.2. Statement of the Problem

In the post 1990s, accommodation of ethnic diversity has been taking new dimensions in the experience of Ethiopia. It is not deniable that the multi-national/ethnic federal setup of the country effectively answered the basic question of nationalities. However, still there are composite problems in the process of accommodating small ethnic groups in different regional states of the country like the ethnic groups living in SNNPRS. Demand for equal status, quest for recognition, demand for self-determination, quest for political power sharing, quest for political representation, and demand for equity in resource distribution are essential issues of ethnic accommodation in the region. Furthermore, unlike territorially demarcated Zones, for instance Oromiya region, the sub-regional and local administrative unites of SNNPRS are ethnically arranged. Besides, in terms of self-rule, one can observe clear similarities with the federal level in that relatively large ethnic groups were given their own Zone while some ethnic groups constitute a minority within one of these entities dominated and designated by particular groups or merged together in multi-ethnic Zones.<sup>17</sup>

Among the 14 Zones of the region, the multi-ethnic Segen Area Peoples' Zone is the newly established one in 2011 by merging four Special Woredas and newly established Alle Woreda. The merged four special Woredas of the Zone includes; Konso, D'irashe, Burji, and Amaro. Among them, D'irashe Woreda is different by its diverse ethnic composition. D'irashe Woreda has four ethnic groups; D'irasha, Kusume, Masholle and Mossiye. These ethnic groups have their own distinct history, cultures, language, and indigenous socio-political systems and they have their own settlement patterns with in the Woreda.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Beken V. C (2013)

<sup>18</sup>The Annual Magazine of D'i Ku Ma Mo. (D'irasha, Kusume, Masholle and Mossiye) 2014; Published by Culture, Tourism and Government Communication Office of D'irashe Woreda; Mina Printing Press - Page - 1

Compared with other ethnic groups of Segen Area Peoples Zone (Konso, Burji, Amaro and Alle), the four ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda (Kusume, D'irasha, Masholle and Mossiye)<sup>19</sup> were not similarly accommodated in terms of recognition, political representation, administrative arrangements, cultural and linguistic rights, political power sharing, self-rule status/power and on the distribution of social services. In terms of administrative arrangements, each of the ethnic groups within D'irashe Woreda is arranged in to Kebele levels; whereas other ethnic groups of Segen Area Peoples Zone are arranged at least on Woreda level administrative constituency.

In terms of self-rule, all the ethnic groups in Segen Area Peoples Zone are not exercising their constitutional rights of self-governing power.<sup>20</sup> Conversely, relatively speaking between 1992/3 to 2011, currently merged ethnic groups of Segen Area Peoples Zone were accommodated at least on the special Woreda level as a mono ethnic group. However; D'irashe Woreda was exceptional by its multi-ethnic and multi-cultural composition both in its previous and current arrangements. The ethnic groups of Kusume, Masholle, Mossiye and D'irasha were not given equal status like that of Konso, Burji, Ale and Amaro. Comparatively speaking, even if their power is dimensioned from especial Woreda to Woreda level, other ethnic groups of Segen Area Peoples Zone in their current arrangements are in a better position in many aspects than that of the ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda. In this point it is not to mean that they are exercising their constitutional rights of self-rule because, the SNNPRS constitution says nothing for the local administration below Zone/Special Woreda and instead it asserts that Woredas and Kebeles are subordinate units of Zone/Special Woredas.

In terms of ethnic representation and recognition, the Zone has no fertile ground to recognize and represent the multi-ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda. The criteria used for representation at Zone level are also overlooked the existence of diverse ethnic groups in D'irashe. Furthermore there are gaps in the political power sharing of the constituting ethnic groups of the Zone. This study therefore assesses the ways of ethnic accommodation between collectively arranged multi-ethnic D'irashe Woreda and other ethnic groups of Segen Zone using comparative and empirical

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<sup>19</sup>“D'irasha” Refers to the Name of One of the Ethnic Group Living in D'irashe Woreda; were as “D'irashe” Refers to the Name of one of the Multi-Ethnic Woreda among the Constituting five Woredas of Segen Zone.

<sup>20</sup>Misganaw Addis (2014) p. 68

approaches focusing on the areas of; recognitions, representation, political power sharing, distribution of social services and self-rule powers. The research further compares the ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda with other ethnic groups of Segen Zone in terms of language rights and cultural protections.

### **1.3. Research Questions**

This thesis attempts to answer the following questions:

- ✓ What are the challenges of accommodating ethnic diversity in D'irashe Woreda?
- ✓ What are the mechanisms used to accommodate ethnic diversity in multi-ethnic groups?
- ✓ What makes D'irashe Woreda different from ethnic groups of Segen Zone?
- ✓ What are the natures of ethnic diversity in D'irashe Woreda?

The study identified and raised these questions with a view of finding gaps which affects numerically small ethnic groups within the Woreda and the Zone to use their constitutional rights.

### **1.4. Objectives of the Study**

#### **1.4.1. General Objective**

The main objective of this thesis is to make a comparative assessment of ethnic accommodation between the ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda and that of Segen Area Peoples' Zone.

#### **1.4.2. Specific Objectives**

The specific objectives of the study are to:

- Describe the nature of ethnic diversity in D'irashe Woreda.
- Examine the challenges of accommodating ethnic diversity in D'irashe Woreda.
- Assess the cinereous of ethnic diversity between the ethnic groups of Segen Zone.
- Compare and discuss the experiences of accommodating ethnic diversity in D'irashe Woreda and Segen Zone.
- Explore possible ways of accommodating ethnic groups so as to enable them to enjoy the provisions of the constitution.

## **1.5. Significance of the Study**

This research is significant in terms of its attempt to indicate the existing gap in accommodating ethnic diversity particularly in multi-ethnic societies like D'irashe Woreda and it tries to find possible solutions in which small ethnic groups may exercise their constitutional rights. Furthermore, the research may contribute and serve as reference to works of policy-makers, practitioners, and researchers in the multi-ethnic Southern Regional State.

## **1.6. Delimitation of the Study**

Because of the constraints of time and financial resources, this research is limited in its geographic and thematic scopes. Geographically, it is confined to Segen Area Peoples' Zone of the SNNPRS. Thematically, it is concerned with accommodation of ethnic diversity.

## **1.7. Limitations of the Study**

It was not an easy task for the research to find sufficient data as desired from informants. The accuracy of the collected data was challenged by different factors such as: - fear and suspicion of participants to freely reflect their feelings. Affiliation and opposition to the ruling party and connection of participants to specific ethnic group had also its own impact in generating some sort of bias. In order to maintain the balance, filtering the data was essential step, and some amount of data collected by interview was rejected.

## **1.8. Research Methods and Procedures**

### **1.8.1. Research Design**

The design of this study includes the procedure of selection of data source, tools of data gathering, ethical considerations and validation plan. The researcher used qualitative method of the theme under study. Therefore, the researcher employed qualitative approach in order to analyze the primary and secondary data. Since the study attempts to assess, analyze and interpret than explain the perspectives of participants, it becomes hardly appropriate method to pursue quantitative design that quantifies and explains the data that obtained based up on the data collected.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Holliday, A. (2002:37) *Doing and Writing Qualitative Research*, London: SAGE Publisher Ltd.

### **1.8.2. Data Source**

For the purpose of effective research finding, both primary and secondary sources of data were used. The primary sources of data includes: - Traditional Elders, Youths, Women's, Political officials, Civil Servants, students and residents. The secondary source of data includes; - magazines, official reports, articles, websites, books, constitutions and present proclamations as well.

### **1.8.3. Selection of Research Participants**

The selection of key informants was based on purposive sampling, a non-probabilistic method. To qualify the purpose for this study, purposive sampling became optimal to the researcher, and hence, convenience and judgmental sampling was administered. Whilst convenience sampling is used instant and accessible participants, the judgmental sampling helps recruit participants on the basis of their competence to offer as much required data and information as possible. As far as sample size is concerned, a total of 46 individuals were participant. For the sake of triangulation and compensation for the limit of the sizable amount of data, the researcher employed two sessions of FGD which involved 8 different participants in each session.

### **1.8.4. Instruments of Data Collection**

Data collection is one of the integral bodies of the research. In order to maintain validity and reliability, multiple instruments of data collection were utilized. The method used for the empirical data and information collection in the study area falls into four categories:

#### **1.8.4.1. Interview**

The kind of interview used during the field work was the unstructured one. This gave the researcher freedom to raise questions depending on the context of the situation and background of the interviewee. A total of 30 interviewees were personally conducted. Out of which, 10 interviewees were selected from among government officials from the federal, state, Zonal, Woreda and Kebele levels. On the other hand, 8 interviewees were selected from civil servants who are closer to the views of the ordinary people with better information, and 12 interviewees were selected from elders of each ethnic group in D'irashe Woreda. Interviews were conducted

in a setting that the informants feel free and assume that they are in the natural course of interaction rather than serious business.

#### **1.8.4.2. Focus Group Discussion**

A total of sixteen participants have been purposely selected in consideration of their willingness, ethnic background, education level, and political affiliations. The discussion was administered in Gidole, the administrative center of D'irashe Woreda. The discussion was arranged in to two sessions based on the participants' convenience. Each session involved 8 different participants. Utilization of the FGD has quite benefited the researcher to witness divergent views and in the meantime capture condensed and sizable amount of data. The whole primary data was personally collected by the researcher aided by (to some extent) field assistant with a very well preparation of checklist guidelines and field note

#### **1.8.4.3. Document Analysis**

The researcher explored various categories of documents which include: books, articles, thesis laws, periodicals, and official reports of Federal, Regional, Zone and Woreda Governments. Policy documents, legislations, minutes, and other various sources of governmental statistics, figures and maps are also used.

#### **1.8.4.4. Field Observation**

For the very purpose of this study, the researcher spent the period from November 10 to December 15/2014 in D'irashe and also personally explored the Zone in relation to infrastructural distributions, institutional arrangements, social settings, communal relations, livelihoods and topographic setup. As a result, the author has much benefited in practical observation and in objectively assessing the data in the field.<sup>22</sup>

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The Author was Born in Gidole Town the Capital of D'irashe Woreda and Followed His Elementary and Junior Education in Edget Mullu, Preparatory in Gidole Secondary and Preparatory School and Graduated his BA Degree from Bahir Dar University with Civic and Ethics in the Year 2002 E.C. This Research is Conducted for His Partial Fulfillment of MA Degree in Federal Studies from Addis Ababa University College of Law and Governance Studies in 2015. The Author was Interested to Conduct on the Research Topic due to Various Reasons; Among Others: His Proximity and Background Knowledge of the Study Area, His Proximity to the Political Situations Before and After His Father's Leadership Ato Kegnalew Hale, the Existence of Diverse Ethnic Groups in D'irashe Woreda and the Establishment of Segen Zone in 2011.

### **1.8.5. Method of Data Analysis**

For the purpose of analyzing the data, the researcher implemented qualitative method using descriptive analysis. So as to attain the set of research objectives and answers to the research questions, the gathered data was systematically analyzed and interpreted by following the necessary steps of data screening and organization in argumentative, descriptive, and inferential manner. Finally after data analysis, conclusion and recommendation was made.

### **1.8.6. Ethical Considerations**

The writer has taken an important ethical consideration in to account. Effort was made to avoid bias and to be as objective as far as possible. In the course of data collection, interviewees have been informed the purpose of the study without any form of deception before securing informed consent from them. The writer has also taken care of the interviewees' response from unnecessary disclosure in a way abusive to their relationship with their employer. The writer has also provided an accurate account of the information through examining the collected data to build a coherent justification for descriptions.

### **1.8.7. Organizations of the Thesis**

This Study is divided into five chapters. Chapter one introduces with background of the study, statement of the problem, research questions, objectives, significance, methodologically relevant issues, method of data analysis, and ethical considerations. The second chapter focuses on literature review. In this chapter an effort has been made to conceptualize federalism, federation, ethnicity and minority, theories of ethnicity, types of minorities, the role of state in protecting minority rights, federalism and ethno-linguistic diversity in Ethiopia, the ways of accommodating ethnic diversity and the socio-political dynamics and reforms of local government in Ethiopia. The third chapter explores the location, demography, ethnic composition, institutional arrangements, territorial organization, the ways of accommodating ethnic diversity and the origin of SNNPRS as sub-national unit. The fourth chapter conferred to critically evaluate the ways of ethnic accommodation among the ethnic groups of D'irashe and other ethnic groups of Segen Zone. Finally, the fifth chapter briefly summarized the major research findings. It also presented and suggested possible mechanisms of accommodating ethnic diversities.

## Chapter Two

### 2. Review of Related Literature

#### 2.1. Introduction

Under this chapter, the research discusses on the theoretical and conceptual frameworks of federalism and federation, ethnicity and ethnic groups, theories of ethnicity, concept of minority, types of minorities, the state and protection of minority rights, ethno-linguistic diversity and Ethiopia, federalism in Ethiopia, the socio-political dynamics and reforms of local government in Ethiopia and the ways of accommodating ethnic diversity.

#### 2.2. Conceptual Frame Work

##### 2.2.1. Federalism and Federation

Etymologically, the word 'federalism' comes from the Latin word "foedus" meaning "covenant".<sup>23</sup> According to Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy; Federalism is defined as the theory or advocacy of federal principles for dividing powers between member units and common institutions.<sup>24</sup> King defines federalism as a political principle that combines self-government and shared action.<sup>25</sup> As a normative term, federalism basically embodies the idea of self- rule and shared rule between at least two tiers of government. "It accommodates preserves and promotes distinct identities within a larger political union."<sup>26</sup>

On the other hand, federation as a descriptive term refers to the institutional make-up of the federal nation. It embodies such principles as the division of powers, a written constitution,

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<sup>23</sup>Elazar Daniel and Kincaid John, *the Covenant Connection: Federal Theology and the Origins of Modern Politics*. (Lanham; MD: Center for the Study of Federalism and University Press of America); For a More Comprehensive Treatment of the Federal Idea as Essentially Covenantal 1984.

<sup>24</sup>*Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*; First Published in Jan 5-2003; Substantive Revision Mar 9, 2010; Available at <https://www.leibniz.stanford.edu/friends/preview/federalism>, accessed at August 2, 2012.

<sup>25</sup>King, Preston (1982) *Federalism and Federations*, Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.

<sup>26</sup>Watts Ronald; *Comparing Federal Systems in the 1990s*; Kingston, Ontario: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University, 1996, pp. 6.

regional representation at the center, equality of both central and regional governments, and regional autonomy. Federation therefore is the employment of the principles of federalism in order to achieve a balance between unity and diversity.<sup>27</sup> Ronald Watts described that; “federalism provides a technique of constitutional organization that permits action by a shared government for certain common purposes, together with autonomous action by constituent units of government for purposes that relate to maintaining their distinctiveness, with each level directly responsible to its own electorate.”<sup>28</sup> Thus federalism is a dynamic working balance that perpetuates autonomy and union in a proper order through a political bargain among the federative political entities.

From the above definitions, one can possibly conclude that: all/any federal system should have the following two common compositions. First, federalism contains two or more levels (or tiers) of government. Such different tiers of government govern the same citizens, but each tier has its own jurisdiction in specific matters of legislation, taxation and administration. The jurisdictions of the respective levels or tiers of government are specified in the constitution as well. So the existence and authority of each tier of government is constitutionally guaranteed. Second, in any federal government the fundamental provisions of the constitution cannot be unilaterally changed by one level of government.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, two aspects are crucial for the institutions and practice of federalism. Governments at different levels should agree to some rules of power sharing. They should also trust that each would abide by its part of the agreement. An ideal federal system has both aspects: mutual trust and agreement to live together through balancing center petal and center fugal forces of the federation.

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<sup>27</sup>Watts Ronald; 1996, pp. 6.

<sup>28</sup> Watts Ronald, *Federalism Today*, Paper Written for the International Conference on Federalism Saint Gallen, Switzerland, 2002, pp.7.

<sup>29</sup> *Nature of Federalism*, [http://www.excellup.com/Notes/10\\_SocSc\\_Federalism.pdf](http://www.excellup.com/Notes/10_SocSc_Federalism.pdf), accessed at August 3, 2012.

## 2.2.2. Ethnicity and Ethnic Groups

In the contemporary world, the concept ethnicity has been issues of hot debates. Because of this it seems that there is no universally agreed definition for the concept ethnicity.<sup>30</sup> Originally the term 'ethnicity' is derived from the Greek word 'ethnos' which represents a group of human beings embedded with common socio-cultural expressions. The notion of ethnicity as stated here has to do with the definition of the NNPs in article 39 (5) of the FDRE Constitution.<sup>31</sup> Theoretically, there are different approaches and sub-approaches to define the concept ethnicity. For instance, according to Wsevolod W. Isajiw (1993) there are four major approaches to define the concept Ethnicity They are: the primordial approaches, the epiphenomenon approaches, the situational approaches and the subjective approaches. Other Scholars classify the approaches in to three schools of thought Primordialism, Constructivism and Instrumentalists. For the purpose of this study the author purposely focused on the three dominant theories of ethnicity: primordialism, constructivism and instrumentalism.

### 2.2.2.1. Primordialism

The primordialist approach is the oldest in sociological and anthropological literature.<sup>32</sup> It argues that ethnicity is something given, ascribed at birth, deriving from the kin-and-clan-structure of human society, and hence something more or less fixed and permanent.<sup>33</sup> This school of thought view ethnic groups as ancient and immemorial kinship groups and thus given facets of social life. It describes ethnicity based on the primordial elements such as, custom, language, culture, tradition, kinship, sharing common psychological makeup history and, religion that keeps

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<sup>30</sup> Enoch Wan and Mark Vanderwerf; *a Review of Literature on Ethnicity, National Identity and Related Missiological Studies*; Published in [www.GlobalMissiology.org](http://www.GlobalMissiology.org) "Featured Articles" April, 2009.

<sup>31</sup> According to the 1995 FDRE Constitution: Article 39 (5), "Nation, Nationality or People" Refers to a Group of People Who have or Share Large Measure of a Common Culture or Similar Customs, Mutual Intelligibility of Language, Belief in a Common or Related Identities, a Common Psychological Make-up, and Who Inhabit an Identifiable, Predominantly Contiguous Territory

<sup>32</sup>Wsevolod W. Isajiw (1993) Paper presented at "Joint Canada-United States Conference on the *Measurement of Ethnicity*", Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, April 2, 1992.Published in *Challenges of Measuring an Ethnic World: Science, Politics and Reality: Proceedings of the Joint Canada-United States Conference on the Measurement of Ethnicity April 1-3, 1992*, Statistics Canada and U.S. Bureau of the Census, eds. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office; pp. 407-27, 1993

<sup>33</sup> Geertz, Clifford (1963) '*The Integrative Revolution*', In C. Geertz (ed.), *Old Societies and New States*, New York: Free Press.

members together as a separate entity and distinct group with unique characteristics. These elements are also used as an identity marker for understanding ethnic groups with ascription by others. This paradigm was first expressed by German romantic philosophers like Herder and Fichte and has continued to be held to one degree or another by such writers as Basil Davidson, Clifford Geertz, Edward Shils and Steven Van Evera.<sup>34</sup> Primordialism has been criticized for presenting a static and naturalistic view of ethnicity that mystifies emotion and reduces cultural and social behavior to biological drives. The primordial assumption ignores change and dissolution of ethnic groups and does not speak of the modern processes of fusion and fission of ethnic groups.<sup>35</sup>

#### 2.2.2.2. Constructivism

According to this thought ethnicity is socially constructed phenomenon. This paradigm is used by most scholars today across the social sciences. It first overtook primordialism as the dominant paradigm in the 1960s and 1970s. Constructivists understanding of ethnic identity, incorporate analysis of how ethnic relations are maintained, defined, and perceived by the group itself. Constructivism emphasizes on cultural and historical ground for the development of ethnic consciousness instead of taking for granted that ethnic groups are created by elite maneuvering for strategic political and economic consumption.<sup>36</sup> In recent decades it has become widespread through the works of Benedict Anderson, John Breuilly, Rogers Brubaker and Eric Hobsbawm, among others. The central idea of constructivism is that, ethnic groups are artificial and constructed rather than natural and eternal, and, just as they can be created, they can also be destroyed or, in the postmodernist vocabulary, fragmented and deconstructed.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>cf. Van Evera 2001

<sup>35</sup>Berhanu Gutema. (2007). *'Restructuring State and Society: Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia.'* Aalborg University, Uni Print: Aalborg, Denmark, PhD. Dissertation: 36-39

<sup>36</sup>Horowitz, Donald L. (1985), *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press P. 55

<sup>37</sup>Wsevolod W.Isajiw(1993); <http://www.culturementalhealth.com> /wp content/uploada/Def\_DimofEthnicity. Pdf-9-14-2014-5:03 pm

### 2.2.2.3. Instrumentalist

Instrumentalist theory views ethnicity as something that can be changed, constructed or even manipulated to gain specific political and/or economic ends.<sup>38</sup> Elite theory, one of the instrumentalist approaches argues that, the leaders in a modern state (the elite) use and manipulate perceptions of ethnic identity to further their own ends and stay in power. According to this theory, ethnicity is created in the dynamics of elite competition within the boundaries determined by political and economic realities' and ethnic groups are to be seen as a product of political myths, created and manipulated by culture elites in their pursuit of advantages and power.

**Table 1.1. Summary of the Three Basic Theories in Understanding Ethnicity**

Perspective	Description
Primordialist Theories	<i>Ethnicity is fixed at birth. Ethnic identification is based on deep, 'primordial' attachments to a group or culture.</i>
Constructivist Theories	<i>Ethnic identity is not something people "possess" but something they "construct" in specific social and historical contexts to further their own interests. It is therefore fluid and subjective.</i>
Instrumental Theories	<i>Ethnicity, based on people's "historical" and "symbolic" memory, is something created and used and exploited by leaders and others in the pragmatic pursuit of their own interests.</i>

*Source: Enoch Wan and Mark Vanderwerf. P.7*

<sup>38</sup>Eriksen, "Ethnic Identity, National Identity and Intergroup Conflict": The Significance of Personal Experiences."

The discussion on ethnicity so far reveals that, ethnicity is quite vague and fluid phenomenon both at empirical and theoretical level. Empirically, however, ethnic identity consciousness and ethnic solidarity depends on circumstances. Ethnic solidarity may diminish if that group members secure another solidarity alternatives such as professionalism, class relation, and political affiliation.<sup>39</sup> However, ethnic groups are defined by a common inheritance of culture, racial similarity, common religion, belief in common history and ancestry<sup>40</sup>, and psychological feeling to belong to the group.<sup>41</sup> Ethnic group is a group of people who share ancestry myth, history, culture having an association with a specific territory and a sense of solidarity.<sup>42</sup> Unlike tribe and clan that may involve blood tie, ethnicity is based on common values such as language, culture, history, inhabiting common territory and belief in common descent.

### 2.2.3. Debates on Ethnicity in Ethiopia

There are predominantly two major intellectual outlooks in Ethiopia in connection to ethnicity. The first perspective believes that the Ethiopian society has reached a stage of common identity by nurturing a common Ethiopian citizenship, obliterating primordial attachments and loyalties to the kinship. Ethiopic culture and mindset has blown and civic mentality has long become the cult than ethnic affinity; merit has long been instituted than ascription; maintaining ethnicity is therefore degeneration rather than regeneration. The second perspective, on the other hand, argues that Ethiopia is a home for various distinct ethnic groups with their own geographic concentration, and that need to get some form of political representation and self-government to maintain their particular need and preference, and at the same time to maintain their color.

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<sup>39</sup>Berhanu Gutema. (2007). 'Restructuring State and Society: Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia.' Aalborg University, Uni Print: Aalborg, Denmark, PhD. Dissertation.

<sup>40</sup>According to Anthony Smith, an Ethnic Group is, "a Named Human Population with Myths of Common Ancestry, Shared Historical Memories, One or More Elements of a Common Culture, a Link with a Homeland and a Sense of Solidarity. According to Max Weber "Ethnic Groups Are those Human Groups that Entertain a Subjective Belief in their Common Descent because of Similarities of Physical Type or of Customs or Both, or Because of Memories of Colonization or Migration. According to Fearon and Laitin, an Ethnic Group is "a Group Larger than a Family for which Membership is Reckoned Primarily by Descent, is Conceptually Autonomous, and has a Conventionally Recognized "Natural History" as a Group.

<sup>41</sup>Ayele.G 2013:15

<sup>42</sup>Alder Smith, (1991), *National identity*, New York: Penguin, p. 21

The second line of perspective holds the view that, it is favorable and desirable for people who share common symbol, history, destiny, and future aspirations to have their own self-rule autonomy without contempt to their ethno-cultural identity, and get subsumed by some dominant groups which supposed to be the mainstream culture or 'Pan-Ethiopian' culture.<sup>43</sup>

Ethnic identity claims in Ethiopia are triggered more of due to instrumental factors as demand for social status, political power and economic benefits rather than primordial factors like the need to maintain and nurture the primordial bondage and to transcend from generation to the other. However, primordial attachments have decisively become instrumental to advance these social, political, and economic objectives.<sup>44</sup> Encouraging ethnic entitlement simply for primordial attachments could open venue to institutionalize ethnic hostilities and ethnic competition that could be hazardous for public cohesion in multiethnic societies.<sup>45</sup> Multinational federal political order is a continuous negotiation between the conflicting parties. Multinational federal political order as it resolves the 'old' conflicts; it also induces 'new' conflicts inevitably.<sup>46</sup> Multinational federalism is not a panacea for conflict, nor, however, is the next step to conflict. It is at once a problem and a solution. Whether it is one or the other depends a great deal on other factor.<sup>47</sup>

#### 2.2.4. Conceptualizing Minority

Like many other legal concepts and terms, the term 'minority' is not subject to agreed definition. Many scholars and authorities tried to give a working and tentative definition to it. The 1948 Genocide Convention did not define the concept minority. The first international binding instrument regarding minorities is the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; however it failed to define the concept minorities. Even the concept minority is not defined in the 1992 UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Linguistic or

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<sup>43</sup>Hameso Y. 1997; Fasil N. 1997; Merera G. 2003; Assefa F. 2013:116

<sup>44</sup>Berhanu Gutema. (2007). '*Restructuring State and Society: Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia.*' Aalborg University, Uni Print: Aalborg, Denmark, PhD. Dissertation.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid

<sup>46</sup>Tsegaye Regassa (2010). '*Learning to live with conflicts: Federalism as a tool of conflict*', Mizan Law Review: vol. 4 (1), pp. 53-101.

<sup>47</sup>Assefa Fiseha. (2013). 'Ethiopia's Experiment in Accommodating Diversity: 20 Years' Balance Sheet, Regional & Federal Studies', EJFS, Centre for Federal Studies, Addis Ababa University, vol. 1(1), pp. 103-153.

Religious Minorities,<sup>48</sup> which is the first international instrument to deal with minorities that concerns in a separate instrument. Yet, this does not mean that there is no an attempt to define the concept minorities. Different lawyers and academicians tried to define minority in different ways. The most known working definition is the one given by the Special Rapporteur Francesco Capotorti, which reads as:

Minorities are a group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a State, in a non-dominant position, whose members - being nationals of the State - possess ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics differing from those of the rest of the population and show, if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their culture, religion or language.<sup>49</sup>

From the above definition one can easily understand that; minority rights refer to rights of an individual or a group who are numerically small in number in comparison to the remainder of the population, culturally marginalized, economically and politically weak. In the context of international law, minority rights are most concerned with national, ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities, but other minority groups exist. Minority rights regularly change in conjunction with minority status, which is determined by location. Now a day, with increasing global awareness and focus on human rights, the United Nation (UN) has made a declaration on minority rights. The declaration is not treaty, but many countries, especially democracies, are obligated to adhere to its content because they have signed treaties. Ethiopia is among those countries who signed the treaties. To give long-lasting response for the historic injustices, inequality and domination of single nation, Ethiopia introduced federal political system. This system recognized all minorities within the country.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> The Term 'Minority' as Used in the United Nations Human Rights System Refers to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities as Laid Out in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (General Assembly resolution 47/135 of 18 December 1992) and in Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. *conn. j. int'l.* 465 (1995-1996).

<sup>49</sup> Francesco Capotorti, *Study on the Rights of Persons Belonging to Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities* at 96, U. N .Sales No. E. 91.xiv.2 (1991), as quoted by Jerome Wilson, *Ethnic Groups and Self-Determination*, 11 *conn. j. int'l.* 465 (1995-1996).

<sup>50</sup> The Preamble of the 1995 FDRE Constitution

### **2.2.4.1. Types of Minorities**

Of course there are different types of minorities over the world. Also different scholars classify minorities on different basis.<sup>51</sup> Indeed for the purpose of this research in this sub-topic I focused only on the two types of minorities listed on article 27 of ICCPR which includes: - ethnic and linguistic minorities.

#### **2.2.4.1.1. Ethnic Minority**

Ethnic minority is a generic term encompassing various types of vulnerable groups. An ethnic minority may wish to preserve its peculiar characteristics which may be cultural, historical and common decent or biological origin. Language can be one of such distinction. Ethnicity is sometimes confused with 'race' and interchangeably used. However, under article 27 of the ICCPR, it is ethnic minority rather than race that is protected. This does not mean that racial discrimination is permitted, but most of the time minority and majority relationship occurs within the same racial group.

In addition, there is some confusion between ethnic minority and national minority. In many literatures and laws they are interchangeably used. However, it is not as such difficult to discern the distinction between the two. While the peculiar characteristics exhibited and desired to be preserved by the minority group in both cases may be the same, the latter relates to those groups who have been already in their historic home land and nationals of the state. But ethnic minority may include both nationals and non-nationals. Due to the modern and contemporary fast growing interaction because of economic, cultural and political reason, and due to the unabated civil wars and international conflicts, people cross their country of origin and come to another country of destination and form a minority group. They do not have historic attachment to the country of destination. In such cases, the appropriate term would be ethnic minority as opposed to national as they had not been nationals of that country

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<sup>51</sup> According to the United Nations Human Rights System, the Term 'minority' Refers to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities as Laid Out in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (General Assembly resolution 47/135 of 18 December 1992).

#### **2.2.4.1.2. Linguistic Minority**

Like minority, linguistic minority does not have an agreed definition. However, it has ever been one of the groups which required special treatments from the state or international community. Language plays an important role in the life of an individual or a group. It has two aspects, namely, an instrumental value and intrinsic value. In either case, groups speaking the language are eligible to protection against discrimination and special treatment with a view to ensuring equality with the majority language to a certain extent. In other words, language of a group may be the only distinction and because of this, the group may be in the position of non-dominance. Indeed, historically, most of the vulnerable groups belonged to linguistic ones. That's why persons belonging to linguistic minority are given protection under Article 27 of the ICCPR and the 1992 Minority Declaration.<sup>52</sup> To sum up, whatever the arguments of either perspective may be, linguistic minorities are recognized under international law and states' constitutions

### **2.3. The State and Protection of Minority Rights**

The recognition and protection of minority rights under international law began with the League of Nations through the adoption of several "minority treaties".<sup>53</sup> When the United Nations was set up in 1945 to replace the League of Nations, it, too, gradually developed a number of norms, procedures and mechanisms concerned with minorities.<sup>54</sup> According to the UN declarations and legal instruments, the promotion and protection of the rights of minorities require particular attention to be paid to issues such as the recognition of minorities' existence; efforts to guarantee their rights to non-discrimination and equality; the promotion of multicultural and intercultural education, nationally and locally; the promotion of their participation in all aspects of public life; the inclusion of their concerns in development and poverty-reduction processes; disparities in social indicators such as employment, health and housing; the situation of women and the special concerns of children belonging to minorities.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup>*United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities*; UN.GA, Res.47/135, 18 December 1992; [Hereinafter the Minority Declaration']

<sup>53</sup> *Minority rights: International Standards and Guidance for Implementation*; United Nations Human Rights office of the High Commissioner; New York and Geneva, 2010.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid* pp 5

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid* pp 7

Under the provisions of human rights instruments, States have an obligation<sup>56</sup> to protect the rights of all persons including minorities under their jurisdictions.<sup>57</sup> Express exceptions to this principle relate, inter alia, to political rights. The 2001 Durban Declaration affirms that “the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of minorities, where they exist, must be protected and that persons belonging to such minorities should be treated equally and enjoy their human rights and fundamental freedoms without discrimination of any kind”<sup>58</sup> Central to the rights of minorities are the promotion and protection of their identity. Promoting and protecting their identity prevents forced assimilation and the loss of cultures, religions and languages-the basis of the richness of the world and therefore part of its heritage. Non-assimilation requires diversity and plural identities to be not only tolerated but protected and respected. Minority rights are about ensuring respect for distinctive identities while ensuring that any differential treatment towards groups or persons belonging to such groups does not mask discriminatory practices and policies. Therefore, positive action is required to respect cultural, religious and linguistic diversity, and acknowledge that minorities enrich society through this diversity.<sup>59</sup>

The participation of persons belonging to minorities in public affairs and in all aspects of the political, economic, social and cultural life of the country where they live is in fact essential to preserving their identity and combating social exclusion.<sup>60</sup> Mechanisms are required to ensure that the diversity of society with regard to minority groups is reflected in public institutions, such as national parliaments, the civil service sector, including the police and the judiciary, and that persons belonging to minorities are adequately represented, consulted and have a voice in decisions which affect them or the territories and regions in which they live. Participation must be meaningful and not merely symbolic, and recognize, for instance, that minorities are commonly underrepresented and that their concerns may not be adequately addressed.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (General Assembly resolution 47/135 of 18 December 1992): Art-1(1)

<sup>57</sup> Minority rights: International Standards and Guidance for Implementation; United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner; New York and Geneva, 2010.

<sup>58</sup> The 2001 Durban Declaration (para-66)

<sup>59</sup> Minority rights: International Standards and Guidance for Implementation; United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner; New York and Geneva, 2010.

<sup>60</sup> The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (General Assembly resolution 47/135 of 18 December 1992): Art-2(3)

<sup>61</sup> Ibid

## 2.4. Ethno-Linguistic Diversity in Ethiopia

Ethiopia is a place of several ethno linguistic groups endowed with many languages and different cultures.<sup>62</sup> The concept of diversity in Ethiopia is not only limited to multilingualism, multi-ethnicity and multi-nationality, it is also subject to the prevalence of multi-religious societies. Such ethno-linguistic, religious and cultural diversities have several significant influences on the country's educational, social, cultural, economic and political systems. More importantly, the degree of ethno-linguistic diversity is reflected in the differences in languages and cultures in Ethiopia.<sup>63</sup>

The Ethiopian language belonged to two major groups of African language families: Afro-Asiatic and Nilo-Saharan. Under Afro-Asiatic Language Family, three major subfamilies, which are dominant in Ethiopia, have been classified. They are Semitic, Cushitic and Omotic. On the other hand, the Nilo-Saharan family includes the rest of the languages. In particular, the Semitic languages are spoken in the Northern half of the country. The Omotic languages are used in the South West and the Nilotic languages are commonly spoken along the Ethio-Sudanese border, while the Cushitic languages are spoken in the remaining parts of the country.<sup>64</sup> There are about more than eighty five languages in Ethiopia with more than 200 dialects even if the number of these languages varies considerably.<sup>65</sup>

In terms of Ethnic minorities, Ethiopia is the home to more than 80 ethnic communities with different cultures and languages.<sup>66</sup> Except in a few urban areas such as the capital city of Addis Ababa, most of Ethiopia's ethnic communities predominantly live in their respective distinct geographic areas.<sup>67</sup> In this case the SNNPRS is unique having more than 56 ethnic groups of the Country.

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<sup>62</sup>Kibrework Lemma; (2011) *Discourses of Ethno-Linguistic Diversity; the Case of Ethiopia*; <http://psrcentre.org/images/extraimages/1211708.pdf>

<sup>63</sup> Ibid

<sup>64</sup>Bender et al. (1976)

<sup>65</sup> [www.ethnologue.com](http://www.ethnologue.com) 10-14-2014-5:05 pm

<sup>66</sup>Hashim Tewfik; *Transition to Federalism: The Ethiopian Experience*, Forum of Federations 2010 p-27; [http://www.forumfed.org/pubs/occasional\\_papers/OCP5.pdf](http://www.forumfed.org/pubs/occasional_papers/OCP5.pdf)

<sup>67</sup> Ibid

## 2.5. The Socio-Political Dynamics and Reforms of Local Government in Ethiopia

Some literature argue that Ethiopia is one of the ancient states in the world whose history is traced back as far to 2000 B.C. Exponents of this paradigm usually mentions the classical historical documents as a point of their reference. For instance they mentions Aksum as one among the three great power of the time next to Persia and Rome.<sup>68</sup> However, the country emerged with its present ethno-linguistic composition and geographical boundary in the last decades of 19<sup>th</sup> C. In discourses with regard to the emergence of Ethiopia as a state with its present shape and ethno-linguistic composition, there are two contradicting views. Scholars like Asmarom, Mohamed Hassen, Ibessa, Holcumb and Assefa Jalata argue that; Ethiopia is a colonial state created at the same time and in the same way like the colonial states in Africa.<sup>69</sup>

On the other hand scholars like Bahru Zewde argue that; the multinational contemporary Ethiopia was not created through capitalism driven imperialist expansion. What had happened in Ethiopia according to him is a pre-capitalist feudal territorial expansion that does not have any relation with colonialism. Bahru Zewde and his fellows in their effort to justify Ethiopia as a non-colonial State they explain that, most of the territories incorporated to the empire in the last decades of 19<sup>th</sup> c had economic, social and political tie with the Christian highland kingdom in the remote past directly or indirectly.<sup>70</sup>

Whatever the case might be, it was since the mid-20<sup>th</sup> C that the country began to appear as a politically centralized Empire state under the Abyssinian cultural and political hegemony in the horn of Africa. It was under Emperor Haile Sellassie I (1930-1974) that centralization reached its peak.<sup>71</sup> During this time the local government structures were branches of the central government. Political autonomy at the local level was viewed as threat for the national unity. The regime made unreserved efforts to suppress all languages and cultures in the attempt to create a homogenous Nation State along the Amharic language and Abyssinian way of life.

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<sup>68</sup>Pankhurst R. (2006)

<sup>69</sup>Clapham Christopher 2002, Asmarom .L (2006)

<sup>70</sup>Bahru Zewde, (1991). A History of Modern Ethiopia 1885-1974. London: James Curry.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid

Based on the decree No 1/1942 that defined the role and function of the ministry of interior, the then local government structures include *Tekelay Gizat* (province), *Awraja* (district), *Woreda* (sub-districts) and *Chika Shum* (village). A governor general of *Teklay Gizat* was directly assigned by the emperor. Governors of *Awraja* and *Woreda* were also appointed by the approval of the central government.<sup>72</sup> Under *Woreda* administration the *Balabat* (the local chief) controls state affairs through *Cheka Shums* and other authorities.

Political positions at the provincial, district and sub-district level were dominated by the Abyssinians.<sup>73</sup> There were of course few members of the local population inserted in the state bureaucracy who were assimilated to Abyssinian culture through education, conversion to Orthodox Christianity and adopting geez names.<sup>74</sup> However, the assimilationist policy accompanied by cultural domination and feudal economic exploitation throughout the country called for the struggle for equality of nationalities, self-determination and local autonomy. The struggles for autonomy were manifested mainly through the students' movement of 1960s. There were also peasant movements in different corners of the country. These movements finally resulted in the 1974 revolution that brought to an end of the imperial government.<sup>75</sup>

Nevertheless, the successor, military government which came to power following the revolution of 1974 continued the assimilatory policy of the imperial regime though socialism was adopted as an ideology of the state. Confronted with another phase of nation building along the Abyssinian culture, some ethno-linguistic groups responded in armed struggle for self-governance autonomy, and even secession. This situation forced the regime to reconsider the issue of self-determination and local autonomy very lately in its constitution of 1987. In fact, it was in the early years of the revolution that *Derge* renamed *Tekelay Gizat*, *Kifle Hager* and introduced *Kebele* as the smallest key institution of local government. The *Awaraja's* and *Woreda* have also remained as it was during the imperial regime in most cases. Since there was

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<sup>72</sup>Clapham Christopher 1969

<sup>73</sup>Clapham Christopher (1975); No. 74 Pp.294-337.

<sup>74</sup>Clapham Christopher 1974, Markakis 2003

<sup>75</sup> Bahru Z. 1991, Markakis J. 2003

no democratic election or local council through which the local population might involve in governance, local autonomy was unthinkable.

After 1987 PDRE constitution, however, in an attempt to respond to the question of nationality, a kind of self-governing autonomous local government units were established. *Kifile Hager* was replaced by new administrative tiers called “*Ras Gez Astedader*” and “*Astedader Akababi*”. *Ras Gez Astedader* literary implies autonomous self-governing administrative unit. This was granted for areas where there were secessionist armed struggles like Eritrea, Tigray and Ogaden. In the remaining parts of the country an attempt was made to restructure the local government based on linguistic and cultural criteria’s. It was this arrangement that was called *Astedader Akababi* (administrative region). This rearrangement by the Derg regim was viewed as a desperate attempt to buy time rather than as a genuine move to resolve the country’s intractable ethnic problems. Therefore, the secessionist movements and armed struggle continued and the new rearrangement failed to exhibit meaningful socio-political change.<sup>76</sup> Hence, the reconstruction of Ethiopian state was left in the hands of EPRDF that assumed power after its military victory over the Derg in May 1991.

After the July 1991 Peace and Democratic Conference the process of undoing the hundred years of centralization began in two stages. The first stage is the Transitional Period (1991-1995). During this time the right of *Nations, Nationalities* and *Peoples* of the country to determine their matters by themselves up to secession was fully recognized by the *Transitional Charter* adopted at the July (1991) peace and democratic conference. Based on the charter and subsequent proclamation, the year 1992 saw a restructuring of the country’s internal administration and the formation of 14 regional units along ethno-linguistic lines.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>76</sup>Clapham, Christopher, (1994). *Ethnicity and the National Question in Ethiopia*; in P. Woodward and M. Frolyth (eds.), *Conflict and Peace in the Horn of Africa: Federalism and its Alternatives*, Aldershot: Dartmouth.

<sup>77</sup> TGE (1991-92) ‘The Transitional Period Charter’, Addis Ababa: Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE), Addis Ababa.

The second stage that was commenced by the promulgation of the 1995 FDRE constitution, further laid the landmark in providing legitimate bases for the new pattern of rearranging the country ethnically. Accordingly, nine regional States were established following the settlements pattern of the major ethnic groups in the country. In the south, however, five regions of the Transitional Period (Gurage, Hadya and Kembata-Region 7, Sidama-Region 8, Wolata-Region 9, Omo- Region 10 and Kaffa-Region 11) were merged together to form the (SNNPRS) *Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State*.<sup>78</sup>

## 2.6. Federalism in Ethiopia

After revolutionary groups overthrew the oppressive regime of the military Derg in 1991,<sup>79</sup> the multiethnic party EPRDF (Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front) introduced a system of ethnically based federalism. Since then, the model of 'nation-building' project has been replaced by the 'multi-nation' building project (multinational federal political project) federalizing the traditionally centralized unitary political order with a radical shift in ideological commitment and institutional and constitutional models. This move marked a reversal of the state policy from centralization and assimilation towards power devolution and accommodation of diversity for multinational state making.<sup>80</sup> Ethiopian ethno-linguistic federalism is designed to address the 'national question' (a popular name for the 1960s struggle against Ethno-linguistic domination in Ethiopia).<sup>81</sup>

The process of rebuilding and reorganizing state power in Ethiopia on the basis of ethnic federalism is intertwined with the need to establish a lasting peace, build democracy and advance the socio-economic development of Ethiopia's Nations, Nationalities and Peoples.<sup>82</sup> This federal setup of Ethiopia opened a new chapter for the non-dominant ethnic groups, which were reduced

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<sup>78</sup>Sarah, Vaughan, (2003). *Ethnicity and Power in Ethiopia*; University of Edinburgh Unpublished PhD Dissertation.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid

<sup>80</sup>José Martínez Cobo, *Study of the Problem of Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations*, UN Document E/CN.4/Sub.2/1986/7Add.4, Paragraph 379

<sup>81</sup>Markakis, John (2003b) 'Ethnic Conflict in Pre-Federal Ethiopia', in Proceedings of the First National Conference on Federalism, Conflict and Peace Building, Addis Ababa: Ministry of Federal Affairs and GTZ. P-3

<sup>82</sup>Hashim T. 2010. p-27.

to subjects, forgotten of their culture, ignored of their language and history, ashamed of their identity with psychological disorientation, and dissociated from the state apparatus. The federal political order has theoretically and practically shifted this scenario. The aim of the federal arrangement in Ethiopia is not only to enable ethnic communities to maintain and promote their distinctive collective identities and their particular styles of life, it is also directed at building one political and economic community for the promotion of the common interests of Ethiopians in a mutually supportive manner. Hence, Ethiopia's federalism should be seen in the light of its current process of consolidating democracy and pursuing socio-economic development.<sup>83</sup>

Kymlicka suggests that multi-ethnic federal arrangement can be preferably used in the prevalence of territorial concentration of ethnic groups. Ethiopia, which largely constitutes ethnic groups with a distinct geographic concentration, thus, has induced the multiethnic federal system, primarily with the intent to regulate inter-ethnic conflict, accommodate ethnic diversity and in the meantime maintain integrity.<sup>84</sup> Admitting the historic injustice done to the non-dominant ethno-nationals through the state policies of assimilation and exclusion, the newly devised federal project has put the marginalized ethnic groups in a position to regain their lost social dignity.<sup>85</sup>

## **2.7. The ways of Accommodating Ethnic Diversity**

### **2.7.1. Recognition**

The concept recognition refers to the act/action of accepting/ acknowledging, someone/ something; it may be: individuals, group of peoples, ethnic groups, minority groups, nation and/or different teams as having legal official authority.<sup>86</sup> In the context of this thesis, recognition refers to accepting/acknowledging ethnic and/or minority groups. The first thing that comes into the picture of discussion of minorities and their rights is official recognition. It is the recognition of ethnic groups that gives rise to other rights. Despite the importance of official recognition,

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<sup>83</sup> Hashim .T (2010) p-27.

<sup>84</sup> Vaughan, Sarah (2003) '*Ethnicity and Power in Ethiopia*', PhD thesis, The University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh.:36

<sup>85</sup> Assefa Fiseha. (2013). vol. 1: p. 116

<sup>86</sup> [www.marriam-webster.com/](http://www.marriam-webster.com/).. /recognition 10-14-2014-5:05 pm

some states deny even the existence of minorities within their territories an attempt to evading protection of their rights. Such trend is not an exception even in the Western World and “The reluctance of the Member States of the European Union to recognize the rights of minorities or even their existence is also reflected in the international arena.”<sup>87</sup> At worst, some of them have preferred to ignore altogether the minority question in their national legislation.<sup>88</sup> States find “This refusal to acknowledge the presence of a minority group . . . an easy way to deny that group any claims of right.”<sup>89</sup>

In the case of Ethiopia, all the ethnic minorities are officially recognized by the 1995 FDRE Constitution. According to the preamble of FDRE constitution all nations, nationalities and peoples are given equal recognition. Further the constitution in its article 8(1) gives the sovereign power to its nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia. So recognition is the first mechanism in accommodating ethnic diversities in any multi-lingual and multi ethnic states.<sup>90</sup>

### **2.7.2. Representation**

The word representation comes from Latin word “representer” meaning: bring before, exhibit wither it comes in the form of legal guidance or in the form of artistic expression.<sup>91</sup> In terms of political conception, representation can be broadly defined as; the act of representing standing in for someone or some group and speaking with authority in their behalf and/or, it is the state of serving as an official and authorized delegate or agent.<sup>92</sup> According to this definition, the act of representation has to do with replacing or acting on the behalf of an original/electorate. Elected officials serve as the representation for their constituency or at least it is supposed to work that way.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>87</sup>Maria Amore Martin Estebanez; *The Protection of National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities*, In the European Union and Human Rights 42, 133 (Nanette a. Neuwahl and Allan Rosas, eds, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, The Hague, 1995).

<sup>88</sup>Ibid. p.157

<sup>89</sup>Jay A. Sigler, *Minority Rights: a Comparative Analysis*. 3 (1983)

<sup>90</sup> Andrew Reynolds, (2008) *Promoting inclusive parliaments: The representation of minorities and indigenous peoples in parliament*: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, USA.

<sup>91</sup> [www.vocablury.com/./representation](http://www.vocablury.com/./representation) 10-14-2014-5:05 pm

<sup>92</sup> Ibid

<sup>93</sup> Ibid

Hence, proper and fair representation of different interests in the federal and state institutions is the other core pillars in accommodating diversities especially in multi ethnic countries. The Ethiopian federal system provides the opportunity of representation of all minorities at the federal level in the two houses of parliament in different ways. Accordingly, the 1995 Ethiopian Constitution provides House of Federation (HoF) as a federal institution alongside the House of Peoples' Representatives (HoPR)<sup>94</sup> to represent all ethnic groups in the federation. The HoF is composed of representatives from the nationalities. Each nation, nationality and people is represented in the house by at least one member, plus one more representative for every one million members of that nationality.<sup>95</sup>

Rights of minorities are not restricted to religion and cultural life, but also extend to the right to participate in the administration of the state either at the local, regional or national /central level. Political participation of minorities takes through different ways. Depending on the particular situations of each minority, it should be represented at different levels of the government to reflect its interest and concerns. Participation “relates to the exercise of political power, in particular the exercise of legislative, executive and administrative powers . . . all aspects of public administration, and the formulation and implementation of policy at international, national, regional and local levels.”<sup>96</sup> Through this right that minorities share power in the administration of the state. On one hand, it protects their interests, and on the other, it strengthens their relations with the state.

Also the Ethiopian federal system provides the opportunity of representation of all ethnic groups at the federal level in the Houses of Federation. The FDRE constitution stipulates all ethnic groups in constitutional term (Nation, Nationalities and Peoples) are equal and sovereign. But the

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<sup>94</sup>The HoF (Upper House) is the Guardian and Interpreter of the Constitution. It is the Chamber in Which ‘NNPs’ are Directly and Proportionally Represented. The House is Composed of at Least One Representative from Each Ethnic Groups in the Country, and One Additional Representative from Every One Million Population of Each Ethnic Groups. The House Deals With None Legislative Matters Pertaining to Inter Alia Self-Determination of Ethnic Groups, Inter-State Disputes, Division of Revenue and Resolution of Disputes Involving the Interpretation of the Federal Constitution.

<sup>95</sup> The 1995 FDRE Constitution Art-61

<sup>96</sup>Aberra Degefa, *The Scope Of Rights of National Minorities Under The Constitution Of Federal Democratic Republic Of Ethiopia*, in 2 Series on Ethiopian Constitutional Law (Faculty of Law, Addis Ababa University, 2008), at 64-65, quoting the UN Committee on Human Rights, General Comment No. 25, 1996.

representation system of ethnic groups in the house of federation seems contradict with this provision because, populous ethnic groups (regions) will dominate small ethnic groups in the decision making process using their constitutionally given power in the house.<sup>97</sup>

### 2.7.3. Self-Determinations

Self-determination basically embodies a group right concept, and denotes that any group of people<sup>98</sup> has natural right to freely determine their destiny. For the elucidation of the term more plainly, it refers to the group right to decide on their political, economic, and cultural destiny. Self-determination is not a mere phrase; “it is an imperative principle of action”.<sup>99</sup> The concept of self-determination in 1960 - 1980's was a tool for anti-colonialism and again for independence. Of course, self-determination didn't mean a group right in a free state. However, with a different context, in the post-colonial independence, as well, it has resumed serving as group right concept in a free state, and hence the right to self-determination is still at work in the international legal instruments excluding the right to secession. Secession nowadays is neither allowed nor forbidden in international legal instruments; rather it depends upon the geo-politics and the stance of the ‘mother’ state therein.

Self-determination is still fundamental group right concept that virtually all international legal instruments incorporate. It takes central place on the Charter of the United Nations (1945), in the Vienna Declaration and Program of Action (1993), in the twin International Covenants namely: ICCPR (International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights) and ICESCR, (International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights) 1966, and in the African charter of human and people rights, in article 19(2) states: “nothing shall justify the domination of a people by another.” And further goes to accentuate it in Article. 20 “[a]ll peoples shall have the right to existence: they shall have unquestionable and inalienable right to self-determination.

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<sup>97</sup> Andrew Reynolds, (2008) , p. 2

<sup>98</sup>For Elucidation of the Term ‘People’ Given by Justice Kirby in the UNESCO International Meeting of Experts, Reads as Follows: “[a] Group of Individual Human Beings Who Enjoy Some or All of the Following Common Features. These Features are: a. Common Historical Tradition, b. Racial or Ethnic Identity, c. Cultural Homogeneity, d. Linguistic Unity, e. Religious or Ideological Attitude, f. Territorial Connection, g. Common Economic Life.” The Elements are Markedly Similar to the Criteria Stated for the NNPs in the FDRE Constitution of Art.39 (5).

<sup>99</sup> Woodrow Wilson - 11Feb. 1918

The FDRE constitution also recognized the right to self-determination for each ethnic group and to that effect it provided that institutions of government would be established for each Nation, Nationality and Peoples of the country.<sup>100</sup> It was in this way that self-governance became integral part of the constitution within the right to self-determination. In the FDRE constitution, the right to self-determination has three dimensions. The first one is the one that grants self-determination up to secession for Nations, Nationalities and Peoples in the country.<sup>101</sup> This right is provided an unconditional right that cannot be derogated even during state of emergency.<sup>102</sup> The second one is about cultural and linguistic self-determination that granted full right to speak, write and develop language, promote culture and preserve history to the Nations, Nationalities and Peoples.<sup>103</sup> The third one is about administrative self-determination; it dictates that Nations, Nationalities and Peoples have the right to govern themselves, to establish institutions of governance in their territory and acquire proper representations in the federal and regional governments.<sup>104</sup>

However, what studies indicate about the practices of decentralizations in Ethiopia is its inability to bring the intended effective and efficient self-rule. It is characterized by deconcentration, making the local government agent of the central government through chained party system as opposed to devolution, autonomous decision making. The failure of the decentralization to bring genuine self-rule (devolution) is attributed to lack of power, participation and resources at the local level.<sup>105</sup> On the other hand this failure is associated to the disregard to indigenous systems that can exercise real power on behalf of the people and effectively involve the population in governance.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>100</sup>*The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia*, (1995); Addis Ababa; Article -39 (3)

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid* Art.39 (1)

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid* Art. 93 (4/c)

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid* Art. 39 (2)

<sup>104</sup>*Ibid* Art-39 (3)

<sup>105</sup> Taye Assefa and Tegegne G/Egziaber (eds) (2007), *Decentralization in Ethiopia*, Forum for Social Studies (FSS). Addis Ababa.

<sup>106</sup>Adams 1992, Watson 2002

#### 2.7.4. Federalism

Federalism is a response to a variety of conditions, of which ethno-cultural or national diversity is only one.<sup>107</sup> Two of the prime motives for federalism are to bring government closer to the people and prevent any single government from acquiring excessive power over the citizenry. A number of federal countries are designed to reflect and give political expressions to their diverse population groups. Among these are: India, Spain, Ethiopia, South Africa, Belgium, Nigeria, Malaysia, Canada, and Switzerland.<sup>108</sup> The combined experiences of those countries could be of interest to people wrestling with the challenge of constructing governance arrangements in situations of significant diversity.<sup>109</sup>

Federalism is always designed with specific, local conditions in mind. No two federal countries are exactly identical, though there are a number of general principles and practices that apply to most. As well, even where government is structured on the federal principle (of shared and self-rule, and divided authority) that is not the only way a country is likely to assure that the rights of all groups are respected.<sup>110</sup> For instance, according to Kymlicka, Will, ethno-linguistic federalism is preferred to territorially large and ethno-linguistically diverse countries in order to accommodate differences of groups.

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<sup>107</sup>*Federal Options and Other Means of Accommodating Diversity*;( 2005) Published by members of the staff of the Forum of Federations, Ottawa, Canada; [www.forumfed.org](http://www.forumfed.org)

<sup>108</sup> Ibid

<sup>109</sup> Ibid

<sup>110</sup> Ibid

## Chapter Three

### 3. Accommodation of Ethnic Diversity in SNNPRS

#### 3.1. Introduction

This chapter of the thesis discusses on accommodation of ethnic diversity in SNNPRS. The unit in detail explores the location, demography, ethnic composition, institutional arrangements, territorial organization, the ways of accommodating ethnic diversity and the origin of SNNPRS as sub-national unit. Furthermore, the chapter discusses the practical and potential challenges of accommodating ethnic diversity at the local level through exploring the constitutional and institutional settings of local governments at the regional level.

#### 3.2. The Location and Demography of the Region

The Southern Nation Nationalities and Peoples Regional State is located in South and Southwest part of Ethiopia. Internally, it is almost surrounded by Oromia and to some extent bordered with Gambela Regional State to the northwest. Internationally, it shares borders with Kenya and South Sudan to the South and West respectively. The region has an area of 110,931.90 sq. km which covers 10% of the total national area, and is the fourth largest constituency next to Oromia, Somali and Amhara respectively. It is the third largest constituency in terms of demographic composition, which represents about 20% of the country's population.<sup>111</sup>

#### 3.3. Ethnic Composition of the Region

One of the most spectacular characteristics of SNNPRS is its enormous diversity. The region is home to multiple ethnic, cultural, racial, religious, political and socioeconomic markers that define the plurality of identities distinguishing individuals and groups from each other.<sup>112</sup> Consequently, diversity is one attribute of the region that impressed with and seats the region first to the country.<sup>113</sup> Apart from adding to the beauty of the country, nature and extent of

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<sup>111</sup> 2007 National Census Report of Ethiopia

<sup>112</sup> Beken V. C. 2012; *Unity in Diversity Federalism as a Mechanism to Accommodate Ethnic Diversity; the Case of Ethiopia*. Zurich, Minster Litvelag press.

<sup>113</sup> Beken .V. C. 2012, *Unity in Diversity Federalism as a Mechanism to Accommodate Ethnic Diversity; the Case of Ethiopia*; Zurich Minster, Litvelag press.

diversity in SNNPRS is also an opportunity for progress and sustainability. This is because it offers an avenue for exchange, innovation and creativity in finding solutions to society's problems. It also enhances social evolution and the attainment of peace and development. According to official sources, the region has no less than 56 different ethnic groups. As per the 2007 census, ethnic groups like Sidama (19.4 %), Wolayta (10.6%), Gurage (8%), Hadiya (7.6%), Gamo (7%), Kafficho (5.5%) and Silte (5.4%) which together constitute more than 50% of the total population share in the region. In terms of religion Protestant (55%), Orthodox (20%), Islam (14%), and the remaining share goes to traditional beliefs.

### **3.4. Administrative Organization of the Region**

According to Article 45 (1) of the Southern Constitution, the region has four-tier internal administrative structure: the regional/state level, the Zone/Special Woreda level, the Woreda level and finally the Kebele level. The Zone in the Southern Region is an ethnically based territorial entity. However there are some Zones in the region that are arranged on multi-national/ethnic level. The Special Woreda has the same status as the Zone, but is used for smaller and territorially concentrated groups.<sup>114</sup> According to the SNNPRS revised Constitution of 2001, all the 56 ethnic groups of the region are granted to establish their own Zone or Special Woreda administration.<sup>115</sup> However not all ethnic groups have their own Zone/Special Woreda. Currently all the 56 ethnic groups of the region are arranged in to 14 Zones (Gurage, Hadiya, Sidama, Kembata Timbaro, Kaffa, Sheka, Gedeo, Silte, Wolayita, Gamo-Gofa, Dawro, South Omo, Bench Majji and Segen Area Peoples Zone<sup>116</sup>) and 4 Special Woredas (Yem, Alaba, Konta and Basketo) had been established in the region.

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<sup>114</sup>Zemelak Ayele; *The Politics of Subnational Constitutionalism and Local Government in Ethiopia*

<sup>115</sup>Article 45(2) of SNNPRS Constitution

<sup>116</sup>Segen Area Peoples Zone is the Newly Established Zone of the Region. It is Established Through Merging Previously Established Four Special Woredas (D'irashe, Konso, Burji and Amaro) Including the Newly Emerged Alle Woreda Currently the Zone has Five Woredas.

### **3.5. The Origin of SNNPRS as Sub-National Unit**

The internal territorial delimitation of constituencies of the Ethiopian federation was drawn during the Transitional Period (1991-1994), and endorsed in the 1995 Constitution. Originally, the Transitional Government under Proclamation No.7/1992 carved 14 Regional Self Governments. However, soon after a year in 1993, the regional states were reduced to 9 states blending the five regional states (7-11) of the Southern Ethiopia under one state- the SNNPRS. Region-7: North Part of the SNNPRS (Gurage, Hadiya, Kembata, Alaba, Tembaro, Yem). Region-8: East Part (Sidama, Gedio, Burji, Amaro (Kore), etc). Region-9: Central Part (Wolayta, Gamo, Goffa, Dawro, Konta, Dirashe, Konso, etc). Region-10: South Part (Basketo, Murssi, Ari, Hamer, Dassenech, Kangatom, Tsemay, etc), and Region-11: West Part (Kefficho, Nao, Shekacho, Bench, Surma, Sheko, etc).

The configuration of the SNNPRS has remained a subject of dispute between opponents and proponents. Opponent elites in the regional opposition parties such as the SPDC (South Peoples Democratic Congress) and the SLM (Sidama Liberation Movement) strongly criticize the merging act of the five states as it patently contradicts with the core principles of the Constitution that promises the right to self-government. There was no clear explanation how the merger was initiated, consulted and agreed, however. The merger decision was made through closed door agreement among the self-appointed ethnic organizations in the name of the people. Even if the 7/92 proclamation allowed for merger, it had made a specific precondition in a manner that the merging should not hinder the NNP's right to preserve its own local self-government capacity against its will.<sup>117</sup>

The SEPDM/EPRDF, which is the proponent of the installation of the SNNPRS, on the other hand, argues on economic perspective. Since the NNPs, which were incorporated into the SNNPRS, are small in terms of demographic and geographic share, maintaining such small states in isolation is not economically viable. The merger offers economies of scale for public services delivery. The proponents further argue that the merger of the states was concluded as a result of

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<sup>117</sup> Misganaw.Addis 2014

the regional parties' interest and desire to utilize a common natural resource and human resource in the respective administrations. The proponents of the merger on the other hand congratulate the blending of the five minor states into one giant constituent unit as the SNNPRS. However, prominent individuals in the SNNPRS such as Professor Beyene Petros held contrary view that the decision was imposed up on them by the EPRDF from above in contrary to the agreed covenant-the Transitional Charter. The five constituent units which were separate during the transitional period officially endorsed as one constituency (subnational unit) by the 1995 constitution as the SNNPRS on illegal means.<sup>118</sup>

Some scholarly arguments are also entertained as to why the party opted to merge the five constituent units into one administration. The argument flows like this: Because the south region is composed of small and fragile ethnic groups which cannot counterbalance the dominant surrounding constituent unit (Oromia), the best option is, therefore, to forge them and create strong constituent unit. Otherwise, the proponents' argument, which is solely economic narration, doesn't sound right. Even the economic narration can be interrogated for the States like Gambela, Benshangul-Gumuz and Harari, which enjoy regional statehood, are hardly economically viable and any better, and one could make a case for merging them with the neighboring states. At least, they are not in a better economic condition than the merged five constituencies.<sup>119</sup>

Basically, the ideological commitment of the ruling party-the EPRDF- and the constitutional promise left aside in this argument, which is inconsistent and unconvincing discourse. To attest this for instance, one of the expertise on the course of Transitional Period, Fasil Nahum (1997:52), stated that during the Transitional Period ethno-linguistic classification approach was basically the favored approach for granting self-governing institution, however, given the presence of about sixty-five officially identified ethno-linguistic groupings in the country at that point of time (during the transitional period), it became a difficult task to grant each and every ethnic grouping its own self-governing structure/state. Consequently, many ethnic groupings have joined larger ethnic groups to form a state/self-governing structure.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Misganaw.Addis 2014

<sup>119</sup>Ibid

<sup>120</sup> Ibid

## **3.6. The ways of Accommodating Ethnic Diversity in SNNPRS**

### **3.6.1. Recognitions**

It is obvious that the official recognition of ethnic groups gives rise to other group rights. Official recognition opens the door for demands for other rights of nations, nationalities and peoples. In the case of SNNPRS, all the nations, nationalities and Peoples of the region are officially recognized.<sup>121</sup> According to the southern regional Constitution, each Nation, Nationality and People of the region have the right to be represented in the council of nationalities, the right to self-determination, the right to develop and preserve its culture history and language. Furthermore like that of the FDRE Constitution, the SNNPRS Constitution gives the sovereign power for the nation, nationalities and peoples of the region.<sup>122</sup> This indicates that beyond the official recognition the nation nationalities and peoples of the region are constitutionally given real political power.

### **3.6.2. Representation**

Proper and fair representation of different interests in the State institution is the other method of accommodating diversities especially in multi ethnic regions like SNNPRS. One of the regional institutions playing significant role in accommodating ethnic diversity is the second chamber (Upper House). Accordingly, the 2001 SNNPRS Constitution provides Council Nationalities (CoN) as a state institution alongside the state council to represent all ethnic groups in the region. According to Article 59 of the Southern regional Constitution, the CoN is composed of representatives from the Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of the region. Each nation, nationality and people is represented in the house by at least one member, plus one more representative for every one million members of that nationality. The CoN is the house of the indigenous ethnic groups of the region. The reflection is that the sovereignty of the SNNPRS resides in the indigenous ethnic communities of the region as they would become authors of the constitution and constituent units.<sup>123</sup> No other inhabitants (settlers) of the region are represented in this institution irrespective of their population size. Exogenous inhabitants are non-territorial minorities, and hence they have no representation in this institution, which is basically meant to

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<sup>121</sup>The Preamble of 2001 Revised Constitution of SNNPRS

<sup>122</sup> The SNNPRS Constitution Art-8

<sup>123</sup> Ibid Art- 8, 59

accommodate indigenous groups. Non-territorial minority exclusion is not distinctive to the SNNPRS; however it is similar in the remaining constituent units of the Country.<sup>124</sup>

The lower chamber, which is the State Council, is the highest legislative authority of the State in SNNPRS.<sup>125</sup> The State Council is vested with the highest regional political power.<sup>126</sup> The key powers and functions of the State Council, includes issuing laws and approving social and economic programs; establishing additional administrative hierarchies that *best advances self-government*, electing the regional president and approve the appointment of the members of the regional executive council.<sup>127</sup> The State council is composed of representatives elected by the plurality electoral system through direct election for a term of 5 years, to represent the peoples of the State as a whole.<sup>128</sup> Besides, the State Council has special reserve seats arranged for minority groups analogous to the lower chamber of the Federal Parliament.<sup>129</sup>

### 3.6.3. Self-Determination

The other way of accommodating ethnic diversity in the SNNPRS is self-determination. As it mentioned earlier, both the FDRE and SNNPRS Constitution grant this right for all ethnic groups of the Country. However larger and territorially relatively concentrated ethnic groups have their "own" administrative entities while the remaining groups are a minority in those entities or are brought together into multi-ethnic entities.<sup>130</sup> Groups like the Oromo, Afar, Tigre and Somali established their own separate Regional State and ensured self-governance at regional level. In SNNPR, Gambela, Benishangul and Amhara Regional States, on the other hand, dozens of ethnic groups were lumped together to establish the Regionl State. The way the groups within this states could realize self-governance is not specified. In fact the FDRE Constitution imposes an obligation on the Regional States to establish local government and provide it with adequate

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<sup>124</sup> Beken. V. C. (2010a). 'Constitutional Diversity in Ethiopia: a Comparative Analysis of Ethiopia's Regional Constitutions', *Journal of African Development Studies and Human Rights*, vol.3 (1), pp. 19-43

<sup>125</sup> The 2001 SNNPRS Constitution Art- 46 (1)

<sup>126</sup> Ibid Art.51 (2)

<sup>127</sup> Ibid Art 51 (3)

<sup>128</sup> Ibid Art.50 (3)

<sup>129</sup> Ibid Art. 50 (2)

<sup>130</sup> Beken Van der Christophe, *Ethiopia: Constitutional Protection of Ethnic Minorities at the Regional Level* ;Afrika Focus, Vol. 20, Nr. 1-2, 2007, pp. 105-151

power.<sup>131</sup> Based on this, the Southern Region is hierarchically divided into Zone, Special Woreda, Woreda and Kebele.

Zone is an administrative division below the Region. It is usually responsible for the coordination of the activities of the Woreda and the regional executive as a bridge. In most of the Kilils officials of Zone are appointed by the Regional Council (Yekilil Mekir Bet). In regions like SNNPR, however, Zone is not just a branch of the Region rather it is autonomous self-governing unit in order to guarantee the right of Nations, Nationalities and Peoples recognized by article 39(3) of the Federal Constitution.

However, there are ethno-linguistic groups who failed to establish their own separate Zone. That is why another tier called Liu Woreda is set up in Southern Region. Like Zone, Liu Woreda is a hierarchy below Region.<sup>132</sup> Despite, still there are minorities merged within the Zone, Liu Woreda or Woreda<sup>133</sup> structures. With the exception of the case in the Nationality Zones like in the South, theoretically Woredas have better autonomy than Zone structure. The lower level of local governance just below Woreda is Kebele. It was introduced by the military regime in 1975. It refers to neighborhood associations. It has its own representative council and executive body. Theoretically, both Woreda and Kebele are set to exercise some level of autonomy especially on financial and administrative matters. They are organized geographically not on ethnic or cultural bases.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> The 1995 FDRE Constitution Art- 50/4

<sup>132</sup> The 2001 SNNPRS Constitution Art.-80(1)

<sup>133</sup> From the Observation of the Researcher in the Study Area

<sup>134</sup> Zemelak A. 2009

➤ *The Current Arrangements of the Region in Terms of Mono-Nationality Zone, Multi-Nationality Zone and Liyu Woreda:-*

**I. Nationality Zones of the Region**

No.	Mono-Nationality Zones	Ethnic Composition
1.	<i>Gedeo</i>	<i>Gedeo</i>
2.	<i>Dawro</i>	<i>Dawro</i>
3.	<i>Sidama</i>	<i>Sidama</i>
4.	<i>Hadiya</i>	<i>Hadiya</i>
5.	<i>Shaka</i>	<i>Shaka</i>
6.	<i>Silte</i>	<i>Silte</i>
7.	<i>Wolayita</i>	<i>Wolayita</i>

Table 1.1. Nationality Zones of SNNPRS

**Source:** *The Combination of Author's Experience Based on Official Document Prepared by CoN, Hawassa, 2015.*

## II. Multi-Nationality Zones of the Region

No.	Multi-Nationality Zones	Ethnic Compositions
1.	<b>Gurage</b>	Kebna, Gurage, Mareqo <sup>135</sup>
2.	<b>Kembata Timbaro</b>	Tembaro, Donga, Kembata
3.	<b>Kaffa</b>	Kaffa, Nao, Chara
4.	<b>Bench Maji</b>	Bench, Shaka, Dizi, Surema, Zelmam, Miniyit
5.	<b>Gamo Gofa</b>	Gamo, Zeiss, Gedicho Oyida, Gofa
6.	<b>South Omo</b>	Ari, Male, Benna, Tsemay, Biraile, Hamer, Arbore, Karo ,Dasenech, Gnagatom, Murille Muguji, Dimme, Bodi, Mursi, Bacha
7.	<b>Segen Area Peoples</b>	Burji, Amaro, Konso, Alle, D'irashe, Masholle, Kussume, Mosiye

Table 1.2. Multi-Nationality Zones of SNNPRS

**Source:** *The Combination of Author's Experience Based on Official Document Prepared by CoN, Hawassa, 2015.*

<sup>135</sup> C.V. Beken 2012 pp. 17-19, Misganaw A. 2014 pp. 36 Were Used Gurage Zone as Multi-ethnic Zone.

### III. *Liyu Woredas of the Region*

No.	Liyu Woredas	Ethnic Composition
1.	<i>Halaba</i>	<i>Halaba</i>
2.	<i>Konta</i>	<i>Konta</i>
3.	<i>Yem</i>	<i>Yem</i>
4.	<i>Basketo</i>	<i>Basketo</i>

Table 1.3. Liyu Woredas of SNNPRS

**Source:** *The Combination of Author's Experience Based on Official Document Prepared by CoN, Hawassa, 2015.*

Among the 14 Zones of the region, Gurage, Kembata Timbaro, Kaffa, Bench Maji, Gamo Gofa, South Omo and Segen Area Peoples Zone (7, Zones) are arranged as multi-ethnic Zones. Among them, Segen Area Peoples Zone is the most ethnically diverse next to South Omo Zone having eight ethnic groups. The remaining seven Zones (Dawro, Sidama, Silte, Gedeo, Hadiya, Shaka and Wolayita) are arranged as mono nationality Zones. The rest four ethnic groups of the region (Yem, Basketo, Konta and Alaba) each of them are arranged as special/liyu Woredas having single ethnic group. Surprisingly, the multi-ethnic groups in the region are not only existed on the Zonal levels but there are some Woredas that has multi-ethnic groups. For instance D'irashe Woreda of Segen Zone constitutes four ethnic groups (D'irasha, Kussume, Mossiye and Masholle).<sup>136</sup> Except three Woredas: North Ari, South Ari and Male the remaining five Woredas of South Omo Zone are multi-ethnic Woredas having minimum of two and more ethnic groups.<sup>137</sup>

<sup>136</sup>Personal Interview with Ato Marenetu Geletu; Officer and Coordinator in Cultural and Tourism Offices at D'irashe Woreda, March 2015.

<sup>137</sup>Personal Interview with Ato Akal Doysma Who was Government Official at South Omo Zone Jinka March, 2015

## Chapter Four

### 4. The Study Area: Segen Area Peoples' Zone

#### 4.1. Introduction

This unit launches the final journey of the research. Basically the chapter emphasis on the ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda and the way they are accommodated particularly at the Woreda and Zonal levels and generally at the regional and federal levels of government.

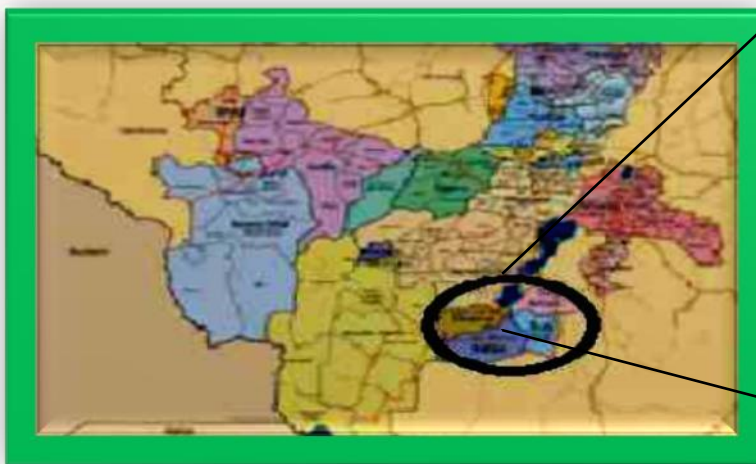
#### 4.2. The Study Area and the People

##### 4.2.1. Geographical Location of the Study Area



*Study Area*

Map1.1. The Map of the FDRE and the SNNPR



*Segen Area Peoples Zone<sup>138</sup>*

<sup>138</sup> Map 1.2. The Map of the SNNPRS and Segen Zone; Source: *Frew Tesfaye (2012:10)*

## 4.2.2. The Demographic Characteristics and Economic Activities

### 4.2.2.1. General Discussion About Segen Zone

Amaro, Burji, Dirashe, Konso, and the newly appeared Alle (five) Woredas have together constituted a composite Zone named Segen Area Peoples' Zone in March 2011. Geographically Segen Zone shares large part of its borderline with Oromia Regional State in the East and South direction, with Gamo-Goffa Zone in the North, and with Debub Omo Zone in the West. Its total population is estimated nearly 630,000. Segen Zone constitutes eight ethnic groups which include: Alle, Kore, Burji, Dirasha, Konso, Kussumme, Masholle and Mossiye.<sup>139</sup>

Before the establishment of Segen Zone<sup>140</sup>, the above mentioned ethnic groups were arranged in to four special Woredas in different composition. The Dirashe, D'obasse, Mossiye, Masholle and Kussumme (five ethnic groups) were incorporated in to the Dirashe special Woreda. Konso had a special Woreda composed of the majority Konso and the minority Gewada. Amaro and Burji had their own nationality special Woreda administration.<sup>141</sup> The present Alle ethnic group was identified as D'obasse (*in the part of D'irashe liyu Woreda having 10 Kebeles*) and Gewada (*in the part of Konso liyu Woreda having 7 Kebeles*) until 2010.<sup>142</sup> The two sub-groups united together and seceding from D'irashe and Konso respectively and collectively named as Alle ethnic group. Recently, Alle has its own Woreda which is arranged in to 17 Kebeles since 2010, a year before Segen was established<sup>143</sup> “*One of the accelerating factors for the establishment of Segen Zone in 2011 was, the emergence of Alle ethnic group as independent Woreda in the area*”<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> The Annual Magazine of *D'i Ku Ma Mo. (D'irasha, Kussumme, Masholle and Mossiye)* 2014; Published by Culture, Tourism and Government Communication Office of D'irashe Woreda; Mina Printing Press.

<sup>140</sup> In Between June 1992/3-March 2011 the D'irashe, Konso, Burji and Amaro Were Arranged as Special Woreda with Self-Rule Power Having Direct Contact with the Regional Government. However, D'irashe Special Woreda was Exceptional Having Five Ethnic Groups Even in Between the Above Mentioned Period of Time. Still D'irashe Differs From the Constituting Woredas of Segen Zone Having Four Ethnic Groups.

<sup>141</sup> Misganaw Addis 2014.

<sup>142</sup> Interview Made With Ato Mulugeta Tefera the Member of HoPR Elected in the 2010 National Election Representing the Ethnic Groups of D'irashe Woreda April 2015 Addis Ababa.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid

<sup>144</sup> Interview Made with Ato Andualem Sakamo the Head of SEPDM in Alle Woreda April 2015, Karat

**Table 1.4. Summary of Ethnic Group Compositions which Constitutes Segen Zone**

No.	Ethnic group	Population size	Language family	Percentage
1	<i>Alle</i>	68,600	<i>Cushitic</i>	12%
2	<i>Kore</i>	149,384	<i>Omotic</i>	25.2%
3	<i>Burji</i>	71,871	<i>Cushitic</i>	12.5%
4	<i>D'irasha</i>	30,081	<i>Cushitic</i>	5.8%
5	<i>Konso</i>	270,988	<i>Cushitic</i>	41.4%
6	<i>Kussumme</i>	7,740	<i>Cushitic</i>	1.3%
7	<i>Masholle</i>	10,458	<i>Cushitic</i>	1.7%
8	<i>Mossiye</i>	19,698	<i>Cushitic</i>	4.16%
	<b>Total</b>	628,820		100%

**Table 1.5. Summary of Ethnic Group Compositions which Constitutes D'irashe Woreda**

No.	Ethnic group	Population size	Language family	Percentage
1	<i>D'irasha</i>	30,081	<i>Cushitic</i>	5.8%
2	<i>Kussume</i>	7,740	>>	1.3%
3	<i>Masholle</i>	10,458	>>	1.7%
4	<i>Mossiye</i>	19,698	>>	4.16%
	<b>Total</b>	67,977	>>	12.96 %

**Source:** - Misganaw Addis 2014 (p. 61)

## 4.2.2.2. The Ethnic Groups of D'irashe Woreda

### 4.2.2.2.1. General Overview

The multi-ethnic D'irashe Woreda is the one among the five constituting Woredas of Segen Area Peoples Zone. It shares administrative boundaries with Alle Woreda to the West, Gamo-Gofa Zone (Arba Minch Zuriya) to the North, Konso Woreda to the South and Amaro Woreda to the East. Until the recent inclusion to the newly organized Zone, the homeland of these ethnic groups has been designated as "D'irashe Special Woreda" and it had direct administrative contact with the Southern Regional State.<sup>145</sup> Since the new restructuring, however, the ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda lost autonomy they had enjoyed as "Special Woreda" or "Liyu Woreda" and their Woreda is now accountable to the Zonal administration seated at Segen Area Peoples Zone (Gumayde).<sup>146</sup>

The administrative center of Dirashe Woreda is called Gidole, which is 330 km far from the regional capital Hawassa and 44 km far from Segen Zone.<sup>147</sup> The Woreda is divided into 18 Kebeles which are categorized in to 2 urban and 16 rural Kebeles. Dirashe is multiethnic, multilingual and multi-religious Woreda. Ethnically it incorporates four indigenous ethnic groups namely, D'irasha, Mossiye, Kussume and Masholle,<sup>148</sup> linguistically, Dirashetati shares 55.08%, D'obassate 19.6% Mossitati 7.26%, and the remaining 18.64% speaks other languages most importantly Oromiffa and Amharic. 51.63% of the population practices traditional beliefs, 35.46% professes Protestant Christianity, and the remaining 10.38% practices Orthodox Christianity. In addition to the four indigenous ethnic groups, there are the Amhara, Gurage, Gamo, Wolayta, Oromo, Alle, Konso, Kore, Zeyese and othere ethnic groups living in the Woreda. The reason why the Woreda is named after the D'irasha ethnic group is that, the D'irasha is the majority.<sup>149</sup> All indigenous ethic groups in this Woreda speak Cushitic language family.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>145</sup>Firew Tesfaye (2012). P. 10

<sup>146</sup>Ibid - Page - 10

<sup>147</sup>The Annual Magazine of D'i Ku Ma Mo. 2014; Page - 6

<sup>148</sup>Ibid Page - 6

<sup>149</sup>Ibid Page - 6

<sup>150</sup>Ibid Page -6

#### 4.2.2.2. The Ethnic Group of D'irasha

The D'irasha ethnic group is the one among the four native/indigenous ethnic groups of the Woreda. The D'irasha ethnic group covers the majority in terms of population size and geographic coverage. In terms of population size, according to the 2007 national census report, the D'irasha ethnic group shares 30,081.<sup>151</sup> This population number makes the D'irasha ethnic group the majority. Concerning geographical coverage, among the sixteen rural Kebeles of the Woreda eleven Kebeles are covered by the D'irasha ethnic groups.



*Photo 1.1. The D'irasha Ethnic Group<sup>152</sup>*

<sup>151</sup> SNNPR, *Nationality Council 2001, the Southern Nation, Nationality and People Profile*; Department of Culture, Language, History and Heritage Studies: *Fikreselam Printing Press*, Addis Ababa. Page-209

<sup>152</sup>Source:- *Culture, Truism and Government Communication Office of D'irashe Woreda* April 2015 Gidole.

#### 4.2.2.2.1. Economic Activities and Settlement Patterns of the D'irasha Ethnic Group

Agriculture is the major means of livelihood of the people. They settled on fertile land which is suitable for agriculture. Their territory is classified in to three agro ecological zones: Dega (high land) 25%, Woyna Dega (middle latitude) 35%, and Qolla (low land) 40%. In the Dega zone they produce highland crops like barley, pea, and beans.<sup>153</sup> They also produce vegetables like potato, tomato, carrot, and cabbage.

The highland of D'irasha is also among enset growing areas in southern Ethiopia. Besides agricultural land, their homeland consists of an area covered with natural and manmade forest, and grazing land. The Woyna Dega agro ecological zone is a geographical area where approximately around 70% of the D'irashe people reside. This area is more suited for the cultivation of cash crops like coffee and chat. The Qolla is widely used for cereal production such as sorghum, maize and teff. This land covers around 30% D'irashe and it is situated between the western coasts of Lake Chamo and the foot of Gradulla Mountain. It is part of the Great East African Rift Valley.<sup>154</sup>

#### 4.2.2.2.2. The Culture of the D'irasha Ethnic Group

The ethnic group of D'irasha has their own indigenous cultural practices. In this section the researcher only focused on some of their cultural practices. Among others, the first indigenous culture of the D'irasha is their water conservation system which is known as *Targa* and *pottaya*, these two conservation system enabled them in protecting and sustaining the fertility of their soil for many centuries. The other indigenous culture of this ethnic group is agricultural calendar.<sup>155</sup> The D'irashas has four agricultural seasons. The major farming season is the period from February to April and it is called "*Kashane*". The harvesting season of "*Kashane*" and the preparation for the second harvest is between May and July; they call this season "*Parara*".

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<sup>153</sup>Firew Tesfaye (2012). P. 12

<sup>154</sup> Ibid Page-12

<sup>155</sup>Ibid. Page-13

The second farming season which is called “*Hagayta*” is from August to October. The second harvesting and the dry season which is from November to January is said to be “*Pone*”. The third surprising culture is their Indigenous Astronomy of the rain.<sup>156</sup> In addition they have cultural conflict resolution methods, administrative system, marriage ceremony, funeral ceremony, music and musical instruments, clan arrangements..... Among its musical instruments the unforgettable musical instrument of the D’irasha is *filla*.<sup>157</sup>

#### **4.2.2.2.3. The Ethnic Group of Mossiye**

The Mossiye ethnic group is among the four ethnic groups co-existing in D’irasha Woreda. This ethnic group resides in the Western and South West part of the Woreda at the back of mount Gardulla.<sup>158</sup> The Mossiye ethnic group is the second largest in terms of demography next to the D’irasha ethnic group. According to the 2007 census report, the population size of the Mossiye ethnic group is 19,698. The language family of the Mossiye is Cushitic, which is called *Mossiyetachi*.<sup>159</sup> Their language *Mossiyetachi* is still used only for communication purpose. In addition to their language, the Mossiye ethnic group speaks Gaamotho, D’obasit, and D’irashetati.<sup>160</sup>

According to Ato Zewde Cheru one the family of the king among the Mossiye ethnic group, “*historically the root of the Mossiye ethnic group was Gochiree...a place located in Nallo Kebele from this original place they expanded in to Killa and Basso*” Currently the Mossiye ethnic groups are living in the *Nallo, Bussa-Killa and Bussa-Basso* Kebeles.

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<sup>156</sup> Firew Tesfaye (2012); Page-12

<sup>157</sup> Filla is the Musical Instrument of the D’irasha Ethnic Group Which is Classified Under Aero phone Musical Instrument. It is Made up of Bamboo Tree Played by a Team; the Team May be Organized from Males only or Mixed of Male and Females. The Number of the Team May Range From 6 - 32. This Musical Instrument Makes the D’irasha Ethnic Group the Most Popular Over the Country.

<sup>158</sup> Gardulla is a Name of Mountain-Chain which is Located in the Western Part of Gidole the Capital of D’irasha Woreda. Before Getting Its Current Name, D’irasha Woreda and Its Surrounding Was Named as Gardulla Awraja. Currently Mount Gardulla is Covered by Man-Made and Natural Forests and Protected by Government.

<sup>159</sup> Interview Made with Ato Zewde Cheru; One of the Family of the King among the Mossiye Ethnic Group April 22 2015 Gidole.

<sup>160</sup> SNNPR, Nationality Council 2001, the Southern Nation, Nationality and People profile, Department of Culture, Language, History and Heritage Studies. *Fikreslam Printing Press*, Addis Ababa. Page - 192



*Photo 1.2. The Mossiye Ethnic Group*<sup>161</sup>

#### **4.2.2.2.3.1. Economic Activities and Settlement Patterns of the Mossiye Ethnic Group**

The geographical landscape of the Mossiye is characterized by mountain, plain and valleys.<sup>162</sup> They are settled in three Kebeles of the Woreda; Bussa - Basso, Bussa - Killa and Nallo.<sup>163</sup> Their major source of income is agriculture. They produce: *teff, barley, pea, beans, sorghum* and *enset*. They have also trade relations with the neighboring Woreda of Alle.

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<sup>161</sup> Source: - Culture, Truism and Government Communication Office of D'irashe Woreda April 2015 Gidole.

<sup>162</sup> SNNPR, Nationality Council 2001, the Southern Nation, Nationality and People Profile; Department of Culture, Language, History and Heritage Studies: Fikreselam Printing Press, Addis Ababa.

<sup>163</sup> The Annual Magazine of D'i Ku Ma Mo - Page – 10

#### **4.2.2.2.3.2. The Culture of the Mossiye Ethnic Group**

The Mossiye ethnic group has their own unique culture, among others their cultural administrative system is the one which is organized in to three hierarchical arrangements.<sup>164</sup> The first administrative hierarchy is known as “D’hama”/the king/, the second “Makaa” and the third “Poli’ha”. In this administrative system of the Mossiye ethnic group, each of the cultural administrative bodies has their own allocated power and functions. Furthermore like any other ethnic groups, the Mossiye ethnic group has their own cultural wedding ceremony, conflict resolution methods, different cultural festivity, cultural home making, cultural food preparation and funeral ceremony.....<sup>165</sup>

#### **4.2.2.2.4. The Ethnic Group of Masholle**

The Masholle ethnic group is the other indigenous ethnic group among the four ethnic groups of Dirashe Woreda. The Masholle ethnic group lives in the place called “Kolla-Mashele” 26 km South of the administrative<sup>166</sup> center (*Gidole*). According to the 2007 census report the population size of the Masholle ethnic group is 10,458. Their language is called “*Masholigna*” and categorized under the Cushitic language family.<sup>167</sup>

##### **4.2.2.2.4.1. Economic Activities and Settlement Patterns of the Masholle Ethnic Group**

The geographical landscape of the Masholle is characterized by mountain, plain and valleys. Agriculture and cattle herding is the major source of income and livelihood of the Masholle, besides hand craft is also additional source of income that they are engaged in. The main crop produced by the Masholle includes: coffee, corn, sorghum and teff.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>164</sup>SNNPR, Nationality Council 2001, the Southern Nation, Nationality and People Profile; Department of Culture, Language, History and Heritage Studies: Fikreselam Printing Press, Addis Ababa.

<sup>165</sup>Ibid Page - 185

<sup>166</sup>Ibid Page - 186

<sup>167</sup>Ibid Page - 186

<sup>168</sup> Ibid Page- 186



*Photo 1.3. The Masholle Ethnic Group.<sup>169</sup>*

#### **4.2.2.2.4.2. The Culture of Masholle Ethnic Group**

The Masholle ethnic group has their own unique culture; among others their cultural administrative system is the most popular. Their cultural administrative system is organized in to four hierarchies.<sup>170</sup> The leader of Masholle is known as “Polqala” he is the head of the administration his position in the hierarchy is on the top and the remaining three “Sikama”, “Sara” and “Abuqeta” are the appointees with their own power and functions. The other cultural practice of the Masholles are their cultural festivity; they have three cultural festivities “Tuyaa” which is the same as accepting New Year, “Horra” is the second public festivity in this celebration, there is a shift of power from the existing leaders to the coming new leaders of the

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<sup>169</sup>Source:- Culture, Truism and Government Communication Office of D’irashe Woreda April 2015 Gidole

<sup>170</sup> Ibid

society. The transfer of power is through fighting. “Kechelita” is third cultural festivity in this festivity is also the other way of power transfer through peaceful means.<sup>171</sup>

#### 4.2.2.2.5. The Ethnic Group of Kussume

The Kussume ethnic group is also the other ethnic group among the four indigenous ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda. Based on the data obtained from the 2007 national census report, the total population of this ethnic group is 7,740. Kusumigna is the language of the group; however, they are multilingual, so they can speak D'irashitati, Konsigna, and Oromiffa.<sup>172</sup>



*Photo 1.4. The Kussume Ethnic Group*<sup>173</sup>

<sup>171</sup>SNNPR, Nationality Council 2001, the Southern Nation, Nationality and People Profile; Department of Culture, Language, History and Heritage Studies: Fikreselam Printing Press, Addis Ababa. 186

<sup>172</sup> Ibid

<sup>173</sup>Source:- Culture, Truism and Government Communication Office of D'irashe Woreda April 2015 Gidole

#### **4.2.2.2.5.1. Economic Activities and Settlement Patterns of the Kussume**

The geographical landscape of the Kussume is characterized by mountains, plains and valleys. This ethnic group is mainly located in the “Gatto” Kebele; which is located in the southern part of Gidole in the Great East African Rift Valley high land area. In this *Kebele* the D’irasha and the Konso peoples also live together. Mixed farming is their economic activity; corn and sorghum are the main crops produced in this ethnic group.<sup>174</sup> They also engage in trade with their neighboring’s as additional income to support their livelihoods.<sup>175</sup>

#### **4.2.2.2.5.2. The Culture of the Kussume Ethnic Group**

Like other ethnic group of the Woreda, the Kussume ethnic group has its own distinctive culture. One of their cultures is their cultural administrative system. Their cultural administrative system is based on hereditary king system. In this system the king is the head of the administration. Besides the king, there are four spiritual leaders (Algale, Almale, Egidana and Badatun) each of the spiritual leaders have their own power and function. Furthermore they have their own widening ceremony, food preparation, dressing style, and conflict resolution and funerary ceremony.<sup>176</sup>

#### **4.2.2.2.6. Collective Denominator of the Ethnic Groups of D’irasha Woreda**

According to the official documents and interviews made with the informants, regardless of their diversity, there are shared elements among the ethnic groups of D’irasha, Mossiye, Kussume, Masholle and other exogenous<sup>177</sup> ethnic groups of the Woreda. These ethnic groups have lived and still they are living together for long years keeping their difference through mutual respect, toleration and common understanding.<sup>178</sup> Besides among the ethnic groups of D’irasha Woreda there has been continuous interaction/communication, hospitality, neighboring, intermarriage, cooperation/collaboration, exchange...etc<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> SNNPR, Nationality Council 2001, the Southern Nation, Nationality and People profile, Department of Culture, Language, History and Heritage Studies; *Fikreselam printing press*, Addis Ababa

<sup>175</sup> Interview Made with Some of the Elders and Youths of the Kussumme Ethnic Group April 2015-Gatto.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid

<sup>177</sup> The Oromo, Amhara, Konso, Wolayeta, Gamo, Alle, Goffa and Other Ethnic Groups

<sup>178</sup> The Annual Magazine of D’i Ku Ma Mo. Page - 30

<sup>179</sup> Ibid Page - 30

### **4.2.3. Data Presentation and Analysis**

In the previous section, the researcher heightened and accustomed reader with the demography, geography, economic activities and the cultures of the ethnic groups that constituted D'irashe Woreda and Segen Zone. In the preceding sub-section, the author attempts to react on the research questions with a method of data presentation followed by analysis and discussion in a comparative perspective. Generally the point investigated in this section is the practice and experience of ethnic accommodation among the ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda and other ethnic groups of Segen Zone. The section in detail discussed on points such as: - recognition, representation, organization of executive body, distribution of social services, self-rule powers and the issue of conflicts in the study area.

#### **4.2.3.1. Accommodation of Ethnic Diversity in the Experience of D'irashe Woreda**

##### **4.2.3.1.1. Recognition**

Based on the data obtained through document analysis and interview made with respondents from among the four ethnic groups of the Woreda and prominent officials on the Woreda, Zone, Regional and Federal levels of government, the four ethnic groups of the Woreda: the Kussume, Masholle, Mossiye and D'irasha were recognized by the federal, regional, and Woreda levels of government as a distinct ethnic groups.

Recognition is therefore the first means of accommodating the diverse ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda. However, according to the majority of informants, the issue of recognition in the case of Zone level is under question mark. This is because beyond oral recognition the Zone has no any practical institutional mechanism that insures the real/official recognition of the four ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda at the Zonal level. Contrarily the remaining four ethnic based Woredas of the Zone (Alle, Konso, Amaro and Burji) are practically institutionally recognized at the Zonal level; so they have legal basis to practice and question their political, social and economic rights.

In the institutional framework of the Zone therefore, the ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda are taken as a mono ethnic group as the same as that of other ethnic groups of the Zone. This indicates that, the four ethnic groups of the Woreda have no similar legal basis to exercise and to

ask for their political, social and economic rights at the Zonal level of government. At the regional and federal levels of government, the four ethnic groups of the Woreda are officially recognized as distinct ethnic groups living together in the Woreda.<sup>180</sup>

#### **4.2.3.1.2. Representation**

##### **4.2.3.1.2.1. Representation at the Woreda Council**

According to the data obtained from the Woreda Council, the ethnic groups of D'irasha, Kussume, Masholle and Mossiye are officially represented in the Woreda Council. The official report of the house shows that, each Kebele of the Woreda are represented by three representatives. There are a total of eighteen Kebeles in the Woreda including the two Kebeles of Gidole City (01 & 02). According to the information and evidence officer of the Woreda Council, there should be a total of fifty four representatives in the council; however the Keyamma Kebele was not represented because of the intra-ethnic conflict happened between Keyamma and Onotta Kebeles<sup>181</sup> Therefore the current total number of representatives in the Woreda council is 51.<sup>182</sup>

When we are looking the representation of Woreda Council based on the settlement patterns and arrangements of the ethnic groups, the Nallo, Bussa-Basso and Bussa-Killa; three Kebeles represent the ethnic group of the Mossiye based on this, the Mossiyes are represented in the Woreda Council by nine representatives' three representatives from each Kebele.

The Shelele, Arguba-Tenao, Atteya, Onotta, Wallayete, Layegnaw-Arguba<sup>183</sup>, Hayebena, Walessa, Keyamma, Holtte and Yayebe; eleven Kebeles represent the D'irasha ethnic groups based on this the ethnic group of the D'irasha are represented in the house by thirty three representatives. The Gatto Kebele represents the Kussume ethnic group so it is represented by three representatives. The home of the Masholle ethnic groups is Kolla-Mashele Kebele

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<sup>180</sup> Official Documents of Regional and Federal Level of Governments.

<sup>181</sup> Keyama Kebele is one of the Kebele among the D'irasha Ethnic Groups located in South East of Gidole Town. They were Not Established Kebele Council and they were Not Represented in the Woreda Council Due to the Conflict Happened with Onota Kebele.

<sup>182</sup> The Woreda Council of D'irashe March 2015 Gidole

<sup>183</sup> Layegnaw-Arguba is Geographically Largest Kebele of the Woreda, it Includes: - Girmoohaa, Shele, Gand'ile, Afiyaa, Kette and Karfkella. According to Some Officials and Resides of the Woreda it is Better if this Kebele is Divided in to Four/Five; Kebeles for the Purpose of Effective Administration.

accordingly the Masholle ethnic group is represented in the Council by three representatives. The remaining two Gidole city Kebeles 01 and 02 are represented by three for each having six representatives in the Woreda Council.<sup>184</sup>

#### **4.2.3.1.2.2. A Comparative Analysis of Representation at the Zonal Level**

According to the majority of informants, the practice of representation in the Council of D'irashe Woreda is very accommodative because; all the indigenous ethnic groups in the Woreda are represented approximately on reasonable basis considering their ethnic and demographic shares. However the representation of ethnic groups in the Zonal Council is computed only based on demographic size and status of the respective Woredas; it never considered the ethnic composition. Consequently the Zonal Council has a sum of fifty seats and each of the five Woredas of the Zone assumes ten seats in the council. According to the data obtained from the Zonal council, except D'irashe Woreda, all the constituting Woredas of Segen Zone are mono-ethnic groups. However Dirashe, a multi-ethnic Woreda, has four ethnic groups within; yet, it receives ten seats as the remaining Woredas of the Zone. Therefore, the ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda are not equally officially treated on the Zonal institutional framework in the areas of representation. This shows that, the four ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda are exercising their constitutional rights of representation on the federal, Regional and Woredal levels of government. Nevertheless in the case of Zonal Council, the representations of these minority ethnic groups are not considered. On the other hand, the four ethnic based Woredas of Segen Area Peoples Zone (Konso, Alle, Burji and Amaro) are fairly represented in the Zonal level of government.

The above datum showed that, in the eyes of Segen Zone, the four ethnic groups of D'irshe Woreda are taken as the same as the constituting Woredas of the Zone without considering its ethnic diversity. However, D'irashe Woreda by using its pervious experiences surprisingly utilized its given quota in a very accommodative way by organizing a composite of the four

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<sup>184</sup>The Woreda Council of D'irashe March 2015 Gidole

ethnic groups to represent the four ethnic groups of the Woreda in the Zonal Council.<sup>185</sup> As my informants mentioned earlier, the four ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda are not seen as multiethnic groups but they are perceived as a single ethnic group by the name of the Woreda "D'irashe". In the current Zonal Council, the D'irasha ethnic group is represented by three, the Mossiye ethnic group similarly by three, the Kussume ethnic group by two and the Masholle ethnic group by two representatives. This representation is the experience of the Woreda itself it is not the institutional framework organized by the Zone. Comparatively speaking, D'irashe Woreda has a federative nature in terms of representation than that of the newly arranged/established Segen Zone.

#### **4.2.3.1.2.3. Representation at the Regional and Federal Levels of Government**

At the national level Ethiopia introduced bi-cameral legislature; the HoPR (House of Peoples Representative) and HoF (House of Federation). Based on the 2010 national election of the country in the HoPR, the ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda are represented by two representatives. According to the data obtained from the Woreda and State Council, each of the four ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda (Kussume, Masholle, Mossiye and D'irasha) is represented in the House of Federation by one representative. On the other hand, the SNNPRS has very federative approach in the case of its representation in its State houses. The region adopted bi-cameral legislature analogous to the federal parliament; the State Council and the Council of Nationalities.<sup>186</sup> The lower chamber, which is the State Council, is the highest legislative authority of the State.<sup>187</sup> The State Council is composed of representatives elected by the plurality electoral system through direct election for a term of 5 years, and rhetorically represents the peoples of the State as a whole.<sup>188</sup> Besides, the State Council has special reserve seats arranged for minority groups analogous to the lower chamber of federal Parliament (Art. 50 (2)). On the other hand the Council of Nationalities is the upper house of the legislature. In this house each Nation, Nationality and People of the region shall be represented at least by one

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<sup>185</sup>Interview Made with Ato Fayeisa Fantaye Information and Evidence Officer of the Woreda Council on April 2015 Gidole.

<sup>186</sup>The 2001 Revised Constitution of the SNNPRS Art.48

<sup>187</sup> The 2001 Revised Constitution of the SNNPRS Art.48 Art- 46 (1)

<sup>188</sup> Ibid Art-50 (3)

member. Each Nation or Nationality shall be represented by one additional representative for each one million of its population.<sup>189</sup> However, according to the majority of informants, as minority ethnic groups, the ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda were not represented in the reserve seats of both HoPR at the federal level and in the State Council at the regional level of government.

#### **4.2.3.2. Consociational Power-Sharing in the Woreda**

According to the majority of informants and the focus group discussions, the other technique of accommodating ethnic diversity in D'irashe Woreda is consociational power-sharing. Consociational power-sharing is a term used to describe arrangements in which the political structure makes provisions to include members of various ethnic or national groups in the central government, political party system, civil service, etc.<sup>190</sup> Experts often use the term “elite accommodation” to characterize these sorts of measures.<sup>191</sup> This means that, the leaders of the groups negotiate arrangements to guarantee all a share of power, jobs, educational opportunities and the like. These are often informal. D'irashe Woreda exercises such surprising experience of informal power-sharing on the executive organ at the Woreda and Zonal levels of government in its own effort.<sup>192</sup> However, the Zone has no such practices to engage the eight ethnic groups of the Zone in the executive organ of the government; especially the four ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda were not realized.

It is obvious that, managing the executive organ in multi-ethnic groups is very difficult; however, D'irashe Woreda managed its executive organ of government effectively. All the ethnic groups of the Woreda have shares in the executive body of government.<sup>193</sup> For instance, the position of the head of the Woreda is assumed to be the majority D'irasha ethnic group and the remaining

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<sup>189</sup> Ibid Art Art-59

<sup>190</sup> Federal Options and Other Means of Accommodating Diversity; Published by the Forum of Federation; [www.forumfed.org](http://www.forumfed.org).

<sup>191</sup> Ibid

<sup>192</sup> Interview Made with Ato Tagaye Woldu the Deputy Head in the Political Branch of SEPDM of D'irashe Woreda April 7, 2015 Gidole.

<sup>193</sup> Interview Made with Ato Tikimttu Blatttu the Deputy Head in Organization Branch of SEPDM of D'irashe Woreda April 7, 2015 Gidole

three ethnic groups of the Woreda gets political appointment on any sectors as a head of the office based on their population share and personal capability/competence to run the office.<sup>194</sup> Even other ethnic groups out of the four indigenous ethnic groups of the Woreda are appointed as a head of sectors in the Woreda as far as they are capable of running the office.<sup>195</sup>

The appointment of the cabinets in D'irashe Woreda is not symbolic representation with the name of ethnic group; nevertheless, it is intertwined with the capability of the individual to run the office and to effectively implement the government policy. Therefore, capability and ethnicity are the two criteria used to appoint individuals as the executive organ of government.<sup>196</sup>

According to the majority of informants, the experience of consociational power-sharing in the Woreda is the result of the introduction of federal political set-up in the country. Currently, D'irashe Woreda has federative nature having its diverse ethnic groups. It is suggested that, the experience of consociational power-sharing in D'irashe Woreda is very important experience of accommodating ethnic diversity that should be employed even for other diverse multiethnic societies of the Country.<sup>197</sup>

#### **4.2.3.3. The Distribution of Social Services and Infrastructures Among the Ethnic Groups of D'irashe Woreda**

##### **4.2.3.3.1. Distribution of Schools**

According to the data obtained from the Woreda educational office, there are about total of thirty two schools in the Woreda; one secondary and preparatory school, three high schools,<sup>198</sup> eighteen second cycle and ten first cycles.<sup>199</sup> In terms of ethnic groups, these schools are distributed as follows: in the ethnic group of Kussume (Gatto Kebele) there are one high school,

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<sup>194</sup> Interview Made with Ato Tikimttu Blatttu the Deputy Head in Organization Branch of SEPDM of D'irashe Woreda April 7, 2015 Gidole

<sup>195</sup> Ibid April 7, 2015 Gidole

<sup>196</sup> Ato Tagaye Woldu; the Deputy Head in the Political Branch of SEPDM of D'irashe Woreda.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid April 7, 2015 Gidole

<sup>198</sup> The Third High school is opened Recently

<sup>199</sup> Interview Made with Yeneshe Alemayehu; One of the Team Member in Human Resource, Recording and Statistics Provision Supportive Team March 2015 Gidole

one second cycle and one first cycle; there are total of three schools. In the Masholle ethnic group (Kolla - Mashile Kebele) there is one second cycle and one first cycle; there are total of two schools. In the ethnic group of Mossiye (Bussa-Baso, Bussa-Killa and Nallo Kebeles) there are one high school, four second cycle and two first cycles; there are total of seven schools.<sup>200</sup> In the ethnic group of D'irasha (Shelele, Arguba Tenao, Atteya, Onotta, Wallayete, Layegnaw Arguba, Hayebena, Walessa, Keyamma, Holtte and Yayebe Kebeles) there are one high school, ten second cycles and five first cycles; there are total of sixteen schools. The remaining four schools are found in the capital of the Woreda Gidole (01 and 02 Kebeles) one secondary and preparatory and three second cycles.<sup>201</sup>

Table 1.7. Distribution of Schools among the Ethnic Groups of D'irashe Woreda

No.	Ethnic Group	Population Size	Number of Schools
1	<b>D'irasha</b>	<b>30,081</b>	<b>16</b>
2	<b>Kussume</b>	<b>7,740</b>	<b>3</b>
3	<b>Masholle</b>	<b>10,458</b>	<b>2</b>
4	<b>Mossiye</b>	<b>19,698</b>	<b>7</b>
5	<b>Gidole Town</b>	<b>22,000</b>	<b>4</b>
	<b>Total</b>	<b>67,977</b>	<b>32</b>

#### 4.2.3.3.2. Distribution of Health Services

According to the data obtained from the Woreda health office, there are about eighteen health stations/posts and four health centers in the Woreda. Among the eighteen health stations/posts, of the Woreda currently the thirteen are functional.<sup>202</sup> These health stations/posts and health centers are distributed among the ethnic groups of the Woreda as follows: between the eleven Kebeles of the D'irasha ethnic group, there is one health center and nine health stations/posts, among the

<sup>200</sup> Interview Made with Yeneshe Alemayehu; One of the Team Member in Human Resource, Recording and Statistics Provision Supportive Team March 2015 Gidole

<sup>201</sup> Ibid

<sup>202</sup> Interview Made with Teshale Seko Information Officer in Gidole Health Office March 2015 Gidole

three Kebeles of the Mossiye ethnic groups there is one health center and two health posts, among, the ethnic group of the Kussume (one Kebele) there is one health center and one health posts, in the ethnic groups of Masholle (one Kebele) there is no health center but one health post and in Gidole Town (01 and 02 Kebeles) there is one health center and no health post.<sup>203</sup>

**Table 1.8. Distribution of Health Centers and Posts among the Ethnic Groups of D'irashe Woreda**

No.	Ethnic Group	Population Size	Number of Health Centers and Posts
1	<b>D'irasha</b>	<b>30,081</b>	<b>10</b>
2	<b>Kussume</b>	<b>7,740</b>	<b>2</b>
3	<b>Masholle</b>	<b>10,458</b>	<b>1</b>
4	<b>Mossiye</b>	<b>19,698</b>	<b>3</b>
5	<b>Gidole Town</b>	<b>22,000</b>	<b>1+1 Hospital</b>
	<b>Total</b>	<b>67,977</b>	<b>18</b>

Even if the distribution of health services (health centers and posts) among the ethnic groups of the Woreda are reasonable, still there are gaps both in the distribution and additional needs of health posts/centers in both urban and rural Kebeles of the Woreda.<sup>204</sup>

#### **4.2.3.3.3. Distribution of Water Service**

According to the data obtained from Water and Mineral Energy Office of the Woreda, the total water coverage in the Woreda based on the 2006 data is as follows: in Gidole Town (01 and 02 Kebeles) the total coverage was 65%, in the remaining 16 Rural Kebeles of the Woreda the

<sup>203</sup> Ibid

<sup>204</sup> Ato Mokonen Bekele; Organizer of Sanitarian Team in Gidole Health Center: Gidole April 2015.

coverage was 13%; based on the above listed datum, the 2006 total coverage of water in the Woreda was 39.36%. Therefore, the above listed datum of the 2006 showed that, the total coverage of water service in the Woreda was less than 40%. According to the interview made with the concerned bodies of the offices and some resides from each ethnic groups of the Woreda, there is a shortage of water service provision in the majority of rural Kebeles. Furthermore, the informants asserted that, the problem is not only on the expansion, distribution and provision of water service but also there is problem on follow-ship and maintenance of the existing water pipelines.

**Table 9.1. The Distribution of Water Services in the Woreda**

No.	Category of Kebeles	Number of Kebeles	Coverage Per Percent
1	<b>Rural</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>13%</b>
2	<b>Urban</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>65%</b>
	<b>Total</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>39.36%</b>

N.B. This data is presented based on the 2006 E.C, Woreda Water and Mineral Office Report.

#### **4.2.3.3.4. Distribution of Road Service**

According to the Road and Transport Office of the Woreda, in 2007 all Kebeles of the Woreda are provided with rural road service that connects them with the Woreda. According to the data obtained from the Woreda office and interview made with informants, the provision of road service, between the four ethnic groups of the Woreda are distributed almost fairly. However the quality and maintenance of the provided road is under question mark. According to my informants, some of the roads are not prepared properly and some others are not provided continuous maintenance service.

In terms of main road, the main road connecting the Woreda with Gamo-Goffa Zone faced a big challenge. Majority of its asphalt road was completed in 2004/5 E.C. However between

Walayete Kebele to Gidole Maremiya, the road was not constructed due to different factors.<sup>205</sup> Still the construction of the road is not started; even optional road is not properly made; due to this and uncomfortable landscape of the area, the road between Walayete to Gidole Maremiya has been exposed for dangerous car accidents. Furthermore the Woreda has no direct road connecting it with Segen Zone.

#### 4.2.3.3.5. Distribution of Electric Service

Concerning the distribution of electric power, among the eighteen Kebeles of the Woreda, ten Kebeles are provided with the service. 01, 02, Holte, Arguba-Tenao (partially), Wallyete, Hayebena, Gatoo and Onota (partially) eight Kebeles are currently benefited from the service. In the remaining two Kebeles Shelele, and Bussa-Killa power lines are finished (introduced) but it is not ready to give the service. In the remaining eight Kebeles of the Woreda there is no electric service at all. In terms of ethnic group:- Holte, Arguba-Tenao (partially), Wallyete, Hayebena and Onota (partially); among the eleven Kebeles of the D'irasha ethnic group, five Kebeles are provided with the service, Gatto Kebele represents the ethnic group of Kussume it has also get the service. Bussa-Killa one of the Kebele among the ethnic groups of Mossiye are ready to get the service and Kolla-Mashele Kebele represents the ethnic group of Masholle it has not provided with electric service. The above data indicates that, the three ethnic groups; D'irasha (partially), Kussume (fully), and Mossiye (partially-ready) provided electric service. However the Masholle ethnic group is not provided with the service.<sup>206</sup>

Generally, according to the data, the distributions of social services among the ethnic groups of D'irasha Woreda are relatively comparable in the areas of water and rural road service however, on the distribution of electric power, school and health stations/centers there are gaps both on the provisions and distributions. On the other hand, comparing the ethnic groups of D'irasha Woreda with other ethnic groups of Segen Zone as a distinct ethnic group; the ethnic groups of D'irasha Woreda are less accommodated in terms of Water, electric power, schools and health

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<sup>205</sup> Interview Made With Ato Walelegn Wakjira; Civil Servant and Resident in Gidole Town April 23 2015 Gidole

<sup>206</sup> Interview Made With Ato Mulugeta Tefera the Member of HoPR Elected in the 2010 National Election Representing the Ethnic Groups of D'irasha Woreda April 2015 Addis Ababa.

stations/centers. This indicates that, relatively the ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda are accommodated better on the Woreda level than Zonal level.

#### **4.2.3.4. Self-Rule**

In the current arrangement of the Zone, the ethnic based Woredas (Konso, Alle, Burji and Amaro) are not exercising their previous self-rule right.<sup>207</sup> Their power is diminished in to ordinary Woreda status including the multi-ethnic D'irashe Woreda. This means that, all Woredas under Segen are subordinated units of the Zone. According to the SNNPRS Constitution<sup>208</sup> Zones/Special Woredas are the minimum self-administrative local arrangements. However compared with other ethnic groups of Segen Area Peoples Zone (Konso, Burji, Amaro and Alle), the four ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda (Kussume, D'irasha, Masholle and Mossiye) were not exercising the same power with that of other ethnic groups of the Zone. The ethnic groups of Konso, Burji, Amaro and Alle are given at least a Woreda administrative status were as the four ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda are arranged in to Kebele level having their own distinct culture, history and language. Similarly the political power sharing on the Zonal level is adjusted based on the status of the Woreda it did not considered the diversity of the ethnic groups of the constituting units of the Zone. Due to the above mentioned arrangements of the Zone, the ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda are exercising limited political power sharing because of the status given to them "collective Woreda"; whereas other ethnic groups of Segen Zone are exercising their political share based on the Woreda status given to them.

#### **4.2.3.5. Some Conflicts of the Study Area**

According to the data obtained from multiple sources, there were frequent intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic conflicts in the study area. For instance, the Dirashe Woreda was in state of frequent intra-ethnic conflicts, most importantly in Onotta, Kiyamma, Shelele, Walesa, Ateya, Hiyebena, and Holite Kebeles. According to the informants, the sources of conflicts in the study area are primarily competition over natural resources. However this does not mean that there were no

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<sup>207</sup>Misganaw.Addis "Self-rule in Segen Area Peoples Zone" Unpublished MA Thesis A.A.U. Center for Federal Studies 2014.

<sup>208</sup> The SNNPRS Constitution Art 45 (2)

other sources of conflict in the study area.<sup>209</sup> For instance, according to some respondents from among D'irasha, Alle, Masholle and Mossiye ethnic groups, the conflict in the study area was not only resource based but also it was caused by marginalization, negligence and grievances of ethnic groups. According to the former head of SEPDM of Alle Woreda, the cause of the conflict between D'obase (currently the part of AlleWoreda) and D'irashe, Gawada (currently the part of Alle) and Konso which was caused in 2009 was initially due to the negligence of the Liyu Woredas (D'irashe and Konso) to accommodate the ethnic groups basically in the distribution of social services and in political representations. According to the informants, this conflict was deep-rooted and has longstanding background starting from 1996. Later on this conflict was translated in to identity question in 2007/8 and in 2010 the question of Alle ethnic group was accepted by the regional government and they are allowed to establish their own Woreda.<sup>210</sup>

On the other hand, the sources of inter-ethnic conflicts in the study area between the Konso-Dirashe, Amaro-D'irashe Woredas were caused by the claim of Abullo- Alifacho arable land.<sup>211</sup> Besides, Konso-Alle inter-ethnic conflict derived from the claim for utilization of the Kukuba-Sala farm land and grazing land is another conflict that frequently occurs in this area.<sup>212</sup> The other feature of conflict prevalent in the area emanates from border issues between ethnic groups. The Burji and the Kore groups were frequently attacked by the numerically dominant neighbors - the Gugji. Like Burji and Kore that of the Konso were in conflict with the neighboring Borena Oromo on claim of the fertile Segen Area coming from Borena Zone in a place called Teltele, and their claim has not yet ceased. The regional government as well as the Burji and Amaro local officials has been convinced that if they were organized with the other three Woredas, they would smoothly manage to resolve the border issue in cooperation. Generally, comparatively speaking, after the establishment of Segen Zone; the study area is better than its previous situations in terms of controlling the inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic conflicts and grievances. However, still there are frequent conflicts in the study area. For

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<sup>209</sup> Interview Made with *AtoWondaynikuBekele*; Organizer and Head of Supervisors in D'irashe Educational Office: April -9 2015, *Gidole*.

<sup>210</sup> Interview Made with the Former Deputy Head of Alle Woreda

<sup>211</sup> Abullo-Alifacho is a Place Located Between the East Cost of D'irashe Woreda at the Back of Holtte Kebele and in Western Cost of Amaro Woreda Around Lake Chamo.

<sup>212</sup> Interview Made With Ato Daniel Mikre; Deputy Head of D'irashe Civil Service Office April 19, 2015 *Gidole*

instance; the conflict between Alle-Konso in Kukuba-Sala farm land and D'irashe-Amaro in Abulo-Alifacho arable lands in 2007 E.C are cases in point.<sup>213</sup>

#### **4.2.3.6. Challenges of Ethnic Accommodation in the Study Area**

According to the majority of informants and the reflection of focus group discussions, the first challenge of accommodating ethnic diversity in the study area is the reluctances of the Zone to officially accept and treat the ethnic groups that constituted D'irashe Woreda. This reluctance is emanated from the influence of the previous political experience. It is obvious that previously the eight ethnic groups of the Zone are arranged in to four special Woredas (D'irashe, Konso, Amaro and Burji) having autonomous power. However the current Zonal arrangement is not free from the previous experiences of autonomy because, based on the current Zonal arrangement, due emphasis is informally given for previously autonomous especial Woredas by the respective representatives of each Woreda and it never considered small ethnic groups which are existed in D'irashe Woreda. For instance, there is no mechanism that ensures seats for minorities in the Zone institutions both at the council and executive arms of government.<sup>214</sup> Lack of commitment and devotion on the side of the political elites about the federal setup of Ethiopia is the other challenge of ethnic accommodation. This deficiency of commitment led the political leaders to side towards their own ethnic group to purposefully favor them.<sup>215</sup> In turn the siding of the political elites leads to absence of unity at the Zonal level. Currently, there is division at the élites' level, and they are manipulating masses to discolor unity thus the potential for unity is challenged by defects of accommodation".<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>213</sup> Ato Wondayniku Bekele; Organizer and Head of School Supervisors in D'irashe Educational Office: April 2015, Gidole.

<sup>214</sup> Interview Made With Chief of Segen SEPDM Office, Gummayede, 28 March 2015

<sup>215</sup> Interview Conducted with a Member of HoPR, Addis Ababa 21 March 2015

<sup>216</sup> Interview Made With Ex Head of Peace and Security Office, Gidole, 10 March 2015

## **Chapter Five**

### **5. Conclusion and Recommendation**

#### **5.1. Conclusion**

Various theoretical discourses have confirmed the possibility of unity in diversity with the adoption of multinational/multiethnic federal political system. In the context of Ethiopia, this political order was introduced to accommodate the diverse ethnic groups of the country including minorities of minorities like the ethnic groups living in D'irashe Woreda. It is evident that various literatures attested that, multinational/multiethnic federal political order is currently the best feasible for polities like Ethiopia, which is characterized by diversity and vast geographic size.

As the federal political order of Ethiopia was largely based on ethnic/linguistic and territorial power delineation, many criticized on its stance. To be sure, the constitution defines the Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples (NNPs) based on ethnicity. Consequently, the term NNPs directly address to ethnic groups with connotation of various position, and with different characteristics. In their elongated history, the NNPs, were neglected from the political, economic and social affairs of their own country. That is way the concept of ethnic accommodation becomes a crucial issue in the Ethiopian federal political order.

Particularly in the SNNPRS the issue of ethnic accommodation is central because; in this region there are ample ethnic groups which need continuous systems of accommodation. Comparatively speaking, from among the nine federative unites of Ethiopia, SNNPRS is ethnically the utmost diverse region. The region is a home for multiple ethnic, cultural, racial, religious, socioeconomic and political markers that define the plurality of identities distinguishing individuals and groups from each other. Consequently, accommodating this diverse ethnic group is very imperative.

The other essential issue discussed in the thesis is; the ways of accommodating ethnic diversity such as: - federalism, recognition, representation, self-determination, distribution of social

services and consociational power sharing. These methods are briefly discussed comprehensively in the experience of Ethiopia and particularly between Segen Zone and D'irashe Woreda. Furthermore, the responsibility of government in protecting minority rights has also been discussed.

Finally the analysis of the thesis in its introductory part highlighted the demography, geography, the culture, economic activities and settlement patterns of the ethnic groups that constituted D'irashe Woreda in particular and Segen Zone in general. In this part the research finding showed that, each ethnic group in D'irashe Woreda has their own settlement patterns, culture, history, and ethnic identity. Comparing with other ethnic groups of Segen Zone, the existence of diverse ethnic group in D'irashe Woreda makes it different.

The ways of accommodating ethnic diversity is the second area of the research finding. In this regard, the research finding showed that, the constituting four ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda are officially recognized by the Woreda, Regional and Federal levels of government. However, they are not officially, institutionally recognized by the Zone. The scenario of representation is also similar with that of recognition; according to the research finding, the four ethnic groups of the Woreda are fairly represented on the Woreda, Regional and Federal levels of government; nevertheless they are not represented as independent ethnic groups like other ethnic groups of the Zone in the Zonal Council. This indicates that, the Zone has no institutional mechanism to represent minority ethnic groups on the basis of equitability in its Council.

The other important research finding on the areas of accommodation is, the experience of consociational power sharing on the executive organ of the government. In D'irashe Woreda, the constituting four ethnic groups are fairly sharing the executive power based on their population share and educational capability/skill to run the office as a head. The finding showed that, this practice is not a one night experience rather it is the result of elongated practice which is developed starting from the introduction of federal political setup in the country; however, the experience of consociational power sharing in the Woreda needs further improvement for the future effective management of the executive body.

The last point of the research finding is, accommodation of ethnic diversity based on the distribution of important social services. The research finding showed that, the distributions of social services among the ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda are relatively faire in the areas of water and rural road service. However, on the distribution of electric power, school and health stations/centers, there are gaps both on the provisions and distributions. Yet comparing the ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda with other ethnic groups of Segen Zone as a distinct ethnic group, the ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda are less accommodated in terms of social services. This indicates that, relatively the ethnic groups of D'irashe Woreda are accommodated better on the Woreda level than Zonal level.

## **5.2. Recommendation**

**On the basis of the data collected, interpreted and presented in the course of the study, the following major recommendations are suggested:-**

- The Zonal government has to officially, institutionally recognize and treat the multiethnic groups living in D'irashe Woreda. Because, other rights are there in recognition; therefore, it is the first measure that should be taken by the Zonal government.
- The Regional government has to develop institutional devices for accommodating the minorities living in multinational/ethnic Zones through proportional representation, fair resource distribution and equal political participation.
- Furthermore, to realize the constitutional rights of each ethnic minority especially in multiethnic Zones like Segen, revising the current Zonal institutional arrangement is advisable.
- The regional government has the responsibility to accommodate the multiethnic Woredas through extensively implementing the constitutional rights to ensure their language, cultural, economic, social and political rights.

- The experience of consociational power sharing in D'irashe Woreda is very imperative serving as a devise of ethnic accommodation particularly on the executive arm of government. Therefore, the government of the Woreda has responsibility to sustain its experiences.
  
- To make effective administration on the Zonal level of government, the experience of executive consociational power sharing in D'irashe Woreda should be effectively implemented on Zonal level of government.
  
- There is gap in understanding the federal system of Ethiopia on the side of political leaders in the study area. Therefore, both the Regional and Zonal government has responsibility to continuously build understanding and create awareness about the federal institutional setup of the country.

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### List of Informants

No	Name Of the Informants	Position/ Occupations	Sex	Place of Interviews
1	Adama Argachew	Judge	M	Gidole Town
2	Anduaem Sakamo	Former Woreda Head of SEPDM - Alle	M	Karat Town
3	Armato Beyashe	Elder/Farmer	M	Gatoo Kebele
4	Aschenaki Tsegaye	Road and Transport Officer	M	Gidole Town
5	Atallu Tillito	Yamsa Aalka (Sajine)	F	>>
6	Ayele Sheta	Educational Expert	M	Gidole Town
7	Ayelech Dessalegn	Officer in Water and Energy Resources Office	F	>>
8	Bachiro Babbo	Opposition Party Chair Person (Semayawi party)	M	>>
9	Brhanu -----	Road and Transport Officer	M	Gidole Town
10	Civil Servant	Finance Officer	F	Gumayide/Segen
11	Civil Servant	Expert in Education	M	Gumayide/Segen
12	Daniel Mikre	Deputy Head of Woreda Civil Service Office	M	Gidole Town
13	Demelash Ephrem	Teacher	M	Gidole Town
14	Demitu Telonge	Dweller	F	>>
15	Elfineshe Eshallo	Elder/Farmer	F	Gatoo Town
16	Emuti Sakamo	Trader	F	Karat

17	Endashaw Datiko	Expert in OMO micro Finance	M	>>
18	Endashaw Wolde	The Head of Woreda Red Cross Society	M	Gidole Town
19	Fayessa Fantaye	Statistics and Evidence Officer	M	Gidole Town
20	Fetene Girma	Officer in Woreda Council	M	Bussa-Killa
21	Getahun Genu	Veterinary	M	Holte
22	Ginugnet Kitammo	The Head of SEPDM in Segen Zone	M	Gumayide/ Segen
23	Gizachew Kitano	The Head of Woreda Anti-Corruption Commition	M	Gidole Town
24	Hibret Ketema	Farmare	F	Walayete
25	Kitambayeta taye	Elder/Farmer	M	Holte
26	Kitona Shisho	Elder	F	Gidole Town
27	Marenetu Geletu	Officer in Culture and Tourism Office	M	Gidole Town
28	Milugeta Tefera	HoPR Member	M	Addis Ababa
29	Mitike Sedika	Health Officer	M	Gidole Town
30	Mokonon Bekele	Health Officer	M	Gidole Town
31	Senayit Zaffu	Supportive Officer in OMO Micro Finance	F	>>

32	Shetaye .....	Dweller	F	Gidole Town
33	Tadiyos Getahun	Instructor	M	Arbaminch Town
34	Tagaye Woldu	Deputy Head of Woreda SEPDM	M	Gidole Town
35	Tejitu Yadeta	Health Officer	F	>>
36	Tesfa Bayou	Lecturer	M	Arbaminch Town
37	Teshale Seko	Statistics and Evidence Expert	M	Gidole Town
38	The Former Head	The Head of Police Office	-	Gidole Town
39	Tigayena Haile	Trader	M	Gidole Town
40	Tikimtu Blatu	The Deputy Head of Woreda SEPDM	M	>>
41	Walelegn Wakjira	Lawyer	M	Gidole Town
42	Wondayniku Bekele	Coordinator of Woreda School Super visors	M	Gidole Town
43	Yneshe Alemayehu	Civil Servant	F	Gidole Town
44	Zenebe Kegnalew	Car Driver in Gidole Police Office	M	Gidole Town
45	Zewde Cheru	Elder	M	Gidole Town

### Photos of Some Kebles in D'irashe Woreda



**Gatto Kebele**



**Bussa-Baso Kebele**



**Kolla-Mashele Kebele**



**Gidole Town**



**Some of the Kebeles among the Ethnic Group of D'irasha**