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ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF LAW AND GOVERNANCE
CENTER FOR FEDERALISM AND GOVERNANCE
STUDIES

THE ACCOMMODATION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN
THE FEDERAL ETHIOPIA: THE CASE OF HADIYA
NATIONALITY ZONE

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE
STUDIES OF ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY IN THE PARTIAL
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STUDIES.

BY

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ADDIS ABABA

Declaration

I, **Tigabu Mekoro**, hereby declare that the Thesis entitled “**THE ACCOMMODATION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN THE FEDERAL ETHIOPIA: THE CASE OF HADIYA NATIONALITY ZONE.**” submitted by me for the award in Master of Arts in Federalism and Governance Studies at Addis Ababa University. This Thesis is my original work and it has not been presented for the award of any degree in other university or institution, and all sources of materials used for this Thesis have been dully acknowledged.

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The Accommodation of Ethnic Minorities in the Federal Ethiopia: The Case of Hadiya Nationality Zone

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List of Acronyms

AAU- Addis Ababa University

UNO – United Nation Organization

UNC- United Nation Charter

UDHR- Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UNHCR- United Nations High Commission for Refugees

UNDM- United Nation Declaration on the Minority rights

ERD- Elimination of All forms of Racial Discrimination

ICCPR- International Convention of Civil and Political Rights

ICESCR- International Convention of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

UNDP- United Nations Development Program

IDP- Internally Displaced Person

EU- European Union

ECHR- European Convention on the Human Rights

FCNM- Framework of Convention for the Protection of National Minority

OAU- Organization of African Union

AU- African Union

ACHPR- African Chapter of Human and People's Rights

ACRWC- African Chapter on Rights and Welfare of the Child

ACHPRWA- African Charter on the Human and People's, Rights of Women in Africa

TPC- Transitional Period of Chapter

EPRDF- Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front

FDRE- Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

NNPs- Nations, Nationalities and Peoples

HPR- House of Peoples Representatives

HoF- House of the Federation

NEB- National Electoral Board

TCR- Traditional Conflict Resolution Mechanisms

CSA- Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia

CSO- Civil Society Organizations

DFED- Department of Finance and Economic Development

FGD- Focus Group Discussion

LGs- Local Governments

MoFA- Minister of Federal Affairs

OFED- Office of Finance and Economic Development

SNNPRS- South Nation, Nationality and Peoples Regional State

Definition of Local Terms

Garrada, Dagna-Traditional title in Hadiya communities provided with Requirement socio- political competence

Hajji- a Muslim who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca, also used as a title.

Special Woreda-is a kind of district which is directly accountable to the Regional State rather than a Zone, 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.

Woreda- Equivalent to district level of Government in the context of Ethiopian Local Government Structure, which constitutes a number of Kebeles within it

Zone-Administrative level of the federating units which is below the level of Regional State, it covering two or more woredas which are inhabited by a particular ethnic community

HNZ- Hadiya Nationality Zone

ABSTRACT

This Thesis focuses on the accommodation of ethnic minorities in the Federal Ethiopia: The case of Hadiya Nationality Zone. Based on the empirical evidences, the study specifically examines the effectiveness of theory and practice of local political and administrative institutions in the accommodation of the dispersedly settled intra-minorities rights to the political representation, appointment and language, and its approaches for managing inter-ethnic conflicts between Hadiya and Danta-Dubamo ethnic groups. There by evaluate whether the absence of political accommodation of dispersedly settled intra-minorities in the local political and administrative institutions, amplify the inter-ethnic tensions and conflicts. In order to achieve these objectives, the study employed an in-depth-interview, key-informants interview, Focus Group Discussion for obtaining primary data sources; and it has also utilized different secondary sources including books, Articles, international journals of published and unpublished sources. The study found out that, there is clear policy and institutional gaps in the accommodation of political needs of dispersedly settled intra-minorities in this local administrative unit. This approach has resulted in the exclusion and marginalization of some part of society from their needs of adequate political representation and its decision-making, appointment and use of language rights. For this, there are several underlining causes that ranging from social, economic, and political to identity issues after the adoption of the federalism. To this end, the inclusive political system through accommodation of power-sharing, cultural autonomy and an integrated approach (both traditional and modern conflict resolution institutions) have been utilized to manage the inter-ethnic tensions and conflicts between them. Nonetheless, the modern conflict resolution institutions are solution, which was predominantly formal in its form, to manage this inter-ethnic tensions and conflicts has been ineffective than the traditional conflict resolution (TCR). But the TCR alone, given the context of federal arrangement in the study area, could effectively resolve the conflict and the dynamics of issues at the interface between them. It is, therefore, a contention of this thesis that a good combination of the TCR and modern conflict resolution institutions could efficiently resolve the inter-ethnic tensions and conflicts between intra-Zonal majority and minorities ethnic-groups.

CHAPTER- ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

Ethnic diversity is the defining feature of almost all countries in the world, and its heterogeneity ranges from having different ethnic lines in the given federations to diversity within the same ethnic line but difference in clan and class. Likewise, the internal intra-minorities are the common feature of multi-ethnic federations (Fiseha, 2013). Thus, it is possible to obtain minority of minorities at the national, regional and local levels. Hence, the inter-ethnic integration, ethno-political entities are being formed in many of the newly independent countries with a poly-ethnic groups (Brook, 1961).

However, the major challenges in the multi-national federations, is the accommodation of the political rights of dispersedly settled intra-minorities, that do not have recognized and empowered by the state of their own, continues to confront the federation, sub-regional federations or local administration units. In consequence, the political conflicts that engulfed many countries around the world are often explained in terms of states' failure to manage the increasing assertiveness of ethnic-diversity.

But, to accommodate and to curve the problem, as (Asnake, 2009), argued that, in almost all corners of the world, there are movements aiming at redesigning structures of states in response to demands of communities for recognition of their identities and increased participation in the political realm. In the same way, as (Reynolds, 2002, p. 21), states with the “third wave of democratization”, human rights protection and ethnic diversity accommodation acquire a growing importance in most of the architectures of national governance. Hence, others also assert under the conditions of majoritarian control, state-society accommodations evolve around designs for a “proper system through which all the aspirations can be channelized” (Ghosh, 2009b, p. 30).

Similarly, to accommodate the existed ethnic-diversity, the sub-national minorities elsewhere are also provided with territorial autonomy in a federal or quasi-federal arrangement, along with the right to use their language and some element of representation in the national political process (Assefa, 2017, p.173). In this regards as

(Patten, 2005, p.135-56), contends that, the English- speakers in Quebec (Canada), Spanish-speakers in Catalonia (Spain) and French- speakers in Flanders (Belgium) are some of the prominent examples of internal minorities in the works of multi-ethnic federations. This notion had its origins in the former USSR under Stalin, where the diverse nationalities enjoyed cultural and limited administrative autonomy under the hegemony of the Communist Party (Clapham, 2002, p.9-30). Therefore, these negotiations have had substantial effects upon the internal dynamics within minorities because “groups operate in a social field of pressures” (Daniel, 2005, p.239).

However, for long period of time, diversity in almost all African countries has officially been rejected as something backward, while in practice, political, social, cultural and even economic life has based itself on this form of commonality (Osaghae, 2004, p.162-178). Likewise, in the Nigeria, South Africa and Ethiopia stability will ultimately also be influenced by its inability to plan policy and institutional options at all tiers of governments to accommodate the rights of minorities within states that do not have a state or local government, where they are not constitute the majority (Turton, 2006). As a result, most of federation has experienced tension and even serious communal violence due to over attempts by majorities to exclude at large, the minorities’ resident communities, from political representation and appointment opportunities in the state and local governments of political and administrative institutions.

Hence, the treatment of internal minorities, yet a one source of tensions that characterize the oldest federation in Africa (Suberu, 2010, p.227-257). These overwhelming practices and experiences can get potentials to shirk democratic system and open the ways for infringements of human rights, existence of tensions between majorities and minorities as well as creates favorable conditions for the prevalence of undemocratic and conflictual political system in Africa for long periods of time.

Horowitz and Zartman concluded the same (1985, 2000, p. 255–66) “Yet, the reason for this problem is not existence of diversity, because, the existence of diversity in itself is not a threat to stability nor is it, necessarily, a cause of

conflict, rather, it becomes so when the political system fails to accommodate it through appropriate institutions and policies.”

Wimmer (2008, p.1025-55) also illustrated that...because, it is not simply the fact that a state has several ethnic groups or nationalities, whose boundaries and identities are in constant instability is the problem, but it is how the differences among the groups manifested and handled that makes diversity problematic. Thus, they tend to act in reaction to majoritarian practices; for instance, by drawing sharp collective boundary-lines between the “outside” and the “inside”. Hence, feasibly as well as undeniably at times, it might have contributed to the emergence of new or the accentuation and multiplication of old conflicts.¹ However, as (Asnake, 2010, p.615) concluded that, “...the recognition of identities; is not the matter, rather, the fluid nature of ethnic identity and its problems with rigidly defined ethnic-based boundaries”.

In the case of Ethiopia, there is also a vast ethnic diversity, that all of the ethnic groups in the regions of member federations live together in the heterogonous form of communities. Thus, Ethiopia is a “museum”² of nations with more than eighty-six ethnic groups, none of them independently constituting a majority ethnic group (Article 39 (5), FDRE Constitution), and these diversity categorized in terms of ethnic, religious, language, tradition, culture, fiscal disparity and regional disparity. However, as the state failed to accommodate these diversities, as well as political and economic dominance gave birth to the “question of nationalities” (Assefa, 2012). So, to accommodate these problem, the Ethiopian federal system tries to accommodate and empowers “the nations, nationalities and peoples” primarily through the provision of territorial and political autonomy to geographically concentrated ethno-national groups, and legally established

¹ . The many disputes that the state and federal institutions (such as the House of Federation [HoF], Ministry of Federal Affairs, the Council of Nationalities of the SNNPRS, etc.) are seized with suggest that there is a notable incidence of conflicts in many parts of the country. Such disputes that are presented to these institutions for their legal/adjudicatory resolution include: the Silte quest for self-definition and distinct recognition; the numerous border conflicts that often occur between the Oromia region and the Somali, SNNPRS, Amhara, etc. regions; conflicts over access to power through election (between groups dubbed ‘highlanders’ and ‘natives’ in the Benishangul/Gumuz region; conflict related to the quest for reassignment in one Zone as opposed to another (e.g. Dalena Woreda of the Wolaita Zone); the quest for one’s own Zone (e.g. Gofa) or Special Woreda status; etc.

² C. Conti Rossini (1937), *Etiopia e Genti d’Etiopia*.pp. 169.

nine regional states and two autonomous city administrations, which empowers different ethnic groups (especially ‘historical minorities’) (Yonatan and Beken, 2013, p.42).

Hence, the method of treatment that the ethnic based federalism opted for the ambition to realize an overlap between ethnic and territorial borders has clearly played a role when determining the regional states and local governments boundary demarcation that; Article 46 of the FDRE constitution makes this explicit by stating “States shall be delimited on the basis of the settlement patterns, language, identity and consent of the peoples concerned” (Article 46 of FDRE constitution).

However, the states through their constitutions manipulates such a pattern of devolving autonomy, as witnessed over the years, has exclude and marginalize the regional or local administrative units of intra-minorities from adequate political representation or political decision-making processes and appointment positions. Consequently, these inter and intra-minorities and highly dispersedly settled intra-minorities as in SNNPRS in general, and Hadiya Nationality Zone in particular, constantly face the danger of domination, exclusion and marginalization, a situation characterized by the (Assefa, 2006) as the “threat of local tyranny”.

Moreover, as (Getachew, 2011.p.8), argues the severity that, the FDRE constitution granted rights of NNPs to accommodate ethnic-diversity in article 39, so generously recognizes the right to self-rule of ethno-national groups, it utterly fails to pay required attention to the ‘non-indigenous’ (non-native) groups who find themselves in the “wrong” regional state or local governments.

Although, the diversity intend to accommodate may not necessarily exhibit similar features, some groups may be found to be territorially dispersed, while in others they may be found to be geographically concentrated (Richard, 2008, p.55). But, there is no clear policy and institutions option, to accommodate the political rights of those the dispersedly settled intra-minorities in the political institutions. As the result, both the federal and the regional constitutions are criticized regarding recognition and accommodation of the political rights of intra-minorities of the regional states or local administrative units.

Among, the nine regional states of Ethiopia the SNNPs regional state stands as the most ethnically diverse having more than 56 officially recognized ethno-linguistic groups (Beken, 2012). So, the region is characterized by extreme pluralism in terms of culture, language, identity and ethnic group (Ibid, p.268), and the governance of the majority of the ethnic groups in the region has been arranged along ethnic lines. However, at the regional level, it is possible to obtain the dispersedly settled minorities like Afar, Amhara, Oromo, Tigre, Benshangul-Gumuz, Anuak, Nuer and others. Nonetheless, as the regional state failed to accommodate the needs of ethnic diversity, like the claim of identity related matters for the right to self-rule, for instance, Wolane in Gurage Zone, Danta-Dubamo in Hadiya Nationality Zone, and in the early 2011 amalgamation of four special woredas (i.e. Derashe, Amaro, Burji and konso Special Woredas) in to new Segen Zone and others issues were criticized its legitimacy.

Likewise, the governance of Hadiya Nationality Zone is arranged along ethnic line, and highly diversified local government in terms of ethnic, linguistics, religious, culturally and etc. Hence, it is possible to obtain the dispersedly settled intra-minorities such as Amhara, Bahirawoki Masimasa people, Danta-Dubamo peoples, Kembata, Gurage, Oromo, Silti, Sidama, Tembaro, Wolayita and others.

However, as the level closest to the citizens, local governments in principle, a much better position than central government to accommodate and deal with matters that require local knowledge and regulation on the basis of local needs and priorities. But, in the last two decades, the dispersedly settled intra-minorities were not represented in the council, due to inability or ineffectiveness of local political and administrative institutions to accommodate the political needs of these ethnic-diversity.

Thus, questions were raised from Zonal intra-minorities for the accommodation their political representation, appointment and use of language of rights in the national, regional, and at large in this local political and administrative institutions. As the result, the claim of Danta-Dubamo peoples for identity recognition and self-rule, and others Zonal intra-minorities claim for political accommodation, were also, criticized its legitimacy. So, this Thesis needs to assess the constitutional and institutional gaps in the

accommodation of dispersedly settled intra-minority rights in Hadiya Nationality Zone in the SNNPRS of Federal Ethiopia.

1.2 Statement of the problem

If rights are denied, needs are frustrated, which creates a potential for violent conflict, as people seek to find ways to address their group rights, since these are non-negotiable (Michelle, 2002: 16-19).

Likewise, under the international human right frameworks, minority rights are entitled to every human being regardless of nationality, residence, colour, sex, ethnicity, language etc. (Anon, 1994: 12). Similarly, according to ICCPR and general comment of the Human Right Committee, the rights to political participation are subject to certain specification and these rights are the rights which guaranteed to citizens of certain national state.³

However, at the beginning of the third millennium, the majorities “fear of small numbers” persists, and blatant human rights’ abuses experienced by minority members continue to characterize late modernity (Appadurai, 2006: 101). Simultaneously, the scope of minority assertion, the growing sensitivity to minority grievances and demands as well as the expansion of regimes aimed at diversity accommodation form an important feature of politics around the globe (Ibid). Thus, minorities are numerically inferior groups of citizens’ distinct from the rest of the society in terms of language, culture, religion, or ethnicity and etc. (Corinna, 2014). Also, they are politically non-dominant and seek to preserve their distinctiveness (Jackson-Preece, 1998).

Hence, comprising marginalized groups in representative institutions may reduce political alienation (Bieber, 2004), and can contribute to political or social stability (Cederman, 2010:79–115), which many multicultural societies guarantee minority participation in decision making by reserving seats in parliaments for their representatives (Reynolds, 2005), because there is no a single case of peaceful and democratic conflict avoidance in which the minority (marginal) community is excluded from legislative representation”

³ . Human Rights Committee; General Comment 25 (57), General Comments under article 40, paragraph 4, of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Adopted by the Committee at its 1510th meeting, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/21/Rev.1/Add.7 (1996).

(Reynolds, 2006: p. 3). But, as (Mansbridge, 1999: 628-57), argues that, including such groups into democratic societies constitutes a crucial challenge for multicultural states, because minority inclusion is often conjectured to improve political systems, its legitimacy and strengthen democratic stability. Thus, feasibly that alienation, marginalization, exclusion of intra-unit minorities from political representation, power-sharing and use of language rights are the common features in the multi-diversified nations.

However, the FDRE constitution is often considered quite a unique experiment, because it brings the acknowledgement of cultural diversity to the extreme consequence of using ethnicity as the fundamental organizing principle of the state.⁴ Thus, the adoption of federalism in Ethiopia appears to have been motivated by the problem of finding an appropriate state structure that could be used as an instrument of managing the complex ethno-linguistic diversity of the country and reduce conflicts. In spite of this, ethnic conflicts are still critical challenges in the country (Reynolds, 2006). In fact, as he argues that, the record of federalism regarding ethnic conflict is a mixed one. On the one hand, it led to the recognition of the cultural and linguistic rights of ethnic groups in the country. On the other hand, it appears to have transformed and generated localized ethnic conflicts.

Though, over past one century, the emergence of majority and minority tensions in Ethiopia that the northerners who moved south with Menelik II as the conquered country's new rulers, came from a situation in which the overwhelmingly dominant majority (of a relatively homogenous population) were adherents of Orthodox Christianity, and Semitic language speakers (of Amharic or Tigrigna); they were members of a highland socio-economic system in which Muslim minorities, (Sarah, 2003: 111). Ultimately the new sources of conflict were also created by alienating them from political rights, and lands of the annexed societies and thereby reducing them to servitude, and by imposing on them Abyssinian culture, the conquerors planted the seeds for national and class antagonism (Gebru, 1996[1991: 40-41).

⁴ . Turton; "Introduction" one; Clapham, 'Controlling Space', 27, Habtu, 'Ethnic Pluralism', Fiseha observes that the ruling party and other Ethiopians prefer 'multicultural federalism' to the commonly accepted expression of 'ethnic federalism' ('Federalism', 213-4).

With the introduction of ethnic federalism, post 1991 in Ethiopia the source of conflict became different dynamics. Concerning, this (Beken, 2007: 95) because the sovereignty of nation, nationality and people of the country resides with a defined territory, groups of people (ethnic groups) who moved from one to the other region either by settlement program or by any means could not have a sovereign power.

Moreover, (Mengie, 2010: 105) also generalizes that under the Ethiopian ethnic federal system, individuals living even for life in a region, Zone or district they were not designated as their “homeland”⁵ did not entertain the same political rights granted to those who belong to that ethnic group. Hence, this situation briefly explain that, those Group of people who dispersedly settled intra-minorities in Ethiopia face the challenge of exercising the right to political representation, appointment and language rights. Still there are composite problems in the process of accommodating small minorities groups in different regional states of the country like, an enormous ethnic groups living in SNNPRS, particularly, in Hadiya Nationality Zone.

In the case of Hadiya Nationality Zone, there is a massive ethnic diversity, in which Hadiya ethnic group are settled in the form of territorially concentrated, and termed as local majorities, whereas, Amhara, Bahirawork Masimasa, Kembata, Danta-Dubamo, Temabaro, Gurage, Silte; Wolayita, Sidama, Oromo and others are termed as dispersedly settled intra-minorities.

During the transition period, the current local government of Hadiya Nationality Zone, was demarcated by the name of Hadiya ethnic groups, and then, the political and territorial autonomy, was vested to the territorially concentrated local majoritarian ethnic groups of Hadiya, and others intra-minorities were missed, and even the political system do no clearly shows the accommodation methods and the way how to exercise their political rights. Thus, by using these territorial, political, economic, numerical and others factors, the Hadiya ethnic groups controls the whole local political institutions, deliberately by excluding and marginalizing others dispersedly settled intra-minorities

⁵ ‘Homeland’ is the territorial area; it may be region, woreda, Kebele level, in which assigned for people or group of people legally and politically as their land. For example, Oromia region is the home region of Oromos and Afar region for Afar’s, Amhara region for Amhara, Agew and Oromo, Benishangul-Gumuz region for Berta, Gumuz, Shinasha and Mao- Komo etc. are home regional states. 41Mengie

from zonal, woredas and city councils (political representation) and administrative appointment positions through different time interval. Also, another issue of tensions is the rights to develop, use these intra-minority languages. Currently, Zonal administration was using Amharic and Hadiyyisa languages as working language. However, no school chances were given for intra- minorities' rights to use and develop their own languages in any schools. All subjects were giving by 'Hadiyyisa' from grade 1-4 and English from 5 up to grade 12. Amharic subject is given as one subject from grade 1 up to 12; only for the purpose of Amharic language is being of regional state (SNNPRS) and Federal working language. Therefore, intra-minorities' children are enforced to learn with Hadiyyisa language.

Moreover, the existed empirical fact showed that, the current Hadiya Nationality Zonal councils were dominated by Hadiya ethnic groups and they showed unwillingness to accommodate the political rights of intra-minorities. Hence, due to this reason there is a tension and conflict between local majority and intra-minority ethnic groups. On this point of view as (Asnake, 2009) argues:

The basic problem is that, ...“many of tensions and conflicts were emerged at local and regional levels and related to the federal restructuring of the country based on fixed ethnic boundaries; due to these on a range of issues such as claim for identity recognition and self-rule, the issues of political representation and political power sharing in the councils, use of language rights, expression of their own cultural values, citizenship, ethnic and regional boundary and others”.

Further, due to the hegemonic aspiration of local indigenous political elites to control the whole political seats and administrative positions of local political institutions, the tensions were occurred between local majorities and intra- minorities on the process of selecting candidates for political representation. Thus, all intra-minorities were deliberately banned and excluded from being a candidates for Hadiya nationality council,

as well as, they are null and voided from nomination system, systematically by searching their ethnic line.⁶

The rationale of the researcher for choosing this title is the fact that, still this problem is unresolved issues in this local administrative unit. Thus, to contribute his part in resolving this local level political instability, by providing possible solution through the scientific based research. Also, various studies have examined the rights and status of intra-unit minorities (minorities in the states) in Ethiopia,⁷ but, the researcher particularly wants to study mainly by giving detail emphasis on the practice of political representation, appointment (nomination) of officials and use of language rights in this particularly local political institution of Hadiya Nationality Zone.

Therefore, the researcher needs to examine the constitutional and institutional gaps in the accommodation of dispersedly settled intra-minority rights in Hadiya Nationality Zone in the SNNPRS of Federal Ethiopia. By doing so it tries to assess the representation, appointment and language right of intra minorities of the study sites and strives to find out possible solution to accommodate the existed ethnic-diversity at local political institutions. To do so, different relevant literature was reviewed, and interviews on the required data were also analyzed focusing on the accommodation of political rights of intra-minorities.

⁶. As the researcher is being member of this local administrative unit he observed such issues being raised by many peoples of non-indigenous intra minorities of this Zone.

⁷. There are many MA and LLM case studies on minority rights in the states but published works are rare. Christophe Van der Beken is the only exception who has come close to the issue. See C. Van der Beken, 'Minority Protection in Ethiopia: Unraveling and Improving Ethnic Federalism', (2010) 13 *Recht in Africa*, no. 2, pp. 1-31. See also Y. Tesfaye, 'Federalism, the Sub national Constitutional Framework and Local Government: Accommodating Minorities within Minorities', (2012) 4 *Perspectives on Federalism*, no. 2, pp. 78-97. Van der Beken's work covers details on language and cultural rights and rights of minorities under international law, which has very little to offer when it comes to group rights. As will be demonstrated later, intra-unit minorities demand much more than language and cultural rights. More importantly, critique regarding the hegemonic status of titular ethno-national groups and the shared conception of power and territory at constituent-unit level, which this paper attempts to address, is lacking in all these works. Tesfay's work addresses some of the remedies available to intra-unit minorities, particularly a bill of rights and use of local government, yet the focus on the territorial solution, be it at constituent unit or at sub-unit level, entails the same challenges for such minorities as at local level, In the . Assefa Fiseha, : Intra-unit minorities in the context of Ethno-national federation in Ethiopia: www.utrechtlawReview/ volume 13, issued 1, 2017 pp.171

1.3. Research questions

The basic research questions are:

1. To what extent the existing constitutional frameworks protect intra-minority rights in local government in federal Ethiopia?
2. In what way the local governments accommodate and or violate minority rights in Hadiya Nationality Zone?
3. What are the critical factors that affect intra-minority rights in the local governments?
4. To what extent the violation of intra-minority rights can be the cause for the violent conflict in the study area?
5. What major reforms are needed to address intra-minority rights violation at local level in Ethiopia?

1.4 Objectives of the study

General objective

To assess the constitutional and institutional gaps in the accommodation of dispersedly settled intra-minority rights in Hadiya Nationality Zone in the SNNPRS of Federal Ethiopia.

Specific objectives of the study

- Describe the nature of ethnic diversity in Hadiya Nationality Zone.
- To describe the disregard of political, appointment and language rights of intra-minorities in Hadiya Nationality Zone.
- To explore the critical factors that affects the political rights of intra-minorities in Hadiya Nationality Zone.
- To express its impacts on the intra-minority rights.
- To identify the major Zonal challenges for intra-minorities.
- To propose the potential options to curve this problem.

1.5 Significance of the study

This study would have significant not only for the local administrative units of intra-minorities, but also signifies ethno-national, sub-national units of minorities as a whole at the country level. It has a great significance in showing the critical constitutional and institutional gaps in the accommodation of the dispersedly settled intra- minorities' rights in the political institutions of national, regional and local levels. Due to these, it also digs out the basic causes of inter-ethnic tensions and conflicts between local majorities and intra- minorities at local level and identifies its impacts on the political, economic and social life of societies and to propose remedial solution. It also serves as ingredients for the public policy formulation and implementation to construct a nest (i.e. to strengthen more the processes of constitutional engineering of unity in diversity) in our federal political system. Moreover, since very few researches have been done concerns to the cultural, language, political representation and power-sharing in the context of ethno-national level of territorially concentrated minorities right in this Zone. Further, it opens options to make recommendation and to take remedial solution for the existing challenges and problems in this local government.

1.6 Scope of the study

The study was delimited to the Hadiya Nationality Zone which is one of the local governments in the SNNPRS. In content the research is meant to investigate the accommodation of political rights of dispersedly settled intra-minority in the local political and administrative institutions. The scope is delimited to the Hadiya nationality Zone in the SNNPRS because there is an occurrence of massive ethnic diversity and as well as the existence of gaps in the accommodation of political rights of the dispersedly settled intra-minorities in this local political and administrative institutions. So, that it would be possible to generalize the findings in another area of the region.

1.7 Limitation of the study

The major limitations in the study were: Firstly, the sudden occurrence of inter-ethnic violent conflict between Hadiya ethnic group and Danta-Dubamo peoples in Soro

Woreda, while the researcher is in field data collection which restrict the data collection, moreover involuntary of informants for further schedules of contacts with researcher. Secondly, the denial of some informants to give the real information concerning the existing violation of political rights of intra-minority in the case sites as there is antagonistic group. Thirdly, the intra-minorities informants suspect towards the researcher himself by politicizing and in-groupings his in to majority ethnic group, that the informants lack openness and trust to express the really existed violation of political rights. Lastly, in some selected woredas which are remote having infrastructural constraints repeated visit by researcher was difficult and this results some gap in obtaining extensive data from many informants.

1.8 Research methodology

Design of the study

This section presents the methods to be used in research. It began with a discussion of the methodological approach of the study. It also provides an outline of the research design, methods, tools and sources of research data with emphasis on the data collection, targeted groups and organizations where the data was collected. The case study was designed to portray the accommodation of ethnic minorities' in the federal Ethiopia: The case of Hadiya Nationality Zone.

The researcher used purely qualitative research design. To generate deep and extensive tangible data, the researcher applied the non-probability sampling methods. The researcher was used in-depth-interviews, key informant's interviews, focused group discussants and observation methods. Both primary and secondary sources of data are used. To generate more detail triangulated data from the required primary data; secondary sources of data are also referred. In total, the researcher selects eighty four eligible informants from administrators, members of councils, security and police departments, teachers, traditional conflict resolution institution leaders and societies from indigenous and non-indigenous. Data analysis in the study pursued thematic approach. Thus, the qualitative data that was generated from primary and secondary sources is looked for careful interpretation of meanings and contents; and through organizing, and

summarizing in accordance with the issue under investigation.

Source of data

The researcher used both primary and secondary sources of data. The study area has ten administrative woredas and two city administrations. To generate the real primary data, political and administrative institutions at Zonal level, and four woredas and one city-administration were selected purposively. From these woredas and city administration, in total the researcher selected eighty-four eligible informants by using non-probability sampling methods especially, that of purposive and snowball sampling methods. In addition, the researcher used secondary data sources such as books, FDRE and SNNPRS constitutions, proclamations, directives, journals, bullets, regulations, office reports and conference. The target of the study population was intra-minorities living in Hadiya Nationality Zone.

Sampling method

To generate deep and extensive tangible data, the researcher applied the non-probability sampling methods, especially, purposive and snow-ball sampling technique to select eligible participants in the in-depth interview, key informants' interview and focused group discussants from Zonal majority and minorities, members of councils, appointers, civil servants and traditional conflict resolution institution. Because, the focused area of the study needs to have special knowledge and experience of the informants on what and how the situation look likes in the area of political representation, appointment as well as to use and develop language rights of intra-minorities in Hadiya Nationality Zone. Moreover, the researcher was helped by informants in the process of identifying relevant informants who have better experience and knowledge about the issue in the study area.

Selection of the informants

In total, the researcher selects eighty four eligible informants from administrators, members of councils, security and police departments, teachers, traditional conflict resolution institution leaders and societies from indigenous and non-indigenous. For interview participants, the researcher selected sixty one eligible informants by using

purposive sampling method from appointers and members of councils from Hadiya Nationality Zone: Lemo, Soro, Shashogo, Misrak Badawacho Woredas and Hosanna city administration, Hadiya Nationality Zone security and police department workers, Zonal teachers, elders, societies. The Zonal majorities and intra-minorities key informants were selected by using snowball sampling method. Moreover, from total informants, the researcher chooses fifteen key informants and eight focused group discussant by using purposive sampling technique, those who have deep knowledge and experience on the study issue.

Instruments of data collection

The researcher was used an in-depth- interview to generate primary data. It is chosen because it opens the way for the informants to express their ideas and felling freely. Moreover, to crosscheck the reliability of information the researcher used interview guideline for key informant's, focused group discussants and observation methods, to generate more detail triangulated data from the required primary data by in-depth-interview. Further, the secondary data sources are referred to check the validity and the reliability of the collected data.

The **key informant's interview** is reasonably important where by the well informed members of the community being studied provide the researcher with rich and detailed information on the subject of inquiry. Key informants are persons who have unique knowledge about the issue under study, and have access to other information of interest to the researcher⁸. Further, for the purpose of collecting this information, interview guideline was designed and employed to track the interview session.

Focused group discussant (FGD): Focus Group Discussions was employed to generate qualitative data. Furthermore, it was used to generate additional data concerning the existing issue under study. Totally, FGD participants that were selected are eight. In addition to triangulate the information living documents the FDRE and SNNPRS constitutions, legal documents; and proclamations was also employed.

⁸ .Daniel .A .Kaufman (2005): philosophical investigation between reason and common sense. View issue Toc volume 28, issue 2,pp. 134-158

Field Observation:

In addition to the above data collection tools, the researcher gathered data through personal observation directly from the study area for one month, where many ‘intra-minorities’ peoples were settled in the study area. This data collection tool helps the researcher to reach different situations and circumstances of the disclosed participants. The researcher observed the settlement pattern, provision of basic goods and services, provision of infrastructures, representation and appointment in political and administrative institutions of Zone, Woredas and City administration.

Techniques of data collection

To collect the primary data from the informants, the researcher used a sample of local government administrators and members of councils, teachers, Zonal security and police departments workers, indigenous conflict resolution institution leaders and societies by using purposive and snowball sampling method, and in-depth-interviews, key-informants interviews and FGD were used concerning the accommodation of intra-minority rights to the political representation, appointment and language rights in Hadiya Nationality Zone.

Since the working language of the region is Amharic, the interview was conducted in Amharic language, and then it was translated to English. Before the interview, the informants were asked whether recording their voice and taking pictures is possible or not. During the interview, the researcher notified and explained their information was used only for academic matters and their identity was kept confidential. To record the interview, audio tape recorder was used and all the data was recorded properly. Moreover, to get detail data concerning the issue, the researcher was asked additional open-ended questions. Further, the researcher reviewed additional secondary sources of data like books and other relevant research paper, magazine and journals.

Analysis of data

Data analysis in the study pursued thematic approach. Thus, the qualitative data that was generated from primary sources by in-depth-interview, key-informant interviews and focus group discussion were analyzed through careful interpretation of meanings and

contents; and through organizing, and summarizing in accordance with the issue under investigation. Firstly, all the data was recorded using audio tape recorder then the data was transcribed using open coding system and explanatory descriptive method was applied. Finally, to check the validity and reliability of data that was obtained from triangulated data sources both from primary and secondary sources was cross checked before being interpreted.

1.9 Ethical consideration

The researcher appropriated essential ethical cares and considered respects the rights, dignity, privilege and personality as well as their identity were kept confidential for their security and safety of the informants. Because the well-being of the research informants and participants are the main priority concerned of the research questions. The researcher moreover exercised an effort to avoid a risk to informants of the research and clearly informed them of their right to withdraw from the interview at any time if they feel suffering.

1.10 Organization of the Thesis

This Thesis is organized in to six chapters. The first chapter discusses the introduction to the study. The second chapter examines related literature review including the conceptual and empirical evidences taking international, regional and local experiences. The third chapter describes the general historical background of study sites. Chapter fourth presents the accommodation of minority rights in Hadiya Nationality Zone, considering the representation, appointment and language rights in education and administration. The fifth chapter outlines the major challenges for intra- minorities in Hadiya nationality Zone and it examines cause, consequences of inter-ethnic tension and conflict between Hadiya and Danta-Dubamo ethnic groups. Moreover; the constitutional, institutional, and indigenous conflict resolution options have set to address the political rights of dispersedly settled intra-minorities. The last chapter provides major findings, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER-TWO

2. MINORITY RIGHTS

2.1 Defining Minority

Despite to the many references, there is no universally agreed, legally binding definition for the term “minority”, because the concept is inherently vague and imprecise and that there is no proposed definition would ever be able to provide for the innumerable minority groups that could possibly exist (Rehman, 2000: 14). However, the most widely acknowledged definition is the one formulated by (Capotorti, 1991:98), defined with the application of Article 27 of ICCPR in mind that,

“A minority group as 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, maintain a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their culture, traditions, religion or language”.

Conversely to the numerical inferiority criteria of minority, as Wheatley states that, “identifying minority groups only on the basis of numbers would mean to generalize the assumption that a group inferior in numbers is also inferior as regards its political status – an assumption which proves sometimes to be false” (Wheatley, 2005:20). For instance, during the former apartheid regime in South Africa, the numerically inferior white population did not constitute a minority in need of special protection as they enjoyed all the powers while the majority Black population were excluded from politics (Preece, 2005: 10-11). Confirming to this state of fact that, minority rights international asserts, regardless of its demographic makeup, also, a group that is disempowered may be classified as a minority (Kodish, 2006-2007: 30). Further, as Professor Weiner’s argues the nature of minorities can be described as those who “lacks power” and ‘who do not share what they regard as the central symbols of the society (Wimmer, 2002).

In the same vein, in the context of Harari regional state council, the numerical inferiority factor is not binding to the concept of minority; because, the bicameral council of Harari regional state composed of two ethnic groups, the Harari (Aderé') and Oromo ethnic groups. The Harari ethnic group constitutes numerical inferior in the regional state. However, due to their own historical reasons, they ensured a political dominance in the regional council; they control over the regional government institutions (Beken, 2007:116). Hence, they have political supremacy in decision making than numerically superior ethnic groups of (Oromo) in the regional state council. Therefore, being numerically inferior, is not the necessary factors to hold the specific definition and its existence as a minority ethnic groups in a given federations, however, being political disempowered is another define element of minority.

However, the Constitution of EPRDF tries to create majority ethnic groups at sub-national and local levels by making ethnicity incongruent with the territorial demarcation of the constituent units of the federation (article 47, FDRE constitution). Thus, this ethno-territorial organization left a number of ethnic groups as a minority outside their designated ethno-territorial setting.

Likewise, the SNNP regional state stands as the most ethnically diverse, having more than 56 officially recognized ethno linguistic groups (Beken, 2012). Among those, the only five ethnic groups have more than a million number of populations members are (Sidama, Gurage ,Wolayita ,Hadiya and Gamo), are regional majorities, and they have numerical as well as political dominance, whereas the dispersedly settled internal immigrants and 30 ethnic groups have less than 100,000 members, are numerically regional minorities (2007, population & house census report).

Similarly, Hadiya ethnic groups are regional and local level majoritarian ethnic group and politically dominant once. The rest of ethnic groups are intra-minorities in Hadiya Nationality Zone. Their identification is due to the numerical inferiority as well as non-dominance in the local politics. Thus, there are two types of dispersedly settled intra-minorities in the case sites. The major manifestation for the first type was those who have kin-state in elsewhere, such as Amhara, Bahirawoki Masimasa, Gurage, Kembata, Oromo, Silte, Temabaro, Wolayita and others. The second manifestation was intra-

minorities which do not have a kin-state of their-own home land elsewhere. For instance, Danta-Dubamo peoples in Soro and Duna Woredas administration.

The fact that the presence of minority members in legislatures can reduce feelings of exclusion, on the other hands, having group members in parliaments improves minorities' acceptance of parliaments as legislators and the political systems, because they perceive that one of them is included into decision making (Kymlicka, 1995: 99-123). However, an empirical examination of the experiences of multi-ethnic states advocate that states that are predicated on suppressing ethnic diversity has not succeeded in achieving their goal of creating a common national identity and securing peace. For this problem, the ways of treatment of intra-unit minorities has also been the cause for some of the most violent inter and intra-ethnic conflict.

Thus, the existed empirical fact in the case study area suggest that, the trend of exclusionary politics is the major cause for exclusion and marginalization of the dispersedly settled intra-minorities from local political and administrative institutions, and its effects of intra--ethnic tensions and conflicts between Hadiya and Danta-Dubamo ethnic groups.

Concept of local government

It is not easy to answer the question, what is local government? The term literally means the management of local affairs by the people of the locality. It is based on the principle that the local problems and needs can be looked by the people of the locality better than by central or state governments. According to (Stones, 1963: 1), "local government is that part of the government of a country which deals with those matters which concern the people in a particular locality."

In the designing of sound democratic political system, local government should be viewed as the cornerstone as it serves as a cardiac vehicle on specific level to ensure able and conscientious citizenship (Heymans, & Totemeyer, 1988). Likewise, it also, plays a critical role in enhancing democracy in federal systems. Thus, it brings government closer to the people through both representative and participatory democracy. Hence, depending on the types of local democracy, it allows and facilitates social and economic

participation and as fair as well as democratic political representation for minorities and others marginalized groups.

However, the FDRE Constitution implicitly provides that the territorial autonomy envisaged under Article 39 (3) can be exercised through the establishment of ethnic-based sub-regional territorial and political units (Wondwosen, 2009). Likewise, the regular local government is envisaged under Article 50 (4) of the FDRE Constitution, and, all of the nine regional states would establish the regular local government on wall-to-wall basis, unlike the ethnic local government, which is to be established where territorially concentrated sub-regional ethnic minorities are found (Herther-Spiro, 2007).

Thus, to accommodate ethnic-diversity, the SNNPRS constitution initially also ensure and recognized in practice by creating 13 (thirteen) Zone, namely (Hadiya, Gurage, Keffa, Sheka, Sidama, Silte, Wolayita, Dawro, Gedeo, Bench-Maji, Debub (South) Omo, Gamo-Gofa, and Kembata-Tembaro) and 8 special woreda's (Alaba, Basketo, Konta, Yem Amaro, Burji, Derashe and Konso). On contrary, instead of creating new ethnic local units, it began amalgamating some of the existing ones; for instance, initially the SNNPR had eight Liyu woredas, including those for the Amaro, Burji, Derashe and Konso, but the latter were merged into one, the Segen Zone (SNNPRS, official website). As the result, the SNNP regional state failed to accommodate the newly emerging needs of ethnic diversity (the claim for identity recognition of Wolane ethnic group in Gurage Zone, Danta-Dubamo peoples in Hadiya Nationality Zone), causes intra-ethnic based tensions and conflicts were common feature, which criticized its existence as a federation of federation.

Ethnic group

The concept 'ethnic' originated from the ancient Greek word *ethnos*, meaning a nation in the latter's immaculate sense of a group characterized by a common descent. Regarding to this concept as Smith, defines an ethnic group as "named human populations with shared ancestry myths, histories and cultures, having an association with a specific territory and a sense of solidarity" (Smith, 1991:21). Likewise, Gursel characterizes that, ethnic groups are historically given collectivities or psychological communities whose members share a persisting sense of common interest and identity that is based on some

combination of shared historical experience and valued cultural traits - beliefs, culture and religion, language, ways of life, a common homeland (Gursel, 2009:51).

Also, Phandis and Ganquly, define an ethnic group as either a large or small group of people, in either backward or advanced societies, who are united by a common inherited culture (including language, music, food, dress, and customs and practices), racial similarity, common religion, and belief in common history and ancestry who exhibit a strong psychological sentiment of belonging to the group (Phandis, and Ganquly, 2001:19). Explicitly, stating that the term ethnic group includes both small and large group of people.

Ethnic-conflict

Conflict is a struggle or contest between people with opposing needs, ideas, beliefs, values, or goals. Likewise, conflict is said to exist when two or more groups engage in a struggle over values and claims to status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate the rivals (Jeong, 2000). Similarly, as Robert states that, “ethnic conflict’ as ethnic is the tendency for opposing groups to describe themselves using ethnic criteria like language, cultural elements, territorial claim, the myth of common ancestry, racial ties, and using this identity to claim equal status within a state or autonomy from it” (Gurr, 2000: 53). Thus, when the boundaries between the ‘in group’ and the ‘out group’ are hardened, identities are formed in an antagonistic way where the other is constructed as an existential threat through successful securitization, and violence becomes more likely.

2.2 Political Representation

Political representation affords citizens in a democracy an opportunity to communicate information to government officials about their concerns and preferences and to put pressure on them to respond (Verba, et al. 1995). In any democratic system citizens have the right to express their views and attitudes towards their interest. For the sake of this purpose, the democratic political institutions can play vital role. Thus, the representative democratic institutions are presumed to generate democratic politics and lead to the

implementation of democratic policies, as to create and maintain a just and inclusive society. On this notion as Luckham further argues that, “the democratic political institutions are expected to provide avenues for the peaceful resolution of conflict because plural systems allow for compromise and balance between contesting interests through institutions for the redress of grievances and discontent” (Luckham, 2003:52).

However, there are many institutions compatible with democracy in the abstract, but not all of them are conducive to multi-ethnic inclusiveness (Horowitz, 1994). On this view, as (Bird, 2003), more argues the fact that; “ethnic minorities have long been absent or not ably under-represented in the legislatures of established electoral democracies”. Thus, minority representatives in political institutions have often been marginalized (Reynolds, 2005: 3).

To reduce this problem many multi-ethnic societies guarantee minority participation in decision making by reserving seats in parliaments for their representatives (Gallagher and Mitchell, 2005: 635). Thus, the two justifications, exogenous and endogenous factors, can reasonable diminish this difficulty. On this issue (Bird, 2003: 9) also, more pronounces that, “the degree of democratic political culture” for the responsiveness of the political system of the countries by pinpointing the strong-minded reasons on the “exogenous” and” “endogenous” factors. The “exogenous” factors such as strong party competition, a high degree of legislative turnover, and public funding for political campaigns, and the endogenous factor like, ethnic entrepreneurial approach may also make political systems more open to ethnic minority candidates.

In the case of Ethiopia, the political representation of minorities more can be expressive in parliament. According to (Watts’s, 2008), bicameralism at the federal legislature is common practice among most federations in the world, and one of which is Ethiopia, as it is asserted in article 53 that, “there shall be two federal houses, the House of Peoples Representatives and the House of Federation” (article 53, FDRE constitution).

The House of Peoples’ Representative (HPR) is the highest political authority in the federal government. Regarding its composition, members of the house are directly elected by the people, through the-“first-past-the-post” electoral system, on the basis of

population with special consideration to minority groups in the country, for a term of five years (article 54 (2) of FDRE constitution). On the same article of sub-article 3 also, states that, the house is composed of seats that will not exceed 550 out of which 20 seats are to be reserved for minority ethnic groups. On the other hand, members of the house are supposed to represent the people of the country as a whole and they are, responsible to the constitution, the people and their conscience. However, in this house the dispersedly settled ethno-national, regional and local levels minorities were absent, due to lack of inclusive constitutional and institutional options to accommodate this ethnic diversity in the existed political institutions.

Also, the Ethiopian federal democratic system is designed to accommodate and empower nations, nationalities and peoples of the country with sovereign political power. It is designed to accommodate the existed ethnic diversity further to strength the constitutional principle of unity in diversity. The House of Federation is, therefore, the typical political institution where these diverse ethnic groups are represented and expected to exercise this power. This is in another words one of the federal institutions where nations, nationalities and peoples exercise shared-rule. Members of the house are selected either by the state councils or directly by the people. This in other words is to mean that it is through these houses that the nations, nationalities and peoples of the country are represented as well as allowed and supposed to exercise their sovereign power in decision making. Despite the creditable objectives, the benefits deriving from reserved seats are contested: the set of empirical contributions indicates that some reserved seat states are more successful than others in creating high quality minority representation (Lublin, David, and Matthew. 2013: 746-755).

Moreover, the same constitution article eight states that all sovereign power is vested in the nations, nationalities and peoples of the country. In addition, it says that: “Their Sovereignty shall be expressed through their representatives elected in accordance with this constitution and through their direct democratic participation” (Article 8 &79 of 1995 FDRE constitution). This on the other hand shows how significant these institutions are for the people to exercise its sovereign power. On the other hand, it seems that the house in general is not functioning well as it is expected and receives serious criticism from

many groups at least for the following reasons. Since members of the house are usually elected by the councils of the constituent regions, the house is dominated by single party; the dominant ruling party seems against political pluralism.

Likewise, represented nations, nationalities and peoples who are supposed to be owners of sovereign power, the house lacks legislative power. Further, the institution have many complains and disputes related to border and other related issues in many parts of the country. Many of them have lasted long and still unresolved. As a result we usually see many of these claims growing in to serious conflicts which should have been handled and peacefully resolved early.

Accordingly, each ethnic group is represented by at least one member and also for any one million peoples the ethnic group will have one additional representative. Seid Ali argues that this asymmetrical representation would have its own impact on the less populated regions or ethnic groups regarding decision making process and hence he suggests that it should be reconsidered (Seid, 2014). This conditions create majority and minority tensions, as well as, indigenous and non-indigenous peoples, which were also, the dispersedly settled intra-unit-minorities were not honestly represent in the in the political institutions and the FDRE as well as SNNPRS constitutions are mute in this regards.

Thus, the narrowed regional and local citizenship to the level of primordial ethnicity frequently led to conflict between the titular and the non-titular groups (Abbink, 2006: 389-413). The risk of discrimination among regional states with one big majority (Somali, Oromia, Tigray, Amhara and Afar), and the regional states lacking such an ethnic majority (Benishangul-Gumuz, the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State) and regional states of titular minority (Harari) is highly critical. The political rights of those non-indigenous people are undermined and overridden by group rights (G/Michael, 2012). Following the introduction of ethno-federalism and political manipulation of ethnic identity by local cadres, the relationship among those ethnic groups exposed to confrontation and violence.

Also, the SNNPRS constitution ensure the extremely existed diversity, which is stated in the preamble of regional constitution that, “We, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples”, which officially recognizes home for 56 ethnic groups (preamble of SNNPRS Constitution). However, out of these ethnic groups, 21 ethnic groups who are geographically concentrated have established their own ethnic based local government and the rest of them were amalgamated in to different local governments. Thus, constitutional mechanisms of accommodating regional ethnic diversity in practice have created majority and minority, indigenous and non-indigenous tensions and conflict in the regional state.

Whereas Reynolds has argued that “the most importance to constitutional design in transitional and post-conflict democracies, the inclusion of the diversity of majorities and minorities within legislatures can reduce group alienation and violence in those divided societies where politics is often viewed as a win-or-lose game” (Reynolds, 1999: 6). Yet, the SNNPRS constitution in article 48, has established bicameral regional councils, which are the state council and council of nationalities (article 48 of SNNPRS constitution). At the same constitution in article 50, places about the members of the state council. Thus, in this regional state most of indigenous minorities are recognized and have a representative in the regional council. Nonetheless, ‘the fact that hundred thousands of Amhara and Oromo live in the southern region they do not have representatives in the council of nationalities’ (Beken, 2007: 134). Moreover, peoples who are considered as non-indigenous or exogenous peoples are not represented in the regional council of nationalities and the constitution also gave recognition for only indigenous minorities in the regional state. So, this conditions shows that there is a constitutional and institutional gap in the protection of non-indigenous regional minorities.

Thus, article 50 (2) sets condition for the special political representation of minority nationalities in the regional council (article 50 of SNNPRS constitution). But, this constitutional term “Special political representation of minority nationalities” is vague, because for which minorities this special representation is vested? Is it for concentrated settled indigenous minorities or for dispersedly settled intra-minorities or for both? Further, in article 33 of SNNPRS constitution guarantee the rights of fair political

representation and appointment for regional or local administrative units of internal immigrants that, “any Ethiopian who speaks the working languages of the region, the Zone or Special Woreda has the right to be assigned or elected to serve in governmental and social activities of the state, the Zone or Special Woreda” (article 33 of SNNPRS constitution).

Again, article 58, which describe the criteria to be members of council of nationalities that “each nations, nationalities and peoples in the council can represent at least by one member” (article 58 of SNNPRS constitution). This article is unspeaking or excludes the dispersedly settled regional or local administrative units of intra-minorities from institutional representation. Therefore, political participation, the electoral system may be used with two aims. As (Laponce, 1957: 321) states, “one is to ensure the adequate parliamentary representation of a minority, and the second is to increase the electoral influence of minority groups independently from representation.”

To conclude, the accommodation of minority rights is best achieved and articulated through a combination of majority sensitivity and minority inclusion. However, the controversies about the political representation of the dispersedly settled intra-minorities underline the problem of minority rights accommodation that was absent in the federal and SNNPRS constitutions. Hence, the constitutional emphasis on ethnicity has resulted in members of Hadiya ethnic group using ethnicity as a political instrument to undermine the political representation of dispersedly settled intra-minorities and to promote their own dominance in the local administration.

2.3 Appointment system

The mechanism of appointment in a divided society is another challengeable issue, in the fair process of division of power, as well as, method of accommodation of ethnic diversity. Likewise, the appointment system in the multi- national federation of Ethiopia, the major factors was criticized by dominance of territorial concentrated majoritarian ethnic groups on the minority and its intra-ethnic tensions and conflicts. The regional majoritarian dominate the appointment system of a county, whereas, the dispersedly settled national, regional and local levels intra-unit minorities were excluded from the

appointment selection process. On this notion as Legesse, 2016: 265, 276-77), argues that:

“The appointment trends in Ethiopia has absolutely dominated by territorially concentrated indigenous majoritarian ethnic groups, particularly, EPRDF political party, count himself as a “de facto single party system,” which controls the military, executive, and legislative power and has been unwilling to share power democratically.”

Also, regarding to the accommodation of regional ethnic diversity by the inclusive appointment system in the regional political institutions, the SNNPRS constitution is mute. On this point of view as (Beken, 2006: 15) argues, “the SNNPRS constitution does not explicitly guarantee the ethnic pluralism of the regional government, the elective and appointment powers of the state council- which is ethnically inclusive without any dominate group-should serve the same objective.”

2.4 Language rights

The social function of language is regarded as a mechanism of social integration. However, sociology of language and socio-linguistics gives a more differentiated account of the role of language in social interaction and in the construction of “ethnicity”. In point of view as Jtirgen argues that, “Language as a system of communication, representation and regarded as constitutive for the socialization and the identity-formation of individuals” (Habermas, 1984).

Moreover, as (Luckmann, 1984: 15-20) also argues that, “Language is not only as a system of communication on the level of social interaction but also as a system of representation providing a shared world-view on the level of society”. Others also assert the language as human rights. They have emphasis on the linguistic human rights approach is placed on language rights to education. On this notion as (Kangas, and Phillipson. 2004: 102) argue that:-

“Only the rights to learn and to use one’s mother tongue and to learn at least one of the official languages in one’s country of residence can qualify as “inalienable, fundamental linguistic human rights.”

However, many states deny the existence of minorities within their jurisdiction, or oppose the notion of accommodation of language diversity in so far as the accommodation of minority rights is considered to affect adversely, or to risk, the state's internal cohesion and national unity. Rather, it exaggerate the outbreak of internal conflicts, also that can affect other states 'and international security.

In the case of Ethiopia, to give more guarantee for the accommodation language diversity, the FDRE constitution in article 5(1) ensure that, "all Ethiopian language shall enjoy equal state recognition and 5(2) state that, "Amharic shall be the working language of Federal government" and article 5(3) states determine their respective working language (article 5 Of FDRE constitution). However, this constitutional assured right to the choice of language was an active one, made in order to achieve something, made within contexts of conflict and structures of domination and sometimes contested (David, 1996: 6). The same condition is true in the "mono-linguistic policy" of the federal working language, which till there is hotly contested by others language owner's ethnic groups like, the claims of" Oromiffa" and others languages, to use of as federal working language, as equal to as Amharic language. Thus, the "bilingualism" of the Ethiopian language policy is still criticizing issue.

Once more, the rights to language and culture of nations, nationalities and peoples were also ensured in the 1995 FDRE constitution, article 39 (2) recognized that the cultural rights of all ethnic groups "...the right to speak, to write and to develop its own language; to express, to develop and to promote its culture; and to preserve its history" (article 39 of FDRE constitution). In this regard as Tewfik states that; regional entities have given an exclusive power to determine their own working language (Tewfik, 2010). Thus, many ethno-linguistic groups become visible and eager to promote their own unique identity either for recovering their values or for political and economic advantage. However, the relationship between article 39 (2) and 39 (3), that "if the right to use language of once nation, nationality and people is recognized, thus, might have the right to ask or it might to be pre-condition to use the constitutional stated right to self- determination". Hence, it is a call for a new paradigm shift form domination and assimilation to a celebration of

difference, from one nation, one territory to a multicultural state from centralization and unitary to a federal system (Assefa, 2010)

As like, the 1995 Federal constitution, the 2001, revised constitution of SNNPRS recognized the Southern nations, nationalities and peoples to use, develop, language, culture... rights, which stated in article 5(1) that, “All languages in the region shall enjoy equal state recognition”, the same to that article 5(2) also states that, “Amharic shall be the working language of the Regional state” (article 5 (1, 2) of SNNPRS constitution). At the same article, in sub-article 5(3) states that zones and special woredas local government administration has the right to use their own language as official working language, which is not mandatory, that if it is necessarily, that is “might” to use, which is indicated that, “Zones and Special woredas may determine their respective working languages in their own councils” (article 5 (3) of SNNPRS constitution). On this point of view as (Beken, 2006: 281) argues that:-

“In Southern Region, the power to determine the local working language has also not remained theoretical, since a number of Southern Region zones such as Sidama, Wolayita, Hadiya and Gedeo have introduced the language of the titular group or empowered minority as the zonal working language.”

However, most of the local governments use “Amharic” which is the regional working for their local government working language. According to the article 5(3), Hadiya Nationality Zone use the “Hadiyyisa” language, for the official working language and for educational curriculum, which does not accommodate the dispersedly settled internal immigrants (non-indigenous intra-minorities) languages for the purpose of education, as well as use it in the office.

2.5 Causes of inter-ethnic-conflict

As Brown has identified four main categories of contextual factors that make “...some places more predisposed to violence than others: structural factors; such as political factors; economic/social factors; and cultural/perceptual factors” (Brown, 1996: 12-22).

Political factors

Conflict is explained by greed or grievances where there are feelings of ethnic or political marginalization as one group is disadvantaged by another group in terms of access to natural resources (Macartan, 2005: 508-537). However, the most striking political factors of inter-ethnic conflicts in a multi-ethnic federation of Ethiopia in general, in the SNNPRS and Hadiya Nationality Zone, is the tension between on the absolute claim of indigenous ethnic group to control the whole political seats and on other hands, call by dispersedly settled non-indigenous minorities for the needs of accommodation in the political institutions, particularly, for fair political representation and participation, equal opportunity of appointment (power-sharing) and self-rule.

The other striking political factor is the ambiguity on the implementation of constitutional settled principle of unity in diversity. The ‘nations, nationalities and peoples’ has create an ambiguity among the ethnic groups in the regional state, as like the federal the constitution in the Ethiopian federation. Some consider themselves “nations”; others prefer to use “nationality” as a self-designation; yet others see themselves as a ‘people’. This creates a tension between majority and minority in the regional state. Also, the claim of identity recognition related issues are another political factor for inter-ethnic conflict. For instance, the claim of Wolene ethnic group for identity recognition in Gurage zone; the claim of Danta-Dubamo peoples for identity in Hadiya Nationality Zone are some of prominent inter-ethnic conflict in SNNPRS.

Economic factors

Concerning to the resource based theory of conflict stems from the presence of inequality, in this case economic inequality. Likewise, Markakis underlines the role of economic resources in producing ethnic conflict. As to him, regardless of the form it may take, the real cause of ethnic clash in the Horn of Africa is the desire to secure access to resources in the country concerned and the role of the state plays in controlling the allocation such resources in the major source of conflict. That is, in a situation where there is scarcity of resources and unequal distribution of those resources among different ethnic group is the major factor for the cause of ethnic conflict (Markakis, 1994).

Social factors

The social factors like culture, language, history and the likes are also are the factors for the ethnic conflict. According to the (Kymlicka, 2006) argues that a societal culture is defined as: a culture which provides its members with meaningful way of life across the full range of human activities, which including educational, religious, recreational and economic life encompassing both public and private spheres. These cultures tend to be territorially concentrated and based on a shared language. Thus, these rights of societal culture is not accommodated properly, it can be a causes for inter-ethnic conflicts.

2.6 Impacts of inter-ethnic conflict

Political security dilemma

The security dilemma becomes a problem because the government naturally has in its possession a monopoly of the legitimate use of force and to exercise it so that individuals and groups refrain from engaging in serious conflict. More importantly, the state must be assertive enough to protect any group but not be seen as too favorable towards anyone or else groups will compete to gain control of the state, creating a political security dilemma (Saideman, 2008:2). Thus, the political security dilemma arise out of a situation where attempts to control the state by one group will make it unable to protect all groups and deter threats directed at other groups. The inability to protect and deter leads to counter efforts to control the government. This reinforces the initial instincts of the first group, leading to a spiral of competition, ultimately reducing the ability of the government to deter conflict.

Hence, the universally accepted principle for occurrence of ethnic conflict is that security organs at whatever level cannot prevent ethnic groups from fighting and thus cannot guarantee individual ethnic groups their security. Consequently, in states where anarchy prevails, individual ethnic groups must defend themselves from any form of hostility.

Human right violation

Ethnic conflicts are often accompanied by gross human rights violations, such as genocide and crimes against humanity, and by economic decline, state failure, environmental problems, and refugee flows. Likewise, violent inter-ethnic conflict leads

to tremendous human suffering that many subordinate ethnic group members nowadays experience an ethnic identity dilemma.

However, an internally Displaced Person (IDP) according to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) is a person has been forced to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflicts, situations of generalized violence, violation of human rights or natural or human made disasters and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border (Moses, 2008:127-152). Thus, one of the major consequences of intra-state conflicts in Africa is internal displacements challenge, which has been marred by intra-state conflicts and wars resulting in massive displacement of people within the countries.

Economic impacts

Considering the kind of attacks launched during ethnic violence it is undeniable that insurmountable property is lost in the process. Destruction, looting and razing of property, homes and farms implies that victims are left in a state of destitution and in a state of total dependency. Thus, Ethnic violence has negatively affected both individuals and the Ethiopian various economic sectors in general leading to economic deterioration of the whole country. Individuals lose jobs; businesses cease to operate or operate at reduced frequency in fear of looting, economic sectors come to a stands till, etc.

Social impacts

During conflict, families, clans and communities are displaced and separated. Conflicts have led to the breakdown of customary and cultural values such as councils of elders, common property resources grazing rights, religious ceremonies, marriage rights and other indigenous systems of organization and social control (Cheruiyot, & Sabala, 2008: 77-99).

2.7. Approach for the accommodation of minority rights

The most challengeable issue today is the accommodation of ethnic diversity at the national, regional and local levels political and administrative institutions fairly, by combating the political exclusion and marginalization of intra-minorities' ethnic groups. Thus, to resolve this issue, the researcher has proposed, legal frameworks reforms, non-territorial autonomy, shared-rule, and an integrated (both modern and indigenous conflict resolutions system) as potential approaches.

2.7.1. Legal frameworks in the accommodation of minority rights

This parts mainly discusses international, regional and national legal frameworks in the accommodation of minorities' rights. There are extensive ranges of legally binding international treaties (convention, covenant) and legally non-binding declarations were announced to accommodate and safeguards the political rights of minorities at the international level. Among them, the UDHR is the prominent once. Thus, its initial draft guarantees that:-

“in all countries inhabited by a substantial number of persons of a race, language or religion other than those of the majority . . . minority shall have the right to establish and maintain, out of an equitable proportion of public funds . . . their schools, cultural institutions, and to use their language before courts, organs of the state and in the press and public assembly” (United Nations Declaration, 1948: 44).

However, due to rigid opposition from many states, political considerations outweighed pure humanitarian idealism (Haskar, 1974: 36-57). Hence, the solid optimism views of the “political consideration” human rights, which overshadow minority, the right to accommodation in the international instruments. Thus, to accommodate and to ensure their effective political participation focus on the rights of minorities to have access to all forms of political decision-making at all existing levels without discrimination, the UN General Assembly has adopted and inculcated different articles in the international document of civil and political rights (ICCPR).

Hence, the international covenant on civil and political Rights (ICCPR) adopted in 1966, which ensured the minorities' right to political participation under Article 27. This legally binding instrument is the first international norm that universalizes the concept of minority rights which stated that:-

“In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.”

According to the preamble, the United Nation Declaration on the minority right (UNDM) was more “inspired by the provisions of Article 27” of the ICCPR. In fact, this instrument not only elaborates the rights under Article 27 but it also provides for additional special rights. It also goes on to remedy the failure of Article 27 to specify state measures aimed at the accommodation of minority rights.

Moreover, the political representation and participation is an integral component of effective participation as secured by ICCPR, Article 25 argues that:-

“Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity”, which was mentioned in Article 2 of ICCPR that, without unreasonable restrictions: (a) to take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives; (b) to vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors; (c) to have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his country.”

Thus, the right of everyone to take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives, as well as to vote and be elected at genuine periodic elections is prescribed in this Article. Further, this provision is an elaboration of Article 21 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UDHR) which states that “Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives” (article 21 of 1948 UDHR).

In addition, the convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination (CERD) is another most decisive international instrument to avoid all racial discrimination in the world arena (G.A. res. 2106). Its provisions, in particular Article 5, is best known for prohibiting discrimination on the basis of “race, colour, descent, national or ethnic origin”(article 5 of CERD). So, it gives ultra-safeguards to the minorities rights at international arena, without partisan practices and without any consideration based on the “race, colour, descent, national or ethnic origin”, and this international legal framework serves as an instrument to correct past injustice of racial, colour, descent, national or ethnic based, and correct unfairness’s by affirmative action through , “providing for special measures for the advancement of racial or ethnic groups an implicit acknowledgment of minority rights”. Therefore, minorities right to “political participation and representation” throughout the legal electoral processes have acquired attention in the international legal framework through gradual progresses.

Regional legal frameworks

This section describes the experience of regional instruments in the accommodation of minorities rights, mainly focused on the two regional instruments. These are Council of European systems and African union systems.

Council of Europe System

The right of minorities more specifically stated in the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ECHR, article 15) that:-

“The right of persons belonging to national minorities to participate effectively in cultural, social and economic life and in public affairs, in particular those affecting them is protected by Article 15 of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM).”

This article argues that the Parties shall create the conditions necessary for the effective participation of persons belonging to national minorities in cultural, social and economic life and in public affairs, in particular those affecting them. However, the FCNM is silent on the issue of various types of autonomy, including territorial autonomy, have come to

be regarded as arrangements which facilitate effective participation and thus promote minority rights.

According to the FCNM advisory committee, participation in public affairs entails participation in elected bodies, participation in consultation mechanisms, in public services and the judiciary, in specialized governmental bodies and in decentralized and local forms of government, along with participation through cultural autonomy arrangements. While these provisions do not lay down the specific form that effective political participation should take as regards electoral systems and processes.

The “accommodation gaps” are also apparent when looking at differential treatments among EU citizens on the basis of, for instance, their ethnicity, language and religion (Carrera, 2016: 865-89). Just like autochthonous minority groups and EU citizens, third-country nationals and refugees are holders of fundamental human rights and once in the union’s territory should be offered a comparable level of protection from non-discrimination, hate crimes and hate speech on prohibited grounds of membership of a “national minority, nationality, ethnicity, race or religion” (Council framework decision on combating racism and xenophobia, 2008).

African Human Rights System

Minority issues in the continent of Africa became worsen and challenges human right protection. Even though, the domestic mechanisms of accommodating ethnic diversity play a decisive role to ensure minority rights, the African human rights regime is also important in the accommodation of minorities’ rights in the political institutions.

Thus, the African human rights regime profoundly rests upon the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights (ACHPR),⁹ the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC)¹⁰ and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (the Maputo Protocol).¹¹ These instruments

⁹ . African (Banjul) Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Adopted 27 June 1981, OAU Doc. CAB/LEG/67/3 rev. 5, 21 I.L.M. 58 (1982), entered into force 21 October 1986

¹⁰ . African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child OAU Doc. CAB/LEG/24.9/49 (1990) entered into force 29 November 1999

¹¹ . Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, adopted in Maputo, Mozambique on 11 July 2003 and entered into force on 25 November, 2005

together constitute the African Bill of Rights, Particularly, the Charter, which recognizes peoples' rights, provides for an intrinsic link between civil and political, economic, social and cultural and collective rights.

The African Charter is a regional human rights instrument designed to reflect the history, values, traditions, and development of Africa. The Charter combines African values with international norms by not only promoting internationally recognized individual rights, but also by proclaiming collective rights and individual duties. One's attention is easily captured by its more unusual aspects, of the concept of "people's rights" and individual and state "duties", and the inclusion of all three "generations" of rights in the same supranational human rights instruments. Thus, different clusters of rights guaranteed in the charter: civil and political rights; economic, social and cultural rights and group or collective rights were included in the charter.

The African Charter makes no reference to "minorities" as such, although it does refer to the principle of non-discrimination. However, in 1994, the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government also called for "the protection of the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of all our people, including national minorities, and the creation of conditions conducive to the promotion of this identity). Hence, article 2 of the African charter protects minorities' right, generally in the name of non-discrimination provision, stating that rights under the Charter must be guaranteed "without distinction of any kind such as race, ethnic group, colour, sex, language, religion, political or any other opinion, national and social origin, fortune, birth or other status" (article 2 of 1994 OAU Declaration).

In the only case dealing specifically with minority rights to date, the African Commission explained the significance of Article 2:-

"Article 2 of the Charter lays down a principle that is essential to the spirit of this Convention, one of whose goals is the elimination of all forms of discrimination and to ensure equality among all human beings. Likewise, article 20 of the chapter declares the right of all peoples to existence and proclaims their unquestionable and inalienable right to self-determination.

They shall freely determine their political status and shall pursue their economic and social development according to the policy they have freely chosen."

National Legal Frameworks

The normative frameworks safeguards the rights of nations, nationalities and peoples as de jure under 1991 transitional charter of Ethiopia (transitional period Charter of Ethiopia, Proclamation No 1). This incident was served as a paradigm shift from the unitary state in to nation-state building policies of former regimes. Thus, precisely the 1995 FDRE constitution of Ethiopia contains many legal frameworks to ensure and recognize the existed diversity in the country.

Likewise, to ensure the political representation rights of nations, nationalities and peoples, the FDRE constitution in article 38 (1), a, c and 38 (2, 3) acknowledged the electoral law that, "Every Ethiopian national, without any discrimination based on colour, race, nation, nationality, sex, language, religion, political or other status, has the following rights.....", (article 38 (1), a, c and 38 (2,3 of 1995 FDRE constitution). Hence, in the multi-ethnic federation of Ethiopia, this constitutional stated electoral policy in practice, do not ensure the right of dispersedly settled non-indigenous minorities in the political representation, appointment, use of their own language rights for education as well as for the official purpose.

Also, the FDRE constitution, in Article 5 and 39 (2) legally recognize the "language" and "cultural "diversity of the Ethiopian nations, nationalities and peoples. Thus, Article 5 (1) states that, "All Ethiopian languages shall enjoy equal state recognition." Likewise article 39 (2) also, states that, "Every Nation, Nationality and People in Ethiopia has the right to speak, to write and to develop its own language; to express, to develop and to promote is culture, and to preserve its history." Thus, constitutionally, all ethnic groups have the right to speak and develop their own language, to express and promote their own culture and history (article 5 and 39 federal constitution).

At the same constitution in Article 10, the human and democratic rights ensured equal constitutional recognition. In article 10 (1) states that, “Human rights and freedoms, emanating from the nature of mankind, are inviolable and inalienable.” And at the same article 5 (2) shows the equally valued in the constitution, which state that “Human and democratic rights of citizens and peoples shall be respected.” Also, FDRE constitution also equally advanced with regards to human rights protection under international law. Art. 9 (4) state that “all international agreements ratified by Ethiopia are an integral part of the law of the land”.

Besides, the SNNPRS electoral law, in article, 38 (1) states that, “Every citizens of Ethiopia without any discrimination based on colour, race, religion, political or other opinion or other status has the following rights: a) to take part in the conduct of public affairs directed and freely chosen representatives” (article 38 (1, a) of SNNPRS constitution).

Similarly, according to the Article 81 (1) of the SNNPRS Constitution states that, “The Zone or special woreda council shall be organized by the representatives elected for the zonal or special woreda council, including those elected for the state council,” (article 81 (1) of SNNPRS constitution), and in article 92 (1) states “Members of the woreda council shall be directly elected by the peoples of resides in the kebeles within the woreda” (article 92 (1) of SNNPRS constitution).

Likewise, in the SNNPRS constitution, article 104 (2) states that “The members of the kebele council directly elected by the peoples and shall be accountable to the people who elected them” (article 104 (2) of SNNPRS constitution). But, the non-indigenous minorities groups were severely curtailed in the exercise of their democratic rights to be elected in the regional and local legislative body, due to the electoral law of the country at the time, this required that for an individual to be elected as a member of the regional state council he/she has to be skillful in one of the indigenous languages of the region.

Thus, the issue of the political representation of minority groups and the requirement of the electoral laws has created bitter resentment amongst the intra-minority groups leading to the petition to the House of Federation, “Some even requested that they be deported to

their former place of residence as most of them were made to settle in the region due to the Derg's forced villagization and resettlement program" (Getachew, 2008: 12). Hence, the electoral laws for the political representation of regional minorities, the dispersedly settled intra-minorities were not inclusive.

Further, consideration of the southern nations, nationalities and peoples of regional state council on the political participation, the regional minorities (indigenous and non-indigenous minorities) can be seen from two perspectives. In the context of non-indigenous regional minorities, the approach is clear-cut. Non-indigenous regional minorities do not have any right of political participation in whatever form. In this multi ethnic federated regional state, method of accommodating the undeniable existed ethnic diversity, were create subjectivity, that ensure the right of self-determination, political representation, power-sharing as well as language and cultural rights, only for territorially concentrated majoritarian ethnic groups. In contrast, marginalizes and excludes the dispersedly settled intra-unit-minorities from political representation, self-determination, and use of language right and to develop cultural rights.

Likewise, the SNNPRS constitution in article 81(3c), offers the Zone/special woreda's/councils lawmaking power. This article stipulates that, "Without prejudice to the powers vested in the state council in this constitution, it the zonal/special woreda council shall issues laws on matters uncovered and that are consistent with the state and the federal laws" (article 81 (3c) of SNNPRS constitution).

However, it is not clarified which matters are envisioned here, but what is clear is that this is not an exclusive residual legislative power, but a concurrent one. Indeed, the constitution adds that the laws issued by a zonal/special woreda council have to be consistent with the regional state and federal laws. In other words, the zones/special woredas can adopt a law in an area which sets the competence of the regions but, as soon as a contrary regional and federal law is adopted, the latter will prevail.

Further, the SNNPRS puts the responsibilities to the local government should have, "ensured the right of the ethnic group to speak and write, as well as, to develop their languages, and preserve their history" (article 81(3b) of SNNPRS constitution). Thus,

the constitutionally granted right of language for the “nationalities”, to speak and use to write and develop through the education were ensured for different ethnic groups without partiality, but this constitutional granted right ensured only the language of territorially concentrated indigenous ethnic groups, which limits the right to use and develop the language of dispersedly settled non-indigenous minorities in this local administrative unit.

2.7.2. Institutional approaches in the accommodation of ethnic-minority

Cultural autonomy

Cultural autonomy can potentially play a vital role in the accommodation of dispersedly settled intra-minorities that do not have a territorial base of their own, which also, focuses on a particular type of personal autonomy that is limited to the self-government of cultural affairs in a wider sense, including language, education, religion, customs etc.

Likewise, cultural autonomy is generally speaking “adequate for minorities who live dispersedly settled in the country but have a strong political will for self-rule and articulate their claims as such. Thus, the community is entitled to different, wide-ranging rights in political, economic and social life, although these rights have so far usually been limited to matters of culture, language, religion and education (Gal, 2002: 8). For that reason, non-territorial autonomy can be granted to a linguistic, cultural or religious minority group as a legal entity (“cultural council”) with public law legislative and executive status and functions to operate as an organ of government. Therefore, it entails that public law powers and functions associated with an organ of government are decentralized to a cultural council.

The jurisdiction of a cultural council is non-territorial in contrast to national, regional and local governments which have a territorial jurisdiction. Likewise, the legal status and enforceability of a law made by a cultural council is the same as the enforceability of a law made by a regional or local government (Malloy, 2009: 665-79). However, the practice can be applied in various ways (Eide, 1998: 252). For instance, to ensure fair political representation in its institutions for dispersedly settled national minorities through non-territorial autonomy, the right of self-rule for culturally defined group with

regard to matters which affect their maintenance and reproduction of its culture. In such cases, as like, Estonia, autonomy is attributed to an institution or an association under public law, elected by the individual members, vested with a range of public, mostly cultural and social responsibilities, and supported by public funds (Art. 21 of the 1925 Constitutional law of Estonian).

Another way is by the combination of territorial and non- territorial federalism would, hence, address the aspirations for autonomy of various territorially concentrated and dispersedly settled ethnic groups (Lawoti, 2010). For instance, only, the Belgium and Russia federation in the world has granted both territorial and non-territorial autonomy options. Thus, the Belgian federation provides for the autonomy of cultural groups through the mechanism of cultural councils, in addition to territorial autonomy for the main language groups (Villiers, 1994) 194-207). In the same vein, the Russian Federation provides very limited decentralisation and funding to cultural, non-governmental organisations—these organisations therefore do not constitute “governments” in a public law sense, but rather a civil organization (Bowring, 2007).

However, both in reality and practice, granting territorial autonomy is the typical model of accommodating a national minority within a state (Benedikter, 2009: 56). This follows from the fact that many national minorities have more or less concentrated areas of settlement. Likewise, for the decentralisation of power-sharing system in Ethiopia, article 39 (2) of FDRE constitution has state the right to self-government were recognize only for territorially concentrated majority ethnic, but, exclude dispersedly settled intra-unit of minorities in all over the territory of one or even more than one state, nevertheless, the option is non-territorial or cultural autonomy. Similarly, there is no any institutional options (either that of non-territorial cultural autonomy) to accommodate the dispersedly settled ethnic diversity (intra-minorities) in the Hadiya nationality council. Rather, the intra-minorities have faced a danger of exclusions and marginalization from political representations, appointment as well as use and to develops their languages in education and offices.

Thus, non-territorial federalism can provide autonomy to dispersed settled intra-unit minorities. Further, the demerit of cultural autonomy limits the scope of power. It is

certainly conceivable that limited scope of power might be extended from merely cultural affairs to some social affairs in a broader sense, such as the protection of minor's sports and even some selected functions in health care and welfare matters (Ruth, 1996: 40). Some responsibilities, however, that are closely related to territory, such as security and the bulk of powers concerning the sphere of economy, can only be transferred to a territorial autonomy.

Merits of cultural autonomy are, first, prevents disputes over boundaries of the autonomous area and avoids both enclaves and exclaves. In this way no new minorities are created within an autonomous region, who might be confronted with coercive assimilation by the regional majority. Secondly, guarantees maximum individual freedom because it only applies to people who opt to be members and who are allowed to leave the autonomous community at any time without having to leave their homes. The last, is pragmatic merit of cultural autonomy, since some central governments consider territorial autonomy to be a stepping-stone towards secession, personal autonomy might encounter less resistance. Therefore, where the decisions of territorially based governments apply to all persons that reside within their territory, the decisions of a cultural council only apply to the individual members of the community irrespective of where they reside.

Shared rule at the local level

Shared rule thus has the dual aspect of providing ethnic groups with the political means to ensure its autonomy while bringing it within the political processes of the state. Experience has shown that excessive concentration on self-rule and the absence of adequate representation and influence in the federal institutions for particular ethnic groups may lead to disintegration (Watts, 1998: 29-52).

However, the success of shared rule processes and institutions is thus determined not only by their effectiveness in guaranteeing the autonomy of constituent units but more importantly in the role they play in promoting national unity and providing joint spaces through which the various communities can communicate (Rocher, Rouillard, and Lecours, 2001:196).

Thus, in order to accommodate the interests of dispersedly settled intra-minorities against majority decisions as well as, to promote inter-ethnic cooperation and integration, as well as, to resolve inter-ethnic conflict, mechanisms of power-sharing at local level of political institutions must therefore be developed. On this point of view as Horowitz recognizes that, “the potential of power-sharing arrangements such as federalism as means to reduce and impede the occurrence of ethnic conflict within a state” (Horowitz, 1985). Such mechanisms could take the form of political representation, appointment of non-indigenous minorities in regional and local levels of political institutions.

Hence, in any multi-ethnic federation, it needs to take into account the interest and rights of intra-unit minorities. As Preston King noted, account must be taken of whether the adopted federal arrangement prejudices the rights and interests of the non-dominant communities within the constituent units. Therefore, securing the dispersedly settled rights of intra-unit minorities which are created by autonomy arrangements is very crucial for the long term success of any federal arrangement (Ghai, 2001:22).

Indigenous conflict resolution institutional approach: Ethiopian experience

Indigenous conflict resolution institutions are locally organized institutions working according to the custom of the given society (Murithi, 2008). It is also long-persistent social practices, rooted in local cultural settings, aiming at resolving conflicts, reducing tension, and rebuilding peaceful social relationship (Tarekegn, 2008.: 11). Likewise, they are prevalent throughout the country at local level and it is the dominant justice system in the country, emanates from the custom of the people as practiced over long period, accepted by the community as governing principle (Pankhurst, and Getachew, 2008:1), and hence binds the society, a breach of which entails social reaction and even punishment (Dagne, and Bapu.H, 2013:1-132).

Moreover, according to the (Abera, 2000), indigenous conflict resolution institutions of different ethnic groups were the major body of law in Ethiopia for centuries. Similarly, the 1995 Ethiopian Constitution recognizes the independent validity of Custom law and functioning indigenous mechanisms of conflict management (Art: 34 (5) and 78(5) of the FDRE constitution and also the SNNPRS 2001 constitution stipulates and acknowledged in the same way on article 34(5), Art. 73 and 119 (1) (Proclamation No. 1/1995 of FDRE

constitution). Therefore, indigenous reconciliation methods were acknowledged by national legal frameworks and necessary for the restoration of social agreement of community in general and of social relations between intra-Zonal ethnic groups.

Thus, each of ethnic groups in Ethiopia has its own indigenous conflict resolution mechanism and institutions with certain peculiar features. These features, which comprise social traditions, values, norms, beliefs, rules, and laws, communicated and accepted among the respective communities for peaceful co-existences. For instance, from the very existence of society in Ethiopia, there are many traditional conflict resolution institutions which contributes a lot for the county peace and stability like, the” Gada” system of Oromo, “Shumagle” of Amhara, “Gudumale” of Sidama, “Gati Seera” of Hadiya and etc.

As like, others ethnic groups in Ethiopia Hadiya ethnic group has its own indigenous conflict resolution institution from the ancient times, known as “Gati Seera” (Administrative regulation of Hadiya Zone Council; 2014). This institution was historically emerged from the pastoralist life and the ethnic group move one place to place by the search of water and grass for their cattle and they formulate a common law to use required resource fairly in common without bias between them. Thus, that of their common agreement gradually became an administrative law in their common life.

However, before the emergency of modern conflict resolution institutions, this indigenous conflict resolution institution, resolves conflicts peacefully and administer political, economic and social affairs of the society. This, institutions has its own, structure, procedures and rules to guides the day to day activities and has a power and authority to de-escalate, reconcile, and resolve an intensified tensions and conflicts, and even to impose optional sanctions, on the escalators. Also, has its own council and assembly called “Dummichcha”, and the assembly has an authority of court of jurisdiction called “Hafa”, to judge, decide fair decision and resolve conflict.

Hence, in Hadiya ethnic group conflict versus resolution, love versus marriage, inheritance versus relationship, working cooperation versus songs, wisdom versus education were parts of “Gati Seera” (administrative law).

The institution has five basic administrative structures or hierarchy. These are Family/Mine/ which is composed of close family members and lead by family leader called “Mi’ni Dana”. It is the lowest administrative structure, which serve as stepping stone for other layers of administrative structure. Also, the second administrative structure called kin/Mollo/, which is an association of more the one close relative family structure, and the leader is called” Molli Dana”, which is parallel to the “Nafa’l Dana”. The third administrative structure called tribe/Sullo/, which is an association of kin/Mollo/ and headed by “Sulli Dana”. The fourth administrative structure called Clan/Giichcho/, which is an organization of Mollo and headed by Giiccho Dana. The last administrative structure called Giira/ ethnic group/, which is an association of clans and all Hadiya ethnic groups are headed by Giirri Dana.

Hence, Mine→ Mollo→ Sullo→Giichcho→ Giira shows the hierarchy of ethnic groups. Therefore, numerically, “Mine” is the small unit, but it the very essential, which serve as base for the emergency of society, whereas, “Giira” is the last and largest group as termed as peoples or ethnic groups and politically very dominate once.

2.8. CONCLUSIONS

Some federations build unity by setting aside or providing only limited room for ethnic diversity, others do not, that ultimately leads to conflicts which endanger unity. Thus, the middle ground of balancing excessive emphasis for diversity which in turn exaggerates differences and unity and diversity. By unity; regional autonomy, accommodation of minorities, minimization of conflicts among different sections of societies and establishment of a civilized and democratic community are among the most important current political issues in many countries around the world. Nevertheless, the above issues can be addressed by adopting federalism as a form of government structure which accommodates diversity and build a lasting unity simultaneously.

However, one of the arguments frequently advanced against the accommodation of minorities’; nationalism through federalism is that it may lead to the creation of local tyrannies. The Ethno-cultural minorities who constitute a local majority might view the

sub-unit as belonging to them rather than to each one of the sub-unit's residents. A possible result might be a "sons of the soil" politics encouraging and, perhaps, legitimizing discrimination against internal minorities in the framing of public policy, the delivery of public services, contracting, and public employment (Sujit Choudhry, 2008: 153).

The process of building peace through the principle of unity in diversity, it is impossible in a divided society, if where minorities are systematically excluded from political representation and from decision-making process. However, efforts should be made to facilitate their representation at all levels for effective peace building, for example in parliaments and other legislative bodies, Executive bodies including through the allocation of seats.

Accommodation the rights of persons belonging to minorities have been demonstrated to be effective means of conflict prevention and resolution, and of building stable, inclusive societies in post-conflict situations. If minority rights are respected based on the rule of law, all groups, regardless of their language, religion, culture or ethnicity, will be able to exercise all their rights on an equal footing and freely express and pursue their legitimate aspirations. However, in most countries, this principle is far from being realized and, often, long-term and well entrenched inequality, discrimination and exclusion are the root cause of many conflicts, particularly where the State is considered to be failing to act to remedy the situation or is deliberately excluding minorities.

The accommodation of minority rights, identity and culture can be strengthened through the introduction and promotion of certain forms of self-governance, including territorial or cultural autonomy. Ensuring the promotion of meaningful and informed consultation and participation and the management by minorities of matters directly affecting them as a way of protecting and promoting their interests and identities, is an effective means for promoting stability and integration in societies where minorities live. However, the basic features of Ethiopian federalism have an objective to promote unity in diversity. Thus, accommodating the diverse interests and identity of ethnic groups by providing the right for self-determination to accommodate minority rights are overriding principles and the most remarkable features of the Ethiopian federal system.

Thus, to ensure the political stability , in a divided societies, accommodation of ethnic diversity through ensuring legal frameworks, institutional re-engineering and by giving options of political representation, appointment, and right to use and develop their own language to the excluded and marginalized portion of societies, is very essentials in the existed political institutions. For further peace and stability of the country, through working within modern and indigenous conflict resolution institutions cooperatively, this gives long last stability and peace.

CHAPTER-THREE

3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF STUDY AREA

3.1 Introduction

Ethiopia is situated in the Horn of Africa bordered by Kenya in the south, Somalia in the South East, Djibouti in the East, the Sudan in the West and Eritrea in the North. It is second most populous country in Africa, after Nigeria with a population approximately one hundred (100) million according to the latest estimates and with more than eighty six ethno-linguistic groups. This ethno-linguistic heterogeneity characterizes the Ethiopia federation as a home for museum of diversity. Thus, the Ethiopian Constitution provide for ethnic based-federal government as the principal institutional mean, to accommodate the undeniably existed ethnic, cultural, linguistic diversities and their political claims.¹² Hence, to accomplish these purposes, the constitution has divided the country into nine ethnic-based sub-national states.

3.2 Some Important Reality about SNNPRS

Currently, the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples (SNNPRS), is located in Southwest part of Ethiopia. The region shares long boulder within Oromia regional state and to some extent bordered with Gambella to the northwest. Internationally, it shares borders with Kenya and South Sudan to the South and West respectively. According to SNNPRS BoFED, the astronomical, region is roughly lies between 40 43' – 80 58' North, latitude and 340 88' - 39 0 14" East, longitude. The total area of the region is estimated to be 109,015 Sq. Km, which covers 10% of the total national area, standing fourth largest constituency next to Oromia, Somali and Amhara respectively. Likewise, the regional state is the third largest constituency in terms of demographic share, which represents about 20% of the country's population.

During the Transitional Period (1991-1994), one of the challengeable issues was making and remaking processes of regional states. For instance, making of the presents SNNPRS was a contestable issue. Why, because, initially, the Transitional Government under

¹² HOROWITZ, supra note 20, at 603.

Proclamation No.7/1992 carved 14 Regional Self-Governments,¹³ however, soon after a year in 1993, five regional states were amalgamated in to one regional state.

Thus, due to the economic reason (to minimize administrative cost), the multi-diversified SNNPRS, were created by merging five regional units (7-11), without regional state peoples consent. These are Region 7: North Part of the SNNPRS (Gurage, Hadiya, Kembata, Alaba, Tembaro, and Yem). Region 8: East Part (Sidama, Gedio, Burji, Amaro (Kore), etc.). Region 9: Central Part (Wolayta, Gamo, Goffa, Dawro, Konta, Dirashe, Konso, etc.), Region10: South Part (Basketo, Murssi, Ari, Hamer, Dassenech, Yangatom, Tsemai, etc.), and Region11: West Part (Kefficho, Nao, Shekacho, Bench, Surma, Sheko, etc.).

Further, the region is extraordinary diversified in terms of ethnic background, culture, language, religion, etc. Evidently, the 2007 Census¹⁴ also identifies the existence of multi-ethnic ethnic groups in the region 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 other beliefs. Therefore, by many scholar's, it is termed as "Federation within Federation". At current the regional state was divided into 14 Zones and subdivided into 131 Woredas, 4 special Woredas and 24 City administrations. Implicitly, this division is the response of constitutional right to the self-rule for the ethnic groups, except for city administration and explicitly for the administrative purpose.

¹³ Art. 3(1) of Proclamation No. 7/1992, A Proclamation to provide for the establishment of National/ Regional Self-Governments, Negarit Gazeta 51st Year No. 2

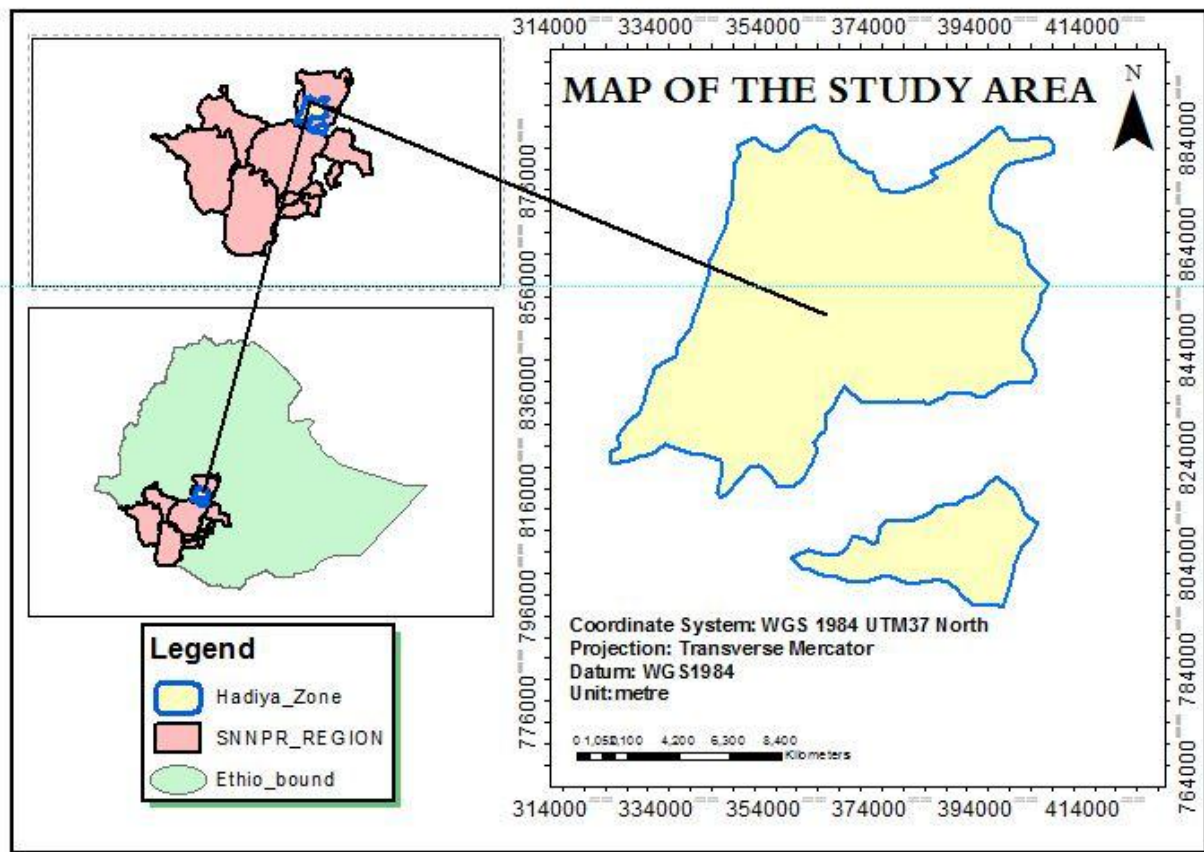
¹⁴ Omotic include: Ari, Basketo, Bench, Benna, Chara, Dawro, Dimie, Dizi, Gamo, Gofa, Hamer, Kafficho, Konta, Kore, Male, Na' o, Oyda, Shakicho, Shecko, Tsemay, Wolaita, Yem and Zeyse Cushitic include: Alaba, Arbore, Burji, Dasench, Derashe, Dobasse, Donga, Gedeo, Gidicho, Hadiya, Kebena, Kembata, Konso, Kusme, Mashole, Mossiye, Sidama, and Tembaro, Semitic include: Gurage and Silte Nilotic include: Bodi, Ynagatom, Me'init, Mezenger Mursi, and Surma,

3.3 The context of Hadiya Nationality Zone

Geographical location and administrative structure

The study was conducted at SNNPRS in Hadiya Nationality Zone, on the accommodation of minority rights. The area placed 230 km far from Addis Ababa (capital city of Ethiopia) and 146 km far from Hawassa the Capital- city of SNNPRS. Astronomically, the Zone is extended roughly located at 70 3' 19" – 70 56' 1" North latitude and 370 23' 14" – 380 52' 13" East longitude. The Zone is fully situated north of the Equator and East of Prime meridian.

Map, 3.1 Location of the study area



Source: CSA, 2017 filed survey

The area bordered on the North by Gurage zone, on North east and East by Silte zone, on South-east by Halaba special Woreda and Oromia Region, the same as on the West the

Omo (Gibe) River separates it from Oromia Region and Yem special Woreda, on South by Wolayita and on the South-west by Kembata at its immediate and Wolayita Zones. But Wolayita Zone at the near far is the neighbor of detached two Woredas; namely, Misrak and Mirab Badawacho. This Zone is surrounded with two major Rivers in the North East; East and West borders are Bilate and Gibe/Omo respectively. Because of the Zone's situational location at tropical highland, climatically; it resembles mid-latitude countries with an estimated area of 73,978.31sq.Km /4109/ hectares. From this 69% fertile land, 7.22% can be a fertile in the future, 7% of the land used as grasslands, and 8.78% covered by forests and the rest 8% of the land covered by different purposes.

Also, as it is an element of weather and climate, the rainfall distribution in Hadiya Zone is seasonal. The data obtained from Hosanna meteorology station shows that of 22.5°C annual mean maximum temperature. Mean minimum annual temperature is 10.4°C with three- agro-ecological zone of 19% Dega, 68.1% Woyina-Dega and 12.9% Kola.¹⁵ The amount of rainfall received ranges from 1000mm up to 1700mm. The rainy season begins from June to August. This shows that the temperature in the Zone is moderate except in very low points along the Gibe River valley. Then, the Zone experiences medium temperature or the climate in Hadiya Zone is mild tropical highland type.¹⁶ Due to the involvement of balanced agro-ecological zone, the economic activities Hadiya society is characterized by a predominant commitment to agricultural activities, especially the growing of enset ventrico sum, as well as the breeding of domestic animals. Enset cultivation/culture plays a key role in both economic and family life, and generates many distinctions at regional and national levels. The enset-growing peasants are accustomed to saying, with evident self-awareness, that “enset is our food, our clothes, our beds, our homes, the food for our animals, our dishes”.¹⁷

Currently, the administrative structure of Hadiya Nationality Zone is divided in to ten woredas and two city administrations. They are Lemo, Ana Lemo, Shashogo, Misha, Duna, Gibe, Soro, Gomibora, Misrak Badawacho and Mirab Badawacho woredas

¹⁵ Hadiya Zone Department of Finance and Development statistics (2018): Population and Development Main Coordination process. Hosanna.

¹⁶ Hosanna, meteorology station (2018), Hosanna.

¹⁷ Brandt S. A. (1997), “The evolution of enset farming”, in K. Fukui, E. Kurimoto, and M. Shigeta (eds.), Ethiopia in broader perspective: PICES13, Kyoto: Shokado Book Sellers, III, 843-852.

administrations, and Hossana and Shone city administrations. Since, Lemo, Misrak Badawacho, Soro, Shashogo and Hossana, were purposively, some selected intra-Zone woredas and city administrations, respectively.

3.4 The people

The Zone is characterized by extreme pluralism in terms of ethnic, culture, language and religion. Thus, it is inhabited by 90% territorially concentrated ethnic groups of Hadiya, and the rest 10% inhabited by the dispersedly settled intra-minorities. According to 2007 Census conducted by the CSA, this Zone has a total population of 1,243,196. But, the current Hadiya Nationality Zone Finance and Economic development Department population size projected, estimated to be 1, 660, 318 of whom 82, 6,023 (49.7%) are males and 83, 4,295 (50.1%) are females. From the total population of this Zone, about (87.1%) live in the climatic Zone where temperature is moderate and rain fall is high and fairly distributed. The highest concentration of people, 90.23% live in rural areas and the rest 9.77% of people live in urban areas.¹⁸

Many Historians believe and bring their evidences from different sources that Hadiya people belong to Cushitic family. The language of Hadiya nation has its origin at the East highland Cushitic language cluster. Hadiyyisa is speaking as a first language by 96% and 2.24% speak Amharic, 0.94% spoke Kibatissa and the remaining 0.82% speak all other primary languages. Regarding the religion today, majority of the Hadiya is Protestant Christians and believe in, single Almighty God (Wa'a), 75.35% of the population said they are Protestants, 11.13% are Muslim, 8.45% practiced Ethiopia Orthodox, and 4.31% Catholic Christianity.¹⁹

3.5 Ethnic Diversity

Uniting people from diverse ethnic, linguistics and culture is a founding principle of many nation states.²⁰ Throughout history, many leaders have introduced nation building policies that socialize citizens to establish a shared national identity and minimize

¹⁸ Hadiya nationality zone Finance and Economic Development Department (2018): Population project and estimated department of population development.

¹⁹ . Hadiya Zone Department of culture and tourism (2018): linguistics main co-ordination process. Hosanna.

²⁰ See also, the motto for the European Union is "United in Diversity," and "Unity in Diversity" is the motto for South Africa and Indonesia. Also, E pluribus Unum (out of many, one) is a motto on The Great Seal of the United States.

divisions across diverse groups (Alesina, A. and Reich, B.2015). These policies remain important today given concerns that increased geographic mobility may exacerbate intergroup tension amidst rising diversity (Bell, and Edwards, 2013). Some argue that exposure to new cultures evokes negative sentiments against outsiders and may incite conflict, particularly in the short run (Fearon, 2003: 195– 222).

In the case of Africa, the continent unusually characterized, by high levels and large internal variation in ethnic diversity. For this, the potential geneses can be traced back to the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods (Solomon, 2010: 3-9). Thus, the colonial state has been acknowledged to have had a major impact on shaping modern ethnic identities in Africa (Posner, 2003: 127-46). Hence, this genesis has two arguments; first, it is geographic in nature: for instance, Ahlerup and Olsson have suggested that latitude and/or temperature has an inverse relationship with ethnic diversity, in that warm tropical environments are ideal for growing food and thereby create few incentives for inhabitants to migrate elsewhere or trade extensively with other human populations (Ahlerup, P and Olsson, O. 2011). The second argument is the impact of slave trade. As Nunn argues the slave trade may have weakened ties between Africans and thereby inhibited the development of broader ethnic identities (Nunn, 2008: 139-76). Thus, the colonial boundary that African states inherited and maintained has resulted in multi-ethnic states (OAU Document).

However, the genesis of ethnic diversity in Ethiopia is different from Africa, which was mainly the resulted of Emperor Menelik's expansion into the south and west and the forceful incorporation of these regions into the Ethiopian Empire. As the result, with the expansion of modern Ethiopia was constituted as a 'mosaic' of multi-ethnicity, no more a 'nation-state' than any of the other products of colonial conquest which pressed around it to fill the African continent (Touval, 1963). Consequently, at the end of the nineteenth century, the Shawan-Amhara led conquest and expansion turned the religiously monolithic Amhara or Tigre Kingdom into a multi-ethnic and multi-faith country that we now call Ethiopia (Teshale, 1994: 41). Following his successful campaigns of expansion, if not conquest, to the periphery, Menelik sent governors from the center to administer the periphery. Hence, the land was regarded as confiscated by the crown, various

proportions being allotted to reward or maintain Amhara, and especially Shoa soldiers, officials and notables.

In the same vein, the introduction of the imperial rule in the South entailed two facets of domination over the conquered people. The first relates to land alienation where the northern rulers confiscated two-thirds of the southern lands, leaving the remaining one-third to the indigenous population. The confiscated land was divided by the state among the northerners, mainly among the Shewa Amhara, which included the warlords that led the victorious armies (i.e. who, in turn, subdivided it among their officers, soldiers and retainers), the church and all officials and agents of the state who served in the south (Teshale, 1995: 44). The second was the new empire's rulers were, whether by assimilation or inheritance, Abyssinians (habesha), and specifically Amharic speaking Christians: they forged a system under which, in many parts of its newly expanded territories to the south, class and ethnic divisions coincided, establishing a nexus or coincidence of potentially conflictual dynamics (Bahru, 1991).

In terms of ethnic diversity, the report of the 2007 House and Censuses²¹ shows that, there are many ethnic groups which live together in this local administrative unit. There is disproportional number ethnic diversity (intra- minorities); those who are settled dispersedly and live intermingled together with Hadiya ethnic groups starting from long historical periods.²² The existed ethnic groups are Hadiya, Amhara, Halaba, Kembata-Tembaro, Gurage, Silte, Wolayita, Danta-Dubamo, Oromo, Bahirawoki Masimasa peoples and others peoples are major once.

Thus, as like Ethiopia and South region, the history of ethnic diversity in Hadiya Nationality Zone was the result of Menelik II territorial expansion and settlement program. According to Bahru, Z. in the south, then, the traditional northern role of “malkagna” (representative, patron) was played by military settlers from the north, which came to be known as “naftagna” where the owner of land, political, administrative and military leaders becomes for long period of time (Bahru, 1991: 86, 88, 92-93).

²¹ The 2007, National Statistics Agency , the SNNPRS Branch House and Census report.pp.137-138

²² Interview with Grad Dagu Teito and Dagn, Dadach Mathewos Yadore, Misrak Badawacho woreda (shone), traditional conflict resolution institution leaders and civil servant, /26/ 01/ 2018/, Friday at 11:22 and 11:59

The Hadiya's traditions are characterized by a distinctive Muslim influence and tale of a migration of Muslim Arabs from the Arabian Peninsula and their mixed with autochthonous people in what is now Somalia and East Ethiopia, this constituting a new ethos called Hadiya (Braukämper, 1980:23-26). Hadiya nation shares common culture, similar history and language with most other Cushitic families those live in SNNPRs and throughout Ethiopia. Hadiya nation has very strong link with Sidama, Affar, Oromo and other Cushitic ethnic groups. Hadiya, Halaba, Libido (Maraqo) and Qebena originated from the same ancestor. Hadiya people are living at present in Wolayta, Kembata-Tembaro, Gurage, and Silte Zones and in Oromia Region. In Oromia Region, Hadiya people are assimilated and Romanized in Arsi, Bale and Hararge.

Likewise, the Hadiya, who call themselves Gudella,²³ are the remains of the ancient Muslim kingdom of Hadiya. In the same way, (Braukämper, 2002: 152-69) also argued in his literature acknowledged that, the Hadiya were also known by the name of "gudella", in a sense, which in the past has been used by groups of Semitic origin (Amhara) as a nickname to describe their degree of ferocity. Hence, the Amhara settlers contributed over time to the spreading and establishing of the legend of their ferocity. Therefore, as is true for many other groups deemed resistant to progress and a threat to the state, the Hadiya adopt a flexible and pluralistic ethos, and do as a good chameleon would do: they seek power by assuming the appearance of their surroundings, wrapping themselves in successive layers of protection.

However, the Ethiopian rulers made frequent incursions into the South with the aim of subjugating and Christianizing the populations and spreading Amharic culture. As the result, during the medieval period, there was an intensified war between "Hadiya Sultanate" and the highlander "Christian kingdom" in different period of time, Particularly, during the reigns of Amda S'eyon (1314-1344), Dawit (1382-1413), Yishak (1414-1429) and Zara Yacob (1434-1468) (Braukämper, 2002: 168). Likewise, at the

²³ .Gudella was formerly the name of the Southern part of Hadiya, for a song in honor of Negus 'Amda syon speaks of him carrying his conquest throughout Hadiya as far as Gudella. In a sense, during the war between Hadiya kingdom and Amhara in the medieval period, there was one legend, called "Urragga", meaning the Hadiya soldier kill the highlander soldiers, then cut and eat the tongue, and at the same time take away the males spread organ. This action, in Hadiyyisa called "Urragga". Those soldiers of highlander who are looked such a trajectory action, called "gudi yelega wotadari". After that, the Amhara ethnic group settlers gave the nickname of "gudella" for Hadiya ethnic groups in their social relationship; which describe their degree of ferocity; Guidi, 'Le canzoni ge'ez amarinna in onore di Re Abyssinia; R.R.A.L.ser, ii, vol. v (1889), song ix

time of Cecchi's visit (1878), Hadiya was divided into two principalities. The northern, called Qabena (Hadiya Wambe by the Galla), was an autonomous state under 'Umar Baksa, an adventure from Chaha who had made himself chief with the title of Imam. It was succeeded in 1878 by Hassan Enjamo, son of one of Umar's companions, who, allying himself with other Muslim chiefs in the, south put up a fierce struggle against the Shoan conquest. He was conquered by Fitawrari Habta Giyorgis and the country incorporated into the empire. The southern principality, lying between the River Omo and the Tembaro (called Hadiya Tufta by Galla), submitted peacefully to Menelik's general and in consequence obtained much better treatment than the northern (A Cecchi, *Da Zeila alle frontier del caffà*, 1885-7: 57).

Nevertheless, the subjected people were literally reduced to become tenants, and victims of national oppression: "from the viewpoint of the subjugated groups, such as the Hadiyya, it was considered as an act of colonialist expansion, which in its degree of oppression apparently surpassed European imperialism in Northeast Africa" (Braukämper, 1999:22). As a result, the period until the Italian invasion was characterized by a consolidation of Amhara rules, even if this takeover was greatly opposed by the Hadiya. Despite, the reason for this is the existence of Islamic groups and Sultanates deep in the heartland (e.g. Dawaro, Hadiya, and later Jimma) at a relatively early date (late thirteenth-fourteenth Century) may partly be explained by a strategy of self-protection: in these areas outside the purview of the Solomonic monarchy, conversion to Islam exempted the people from being enslaved (Abbink, 1998:113).

In relation to the Kembata ethnic groups that, it is the closest neighbors; there were open conflicts with Hadiya ethnic group (Grenstedt, 2000). Their historical hostility between them emerged around 1903 that, the region of Kembata (Hadiya) became known as the 'Province of Kembata', although the Kembata were in the minority. The tensions grew when the Kembata kingdom, around 1810, and the Christian kingdom of Showa, around 1870, began to expand. However, Hadiya and others numerically non-dominant ethnic groups were incorporating into the Kembata Awuraja. But, in the epoch of making and re-making Awuraja (provinces) during Derge regime by intermixing, both ethnic groups in to one Awuraja, "Hadiya and Kembata Awuraja" were created. So, during this period,

most of the political elite were from Kembata ethnic groups influence the administration and political system in this single administrative province, by excluding the role of Hadiya and others ethnic groups political elites.

Thus, historically, this local politico-administrative atmosphere (situations) have had putted a scare between these two ethnic groups. Therefore, due to these politico-historical factors, currently it creates exclusion and marginalization of Kembata and others intra-minorities groups from political representation, appointment, use of language and cultural rights.

The Danta, historically and commonly known as Dubamo are a relatively small ethnic group in Ethiopia estimated to number more than 100,000.²⁴ Dubamo is thought to be a “state formed in Kambata about 1550-1570”, and the “Dubamo people were known to have slave trade with Jimma even after the antislavery proclamation of 1923”.

The Dubamo were organized in a small kingship whose rulers claim descent from ‘King Solomon’ of Gondar, i.e. from Amharic nobility (Braukämper, 2005b: 202). They still maintain “a tradition that they came from Gondar about 15 generations ago” and “conserved an outstanding consciousness as an upper stratum tracing their origin to the North Ethiopian Christian area.

Hawzula is a supra-natural deity worshiped by all Dubamo in the past and still by some to date (Braukämper, 2005a: 363-76). The Hawzula spirit ‘speaks’ and ‘works’ through the Hawzulmancho, a hereditary Dubamo man on whom the Hawzula spirit descends and dwells on. Hawzula was the arbitrator, councilor and judge on all matters not only for Dubamo but also for the neighboring peoples including the Hadiya, Donga, Kembata and Tembaro but also as far as Wolayta and Dawro. The Hadiya are not allowed to enter the

²⁴ The Central Statistical Authority takes data only for nationalities that have been accepted, registered with and have seats in the House of Federation. Dubamo pursued recognition for all the 18 years of EPRDF’s rule and the case is still pending at the House of Federation. I was told that the Dubamo elders have talked to Prime Minister Meles Zenawi on one occasion and submitted their application to him repeatedly. The Dubamo are by design registered as Hadiya against their will, they complain. In the last population census, an orientation was given by the Hadiya Zone administrators in Sorro to register all people as Hadiya. A few Dubamo enumerators at the orientation rebelled right away at the meeting. Then words got out to the rural villages making it a serious problem. A handful of EPRDF cadres from Dubamo were thankfully called in to calm down their compatriots. It somehow saved the day but most Dubamo refused giving data as they knew the name Danta or Dubamo was not coded in the nationalities list in the population census form.

Fadoó – the house including the compound in which the Hawzula (and Hawzulmancho) resides.

Nonetheless, they are permitted to make supplications from a distance of perhaps more than 100 meters. Recently, on top of the already rampant grudge harbored by Dubamo, an attempt (perhaps real) to desecrate the Hawzula and humiliate the Hawzulmancho by the Hadiya officials of the Sorro district has yielded political overtones and a flurry of protest by the Dubamo. Many Dubamo confessed Orthodox Christianity after Menelik II's conquest in 1880s but evangelical Christianity has become the dominant religion since the 1970s (Michelle, 2002: 16-19).

3.6 Conclusions

The issue of ethnic-diversity is also the common feature of this local government. From medieval period of the time there was state nature, formation history. One of the prominent kingdom was Hadiya Sultanate, which its civilization and military based territorial expansion reached its pick and become decline and disintegrated due to the envisions and wars of Christian kingdom. However, there exists dynamism in the causes, manifestation and intensity of conflicts in this ethnic group mot as a result of the existence of diversity but the politicization of historic societal relation of ancient heartedness, ethnic diversity politicization and exclusions and segregations of those majorities indigenou towards those of dispersaly settled intra-minorities. Moreover, some of the long historic conflicts of these ethnic groups and the pattern of their relation has characterized in different way after the introduction of Federal system in Ethiopia creating even new bone of contention.

CHAPTER-FOUR

4 THE ACCOMMODATION OF MINORITIES IN HADIYA NATIONALITY ZONE

4.1 Introduction

The case study area dominantly inhabited by territorially concentrated Hadiya ethnic groups which covers 90% (1,108,532), from Zonal total number of population (1231196), and the rest 10% (122,664) are dispersedly intra-minorities.²⁵ However, there is a demarcation mark on this undeniably existed ethnic diversity, as majority versus minority, indigenous versus non-indigenous or titular versus non-titular. Due to this, the Hadiya ethnic groups are termed as local majoritarian, were as, Amhara, Kembata, Tembaro, Silte, Gurage, Sidama, Wolayita, Danta-Dubamo, Bahirawork Masimasa and others ethnic groups are dispersedly settled intra-minorities. In addition, there are two categories of intra-minorities, the first brands are, those who have their kin-states elsewhere, and the second, those who do not have their own kin-states elsewhere. The needs of all intra-minorities are not the same. The Danta-Dubamo ethnic groups are claiming for identity recognition, territorial based self-rule and fair political representation, appointment rights from local up to regional, federal levels government and to use and develop the language of “Kizegna.” While, the needs of others intra-minorities are for accommodation of political and appointment rights in local political and administrative institutions. Moreover, as majority of key-informants stated, these societies are highly “intermingled”, in a sense , the structure of the societies are highly intermixed and socially bonded with culture, marriage, language and economically and intra-minorities are settled dispersedly within majority of Hadiya ethnic groups.²⁶

However, even in the federal system of government, mechanisms of “ethnic-diversity accommodation” in their political institutions are different from state to state in the world. In some countries, like Switzerland, Belgium, India, Ethiopia and others recognize “ethnic diversity” as the base to build their own nation-states, and others countries as like

²⁵ The 2007, Population and House census report

²⁶ Interview with key-informants, especially, with Desta Bekele, Achamo Boke, Abatikun Lamboro, Assefa Bunte and others, January -February, 2018

USA, deny the internally existed ethnic diversity throughout the mechanism of melting-pot.

System of “ethnic diversity accommodation” in Switzerland, were constitutionally acknowledges the internally existed ethnic diversity as a principle of “unity in diversity”, which is stated in the preamble of Constitution that “Switzerland lives according to the principle of unity in diversity and in Article 2(2) charges the federation with the task of fostering diversity”.²⁷ Thus, the legitimacy of Switzerland on the one hand, is based on the peoples of the cantons, and on the other hand on the ethnic diversity of a fragmented and ‘composed’ Swiss nation.²⁸

As like to Switzerland, the system of “ethnic-diversity accommodation” in Ethiopia is based on the principle of “unity in diversity”, which constitutionally recognizes the internally existed ethnic diversity in the preamble of 1995 FDRE constitution that, “We, the Nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia.....strongly committed.....to build one political community...to live together based on the equality to build unity in diversity”.²⁹ Further, to strengthen unity in diversity, the 2001, revised constitution of SNNPRS states that, “We, the Southern, Nations, Nationalities and Peoples: ...to respect the existed ethnic diversity and to build unity in diversity....”³⁰ Nonetheless, the ways and means of accommodation ethnic diversity in the existed political institutions fairly is great challenges in the multi-ethnic federations.

4.2 Political Representation

The right to fair political representation is one of the rights that enable the large group of people to participate in decision making system of the public/government indirectly through their representatives.³¹ Likewise, as Williams argues for group political representation that, the presence of minority groups will not have an impact within majoritarian decision-making, the only hope that marginalized ethnic-groups presence

²⁷ Constitution of Switzerland: preamble and article 2(2).

²⁸ Thomas Fleiner: and Lidija R. Basta Fleiner (2009). *Constitutional Democracy in a Multicultural and Globalised World*: published by Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg , English translation from the German 3 rd. revised edition .pp.600

²⁹ . The 1995 FDRE constitution: preamble

³⁰ The 2001, revised constitution of SNNPRS : preamble

³¹ Beza, D. 2013: *The right of Minorities to political participation under the Ethiopian Electoral system*, Volume 7.1,p.1

will have a lasting effect on policy outcomes is that decisions are based not only on the counting of votes but also on the sharing of reasons.³² Additionally, beyond the opportunity to participate in decision making process, fair political representation is also a right by itself for group of peoples and even for loosely associated group of peoples to lobby decision that affect their interest.

However, according to the Young there are certain groups who have been largely absent from elected political bodies, and that we need to develop mechanisms to ensure that they are adequately included in representative assemblies.³³

To alleviate, this problem international, regional, national legal frameworks were declared to ensure the political rights of minorities. The international convention of Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), International Convention of Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and International Convention of Elimination All forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD) certifies and ensures the minorities rights for fair political representation. Also, the rights of minorities for fair political representation were recognized and ensured in the regional conventions of European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR) and African Charter of Human Rights (ACPHR).

Likewise, the practice of political representation of ethnic minorities in Ethiopia seems that, each ethno-national group recognized at the federal or state level has at least one representative in the second chamber (the House of Federation).³⁴ Similarly, to accommodate smaller ethnic groups in the federal political institutions the FDRE constitution certainly ensued in the article 54 (2, 3)³⁵ and in 61 (2).³⁶ However, the numerical criteria for political representation in both houses were undesirable for smaller ethnic groups, who are settled dispersedly at national, regional or local administrative units.

³² Melissa O. Williams, (2000). "The Uneasy Alliance of Group Representation and Deliberative Democracy": in Will Kymlicka and Wayne Norman (eds.), *Citizenship in Diverse Societies* (Oxford, Oxford University Press); pp.125.

³³ Iris Marion Young (2000), *Inclusion and Democracy*; Oxford University Press; pp. 628-57

³⁴ Assefa Fiseha, (2017). Intra-unit minorities in the context of Ethno-national federation in Ethiopia: www.utrechtlawreview/ volume 13, pp.180

³⁵ Article 54 (2,3), of 1995 FDRE constitution

³⁶ Article 61 (2), of 1995 FDRE constitution

In the same vein, to balance regional ethnic diversity in the political institution of state council, the SNNPRS constitution certainly includes regional ethnic minorities and peoples, on the basis of special representation, which were stated in articles 50 (2) and in article 58 (1, 2). Further, article 33 of SNNPRS Constitution ensures the fair political representation and appointment rights for all Ethiopian citizens who are living in regional and local administrative units.³⁷ Nonetheless, to use this constitutional acknowledged political rights, the regional or the local administrative units of internal immigrants mandatory, they should have fulfill the precondition of working language criteria of regional and each of local administrative units. Hence, these constitutional and institutional options were feasible, for only territorially concentrated national, regional or local administrative units of minorities, but dispersedly settled national; regional and local administrative units of intra-minorities were neglected.

Table 4.1 shows the Hadiya and intra-minorities ethnic groups affiliation in the local political institutions and its degree of representation at Hadiya Nationality Zone, & in some selected woredas and city councils.

no	Name of Councils	No of seats held by Hadiya ethnic group representatives	Percent (%)	No of seats held by intra-minorities representatives	Percent (%)	Total seats
1	Hadiya NZ. Council	80	98.8 %	1	1.2 %	81
2	Lemo W. Council	105	100 %	–	–	105
3	M. Badawacho W.C	108	92.3 %	9	7.7 %	117
4	Soro W. Council	129	87.8 %	18	12.2 %	147
5	Shashogo W.C	108	100 %	–	–	108
6	Hossana city council	54	87 %	8	13 %	62
	Total	584	94.2 %	36	5.8 %	620

Source: Hadiya Nationality Zone council and electoral district report of 2013.

The analyses in the above table 4.1 demonstrate the accommodation of ethnic minorities in Hadiya Nationality Zone, some selected Woredas and Hossana city councils. Accordingly, the first row presents ethnic affiliation of political representatives held by

³⁷ Articles 50 (2), 58 (1, 2) & 33 of SNNPRS Constitution

Hadiya and intra-minorities ethnic groups in Hadiya Nationality Zone council.³⁸ The 2013, in the 4th round local level election program of the Hadiya Zone electoral district report showed that,³⁹ with regard to ethnic affiliation, from the eighty one total council seats, eighty seats were occupied with Hadiya ethnic group representatives and the rest only one seat was held by intra-minority of Bahirawork Masimasa ethnic group representative. Thus, 98.8 % of the council seats were dominated by Hadiya ethnic group and by chance the rest 1.2% were held by intra-minorities. Hence, as majority of intellectual participants in the key –informant interview indicated that, equivalent to one woreda number of population, the dispersedly settled intra-minorities were marginalized and excluded from fair political representation and its decision making processes at regional and local administrative unit of political institutions.⁴⁰

Nevertheless, one of my key informant from Hadiya ethnic group, who is a political representatives in both SNNPRS and Hadiya Nationality Zone councils asserted that “...in practice, without any consideration of any ethnic backgrounds, descriptively as well as substantively, all intra-minorities, are fairly and equally represented with Hadiya (local majoritarian) ethnic group their political rights and chances of representation were recognized in the political representation and appointment system, based on their personal capacity and party discipline”.⁴¹

However, the collected documentary data from the whole selected case study area speaks in the above table 4.1 that, 94.2% of seats were held by Hadiya ethnic group representatives, and the rest, 5.8 % seats were also, held by intra-minorities representatives. Likewise, in table 4.2 below illustrates that, 97.6 % of appointment positions were dominated by Hadiya ethnic groups and the rest, 2.4 % were also held by intra-minorities. Hence, by chance, 5.8 percent of political representatives and 2.4 percent of appointment positions were held by intra-minorities. This is not an intention to

³⁸ The Demographic data of Hadiya Nationality Zone Council: February, 2018.

³⁹ The 2013 of Hadiya nationality zone, electoral district office, report.

⁴⁰ As majority intellectual participants in the key-informant interview, such as, Desta Bekele, Assefa Bunte, Dagu Teito, Girma Muzamil , Daniel Galide and others expressed that, the dispersedly settled of internal immigrants, literally called non-indigenous minorities were excluded and disregarded from the political institutions of local administrative unit.

⁴¹ Interview with Wro, Zenabach Eribeto, in Hadiya nationality zone administration, representative in SNNPRS council, representative in Hadiya nationality zone council and appointer in Hadiya nationality zone administration /09/01/2018/ Tuesday, at 3:21

accommodate Zonal ethnic-diversity, even; there is no constitutional (legal frameworks) security to ensure them. Therefore, the practice of political representation and nomination of appointment system were different from her arguments.

Contrary to above key informant, majority of Key-informants were disagreed on the above stated informants' argument, because the undeniable fact is that, as like Ethiopia, Hadiya Nationality Zone is multi-diversified local government. However, by missing these undeniable realities, in the 2013, 4th round local level election program others smaller local level ethnic political parties, like Danta-Dubamo-Kinchichila ethnic political party and others were excluded from competition, due to the deficit of local democracy in inclusive participation. As a result, the Zonal and Woredas councils and administrative positions were dominantly held by hegemonically aspirated ethnic groups of Hadiya national democratic political party affiliates. Thus, the above listed and others intra-minorities were marginalized and excluded parts of society in Hadiya Nationality Zone from political representation and nomination system.⁴² Further, the FGD were reflected the severity of Zonal socio-political conditions that; actually there is no political space in Hadiya Nationality Zone council and even in the woredas and city councils for intra-minorities, and intentionally, they were excluded from political representation and appointment positions.⁴³

From the above analysis of Key informants, FGD and secondary data's confirmation one can sanitizes the fact that there is marginalization and exclusion of intra-minorities; however as one of the key informant above mentioned "... the are fairly and equally represented with local majority ethnic group (Hadiya), their political rights and chances of representation were recognized in the political representation and appointment system, based on their personal capacity and party discipline", there is implicit ethnic politicization for exclusion and marginalization of intra-minorities' from both political representation and appointments where practices indicates ethnic lines for candidacies. The other evidence that showed the fallacy of the above assentation is under table 4.2

⁴² Interview with key informants: Ato, Abatikun Lamboro in Hossana city, former members of HPR, Wednesday, January 10, 2018, at 5:11, Desta Bekele, Danta Dubamo, part of non-indigenous society. Assefa Bunte, Achamo Boke, Da/ch Mathewos Yadore, Dagu Teito, Lemma Gezume and others'.

⁴³ Focused group discussants, Ato, Brihanu Mulugeta, Belay Tefari, Yodit Bekele, Denake Daniel and, others in Hossana city, /02/02/2018/, Friday, at 4:40

concerning the appointment in key-positions in civil service there is a relative representation from intra-minorities; which proves there is no personal capacity limitation on the intra-minorities. So, it is possible to generalize there is deliberate party induced marginalization of intra-minorities from political representations.

Practice of political representation in Lemo woreda

Lemo Woreda is one of multi-ethnic woreda's in Hadiya nationality zone. There are five largest ethnic groups in the woreda. They are Hadiya, Silte, Amhara, Kembata and Sebat Bet of Gurage.⁴⁴ However, while Hadiya, is the largest ethnic group, settled territorially concentrated form, whereas the rests of intra-minorities were settled dispersedly.

According to the report of Lemo woreda House of speaker, in the above table 4.1, in the second row showed that, in total there are one hundred five seats. The House was organized from farmers, intellectuals, entrepreneurs, youths and women. Likewise, concerned with ethnic affiliations, all of the seats were held by Hadiya representatives.⁴⁵ Thus, 100 % of the council seats were held and dominated by Hadiya ethnic groups. Hence, deliberately the whole political representation system of the council where controlled by Hadiya ethnic group with single party representatives of SPDM.

Similarly, as most of the interview informants from Lemo woreda⁴⁶, argued that, concerning political representation in Lemo woreda there is no political space, to accommodate woreda's ethnic diversity. So, the existed political institutions and its political-decisions were decided by the Woreda numerically dominate Hadiya ethnic groups. This process deliberately excludes and marginalizes the political rights of Woreda's dispersedly settled intra-minorities.

Therefore, almost all of informants stated, to reconcile and treat the totally discriminated class of society from political representation, it needs adjustment of the existed policy options, to fairly represent them in the existed politico-administrative institutions.

⁴⁴ Lemo woreda Finance and Economic Development Office, February, 2018

⁴⁵ Lemo woreda House of Speaker and Hadiya zone electoral district office, 4th round local level election result, in 2012

⁴⁶ Data from interview from indigenous and non- indigenous mixed informants with Adana W/Tsadik, Maza Getachew, Getu Beyana, Lubiso Tamire, Brihanu Tesfaye, Gadebo Sebo, Mohammed Girma and others argue there is political space to accommodate the existed ethnic diversity in the political institution of Lemo Woreda.

Especially, the electoral law reforms and freeing institutional space for them in order to achieve and participate in free, fair, periodic elections and to hold political seats to represent dispersedly settled intra-minorities and others disadvantaged groups. The dispersed settlement by itself added fuel to the fire on the majority winner -takes –all approach of local representation .So, there is a clear need for having a special arrangement of forging other options such as special seat granted for all intra -minorities so that for widening and making the political space inclusive.

Political representation in Misrak Badawacho Woreda

The other most ethnically diversified woredas administration, in Hadiya nationality zone is, Misrak Badawacho Woreda. Numerically disproportional and diverse ethnic groups were living together, from very long periods of time, such as Hadiya, Halaba, Kembata, Wolayita, Oromo, Amhara and Gurage. However, according to the House of speaker report of Misrak Badawacho woreda, in the above table 4.1, in the third row indicated that, in total there are one hundred seventeen seats and the members were organized from farmers, intellectuals, youths, entrepreneurs and women. With respect to the ethnic affiliation, one hundred eight representatives have Hadiya ethnic background and the rest nine representatives are from intra-minorities.⁴⁷ From these number of intra-minorities resprsentatives, two of them has Amhara ethnic background, one Kembata, two Wolayita and four of them has also Halaba ethnic group.⁴⁸ Hence, the House was dominated by Hadiya ethnic background representatives.

Likewise, most of the informants argued that, to accommodate the undeniable existence of ethnic diversity through political institutions, equally with Woreda’s majority ethnic group (Hadiya), there is no free, fair political representation, even the chance of being a candidate for competition is very narrow for intra-minorities who are dispersedly settled. Because they scrutinize from completion systematically by searching their ethnic line,

⁴⁷ Data were acquired from document of Misrak Badawacho woreda House of speaker office , January, 2018

⁴⁸ . Data were acquired from document of Misrak Badawacho woreda House of speaker office , January, 2018

thus the political space become much narrowed. Therefore, they are marginalized and excluded part of societies from Zonal as well as Woreda's political representation.⁴⁹

Practice of political representation in Soro Woreda

Soro woreda administration is home for different ethnic-diversity. However, the most numerically dominant Woreda's ethnic groups are Hadiya. Likewise, it is the home for different ethnic diversity such as Amhara, Danta-Dubamo, Donga, Kembata, Tembaro, Yem, and all others ethnic groups.⁵⁰ Thus, one of the political homes to accommodate this ethnic-diversity is the council of Soro woreda. Hence, in the above table 4.1 of row fourth showed that, in total there are one-hundred-forty-seven,⁵¹ Woreda representatives in the council. Regarding to the accommodation of Woreda's ethnic-diversity one-hundred-twenty nine representatives have Hadiya ethnic background, and the rest eighteen (12.8%) representatives have Danta-Dubamo ethnic background.

Hence, the house was dominated by woreda's majority of Hadiya ethnic group. However, from woreda's dispersedly settled intra-minorities, in some way, only Danta-Dubamo peoples were inclusive in the Soro woreda council, which excludes all others woreda's intra-minorities from political representation.

Nonetheless, according to the Soro woreda House of Speaker, Ato Temirat Bobodo, "Soro woreda is home and the most ethnically diversified administrative part of Hadiya Nationality Zone. In the same line, all Woreda ethnic groups have equal chance to political participation and representation and appointment, based on their personal capacity, without bias, and the constitutional provision of article 33 of SNNPRS is applicable in practice. Still, the claim of Danta-Dubamo peoples in Soro woreda, really is not the question of all the mass of its people, however, it is the interest of woreda's as well as Zonal ethnic-entrepreneurs. Because, from very long periods of time, both Hadiya ethnic group and Danta-Dubamo peoples live together intermingle and peacefully; and

⁴⁹ Interview with key-informants and participants in interview, such as, Dagu Teito, Mathewos Yadore, Abebach Haile, Zelalam Wolanise, Debaba Ayano, Haji Kemal Seliya and others, January, 2018

⁵⁰ 2007 population and census of central statistical report

⁵¹ Soro woreda House of Speaker, saved document, February, 2018

the current Woreda tension and conflict between them, were created by individualistic attitude towards political-ethnicization, for the sake of self- politico-economic gain.”⁵²

On contrary to the above assentation, majority of the informants criticized some of his generalization that, “all ethnic groups have equal chance to political participation and representation based on their personal capacity, without bias.” Nonetheless, the problem is the mismatch of theory versus woreda’s political practice. For instance, in Soro woreda administration, there are Danta-Dubamo peoples those who are settled dispersedly in seven administrative kebeles and others intra-minorities with Hadiya ethnic group, that they are strongly criticized the severity of political experience of Soro woreda as well as, Hadiya Nationality Zone, which inability of its political institutions to accommodate ethnic diversity, fairly.⁵³

From the above two opposing arguments of informants claim one can conclude that even the Danta-Dubamos’ opportunity of political representation is the result of ethnic struggle for self-rule and the continued tension from outside; it is not the internal will of the local political executives. Some opposes the view that local politicians claim the ethnic entrepreneurs and individualistic attitude towards political-ethnicization is what causes the conflict rather it is a long time continued quest for representation and inclusiveness by intra-minorities. So, still there is a practical need for local politician’s to create a room for inclusiveness, accommodation and representation of these existing intra-minorities fairly and equally.

Practice of political representation in Shashogo woreda

Shashogo woreda just like the above mentioned ones is one of ethnically diversified administration in Hadiya Nationality Zone. In this woreda administration there are different intra-minorities who are living with Hadiya ethnic groups for very long periods, such as Amhara, Gurage, Silte, Halaba, Kembata, Oromo, Sidama, Wolayita and others. However, according to the Ato Desta Galide, by missing this Woreda ethnic diversity, intentionally as well as systematically, the Hadiya ethnic group actors exclude them from

⁵² Interview with Temirat Bobodo, Vice-speaker of Soro Woreda council, in Soro woreda administration office (Gimbichu), February, /05/03/2018; on Monday, at 4:44

⁵³ Interview informants, such as, Bekelech Laphiso, Getachew Mirka, Asikala Bufebo, Demaka Chafamo, Alamu Shanko, Asankach Suloro, Adanach Yanore and others , January-February, 2018

political representation and nomination positions.⁵⁴ In the same way, the report of Shashogo woreda House of Speaker document recognized in the above table 4.1 row five that, from its total seats of one hundred eight, all the seats in the council were controlled by Hadiya ethnic group representatives, with a single SPDM political party members.⁵⁵ Therefore, in Shashogo woreda council, in terms of accommodation of ethnic diversity in local political institutions, there is no trend for inclusiveness political culture and multi-party system. The justifications for marginalization of these intra-minorities are: the settlement styles, population density, the magnitude of diversity and the hegemonic attitude (culture) of local politicians against power-sharing.

Practice of political representation in Hossana city administration

Concerning the city ethnic diversity, all Zonal ethnic groups and peoples were living together peacefully, for very long period of time; such as Amhara, Danta-Dubamo, Gurage, Hadiya, Halaba, Kembata, Oromo, Qabena, Silte, Sidama, Tembaro, Tigrie, Wolayita, and all others. Thus, according to report from the Hossana city council, concerning to the ethnic group affiliation in the council as indicated in the above table 4.1 of row six showed that, from the total sixty two city council representatives, whom are elected in 4th round local election, fifty four representatives have Hadiya ethnic background and the rest only eight representatives by accident are intra-minorities; from these, three of them are Kembata, four of them have Amhara ethnic background, and the rest one seat were held by Silte ethnic background representative.⁵⁶ However, the degrees of ethnic-diversity in city administration were more complex than woreda administrations. As majority of informants indicated that,⁵⁷ like the Zonal and woreda councils, almost all seats of Hossana City Council were dominated by Hadiya ethnic group and all of the representatives are SPDM single party members. Therefore, there is no political space for the accommodation of ethnic diversity in political representation of political institutions of Hossana city administration.

⁵⁴ Interview with Ato, Desta Galide, in Shashogo woreda (Bonosha), law consultant in Bonosha town , /29/01/2018/,Monday, at 8:31

⁵⁵ Shashogo woreda , House of Speaker and report of Hadiya nationality zone electoral district , Lemo 02 sub-electoral district , 4th round local level election result

⁵⁶ Office of Hossana city council, /January, 30/01/2018/

⁵⁷ Interview informants, such as, Cap/t Solomon Wondrad, Abayinash Abamo, Tagessa Daniel, Sintayew Mirka, Ermiyas Kebato and others

To conclude, the right of political representation and its trends in line of inclusive political system (Hadiya and intra-minorities) in Hadiya Nationality Zone, as well as, in some selected woredas and Hossana city administration councils, 94.2% of seats, were held by Hadiya ethnic group representatives, and by accident, only 5.8 % of seats were held by intra-minorities representatives. Therefore, the political and administrative institutions; political representation system and its decision-making process, in Hadiya Nationality Zone were dominated by Hadiya ethnic group representatives. As the result, a number of dispersedly settled intra-minorities were excluded and marginalized from political representation almost in all study sites.

4.3. Civil service

Employees in Hadiya Nationality Zone are individuals who are employed by civil service on their academic merits and proficiency. In fact, the office is non-political which runs supportive secretarial and professional services to the peoples.

Table 4.2 Ethnic composition of permanent employees in Hadiya Nationality Zone

No	Ethnic groups	Total civil servants categorized by Sex				Key positions held by civil servants			
		M	F	Total	%	M	F	Total	%
1	Hadiya ethnic group	16412	7627	24039	92	256	122	378	81
2	Intra-minorities	1391	686	2077	8	85	41	126	19
	Total	17803	8313	26116	100	341	163	504	100

Source: Hadiya N. Z Public Service and Human Resource Development Office, 2018

When we look the ethnic composition of permanent civil servants of Hadiya nationality zone, in the above table 4.2, categorized in to Hadiya and intra-minorities ethnic backgrounds. Hence, from the total permanent civil servants, 92 % of them have Hadiya ethnic background, and the rest 8 % civil servants are intra-minorities. Therefore, majority of the case study area of local civil service institutions, were held by Hadiya majoritarian ethnic groups' civil servants.

Also, from its total of key-positions in the civil service, 81% were held by Hadiya ethnic group and the rest 19 % were held by intra-minorities civil servants. Hence, the Hadiya ethnic groups' employers take the majority in running the departments, office than the intra-minorities. Therefore, unlike political representation and appointment systems, the

civil services of the case study area were relatively better accommodated even if it is dominated by Hadiya ethnic group. On this point of view as Assefa F. argues that, “intra-unit minorities in Ethiopia face political discrimination (they are not necessarily represented in the executive and legislative bodies of the regional state or local government and are often prohibited from running to public office as such institutions including the civil service is perceived as belonging to the titular groups alone) and administrative discrimination”.⁵⁸ In addition, most of the key-informants and FGD participants uttered the severity of bureaucracy in civil service that, even in the recruitment processes of civil servants, deliberately; the recruiter identifies Hadiya and intra-minorities applicants’, systematically. Due to this intention, most of the intra-minorities were unemployed in the civil service, and there is no equal chance for higher education.⁵⁹

4.4 Appointment and power sharing system

As Arend Lijphart stated that, in a divided society trend of inclusive appointment system and sharing-power for minorities in the cabinet, legislative, civil serve, through “consensus democracy” is an option to reduce ethnic based tension and to build stable political system (Lijphart, A. 2008). Because, consociational rules enhances the degree of inclusive appointment system and the minority group have a solid place in the cabinet, political and bureaucratic process as well as have a “veto” over certain basic issues that affect their vital interest. However, the appointment trend in Ethiopia, which was expressed by Legesse Tigabu in the literature review part that, has absolutely dominated by territorially concentrated indigenous majoritarian ethnic groups, which exclude the dispersedly settled non-indigenous minority. This assertion seems true for the case site under investigation.

⁵⁸ . Assefa Fiseha, (2017), Intra-unit minorities in the context of Ethno-national federation in Ethiopia: www.utrechtlawReview /volume 13, pp.177

⁵⁹ Interview with key-informants and FGD participants in the case study area, January- February, 2018

Table 4.3: The participation of Zonal Hadiya ethnic group and intra-minorities in the appointment positions, from November, 2017 up to the data collected.

Name of Administrative structure	No of appointers from Zonal Hadiya ethnic groups			No of appointers from intra-minorities			Total of appointment positions
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	
Hadiya Zone administration	60	12	72	–	–	–	72
Lemo woreda administration	58	9	67	1	–	1	68
Misrak Badawacho woreda administration	38	6	44	2	–	2	46
Soro w. administration	55	7	62	2	1	3	65
Shashogo w. administration	48	10	58	–	–	–	58
Hossana city administration	48	15	63	1	2	3	66

Source: Hadiya Nationality Zone Public and Human Resource Department, Feb, 2018

The above table 4.3 shows the appointment system in Hadiya Nationality Zone. The first row illustrates proportion of appointment system in Zonal council. Accordingly, in total there are seventy-two appointment positions in different Zonal offices. From these, all appointees have Hadiya ethnic background. Hence, one can conclude from data placed above in the table 4.3 that, the appointment system in Hadiya Nationality Zone administration, the whole appointment positions were controlled by territorially concentrated local majoritarian; Hadiya ethnic group; with single dominant party line appointers. In this situation, the dispersedly settled intra-minorities at Zonal level were totally excluded from appointment positions.

Also, the second row in the above table 4.3 shows that of ethnic-affiliation in the appointment system in Lemo woreda administration. In total there are sixty eight appointers. From this, sixty seven appointment positions were held by Hadiya ethnic background and by accident one appointment position were also, held by intra-minorities. This is neither an intention for diversity accommodation, nor a party channel. Rather, it is a matter of chance. Hence, as like as Hadiya Nationality Zone administration, the appointment system in Lemo woreda, were dominated by Hadiya ethnic group, with

single dominate ethnic party line appointers. Therefore, in Lemo Woreda administration all intra-minorities were segregated from appointment positions.

Likewise, the third row in the above table 4.3 shows ethnic affiliation of appointment system in Misrak Badawacho woreda administration. In total, there are forty-six appointers in woreda administration. From this, forty-four appointers have Hadiya ethnic background and the rest two appointers have intra-minorities ethnic background. This is because of an intention to reduce inter-ethnic conflicts in the border areas between Hadiya and Halaba, Hadiya and Wolayita, Hadiya and Kembata ethnic groups in Misrak Badawacho Woreda administration. Beside to this, the Woreda appointment systems; were dominated by Hadiya ethnic group, with single dominant local ethnic party affiliates. Therefore, intra-minorities were, almost all, were excluded from appointment positions.

Similarly, the fourth row in the above table 4.3 shows the ethnic affiliation in the appointment positions of Soro woreda administration. In total, there are sixty five appointers. From this, sixty two appointers have Hadiya ethnic line, and intentionally, to accommodate the claim of Danta's identity recognition and self-rule, the rest three appointment positions were held by Danta-Dubamo's ethnic background appointers. Hence, the appointment system of Soro woreda administration, were dominated by Hadiya ethnic group, with single dominant party line appointers. Therefore, intra-minorities were excluded from appointment positions in Soro woreda administration.

Additionally, the fifth row in the above table 4.3 shows that of participation of ethnic affiliations of appointment system, in the Shashogo woreda. In total, there are fifty-eight appointers. From this, all of the appointers have Hadiya ethnic background. Thus, the appointment system in Shashogo woreda, were totally controlled by Hadiya ethnic group, with single dominant party line appointers. Therefore, intra-minorities in Shashogo woreda administration were, totally, excluded from appointment system.

Further, in the similar way, the last row in the above table 4.3 shows that, the participation of ethnic affiliations in the appointment positions of Hossana city administration. In sum, there are sixty-six appointers. From this, sixty-three appointers

have Hadiya ethnic background and the rest three appointment positions were held by intra-minorities. These appointment positions, intentionally, lifted to accommodate the high power aspiration of Kembata and Amhara ethnic groups in the city administrations; without legal framework security.

Hence, the appointment system with regarding to the ethnic affiliations, even in the multi-diversified administration of Hossana city itself, almost all appointment positions were dominated by Hadiya ethnic group, with single dominant party line appointer. As a result, intra-minorities in Hossana city administration were excluded from appointment positions.

Therefore, the data speaks in the above table 4.3 that, the appointment system of Zone, Woredas, as well as, City administrations, 97.6 % of appointment positions of case study area dominated by Hadiya ethnic groups and by accident the rest, 2.4 % were also held by intra-minorities ethnic groups. As the result, in the executive or cabinet, the power division dominated by territorially concentrated Hadiya ethnic groups; with the single dominant party system. Hence, intra-minorities, all most all were excluded and marginalized from the appointment positions of Zone, Woredas and City administrations of Hadiya Nationality Zone.

Additionally, most of interviewed informants replied that, there is no anyone in appointment positions and chances to be an appointer from Zonal intra-minorities in different administrative levels.⁶⁰ However, some of the informants have answered that, there are some appointers in appointment positions as well as they have equal chances for them, equally with zonal indigenous majority ethnic group. Hence, there is no all-inclusive appointment space or system in Hadiya Nationality Zone particularly, for dispersedly settled intra-minorities, generally, for the accommodation of the undeniably existed ethnic diversity.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Interviewed informants' of indigenous ethnic group participants, such as, Gadebo Sebo, Sadik Kassa, Abere Guje, Melaku Timachew, and most of non-indigenous intra-minority participants such as, Mohammed Girma, Amarach Sodebo, Aschalew Haile, Takilu Tuke, Gizachew Lakew, Petros Haile and others.

⁶¹ Interview informant's, such as, Ajabush Wakalito, Tedalach Amanuel, Tireza Alamu, H/Mariam Eyobi and others.

Moreover, Assefa Bunte stated that, “most of the appointment systems were controlled by territorially concentrated Zonal majority of Hadiya ethnic groups”.⁶² In the same way Desta Bekele also expressed that, “clearly as well as systematically, there is a total discrimination and exclusion of intra-minorities from appointment positions at Zonal, Woredas and cities administration levels.”⁶³

Further, FGDs⁶⁴ have concluded the trend of exclusionary appointment system that, there is no any a legal framework as well as practices to accommodate undeniably existed Zonal ethnic diversity. Hence, antagonistically to the trends of all inclusive appointment system, systematically almost all intra-minorities were excluded and marginalized from local level administrative institutions.⁶⁵

4.5 Language rights in education and administration

All languages are declared equal and those who have their own states or local governments have decided to use their language in schools, courts and other public institutions.⁶⁶ Likewise, Article 39 (2) of FDRE constitutional provision recognizes for, “every nation, nationality and people of Ethiopia, have the right to develop their own language through education, speak, write, use for administrative purpose and preserve their own culture and history”. These constitutional granted right to language, culture and history creates fertile ground for only territorially concentrated nation, nationality and people, which is unfeasible for dispersedly settled intra-minorities.

As like others NNPs in Ethiopia, this local administrative unit was created as a “homeland” for Hadiya ethnic group. Likewise, the SNNPRS constitution puts the responsibilities to the local government to ensure the language rights of the ethnic groups in article 81(3b). By using this constitutional envisaged right, the Hadiya Nationality Zone declared the language of “Hadiyyisa” as Zonal working language in article four of

⁶² Interview with Ato Assefa Bunte, in Hossana city, Friday, January19, 2018; at 5:40

⁶³Interview with Ato, Desta Bekele in Hossana city, History lecturer and practicum unit coordinator in Hossana teachers education , January12, 2018; at 4:40

⁶⁴ Mixed FGD of indigenous and non- indigenous ethnic groups comprising eight participants taken place in Agape academy of Hossana City, Friday, February 02, 2018, at 2:00- 4:35.

⁶⁵ . Focused group discussion reflection’, Friday, February 02, 2018, at 2:00- 4:35.

⁶⁶ Art. 5; 61; and 54 of FDRE Constitution

regulation number, HNZA: 3/2/2/1995 and 4/4/9/2017.⁶⁷ In the same vein, the language of “Hadiyyisa” also, became functional in school curriculum, administrations, courts, local media (in F.M 95.3) and were using as Zonal working language parallel with Amharic language. In addition, according to the Hadiya zone culture and tourism department, from Zonal total number of populations, 96 % of populations can listen, speak, write and read Hadiyyisa language and the rest 4 % of intra-minorities cannot speak, read and write, but some of them can listen it.⁶⁸

Moreover, as majority of key-informants, interview informant teachers, principals and FGD participants showed that, from the time when, the primary education (grade1-4) has been delivered in mother tongue in SNNRS, the elementary schools education in Hadiya Nationality Zone was started to be provided in Hadiyyisa; however, the children of intra-minorities community those who do not know Hadiyyisa language entirely, were forced to learn in Hadiyyisa. But, it had imposed negative impact on their educational development in the future significantly. Subsequently, several children were enforced to drop out their schools. Nonetheless, to accommodate this problem, only one class opportunities were allowed in each primary schools of Hossana city administration; however, until now this problem in woredas administration schools is become salient.⁶⁹

Further, some of key-informants showed, since the language of Hadiyyisa proclaimed as Zonal working language, most of the intra-minorities employers those who do not speak, write, read the language of Hadiyyisa entirely, failed to interpret, as well as, to report their official deeds effectively and efficiently. Due to this, most of the employees of intra-minorities were drop their work. As the result, number of unemployment was increased and consequently, a high number of brain drains followed from Zonal administration. Moreover, the intra-minorities those who are not well with Hadiyyisa language entirely, they are unable to express their own rights and ideas as well their cases to the administration and courts. Due to this they are enforced to pay additional cost of consumption to the translators and they face psychological loss of confidence to bring

⁶⁷ Local legal framework of HNZA on the language right to develop and use

⁶⁸Hadiya Nationality Zone culture and tourism office, language stream, March 7, 2018

⁶⁹ Gadebo Sebo, Temasgen Nukuro, Desta Bekele, Dagu Teito, Kassa Tafeso, Daniel Galide, Melese W/kidan, Takilu Tuke, Tesfaye Ontoro, Capt. Solomon Wondarad, Aschalew Haile, Gizachew Lakew, Demalash Fikre, Nigatu Fanta, Denake Daniel, Yodit Bekele and others.

any case to the administration. However, in trend, to accommodate this problem, the Zonal administration was using the Amharic as working language in parallel with Hadiyyisa language, without legal framework security.⁷⁰ Hence, the obtained data from majority of interviewed informants indicated that, except, Hadiyyisa and Amharic languages, there is no opportunity for others intra-minorities to develop their own language through education, to use in Zonal administration and courts for intra-minorities.⁷¹

Table 4.4: The practice of language right in Hadiya Nationality Zone

languages	The practice of language right in education/school	The practice of language right in administration/offices	Remarks
Amharic	One class opportunity for that Amharic language as mother tongue in Hossana city administration; and one subject opportunity were giving in all Zonal schools from grade 1-12 th .	Amharic language is being used as equal to Hadiyyisa language in administration and courts, because of Amharic language were chosen to be as SNNPRS official language.	Because of regional official language
Others languages	–	–	–

Source: Educational Department of Hadiya Nationality Zone, February, 2018

From the above table; one can conclude that, only the language of “Hadiyyisa”; have got wide zonal opportunity for right to develop and use it; and in some the Amharic language has got semi-partial Zonal accommodation system (one class opportunity in only Hossana city administration, in which this problem is still silent in ten woredas administrations). However, the non-territorial autonomy opportunity is more advisable to protect the dispersedly settled intra-minorities language, culture rights. But, due to lack of care and concern from this local government to accommodate Zonal linguistic-diversity; the language rights of intra-minorities; were disregarded and denied.

⁷⁰ Achamo Boke, Assefa Bunte, Mathewos Yadore and ...others

⁷¹ Interviewed informants’ participants such as, Daniel Hundoro, Tesfahun Ayano, Melaku Timachew, Abere Guje, Getu Beyana, Lubiso Tamire, Brihanu Tesfaye and ...others, January, 2018

CHAPTER-FIVE

5 CHALLENGES OF ACCOMODATION FOR INTRA-MINORITIES IN HADIYA NATIONALITY ZONE

5.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with the presentation and analysis of data concerning the Challenges of accommodation for representation, appointments and language use rights of intra-minorities in Hadiya Nationality Zone obtained from the field through qualitative research tools including in-depth interview, key informant interview, and FGDs. The chapter basically examines the key challenges for the accommodation intra-minorities rights: such as lack of clear legal framework, nature of political culture; and its inter-ethnic relation, causes, aggregative factors and consequences of inter-ethnic tension and conflict between Hadiya and Danta-Dubamo ethnic groups in Hadiya Nationality Zone; and based on empirical data and finally approaches to accommodate intra-minorities.

5.2 Lack of Clear Legal Frameworks

Concerning the accommodation of intra minorities'; majority of the informants stated the first major challenge to accommodate ethnic-diversity of intra-minorities at the political institutions of Hadiya Nationality Zone, is the absence of clearly stated legal frameworks. The existed legal frameworks in FDRE and SNNPRS constitutions for the accommodation of minorities rights, which were granted in the different articles, by the name of "Nations, Nationalities and Peoples rights", only recognizes the political rights of territorially concentrated ethno-national, regional and local administrative units of minorities, while excluding dispersedly settled intra-minorities.

According to the Fleiner, Lidija and Fleiner, B. the "winner –takes- all" democracy or majoritarian democracy can have disastrous effects in a multi-diversified state, because, pure majoritarian electoral system establishes the ethnic majority as the permanent winner and renders the ethnic minority a constant loser.⁷² In this arrangement the

⁷² . Thomas Fleiner and Lidija R. Basta Fleiner (2009); Constitutional Democracy in a Multicultural and Globalised World: published by Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg, English translation from the German 3 rd. revised edition. pp.657

decision of the majority cannot be taken as a legitimate expression of the popular will and it may raise majority and minority ethnic tensions (conflicts).

Thus, according to research informants, the existed first-past-the-post-electoral system is the major constraints for exclusion of intra-minorities in this local administrative unit of political institutions, particularly, from political representation and appointment positions. Likewise, (Ato Assefa, Bunte. 19, January, 2018) informed me that; election and electoral system are a very important aspect of democracy and any constitution should ensure that the electoral system is not only representative, but also inclusive. However, the existed electoral policy with majoritarian system of electoral districts and votes omits the minorities' votes in the first-past-the-post electoral system.⁷³

Hence, to ensure fair political participations and representations right of minorities, the international as well as national legal frameworks has recognized citizen's right to participate in election without any restriction (discrimination), in which the criteria were stated in Article 27 and the idea of Article 2 (a) and (b), were stated in article 25 of ICCPR. Similarly, right to be elected for minority was recognized through free, fair and periodic election, in Article 2 (b) which was stated in article 25 of ICCPR.

Likewise, the right to participate in public decision making of 'non-territorial', 'non-native' people or 'non-indigenous' people in the federal government of the country are equally guaranteed as citizens of the country under the FDRE constitutional principle of equality and non-discrimination stated under Article 25. Similarly, Article 38 of FDRE and SNNPRS constitutions generally states about the right to elect and to be elected for all citizens without any discrimination with 18 and 22, above year's age limitation, respectively.

According to interview with Girma Muzamil, chief of Hadiya Nationality Zone electoral district,, "...the political right of citizens to participate in election, which were granted in article 38 of both the FDRE and SNNPRS constitutions, all citizens whose ages are 18 and above in both sex have the right to elect without restriction." In line with this, in the 2013 local level election program, as a citizens of Ethiopia, all citizens those who live six

Interview with Ato Assefa Bunte, in Hossana city, intellectual and former government official in different departments , Friday, January 19, 2018, at 5:40

months and above, as well as, those who have kebele identification card, participated as a voters (right to elect) without any discrimination.”⁷⁴

In the same way, as Girma Muzamil also argues that to use the “right to be elected” without any discrimination, which were ensured in Article 38 of both national and regional frameworks, generally recognizes all citizens of a country, and as well as, the candidates those who have fulfilled the legally stated criteria in article 45 of proclamation no.532/2007 of the amended electoral law of Ethiopian ensured the right to be elected. Thus, candidates those who have fulfilled these criteria have right to be elected as representatives for different levels of political institutions. However, one reality in majoritarian electoral system, were excludes minority vote (49%) of votes achiever candidates, only the majority vote, meaning, (51%) votes achiever candidates control the whole seats of the political representation and political decision-making system in different levels of political institutions.⁷⁵

Therefore, due to this the winner takes all votes’ electoral game system, minority votes and their political parties lose their seats in all levels of political institutions. Hence, according to him, the consequences of win-lose electoral game system at national level; have common result in Hadiya Nationality Zone. For instance, Danta-Dubamo Kinchichila political party is local level intra-minority political party in this area, which is a legally recognized and recorded ethnic, based political party, at national electoral board of Ethiopia. However, in the fifth round national election programs, the votes of Danta-Dubamo Kinchichila political party and others smaller ethnic based political parties were omitted by the votes of Hadiya national Democratic Party (HNDP), which is local majoritarian ethnic, based political party. Due to this, local level minority political parties lost their seats in local, zonal and regional political houses.⁷⁶

In addition to this, in the fourth round local level election program, the Danta-Dubamo Kinchichila political party and others minority ethnic based political parties, left from the campaign and competition, due to the deficit of local democracy and lack of clearly

⁷⁴. Interview with Girma Muzamil, chief of Hadiya nationality zone electoral district, in Hossana city; Wednesday, February 21, 2018; at 2:52

⁷⁵ Ibid

⁷⁶ Ibid

stated legal frameworks to accommodate their needs. Due to these reasons, smaller ethnic based local political parties lost their seats in the Hadiya Nationality Zone council and woredas and city administrations, as well as, at national and regional levels of political institutions.⁷⁷

Additionally, Abatikun, Lamboro argues that, one of the manifestations of democratic government is constitutionally inclusion and implementation of fair electoral system (law) for equal right to political representation and appointment of nations, nationalities and peoples without marginalization and exclusion of some parts of society like intra-minorities who are dispersed settled. Nonetheless, FDRE and SNNPRS constitutions do not clearly states for the inclusiveness of intra-minorities at national, regional and local levels who are settled dispersaly.⁷⁸

Moreover, Achamo Boke, one of the key-informant, was debated precisely, there is no “constitutional space”, in a sense that, there is no clearly stated constitutional electoral policy and institutional (electoral board) options to either to accommodate or to reconcile these marginalized and excluded parts of society, who are settled dispersedly. Due to this reason, the above identified intra-minorities were marginalized and excluded from political representation and appointment particularly, in this local government and generally, at national and regional levels of political institutions.⁷⁹

5.3 The political culture

Data analyzed from key-informants, in-depth-interview and FGD participants indicates that, the major manifestation for the existing political culture as one of challengeable issues for the accommodation intra-minority rights are: the existence of political entrepreneurs which affect political- culture and social-culture, the deficit of local

⁷⁷ Ibid

⁷⁸ Interview with ,Ato, Abatikun Lamboro in Hossana city, former members of HPR; Wednesday, January 10, 2018; at 5:11

⁷⁹ Interview with Achamo Boke, in Hossana city, civil servant and former member of HPR, Thursday, January18, 2018; at 3:19

democracy in local political and administrative institutions, and the majoritarian multi-party system or political pluralism.⁸⁰

Democracy enhances people's capacity to manage diversity and to design appropriate systems to suit various levels and degrees of democratization.⁸¹ Likewise, to enhance democratic culture and tolerance in ethnically diversified nations the political culture of elites or actors and the internal quality of democracy in the political institutions as well as electoral system, matters to accommodate ethnic-diversity in the existed political reality. Because, in a divided society ethnic-diversity can only flourish, in which, a political culture must oriented towards consensus and compromise. Similarly, as majority of interview informants indicated that, the hegemonic political culture of local majoritarian tranny, deficit of local democracy in the political institutions and its party-pluralism are the second major challenges for the accommodation of intra-minorities in Hadiya Nationality Zone.⁸²

Thus, to create a one cohesive socio-political society, political culture of political entrepreneurs also matters for the resurrection of social-political right, and to accommodate ethnic diversity in the political institutions of local administrative units. However, the political culture of majority tyranny, which is caused by antecedently formed social divisions and historical incidences, is very serious and worse social conflict.⁸³ Thus, the political culture of the absolute hegemonic aspiration of local tranny (Hadiya ethnic group of political elites or actors) in this local administrative unit is the most challengeable issue. Because, they are activated by creating demarcation line on the socio-politics relation of societies, as titular or non-titular or indigenous and non-indigenous, that is emanated from the very view of ethnic-entrepreneurs to gain the politico-economic interests.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Interviewed informants', such as, Balew Balayine, Fikre Latiso, Denake Daniel, Nigatu Daniel, Brihanu Mulugeta, Belay Tefari, Achamo Boke, Abatikun Lamboro, Desta Bekele, Dagn Dajane Garikabo, Girma Muzamil, Tesfahun Ayano and... others, January, 2018

⁸¹ Timothy D. Sisk (2001): Democracy at the local level the international idea handbook on participation, representation, conflict management, and governance. Published by international idea handbook series 4.pp. 13

⁸² Interview informants of January, FGD a participants and key informants Achamo Boke, Desta Bekele Abatikun Lamboro, Capt. Solomon Wondarad, Demakach Hirgo, Tesfaye Ontoro and...others.

⁸³ . Dudley Knowles (2001): political philosophy published in the Taylor & Francis library, 2001.pp.321

⁸⁴ . Interview with key-informants and the reflection of FGD participants, January-February, 2018

Moreover, other key-informants and FGD participants argued and confess as that, as like, Oromo,⁸⁵ Hadiya ethnic group is an egalitarian and solidaristic society, in which all ethnic diversity lives together for the long period of time peacefully. Though, the political culture of this society is, antagonistic from such an exclusionary socio-politics relation. This clearly shows there is no socio- cultural relational problem as there is long time historical relation rather the attitude and actions of political culture which is devastated by local political entrepreneurs sufficing there personal interest and creating dynamism social-culture.

Similarly, the second challenge of political culture for intra-minorities in Hadiya Nationality Zone is manifested by the deficit of local democracy in local political and administrative institutions. The local democracy is the place where direct democracy and sometimes representative democracy best operates at grass roots (local) level. Likewise, as the general doctrine of Rousseau's states, "...democracy is not merely a decision procedure; it is a way of taking decisions informed by specific values shared by all citizens." If it becomes the vehicle of particular sectional interests, it is 'acting no longer as a sovereign, but as a magistrate and its decisions no longer carry authority.'⁸⁶ Thus, according to my key –informants Achamo, Boke and Desta, Bekele, the reason for the practices of exclusionary politics, is deficiency of inclusive political culture; particularly, this behavior and practices were emanated from that of the hegemonic attitude and awareness of local level political actors towards intra-minorities' rights and lack of inclusive as well as effective institutional bureaucracy.'⁸⁷

The third challenge which manifest's the political culture of the case site is multi-party system. As political culture of political entrepreneurs and institutional democratic deficit; the multi-party system is also one of the critical challenges for the accommodation of ethnic diversity. The decision making procedures in which compromise-oriented bargaining and negotiation take place are based on strongly decentralised inclusive

⁸⁵ . It is worth noting that Levine's work (1974, 1965) has elicited strong criticism from the time of its publication, and remains highly controversial, particularly amongst Oromo nationalist circles, not least because of the kind of generalisation cited. Alternative sources for Oromo sociopolitical culture would include Mohammed Hassan (1994[1990]), and several of the contributors to Baxter et al. (eds.) (1996), particularly Bassi.

⁸⁶ . G.A. Cohen, 'Self-ownership, World-ownership, and Equality: Part II', *Social Philosophy and Policy*, 1986, vol. 3.

⁸⁷ . Interview with Achamo Boke and Desta Bekele, in Hossana city, January-February, 2018

political structures. For instance, the Swiss federalist political culture of “consensus democracy” could thus be defined as a principle that tends to recognise the majority as the procedure for arriving at minority-friendly consensus usually ends in a majority decision.⁸⁸

However, the practice of majoritarian democracy, the political decision-making process in Ethiopia, as well as, in Hadiya Nationality Zone is different from that of “consensus democracy” of Swiss. The severity situation of Ethiopia multi-party or party-pluralism system in the political institutions, as Legesse, T. Mengie stated is “... party-pluralism system were absolutely dominated by single-party-centralization”, in which, by excluding minority-ethnic political party and opposition political party from Federal up to local administrative units of political institutions.⁸⁹ In the same vain, the local political experience tells the same story of lack of minority right accommodation in representation and appointment as the political system as it lacks inclusiveness of ethnic diversities.

Though, the unkindness of Ethiopian single-party centralization system from federal up to local levels, further, were explained by, my key-informant Desta Bekele, He stated, “... the total control of multi-party system by a single dominate party, is the basic reason for exclusion and it resulted in the discrimination and exclusion of intra-minorities from socio-political and economic system, as a result, cause ethnic tensions and conflicts.”⁹⁰ Moreover; the political institutions were controlled by single locally dominate ethnic political-party of Hadiya National Democratic party (HNDP) and with its absolute-centralized political-decision-making processes. Hence, the currently existed inter-ethnic tensions and conflicts, especially, between Danta-Dubamo peoples and Hadiya ethnic group in Soro woreda, was the result of, the deficit of local democracy to accommodate party-pluralism at local political and administrative institutions.

⁸⁸ Thomas Fleiner and Lidija R. Basta Fleiner (2009); *Constitutional Democracy in a Multicultural and Globalised World*: published by Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg, English translation from the German 3 rd. revised edition. pp. 643

⁸⁹ Legesse Tigabu (2016). *Federalism as an Instrument for Unity and the Protection of Minorities: A Comparative Overview: Ethiopia, India and the US*, 10 Mizan L. Rev. pp. 265, 276-77.

⁹⁰. Interview with Ato, Desta Bekele in Hossana city, History lecturer and practicum unit coordinator in Hossana teachers education Tuesday, January12, 2018; at 4:40

5.4 Inter-ethnic Conflict

Causes, Aggregative Factors, and Consequences of Inter-ethnic tension and conflicts between indigenous and non-indigenous ethnic groups in Hadiya Nationality Zone.

In explaining the incidence of conflict my key informant interviewees confirmed that; the tensions and conflictual situation is also a common feature between Hadiya and intra-minorities ethnic groups in Hadiya Nationality Zone. The immediate cause for the prevalence of tension and conflict between Hadiya ethnic group and Danta-Dubamo peoples in December 22, 2017 was due to the Danta-Dubamo peoples were showed disobedience to pay yearly tax or land revenue and the debt of fertilizer payments to the government, those who live in seven Kebles of Soro and Duna woredas administrations. They said, “For whom we pay the land tax and the debt of fertilizer? If it is for Hadiya’s government, we are not part of this local government”; indicating their continued grievances of exclusion and marginalization.

As the result, the government police force enforces them in order to pay the annual land tax and debt of fertilizer payments. Consequently, they intensify conflict with police force and showed their grievance. Subsequently, as majority of informants confirmed, “the high tension and conflict between Hadiya ethnic group and Danta-Dubamo peoples were occurred and intensified in November 22, 2017 in Bona-Dibora, Gagana, Denta, Sibiya, Arara, Sonda and Hawora Kebeles of Soro Woreda between them.”⁹¹

According to the Adil Abagaz (Kassa, Tafeso,) one of the key-informant, explained “...during at night time, youths from the side of the Danta-Dubamo peoples, loot and destruct the schools and health centers resources, like blackboards, desks, books, sun solar, medicines, freezers and others medical equipment’s from Bona-Dibora, Gagana, Hawora, Soda, Hage-Dage, Arara and Meraka primary schools and health centers.” He also affirmed “...then, the tension was intensified and later, was de-escalated without

⁹¹ . majority of informants confirmed that, there was conflict between Hadiya ethnic group and Danta-Dubamo peoples in Soro woreda in November up to December, 2017

devastating capital consequences of loss of life through immediate collaborative effects of regional and local governments, police force, local elders and societies.⁹²

The root causes for inter-ethnic tensions and conflicts in Hadiya Nationality Zone

Scholars list multidirectional issues as casualties for inter-ethnic conflict; as Brown stated, the root causes of ethnic conflict is a phenomenon of disagreement over important political, economic, social, and cultural nature or issues between human societies.⁹³ Likewise, the data obtained from key- informant, FGD participant and interview informants confirms the root causes of tension and conflict between Hadiya and Danta-Dubamo ethnic groups in Hadiya Nationality Zone were the result of multiple and interrelated factors. Basically they identified four major root causes.⁹⁴

The first, cause is the absolute claim of indigenous Hadiya ethnic group for exclusive control over territory and political institutions, and its call of intra-minorities for accommodation. The second reason is the interest of ethnic entrepreneurs those who politicize the incidence so as to fulfill their personal gain. The third, most decisive reason is the claim of Danta-Dubamo peoples for territorial based rights to self-rule, and lastly, the deficiency of good governance and local democracy. As (Assefa, F. 2017) stated that, the tensions between the titular ethno-national groups that claim exclusive control over territory and political institutions at constituent unit and intra-unit minorities' call for accommodation has at times led to deadly conflicts.⁹⁵ Likewise, key informants⁹⁶, witnessed the claim of Hadiya ethnic group for exclusive control over territory and local political institutions, and the request for accommodation by dispersedly settled intra-minorities is the first root cause of tension in this local administrative unit. Because of most of the Ethiopia national or ethnic minorities live in their traditional homeland. Thus,

⁹² . Interview with Adil Abagaz Kassa Tafeso, traditional institution leader in Soro woreda: Bona-Dibaro kebele, Tuesday /16/01/2018, at 6:32

⁹³ . Michael E. Brown (1996). The international dimensions of internal conflict; Massachusetts: The MIT Press. Pp. 83

⁹⁴ Most of indigenous and non-indigenous intra-minorities of informants identified four root causes for the occurrence of inter-ethnic tension and conflict in Hadiya nationality zone, such as, the absolute claim of indigenous Hadiya ethnic group for exclusive control over territory and political institutions, and its call of non-indigenous peoples for accommodation, ethnicization of group political right, issue of identity recognition and the claim of territorial based self-rule, deficiency of good governance are the basic once.

⁹⁵ . Assefa Fiseha, (2017). Intra-unit minorities in the context of Ethno-national federation in Ethiopia: www.utrechtlawReview /volume 13, pp.175

⁹⁶ Interviewed with some of Key-informants' such as, Desta Bekele, Tarekegn Beykaso, Assefa Bunte, Temasgen Beykaso, Dagu Teito, Asnake Kifle, Lemma Gezume, and ...others, January- February, 2018.

there are the dispersedly settled intra-minorities in this single local administrative unit who are excluded.

Moreover, over the course of history these ethnic minorities have found themselves included in a state dominated by a major “titular nation”.⁹⁷ As the result, this local administrative unit of majority (Hadiya ethnic group) typically exerts political hegemony by the sheer effect of its demographic, economic, social and political power, on the intra-minorities. Such a socio-political structural relation in this local administrative unit often causes on the exclusion and marginalization of intra-minorities from political representation and power-sharing. Likewise, majority of FGD indicated that, since transitional period of time, all most all, intra-minorities were excluded and discriminated from political representation and appointment positions or power sharing systematically throughout history, due to deficiency of democracy in their local political institutions to accommodate the existed ethnic diversity.⁹⁸

Thus, intra-minorities are excluded from the administrative power-sharing on the basis of the ethnic identity. In this viewpoint the exclusion of the intra-minorities from access to political power led cause of inter-ethnic conflict. In this regards, Alemayehu clearly put that, the marginalization of a minority ethnic group by a majority ethnic group within a certain territory is another cause of conflict.⁹⁹ Hence, some of scholars argued that, descriptively as well as substantively, not incorporating minorities into political representation and appointment system, also, have the chance to increase ethnic conflict and reduces the legitimacy and justice of a political system.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, for the current ethnic based tension and conflict between Hadiya ethnic group and Danta-Dubamo peoples were one of the basic reasons, which were resulted from majoritarian trend of exclusionary politics.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ . Thomas Benedikter (2009). Solving Ethnic Conflict through Self-Government: A Short Guide to Autonomy in South Asia and Europe; published by EURAC Research Academy Bozen/Bolzano. pp.5

⁹⁸ Reflection of FGD comprised of indigenous and non-indigenous intra-minorities, such as, Yodit Bekele, Gashew Darise, Damalesh Fikre, Denake Daniel, Brihanu Mulugeta, Beley Tefari, Ababa Anito, Nigatu Fanta, and ...others, Friday, February 02, 2018, at 2:00- 4:35.

⁹⁹ . Alemayehu Fentaw (2009) :Conflict Management in the Ethiopian Multi-national Federation MA Thesis, Stadtschlainin, Austria: EPU.pp.55

¹⁰⁰. Ceils.K Meijer & Wauters; B (2010): Gezien; gehoord, vertegenwoordig? Diversities

¹⁰¹ . Interview with Desta Bekele, in Hossana city, Lecturer and coordinator of practicum unite in Hossana college of teacher’s education, January/12/01/, 2018/ at, 4:40

In addition to above, Ato Assefa Bunte a key informant quantified the idea by witnessing from his working and political experience that, "...before the transition period, the Danta-Dubamo peoples and others intra-minorities were political leaders at different administrative levels and political institutions in this local government, however, know they are excluded and discriminated from political participation in Zonal political system and its political institutions."¹⁰² Thus, this is the most important reason for current tension and conflict between them. Likewise, as Davies argues that "political stability and instability are ultimately dependent on a state of mind, a mood in society."¹⁰³ From the above assentation one can easily conclude that the federal setup of ethnic federalism which gives homes based on ethnic basis creates the in and out group which results in marginalization of in groups towards out groups. Therefore, as most of key-informants and FGD participants confirmed that, the rationality of inclusion or exclusion of intra-minorities and others disadvantaged groups within the political institutions is an essential matter for the stability of the political system in a given federation.¹⁰⁴

The second root cause of conflict in Hadiya Nationality Zone is linked by ethnicization of group political right. As majority of key-informants showed that, ethnicization of group political rights, by ethnic entrepreneurs or political elites is another dimension of the root cause for tension and conflict in Hadiya nationality zone.¹⁰⁵ In this process, political elites play a key role of ethnic outbidding and mobilization in order to gain local support and thus access power.¹⁰⁶

Similarly, according to the Garad Dagu Teito, the claim of Danta-Dubamo peoples for identity-recognition, as distinct as from Hadiya ethnic group, is not the interest of Danta-Dubamo peoples, rather, by "full of full", it is the interest of ethnic-entrepreneurs at local level to full their political and economic gain.¹⁰⁷ Because, these two peoples or ethnic groups are highly intermingled and inter-bonded by biological-marriage (blood-line), culture, language, economic activities, geographical settlement, and socio-political

¹⁰² Interview with Ato Assefa Bunte, in Hossana city, January, 19/01/2018/Friday, at 5:40

¹⁰³ . Davies, James C. 1962. "Toward a Theory of Revolution;" American Sociological Review 27(February).pp.5-19.

¹⁰⁴ . interview with key-informants and Focused group discussion, January -February, 2018

¹⁰⁵ . Interview with key-informants, January up to February, 2018

¹⁰⁶ .Oyugi, (2000); Politicized ethnic conflict in Kenya: A periodic phenomena. WO, Oyugi 54, press Addis Ababa, pp.6

¹⁰⁷ . Interview with Grad Dagu Teito, Misrak Badawacho woreda (shone), traditional conflict resolution institution leader /26/ 01/ 2018/, Friday at 11:59

relation and etc. This argument also, justified by Abner Cohen that, the conscious manipulation of kinship and cultural symbols by political entrepreneurs seeking for political gain.¹⁰⁸ Thus, machinations have been at the heart of many ethnic conflicts in the world. Hence, political elite or ethnic entrepreneurs have an essential role on the intensification of inter-ethnic conflict in Hadiya nationality zone.

The third root cause of violent conflict between Hadiya ethnic groups and Danta-Dubamo peoples was the issue of identity recognition and the claim of territorial based self-rule. Self-government makes it easier for members of a group to express their distinctive culture in political-decisions and outcomes. Likewise, as Patten, 2002, argues that, when a group enjoys identity recognition, it has a space in which it can exercise self-government.¹⁰⁹ Thus, to ensure the natural right of self-rule for nation, nationality or people, however, article 39 (5) of the FDRE constitution puts the criteria to be effective for nation, nationality or People, those who have claim territorial based self-rule.

Likewise, the SNNP constitution, in article 45 (2) identified the criteria for the creation of local government, such as the “settlement pattern, language, identities and consent of the people are very decisive factors.”¹¹⁰ However, according to these constitutional criteria, the SNNP council of nationalities has disproved the claim of Danta-Dubamo peoples for identity recognition as well as, the right to self-rule. Thus, as majority of the informants of questionnaire, interviewed key-informants and the FGD participants showed that, the claim of Danta-Dubamo peoples for identity recognition as distinct from Hadiya ethnic group was intensified tension and conflict between them in Soro woreda, recently, in November 22, 2017 up to January, 2018.¹¹¹

The first reason that the council stated for this decision, there is no distinct culture for Danta-Dubamo peoples different from culture of Hadiya ethnic group. Likewise, the decision of CoN that culturally speaking, the Danta-Dubamo is not different from the

¹⁰⁸ . Abner, C. (1974), *Two-Dimensional Man: A essay on power and symbolism in complex society*: London: Routledge

¹⁰⁹ Alan Patten (2002): *Democratic Secession from a Multinational State**Ethics. pp.568

¹¹⁰ Article 45(2) of the revised SNNPRS constitution

¹¹¹ Interviewed informants, key-informants and FGD, January-February, 2018

Hadiyas.¹¹² The second reason is linked with settlement pattern of Danta-Dubamo peoples. As majority of the informants showed that, they are settled dispersedly and intermingled with Hadiya ethnic groups for very long period of time in Soro and Duna woredas of Hadiya Nationality Zone.¹¹³ All most all of my informants recognized this reality. Moreover, the FGD showed that, this peoples are highly intermingle in terms of marriage, culture, language, common ethical values, methods of expression of sorrow, conflict resolution, social life like Idir, Iqubi, mehabar, as we as economical activities and etc.¹¹⁴

Based on the above stated second reason, however, the researcher strongly disagree with the idea stated in the Beza Dessalegn (in his PhD thesis, pp.225) that, Danta-Dubamo peoples are settled in a “territorial contiguity” in Hadiya Nationality Zone. Because, during researcher field observation for data collection and tangible information required from interview informants, key-informants and group discussants exhibited that, “... a number of Danta-Dubamo peoples were dispersedly and intermingled settled mostly in seven Kebles of Soro Woreda administration, such as Danta, Gagana, Bona, Sibiya, Arara, Sonda and Hahora Kebeles administration.”¹¹⁵ The settlement nature of highly dispersedly and intermingled is similar in Duna woreda administration. Hence, there is no a single kebele adminstration, those Danta-Dubamo peoples settled in a form of territorially contiguity or territorially concentrated in Hadiya Nationality Zone. The third reason was seen in light of “intelligibility of language”. As majority of key-informants showed that, the language of Danta-Dubamo peoples, in legend called “Kizegna”, was already dead or extinct, because, in practice there is no one who uses it to communicate each other’s even from ancient time in these dispersedly settled areas.¹¹⁶ Moreover, one undeniable reality is that from the very long periods of time the Danta-Dubamo peoples were fluently speaking and communicating with each other’s with the language of “Hadiyyisa”¹¹⁷ as mother tongue.

¹¹² .Decision of the SNNP Council of Nationalities on the Denta Identity Question, (Hawassa 21 Meskerem 2008 E.C)

¹¹³ .Interview with key-informants, Focused group discussants, January-February/ 2018 /

¹¹⁴ Focused group discussion with indigenous and non-indigenous ethnic groups in Hossana city; Friday, February 02, 2018, at 2:00- 4:35.

¹¹⁵ Soro woreda adminstration office and the researcher felid observation, January, 2018

¹¹⁶ Interview with key-informants, January-February, 2018

¹¹⁷ Interview with Ato, Abatikun Lemboro, Ato, Achamo Boke, Grad, Dagu Teito, Ato, Assefa Bunte, Adil, Kassa Tafeso and Desta Bekele, January- February, 2018

Though, the decision of CoN on the claim of Danta identity stated that,¹¹⁸ even though the language of Danta (Kizegna) is different from the language of Hadiyyisa, it is found to be similar to the languages spoken by the Kembata, Timbaro, and the Donga. Thus, the decision of regional state councils of nationalities, which focused on the pre-criteria of, “intelligibility language”, is also, another vital reason to disprove the claim of Danta identity recognition in the Hadiya Nationality Zone.

Further, the honorable Ato Lemma Gezume, the SNNP council of nationalities speaker, stated that, based on the above analyzed constitutional criteria of article 39 (5) and 46 (2) of FDRE constitution, as well as, article 45 (2) of SNNPRS constitution, the CoN decision disprove the claim of Danta-Dubamo identity recognition as distinct from Hadiya ethnic, and decided the Danta-Dubamo peoples as one administrative part of Hadiya Nationality Zone in twenty-first of September, 2016. However, by dissatisfying with the decision of CoN, they appeal the case to the House of Federation (HoF) and in recent time conflict were happened between them. In recent by the intervention HoF the case was studied; and the HoF also, disproved their claims (application) by majority vote system.¹¹⁹ This shows clearly needs of other policy and institutional options to accommodate this ethnic-diversity; such as; recognition of identity, non-territorial autonomy, power-sharing and accommodation.

The forth most decisive politico-economic cause for tension between Hadiya ethnic group and intra-minorities, were lack of good governance. The good governance has thus also been universally defined as including inclusive decision-making processes, under the principle of accountability and transparency. However, Sisay as elaborated inefficiencies of the good governance become another factor for conflict. Thus, the government officials, especially those at local level are promoting the ruling party’s political agenda and misuse their political power, rather than addressing their communities’ needs and focusing on development agenda.¹²⁰ Hence, as majority of informants indicated that, Poor

¹¹⁸ Decision of the SNNP Council of Nationalities on the Denta Identity Question, (Hawassa 21 Meskerem 2008 E.C)

¹¹⁹ Interview with Honorable Ato Lemma Gezume, the SNNP council of nationalities speaker; Hawassa, Wednesday, February 04, 2018

¹²⁰ . Sisay Gebre Egzaber (2007).What role should civil society organization play to address ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia: the challenges and opportunities for peace & development in Ethiopia & Northeast Africa, on the fourth international conference on Ethiopian Development Studies (4thICEDS), Haworth College of Business, Western Michigan University, and Kalamazoo, USA.

infrastructures and service delivery because of deficiency of good governance, which is mainly linked by unfair distributive justice and its hegemonic political decisions-making processes of local tyranny.

Moreover, the existed severity of infrastructures and service delivery, precisely, were explained by Adil Abagaz Kassa Tafeso, traditional conflict resolution leader in the tension and conflictual area that, there is no good roads which connects us, by Gimbichu town (capital of Soro woreda administration) and with Hossana city (capital of Hadiya nationality zone). Also, there is no secondary schools, and even the existed primary schools are not well qualified due to this, to get the secondary education, our children have enforced go to Gimbichu secondary school, which is far away about fifteen (15) km from us. In the same vein, there is no access to the electric city service, due to this obstacle; our children, obligatorily, were using “Kurazi” to study their lesson. Thus, they have recording poor academic achievements in their education and most of them were faced by trachoma. In addition, there is shortage of clean water and standardized health centers. Hence, the inability of this local administrative unit to provide qualified infrastructures and service delivery due to lack of fair distribution of resources were common problem for Hadiya ethnic group and intra-minorities in Soro Woreda.

The last, reason is that the Danta-Dubamo peoples dissatisfied in the language issue in the educational system and they confronted with administration in the claiming to respect the right of children to learn with their native language (Kizegna). In this regard, the Danta-Dubamo’s students showed grievances not to learn their primary education with Hadiyyisa language. They expelled Hadiyyisa teachers from classrooms not to teach Hadiyyisa language and they break down the blackboard in to piece to piece. In addition to this, they protested strongly that they were unable to follow their cases in Woreda offices particularly in courts by themselves and if not speak in Amharic; they were forced to call translation of other people.

Therefore, the claim of Hadiya ethnic group for exclusive control over territory and political institutions, and its call for accommodation, interest of ethnic entrepreneurs, the claim of Danta-Dubamo peoples for territorial based rights to self-rule and the deficiency

of good governance; and language rights are the major root causes of tension and conflict in Hadiya Nationality Zone.

Aggravating factors of inter-ethnic tensions and conflicts in Hadiya Nationality Zone

The irritating factors of ethnic tensions and conflicts have different reasons. According to interviewees with key-informants and FGD pointed that the aggravating factors of tension and conflict were somehow related to the major causes of the conflict. In this point of view as Mesfin confirmed that, actors due to the deliberate manipulation of ethnic sentiments and identities, ethnic elite's propagation a pan-ethnic consciousness has been identified as crucial in this regard to secure economic and political advantages.¹²¹ Thus, in these view actors of this conflict was enterprise from their ethnic sentiments to achieve the groups' curiosity.

Generally; According to interview with chief of Zone police department and key-informants mentioned that the main aggravating actors were internally and externally. Internally, the most important actors are corrupted and expelled former zone, woreda, Kebeles and goti administrators, the Danta-Dubamo's ethnic line civil servants in different Woredas and Zone, Region and Federal civil services and tribe as well as elder's leaders from the side of Danta-Dubamo peoples, who have high aspiration for the achievement of Danta's ethnic identity recognition. Hence, some of Danta-Dubamo tribe leaders and elder's activated their kin as provoking actors for ex-soldiers, illegal returnee from defense force, unemployed and employed youths. Antagonistically, also internal actors of Hadiya ethnic group, especially, from Soro clan leaders, elders, employed and unemployed youths.¹²² Likewise, all interviewee informants, key-informants and majority of FGD participants stated two externally aggravating actors. The first, external actors were the kin/natives ethnic entrepreneurs or political elites who are living elsewhere in the country, and abroad were taking their own identity as provoking notion in the tension and conflict, by funding finance for the triumph of the so-called recognition of Danta-Dubamo's identity where they born. This high aspiration of kin/native Danta-Dubamo's

¹²¹ . Mesfin Getachew (2006). Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict in Post Federal Ethiopia: A case of Mai'so District Conflict between Oromos and Somalis. Stadtschlainin Austria: EPU Vol.3 PP. 11

¹²² . Interview with chief of Zone Police Department and key-informants, January- February, 2018

local political elites to gain politico-economic interest, they fuelled and facilitate conflict to be worsen, and even they also showed lacks of interest to take action to stop it once it erupts.

The second, external actors were the ambition of invisible hands from adjacent local government, especially from Kembata Tembaro Zone calls for incorporation to expand their territory and number of population, because, there are historical hostility between Hadiya and Kembata ethnic groups.¹²³ Intentionally, by using historical hostility factor, some invisible companies came to the conflict areas secretly and agitated Danta-Dubamo peoples for claiming their identity recognition and territorial demarcation, further by saying; “If the identity were recognized and demarcated, we will be unified , because, we are the same with culture and the language of Danta-Dubamo (Kizegna) is all most all the same and similar with the language of Kembata (Kebatisa)”, as like the decision of SNNP CoN argued.¹²⁴

Hence, the Zonal administration will guarantee special support by constructing suitable infrastructures like access to electricity, clean water, standardized roads and health centers, schools , food security, security as well as, access to education of their children by Kizegna language, others good service delivery.” Therefore, these internal, external and others actors were fueled and intensified the tension and conflict in the study area.

Consequences of inter-ethnic tension and conflict in Hadiya Nationality Zone

Every exclusionary politics and ethnic-based tension and conflict has its own consequences on socio-economic and political activities. On this standpoint as, Alexander described the consequences of the conflict as conflict is undesirable. In its violent form, it claims the lives of many people, destroys property, and diverts human as well as financial resources away from development. This inter-ethnic tension and conflict between Hadiya and Danta-Dubamo peoples in Hadiya Nationality Zone has an impact on political, human right, economic and social consequences.

¹²³ .All of the informants, especially three council’s representatives, four intellectuals, chief of Zone security department and majority of FGD participants, January- February, 2018

¹²⁴ Decision of the SNNP Council of Nationalities on the Denta Identity Question, argued that, even though the language of Denta (Kizegna) is different from the language of Hadiyigna, it is found to be similar to the languages spoken by the Kembata, Timbaro, and the Donga. (Hawassa 21 Meskerem 2008 E.C)

Political impacts

Diverse socio-economic and cultural concerns are often mixed with political issues related to the status of minority groups.¹²⁵ As each group wants to maximize its influence in a tense stalemate, a struggle for dominance is not easily agreeable to quick resolution. Thus, intra-minorities faces more on the political marginalized and excluded, instability and people lose the confidence they have on their government.

Impact on Human rights

Conflicts can bring about physical, psychological or emotional damage. Likewise, violent conflict encouraged by dehumanization process is designed to cause harm to other conflict participants.¹²⁶ As a result of inter-ethnic conflict between Denta –Dubamo and Hadiya Ethnic group many people were migrated to the Duna woreda, Kembata Tembaro Zone, Donga Zone and elsewhere from this conflictual area.

Table 5.1 indicates number of arrested and injured persons resulted by ethnic based tension and conflict between Hadiya ethnic group and Danta-Dubamo peoples in Soro woreda.

No	Number of arrested and injured persons	sex			Address	Remarks
		M	F	Total		
		1	Arrested	2		
2	Injured	–	1	1	>>	
Tota		2	1	3		

Source: Gagana kebele administration. Feb, 2018

According to the report of Gagana kebele adminstration, two males and one female, in total, three peoples were arrested and injured during this inter-ethnic conflict.

¹²⁵ Ross, M. H. (2007) Cultural Contestation in Ethnic Conflict. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

¹²⁶ . Kellett, P.M. and Dalton, D. G. (2001) Managing Conflict in a Negotiated World. London: Sage.

Economic impacts

Tension and conflict highly affect the various economic sectors; in general and it leads to economic decline of the whole country. Likewise, exclusionary politics are associated with high levels of violence and poor development outcomes.¹²⁷ Thus, destruction, looting and destroying of property, homes and farms, dependency, individuals lose jobs; businesses cease to operate or operate at reduced frequency in fear of looting, economic sectors come to a stands till in the area. Hence, intra and inter-societies and local government trade and market system, were not operative during this inter-ethnic conflict, particularly, in Soro woreda. In general, economic stagnation, were created, zonal, woredas economic growth and development were negatively affected.

Table 5.2 shows number of looted and destructed school resources in Soro woreda.

Impacts of tension & conflict	Items	Unit of quantity	Name of schools							Total
			Arara	Bona-Dibora	Gagana	Hawo-ra	Hage-Dage	Meraka	Soda	
Looted	Solar	In <u>no</u>	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
	Microphone	In <u>no</u>	–	–	–	–	1	-	–	1
Destructed	Blackboard	In <u>no</u>	1	5	3	2	2	4	3	20
	books	In <u>no</u>	5	15	6	8	4	5	8	51
	Chairs,	In <u>no</u>	2	5	3	4	2	2	3	21
Closed schools		In weeks	one week	one week	One w/k	one w/k	one week	one week	one w/k	one week

Source: Each kebeles administrative office, February, 2018.

According to the above table 5.2, the 1st and 2nd rows shows that, in total two properties were looted from Bona Dibora and Hage-Dage primary schools. However, the 3rd, 4th and 5th rows indicates that, twenty blackboards, fifty one books, twenty one chairs and tables,

¹²⁷ Hesselbein, Gabi (forthcoming) the Economic Foundations of State-building and State Failure: A Political Economy of Sub-Saharan African States; Beall, Jo and Ngonyama, Mduduzi (2009) Indigenous Institutions, traditional Leaders and Elite Coalitions for Development: the Case of Greater Durban, South Africa, Crisis States Research Centre, Working Paper No 55 (series 2); Chandhoke, Neera (forthcoming) Some Reflections on the Notion of an 'Inclusive Elite Pact': A Perspective from Ahmedabad, Crisis States Research Centre; Good fellow, Thomas (2010) the Bastard Child of Nobody? Anti-Planning and the Institutional Crisis in Contemporary Kampala, Crisis States Research Centre, Working Paper No 67 (series 2); Gazdar, Haris and Sobia Ahmad Kaker (forthcoming) Policy Choices and the Politics of State-Building—Insights from three Cities in Pakistan, Crisis States Research Centre.

in total 92 different schools resources were destructed, and eight of the primary schools were closed almost for one week.

Table 5.3, shows looted and destructed properties from different health centers in Soro Woreda

Impacts of conflict	Items	Unit of quantity	Name of health centers						
			Arara-Meraka	Bona-Dibora	Gagana	Haw-ora	Hage-Dage	Soda	Total
looted	medicine	In packet	2	5	4	3	1	4	19
	Pilapelate	>>	1	4	2	5	1	1	14
	Solar	In <u>no</u>	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
destructed	medicine	In packet	3	1	3	4	1	1	13
	Pilapelate	>>	1	5	7	8	6	4	31
	Freezer (Firege)	In <u>no</u>	1	1	1	—	—	—	3
	others	In <u>no</u>	1	—	—	—	2	—	3
Closed H/centers		In days	3 days	4 days	5 day	4 d/ys	3 days	5days	5 d/ys

Source: Health centers of each kebeles administrations, February, 2018

According to the report of each kebeles reports in the above in the table 5.3 were shows that, in total thirty four items were looted, fifty items were also destructed, and approximately for one week health centers services were closed down.

Social impact

Conflicts have led to the breakdown of customary and cultural values such as councils of elders, religious ceremonies, marriage rights and other indigenous systems of organization and social control.¹²⁸ The Social upshot of inter-ethnic conflict concerns loss of social services; vulnerable groups of Women, children, and the aged as well as the disabled ones are often seriously affected.¹²⁹ Likewise, most of Danta-Dubamo peoples

¹²⁸ Cheruiyot, L. & Sabala, K. (2008): Human Security and the Control of Small Arms in Mwagiru, M. (ed.) Human 5? 'uru\.(Nairobi, Africa, Peace Forum), pp.77-99:81

¹²⁹ . Dagne Shibr (2009). Ethnic Conflict in East Africa: An over view of Causes and Consequences PhD. Research Scholar: pp., 25 Andhra University, India Abhinav. www.abhinavjournal.com

and others intra-minorities were lose societal trust and they are isolated and sanctions were imposed from social life participations, such as, nder, Iqubi, mehibari, marriage, sorrow. This has brought significantly impact on trust, mutual life and interactions between the groups. Moreover, it has created a general sense of objection, hostility, doubt and feeling of dislike among each other's as a whole. Generally, the absence of tolerances contributed for the escalation of tension and conflict in the study area.

5.5 Role of Regional and Local Governments

According to the interview made with Regional, Zonal and Woredas members of councils and administers, Zone police department, Zone security department data's asserts that, both regional and local governments have made various vital efforts in cooperation within different peace-keeping bodies, likes, Zonal special police force, federal police force and Soro woreda police force collaboratively to manage the occurred conflict between Hadiya ethnic group and Denta-Dubamo peoples in Soro woreda..¹³⁰ Moreover, both interview participants: Temirat Bobodo, vice speaker in Soro Woreda council and Temasgen Nukuro, stated the role of local government bodies that, to control the escalated conflict, all governmental bodies were participated by giving material and logistics support to the peace-making forces and by giving counseling and guidance to the both side of conflict participants in the conflict and zonal and woreda government bodies and substitute each destructed and looted schools and health centers properties that were damaged and stolen.

5.6 Approaches of minority rights accommodation.

According to (Saideman, S.2002), the interests of an ethnic group are better protected when the group has access to decision making, block harmful government policies and veto potentially damaging decisions.¹³¹ Thus, consensus democracy play great role in managing ethnic tension and conflict. Hence, the researcher potentially proposes constitutional, institutional and indigenous conflict resolution options to deal with the

¹³⁰ . Interview with regional, zonal and Woredas members of councils and administers, zone police department, zone security department , January –February, 2018

¹³¹ Saideman, Stephen M. David J. Lanoue, Michael Campenni, and Samuel Stanton (2002): "Democratization, Political institutions, and ethnic conflict. A Pooled Time-Series, analysis, (1985-1998), Comparative Political Studies 35 (1): pp. 103-129.

practice of exclusion and marginalization of intra-minorities from local political institutions that cause inter-ethnic based tension and conflict.

Constitutional approach

As majority of interview informants argue, the majority vote system of Ethiopia electoral law was not able to accommodate party pluralism in the parliaments for last two decades, because most of the parliament seats were dominated by the leading party representatives in the first decade's periods of election and most of minorities were not represented in the House.¹³² Likewise, in the second decades, all seats were occupied by leading party representatives, except on seat was held by opposition party in 2010 national and regional election, thus, the existed political institutions were absolutely controlled by territorially concentrated majoritarian ethnic groups.¹³³ Therefore, under the existing first-past-the post or absolute majoritarian electoral system, there is no political space for the dispersedly settled national, regional or local administrative units of intra-minorities to acquire political seats in its institutions.

Moreover, only a few states of member federations have passed laws to accommodate the under-representation of ethnic minorities, and in most cases these laws apply to, dominant national, regional and local level minorities, and not to the polyethnic immigrant non-indigenous minorities.¹³⁴ As, majority of key-informants also stated, the greatest protection mechanism of the rights of dispersedly settled intra-minorities is constitutional entrenchment of legal and policy frameworks at federal (ethno-national) and regional or even at the local level.¹³⁵ Likewise, the constitutionally granted option for fair political power-sharing for minorities through proportional representation (PR) or

¹³² participants response in the questionnaire

¹³³ interview with key-informants and response of questionnaire, January-February, 2018

¹³⁴ National minorities refer to those long-standing minority groups whose presence in a state may be the result of colonization, conquer, or forced migration. These groups are characterized by the maintenance of (at least some) separate institutions, and by demands for some level of political autonomy. Polyethnic minorities refers to those who (or whose ancestors) arrived more recently. These groups are not usually characterized by demands for political autonomy, but rather by demands for greater inclusion in the institutions of the state. See Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 10-33.

¹³⁵ interview with key-informants, January- February, 2018

mixed once with large districts, or specially designed districts for ethnic minorities, may serve as a way to better include minority groups in political institutions.¹³⁶

Thus, concerning this issue the reflection of the FGD participants showed that, to ensure and accommodate the fair political representation and appointment rights of dispersedly settled intra-unit minorities in executive, legislative, judicial and civil servants, it needs alteration of the existed electoral policy of Ethiopia.¹³⁷ Likewise, to accommodate the political rights of intra-unit minorities in Ethiopia through inclusive political system, (Assefa, F.2017) argued the necessity for improvement of the existed legal and policy options at federal and constituent-unit or even local-government level that aim at redesigning the existing electoral laws based on the First Past the Post,¹³⁸ to a proportional or mixed type to ensure the participation and inclusion of intra-unit minorities who may not be able to win a majority under the current electoral system.” Therefore, modification of the existed electoral law is best mechanism to accommodate ethnic diversity in the federal political system.

The second legal option to ensure fair political and institutional space for dispersedly settled national, regional and local level minorities; it needs the inclusion of new articles in the regional constitution to acknowledge the establishment of non-territorial autonomy. For instance, to ensure the political rights, the 1925 constitution of Estonian in Art.2,¹³⁹ acknowledged the establishment of cultural autonomy for the dispersedly settled intra-state minorities, which stated that; “citizens belonging to a national minority, i.e. the Germans, Russians, Swedes and other nationalities who live within the boundaries of

¹³⁶ Lijphart, Arend (1986). 'Proportionality by Non-PR Methods: Ethnic Representation in Belgium, Cyprus, Lebanon, New Zealand, West Germany and Zimbabwe; In Electoral Laws and Their Political Consequences (ed.) B. Grofman and a Lijphart. New York: Agathon Press. Norris, Pippa. 2005. Stable democracy and good governance in divided societies: Do power-sharing institutions work? Paper read at International Studies Association, 46th annual convention, 5 March, at Honolulu. Olzak, Doorenspleet, Renske. 2005. 'Electoral Systems and Good Governance in Divided Countries.' *Ethno-politics* 4 (4):365-80, Rule, 1994. Wilma and Joseph Zimmerman, F, (ed.) *Electoral Systems in Comparative Perspective: Their Impact on Women and Minorities*. Westport: Greenwood Press

¹³⁷ The reflection of FGD participants, February, 2018

¹³⁸ Art. 54(2) of the Ethiopian constitution provides for First Past the Post electoral system

¹³⁹ Hans-Joachim Heintze, (2004). “On the Legal Understanding of Autonomy”, in: Markku Suksi (ed.), *Autonomy: Applications and Implications* (The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 1998), 21; Mart Rannut, “Language Policy in Estonia” (Noves SL. Revista de Socio-linguistic, Spring-Summer 2004, 8, available at <http://www.gencat.cat/llengue/noves>

Estonia and whose number is not less than three thousand persons, were ensured right to establish non-territorial cultural autonomy.”¹⁴⁰

Institutional approaches

Conflict management means both reducing incompatibilities and returning the pursuit of those incompatibilities to non-violent or political means, because, the ends and means are inseparably linked. Likewise, politics is the process of handling demands, and if demands unhandled can escalate the politics to violence; conflict management that does not deal with basic causes is likely to be short-lived.¹⁴¹

Thus, as stated by (Cousens, E 2001), opening up “political space” for minorities as one of the major requirements for peace building.¹⁴² Hence, to end political based ethnic conflict, as majority of key-informants and intellectuals suggested the consensus democracy (shared-rule) and cultural autonomy is possible means (options) to accommodate the rights of dispersedly settled national, regional or local administrative units of intra-minorities in political institutions.¹⁴³ Because, consensus democracy seeks to omit the problem of majority rule altogether by requiring the inclusion of all groups in government,¹⁴⁴ and political decisions were made based on the minority-friendly, majority decision-making in the political institutions.

Cultural autonomy is one of the non-territorial autonomy that is designed to decentralise powers and functions to minorities for the very reason of their scattered living. In a sense that, autonomy that can be established without a precisely defined territory, namely for all members of a group living dispersedly or intermingled with other groups. Thus, according to the (Villiers, de B.) territorial arrangements do not offer any effective mechanism for self-determination to minorities that live scattered across a country or

¹⁴⁰ Carmen Schmidt, “Minderheitenschutz im östlichen Europa: Estland“, Universität Köln Working Paper 01/2004. Available at www.uni-koeln.de/jur-fak/ostrecht/minderheitenschutz

¹⁴¹ Zartman, I. W. (1991). *Conflict Reduction: Prevention, Management, and Resolution*, Conflict resolution in Africa; F. M. Deng and I. W. Zartman. Washington, D.C, Brookings Institution: pp. 300

¹⁴² Cousens, E.M. (2001) Introduction. In Cousens, E. and Kumar, C. (eds.) *Peace-building as politics: Cultivating peace in fragile societies*. Boulder CO, Lynne Rienner

¹⁴³ As majority of interviewed key-informants and some research participants of intellectual suggested that, consensus democracy and cultural autonomy is a possible mechanisms (options) to accommodate the political representation and appointment rights of dispersedly settled non-indigenous minorities in national, regional or local administrative units of political institutions, and it is also a means to solve the ethnic based political conflict.

¹⁴⁴ LIJPHART (1974), *supra* note 2; Hans Daalder, *The Consociational Democracy Theme*, 26 *world pol.* Pp.604.

minorities that do not form a majority at regional or local administrative units.¹⁴⁵ In the same vein, Dr. Asnake K. suggested that, minorities can, pursuant to cultural autonomy, establish a public law institution which has the powers of a government; to make decisions; levy taxes; and implement policies in regard to their culture, language, customs and traditions.¹⁴⁶

Therefore, these intellectuals and other majority of informants suggested that, the claim of Danta-Dubamo peoples for territorial based self-determination is not an option or solution, nonetheless, the possible options for these peoples and others dispersedly settled intra-minorities is cultural autonomy and consensus democracy (culture of inclusive political system) through constitutional norms.¹⁴⁷

To conclude, that politics can be both an ends and means for ethnic tension and conflict. Thus, for effective power sharing and to end its ethnic conflict, an inclusive political system through Consensus democracy and cultural autonomy in all hierarchy of political institutions are possible options to combat the trends of exclusionary politics and to end ethnic based discrimination and marginalization at national, regional or local administrative units of dispersedly settled intra-minorities.

An integrated approaches (employing both modern and traditional conflict resolution methods)

Traditional conflict resolution mechanism is one of the social capital, and it is defined as the “capability of social norms and customs to hold members of a group together by effectively setting and facilitating the terms of their relationship... sustainability facilitates collective action for achieving mutually beneficial ends”¹⁴⁸ Likewise, the concept of positive peace builds on Wright, Q.’s definition of peace as “the condition of a

¹⁴⁵ Bertus de Villiers (2014): The Protection of Dispersed Minorities: Options for Aboriginal People in Australia Max-Planck-Institute für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht. Pp. 105

¹⁴⁶ Interview with Asnake Kefale (PhD) is Assistant Professor Political Science at the Addis Ababa University, Monday, February 02, 2018

¹⁴⁷The collected data from intellectuals, majority of questionnaire respondents, key-informants and FGD participants suggested potential possible mechanism (options) of “consensus democracy and non-territorial autonomy” through constitutional norms to accommodate the group political rights, of the dispersedly settled Danta-Dubamo people’s claim for identity recognition and self-rule, and for others dispersedly settled intra-zone non-indigenous minorities call for accommodation in their political institutions.

¹⁴⁸ Fred-Mensah, Benk (2005): “Nugormesese: An indigenous basis of social capital in a West African Community”, IK Notes, No. 86, November, World Bank. <http://www.worldbank.org/afr/ik/default.htm>. Accessed 14th July 2010.

community in which order and justice prevail, internally among its members and externally in its relations with other communities”.¹⁴⁹ Thus, another practicable possible option, to resolve ethnic based tensions and conflicts in multi-diversified nations, in general, as well as, to accommodate ethnic diversity at grass-root, in particularly were applying the indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms through their institutions . Because, the process of these institutions are usually described as participatory¹⁵⁰ and emphasizing consensus-making, reciprocity, restoration of relationships, and restorative rather than retributive justice. In the same vein, its mediators are able to address and resolve the causes of conflict,¹⁵¹ and that they may result in popularly legitimate, and hence sustainable agreements.¹⁵² Because the conciliation is carried out by a person or persons of high social standing, commonly chiefs or elders, who use their social legitimacy and facilitative skills rather than manipulation and sanctioning to reach agreement.¹⁵³

However, one of weakness of indigenous conflict resolution institution is limits some class of society from participation in the reconciliation process. Thus, the level of inclusiveness - and thus, arguably, the durability of an agreement - is limited in cases where groups such as women or youths are excluded due to conservative traditions¹⁵⁴ Such exclusion may also affect the legitimacy of the mediation effort,¹⁵⁵ and excluded

¹⁴⁹ Wright, Q. (1964). *A Study of War* (2nd ed.); Chicago, IL, University of Chicago Press.pp.174

¹⁵⁰ However, despite the common emphasis on inclusiveness, customary institutions often exclude women from participation on the same basis as men; there may also be an age bias so that youths have a limited say. Probably, such exclusion of significant groups within the communities will lead to a less durable settlement in the longer run. Positive peace, as defined above, can hardly be achieved if not all segments of the communities are somehow involved in the process. Indeed, one noted case of successful local peace-building – the peace process in Wajir in northeast Kenya in the 1990s – appears to a large extent to have been so successful precisely because it involved all segments of society (women, youths, elders, local businessmen and so on). (See; e.g. Ibrahim & Jenner, 1997)

¹⁵¹ Akinwale, A. A. (2010): Integrating the traditional and the modern conflict management strategies in Nigeria. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution* 10(3), 123-146. Choudree, R. B. G. (1999): Traditions of Conflict Resolution in South Africa. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, 1(1), 9-27. Osamba, J. (2001): Peace building and Transformation from below: Indigenous Approaches to Conflict Resolution and Reconciliation among the Pastoral Societies in the Borderlands of Eastern Africa. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution* 2(1)

¹⁵² Farah, A. Y. (1999). *Roots of Reconciliation: Local Level Peace Processes in Somaliland*, *Alliances for Africa Bulletin* (November), Mac Ginty, R. (2008): Indigenous Peace-Making versus the Liberal Peace. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 43(2), 139-63

¹⁵³ Boege.V. (2006): *Traditional Approaches to Conflict Transformation – Potentials and Limits*. *Bergh of Handbook for Conflict Transformation*.pp.7-9

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid* (pp. 15-17 & Mac Ginty, R. (2008).pp. 150-51)

¹⁵⁵ Nilsson, D. (2012): Anchoring the Peace: Civil Society Actors in Peace Accords and Durable Peace. *International Interactions*, 38(2), 243-266.

actors may try to disrupt the proceedings or challenge the emerging agreement at a later stage,¹⁵⁶ resulting in a less stable peace.

Hence, in the context of our country, indigenous conflict resolution moralities are more bonded and attached within our societal moral values. Therefore, their decisions and sanctions are more practicable in their day to day life activities with in all social groups' inclusiveness. Though, to resolve disputes in Ethiopia there are modern conflict resolution institutional options like, HoF and courts, and these formally established institutions have their own visions, values; as well as, its ways of punishment, and the same condition is true for indigenous conflict resolution.

As the result, the positive peace has been defined by Galtung, J. as “the integration of human society”¹⁵⁷ or “the absence of structural violence”; “social justice”.¹⁵⁸ Thus, as Fisher has states that “conflict resolution works to increase cooperative aspects, while recognizing that competitive elements in conflict situations require a stable and yet conciliatory combination of strategies.”¹⁵⁹ Hence, the integrative approaches are more appropriate to resolve the conflicting issue and promote more long-term stability.¹⁶⁰ Because, the very common objectives of these two institutions (the policy options, integrating modern institutional mechanisms and indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms trough customary institutions), is that of peace-building by accommodating the existed ethnic diversity in the multi-national federation of Ethiopia. So equal focus and concern needed for using both mechanisms concomitantly.

Since, the existing tension and conflict between Hadiya ethnic group and Danta-Dubamo peoples were caused resource destruction and looting from different primary schools and health centers and thus, this level of tension and conflict can be resolved through methods

¹⁵⁶ Blaydes, L & De Maio, J. (2010): *Spoiling the Peace? Peace Process Exclusivity and Political Violence in North-Central Africa*. *Civil Wars*, 12(1-2), 3-28. Stedman, S. J. (1997): *Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes*. *International Security*, 22(2), pp. 553.

¹⁵⁷ Galtung, J. (1964), an editorial. *Journal of Peace Research*, 1(1), 1-4. PP.2

¹⁵⁸ Galtung, J. (1969): *Violence, Peace and Peace Research*. *Journal of Peace Research*, 6(3), 167-191.pp. 183

¹⁵⁹ Fisher, J. R. (2009) *Interactive conflict resolution: Dialogue, conflict analysis, and problem solving*. In: Sandole, D.J.D, Byrne, S., Sandole-Staroste, I. and Senehi, J. (eds.) *Handbook of conflict analysis and resolution*. New York, Routledge.pp.329

¹⁶⁰ Beardsley, K. Quinn, D. M., Biswas, B., & Wilkenfeld, J. (2006), *Mediation Style and Crisis Outcomes*; *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50(1), 58-86; Nathan, L. (1999): *When push comes to shove: The failure of international mediation in African civil wars*, *Track Two* 8(2). Werner, S., & Yuen, A. (2005): *Making and Keeping Peace*. *International Organization* 59(Spring), 261-292

of “Bikko Uwimma”, means giving political space for them. However, resource looting and destruction can be compensated through sixth (6th), method of cultural sanction called “Guzumo’o”, means paying eligible compensation. This is a method in which indigenous conflict resolution institution imposes sanction on the assailant, and in order to carry the duty of compensating the victims by giving the property. ¹⁶¹

Thus, according to the Dagna Dajane Garikabo, the current inter-ethnic tension and conflict between Hadiya ethnic group and Denta-Dubamo peoples in Hadiya Nationality Zone were categorized under fourth level of conflict called “Tambakasa”. In traditional conflict resolution mechanism by customary institutions¹⁶² This level of ethnic based tension and conflict can occur between two or more local tribal groups, peoples and society and it may cause high tensions between them, and resource looting and destruction impacts.

Since, intra-minorities live intermingle with indigenous ethnic groups together for long periods of time, and arbitrated with the reconciling procedure of “Gati Seera”, which is Hadiya traditional conflict resolution institution/system.

However, in recent time the intra-minorities lost confidence or trust of fairness on the “Gati Seera” to arbitrate their cases. Because, most of intra-minorities especially, Danta-Dubamo, Kembata and Amhara ethnic line employers are excluded systematically from political representation, nomination positions and from key-positions in civil service. Due to this the intra-minorities employers appeal their complain to the Hadiya indigenous conflict resolution institution in order to resolve such a kind of political partiality, however, the institution failed to reconcile the issue, due to the indigenous ethnic line political elite influences the institutional leaders decision through different corrupted activities. Hence, the intra-minorities were lost their confidence on the Hadiya’s traditional conflict institution.¹⁶³

Therefore, recently in November 22, 2017 violent incident occurred between Hadiya ethnic group and Danta-Dubamo peoples in Soro woreda, the Danta-Dubamo tradition

¹⁶¹ Ibid

¹⁶² Interview with Garad Dajane Garikabo, Garrada in Lemo woreda indigenous conflict resolution institution, in kelisha, Monday, March 19, 2018, at 6:50

¹⁶³ Interview with internal immigrants civil servants and elders in the case study area, April, 2018

conflict institution leaders, elders and the peoples showed unwillingness of cooperation to resolve, even to stop the suddenly erupted conflict between them. As a result, the actors in these customary institutions of traditional conflict resolutions need to restructure and re-institutionalize and function honestly and fairly as the way they do through their ancestors and prove their honesty so that intra-minorities ethnic groups develop their trust in them.

5.7 CONCLUSION

To build sustainable and stable political system, in a divided society, accommodation of diversity, were very decisive factor. Also in some federations, constitutional and institutional mechanisms ensure and protect effectively their diversity through the principles of unity in diversity, but others deny it. Thus, the creation of demarcation line between class of society as majority and minority; open the way for the domination of majoritarian class of society, over minorities in their political-relation. Hence, its purpose of social categorization may include one group's attempt to fabricate a higher moral ground in maintaining domination over another. As the result, the competition for higher social status often generates a political struggle and ethnic based tensions and conflicts.

In the same vein, lacks of constitutional and political space, to accommodate undeniably existed ethnic diversity effectively, can cause political, economic, social as well as ethnic based conflict, which has devastating impacts on the country. Because, of the major conflicts in multicultural societies are rooted in a lack of respect for divergence with an emphasis on a dominant group's value preferences. These tensions and conflicts have socio-political and economic impacts on the society and at large country levels. Usually, ethnic based tensions and conflicts have the possible potential to cause negative consequences on the societies, like of people have been displaced, human rights violated, the breakdown of law and order, properties were damaged and distraction of infrastructures. It has been resulted distortion cultural values and integration of the communities. Moreover, the tension and conflict has also affected trust and mutual relationship among ethnic groups.

Multiple dimensions of inclusions of a marginalized group's identity, represented by such social and cultural traits as language and religion, strengthen internal unity and motives for empowerment. Thus, the trends of exclusionary politics potentially can cause ethnic based tensions and conflict and the politically, marginalized part of society, may take as the right to self-determination as a possible options in order to escape such an ethnic based domination.

Hence, all inclusive political system and the political culture or high internal qualities of democracy in their political institutions are an option to build stable political society. For these, all inclusive legal frameworks and institutional mechanism can play significant role in peace-building process, if not amending the constitutional and electoral frameworks to accommodate dispersedly settled intra-minorities in their political institutions through census democracy. Likewise, traditional institutions and procedures are other essential options to resolve ethnic based tensions and conflicts because, usually conducted by a mediator or mediators relying on trust rather than leverage, and processes are often described as participatory, legitimate, and centered on facilitation and consensus. Therefore, national federation's national federations the democratic political cultures and values are very decisive; to resolve and manage ethnic based tensions and conflicts.

CHAPTER-SIX

6. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter mainly offers with the crucial findings, conclusions and recommendations drawn based on the findings that are expected to undertake to prevent problems related to ethnic based tension and conflict by assessing the gaps in the accommodation of dispersedly settled intra-minorities rights in Hadiya Nationality Zone in the SNNPRS of Federal Ethiopia, and to formulate the reform needed to build up more pleasant inter-relation between Hadiya ethnic group and Danta-Dubamo peoples, in the case study area.

6.1 SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS

Based on the qualitative data analysis that obtained from both primary and secondary sources this study came up with the following main findings:

The data analysis has confirmed that, the dispersedly settled intra-minorities in Hadiya Nationality Zone were excluded and marginalized parts of societies from political representation, appointment in different political and administrative positions and language rights in local institutions like education, offices.

The finding of the study identified that the underlining cause for exclusion and marginalization of intra-minorities from local political institutions mainly takes political cases. But it went beyond political factors to an intertwined factors, ranging from historical, socio-cultural and resource aspects.

The finding illustrate the fact that, the existence of ethnic diversity in the case study area in itself is not the cause for the exclusion and marginalization of intra-minorities from local political institution, nor it is, necessarily, a cause for inter-ethnic tension and conflict, rather, it is lack of appropriate local political institutions and policy options to accommodate them.

The demarcation of local governments through the approaches of ethno-territorial autonomy is critical factors for the exclusion and marginalization of intra-minorities, Concomitantly; this study found out that the recognition of ethnic identity is not the problem; rather, recognizing rigidly defined ethnic-based boundaries and political

autonomy to the territorially concentrated local majoritarian ethnic groups, without having clear policy and institutional options to accommodate the political rights of the dispersedly settled intra-minorities, which draws sharp collective boundary-lines between the “outside” and the “inside”. Since, the ethnic based local government of Hadiya Nationality Zone was demarcated during transitional period, and ensured rigidly defined ethnic based boundaries and political autonomy. Henceforth, Hadiya ethnic groups became local majority, and others existed ethnic groups became intra-minorities for this local government. As the result, the intra-minorities created by demarcation were excluded and marginalized from political representation, appointment and language rights.

The study also comes up with political culture (behaviour) of local tranny as one of the critical factors for the exclusion and marginalization of dispersedly settled intra-minorities from representation, power-sharing and administrative rights. The politician’s character of absolute hegemonic aspirations of local tyranny to control the whole political and administrative positions in this local government is the basic reason to violate the political rights of intra-minorities. Thus, by using these constitutional recognized sheer effects, the Hadiya ethnic groups control the whole political seats of local political institutions.

The analysis of the study also revealed particularly, the centripetal and centrifugal forces of the absolute claim of Hadiya ethnic group for exclusive control over territory and political institutions, and the call of intra-minorities for political accommodation of some; and self-rule of Danta-Dubamo in particular. The actors those aggravates the conflicts and tension are ethnic entrepreneurs, aspiration of Dana-Dubamo peoples for Danta’s identity and territorial based rights to self-rule, and lastly, what adds fuel to the fire is the deficiency of good governance by local executives.

Finally the study sought out the potential options to curve this problems comprises policy and institutional options and normative actions to be implemented by regional, zonal and woreda level politicians’ and actors, these includes non-territorial autonomy such as diversity recognition, accommodation , inclusive governance, shared –rule.

6.2 Conclusions

Concerning the fair political representation, appointment and language rights of minorities at the international frameworks of UDHR particularly, the ICCPR, in Art. 21, 25, 27 and 2 of (a and b), respectively, mentions “without distinction of any kind such as race, ethnic group, colour, sex, language, religion, political or any other opinion, national and social origin, fortune, birth or other status.” Likewise, to accommodate the political needs of minorities, Art 2 of the ACHPR, ensure in the general term of through the principle of non-discrimination. Similarly, these rights were acknowledged in the national legal framework of articles 39 and 54 (2) of FDRE constitution, and in Art. 33 and 39 of the SNNPRS constitution; based on the principle of fairness and non-discrimination. In theory, these legally ensured rights of minorities for the fair political representation, appointment, as well as, rights of language in the international, regional and national legal frameworks puts that, without partiality, at any tiers of governments, it should be applicable to all citizens of the country.

However, in practice, these legal frameworks in Ethiopia, which were acknowledged and ensured political rights of minorities, were safeguards and shelter only territorially concentrated ethno-national, regional or local administrative units of minorities, in which, the dispersedly settled intra-unit minorities of the region or local administrative units, as in case cites did not enjoy their right to political representation, appointment and language rights, equally with majority ethnic group. Hence, the rights for fair political representation, appointment and languages for dispersedly settled intra-minorities in the political institutions of Hadiya Nationality Zone were not ensured fairly. Therefore, there is a clear policy and institution gaps in the accommodation of the political rights of dispersedly settled local administrative units of intra-minorities in the SNNPRS of federal Ethiopia, generally, and particularly, in Hadiya Nationality Zone.

Thus, the case study area is the most ethnically diversified local administrative unit, which contains Hadiya ethnic group and so many intra-minorities. The Hadiya ethnic groups are numerically superior which covers 90 % from its total number of inhabitants and has strong socio-political structure and economic activities. While the remaining 10 % constitutes are dispersedly settled intra-minorities and they are numerically inferior,

consequently; they are non-dominant, with weak socio-political influence. Moreover, by using the above stated constitutional and institutional gaps, this local government violates the political rights of dispersedly settled intra-minority, by creating the demarcation marks among the existed zonal ethnic diversity, as majority versus minority; indigenous versus non-indigenous ethnic groups.

From the finding of the study it can be concluded that, there is lack of political representation of intra-minorities in the study area. The empirical data from case sites showed the trend in political representation, from the total of seats in the council of Hadiya Nationality Zone and, in four some selected woredas and Hossana city councils there are totally six-hundred-twenty (620) seats which were held by Hadiya and intra-minorities. From this total, 94.2 % of seats were held by Hadiya ethnic group representatives, and the rest, only 5.8 % of seats were held by intra-minorities representatives. This indicates the local political houses (councils) of Hadiya Nationality Zone are held by complete domination of Hadiya ethnic group, by marginalizing the dispersedly settled intra-minorities.

Concerning the political and administrative appointment rights of dispersedly settled intra-minorities, the finding also conclude, from the existed total of 375 appointment positions, 366 or 97.6 % of appointment positions were held by territorially concentrated Hadiya ethnic group, and the rest, nine 9 or 2.4 %, were held by dispersedly settled intra-minorities. This manifests the extant that the dispersedly settled intra-minorities ethnic groups are denied and deprived of their appointment rights, and this marginalization and exclusions leads to conflict in the case site.

From the finding of the study one can conclude that, the opportunities to use and develop the rights to language for dispersedly settled intra-minorities in education and administrations is very narrow. However, to ensure the concerning the right to develop and use of language in education, offices (administration), in Hossana city administration, there are one classroom opportunity, only for Amharic language speakers. So, there is a practical gap in accommodating linguistics diversity.

Due to this, the local administrative components of the dispersedly settled intra-minorities who did not settle in their local homes of the country are the first group of people who seriously excluded and marginalized from major political representation, appointment, and language rights in this local political institutions, that they faced struggle among local residents.

On identifying the critical factor for exclusion and marginalization it is possible to conclude that, the demarcation of ethno-territorial autonomy without having clear policy and institutional options to accommodate the political rights of internal ethnic diversity in case study sites is the crucial one. The territorial base approach of allocating, designated 'homeland' to the largest ethnic group of the local government and delivering the political power of self-administration and territorial autonomy, which limit the right to political representation, appointment and languages of group of people's who already goes out from the area of their 'homeland' and became intra-minorities. Hence, these groups of people, like the dispersedly settled intra-minorities, who move from their "home-region or local administrative units", had lost their right to political representation, appointment and language rights

The finding of the study leads to a conclusion that political culture of local political elites (ethnic-entrepreneur) which was highly linked with the absolute hegemonic aspirations of local tyranny to control the whole political seats and appointment positions in administration and the Zonal winner takes all political trend, in a sense where winners discard votes of intra-minorities is another critical factor of contestation. Thus, the whole local-democratic operations, political institutions and its political decision-making processes of local developmental activities were controlled by local political tyranny of Hadiya ethnic group. As a result, the dispersedly settled intra-minorities are left marginalized.

Concerning issues of accommodations of intra-minorities based on finding it is possible to conclude that, the institutional deficit of democracy to accommodate the political rights of dispersedly settled intra-minorities in their local political institutions is what aggravates the conflict. As a result of deficiency of local democracy there is a clear lack of the minority-friendly political decision making processes in local administrative units.

From the finding one can contest the illegitimate superiority of one group over other sows the seeds of potential conflicts with the disproportionate distribution of wealth and political power. This creates not only emotional significance attached to group membership, but also the primitive impulses, based on dislikes and enmities are implicated in degrading the portraits of those in competition for power. In fact, dominant groups endeavour to preserve their social and communicative distinctiveness by undercutting the subordinate group's status. Nevertheless, the social control of the economy through democratic institutions will not guarantee an absence of exploitation and inequality, for majorities in such an incompatible societal relation, can act collectively to secure a greater share of resources and political power in a way that allows for the exploitation of the intra-minorities.

The ethnic based tensions and conflicts were a common phenomenon between territorially concentrated majority ethnic group (Hadiya) and dispersedly settled intra-minorities in the case sites. This aroused from antagonistic and conflicting nature of inter-relations and ambitions for the hegemonic control of political power and economic interests which have a possible potential to create class struggle, which leads to inter-ethnic based tensions and conflicts in this heterogenic structure of society.

On the issues of right of fair political representation, appointment and language use from the finding we can conclude that the intra-minorities have been denied and marginalized. The inter-ethnic based tension and conflict between Hadiya ethnic group and Danta-Dubamo peoples, which occurred currently leads to class struggle, is due to the quest for self-rule, political power-sharing and economic interests.

To curve these problem; the finding leads to a conclusion for the need to the accommodation of the political rights of intra-minorities so as to serves as the means to balance and manage socio-political and economic interests which otherwise bring inter-ethnic tensions and conflicts between demarcated classes of society, creating conflicting groups such as, majority versus minority, indigenous versus non-indigenous or titular versus non-titular. So, there is a practical need for having reforms of federal setup and decentralisation, comprising constitutional and institutional reforms such as; power-sharing, providing non-territorial autonomy, building inclusive political system and

building an integrated approach of modern and traditional conflict resolution system is needed as possible solution to accommodate the political needs of dispersedly settled intra-minorities and to end inter-ethnic conflicts between Hadiya and Danta-Dubamo ethnic groups in Hadiya Nationality Zone.

6.3 Recommendation

Based on the major conclusions made from the basic finding of the study the following recommendations are forwarded:-

The rights to political representation, appointment and language, are citizens' rights to control inter- societal relations and interface of human beings, and the process in which resources and political power distribute fairly in certain political community. However, in the case study area the dispersedly settled intra-minorities were suffered and segregated from political representation and appointment positions, and on contrary, local political institutions dominated by local tyranny of Hadiya ethnic groups. Therefore, it is possible to recommend that the federal and regional government actors should have taken calls for the reform of legal frameworks and institutional structure, for the inclusion of others.

New provisions to accommodate the political rights of dispersedly settled intra-minorities; through re-engineering of the existed electoral law of first-past-the-post electoral policy into proportional or mixed once and its institutional structure for inclusion intra-minorities in the local political institutions helps in averting gaps of political representations and gives room for minority votes.

In the way of accommodation of minority right the basic idea of equality has been expressed in different ways: human beings ought to be treated with equal concern; the political rights of every group should be treated equally; or ought to have an equal political representation and power-sharing. Thus, it is possible to suggest that the local political actors and institutions should have exercise a higher prevalence of good governance and consolidation of grass-root democracy.

Concerning local democratization; the cultivation of local democratic institutions through inclusive decision-making and widening the political space and culture of tolerance needs

a pivotal attention so regional government and zonal councils must create a stage and public debate and respond accordingly. Moreover; grass-root consensus local-democracy within constitutional norms helps to balance the absolute dominance and ambitions of this local tyranny. Therefore, it is possible to suggest the democratic political culture of local administrative unit is experiencing a period of critical change, as leaders seek to address the twin problems of the ‘democratic deficit’ and institutional ineffectiveness in the case study area.

The actors those aggravates the conflicts and tensions are ethnic entrepreneurs, aspiration of Danta-Dubamo peoples for Danta’s identity and territorial based rights to self-rule, and lastly, what adds fuel to the fire is the deficiency of good governance by local executives. So, there is a need to address these conflicting multisided centrifugal and centripetal forces by investigating the twisted underlying causes of conflict and regional, zonal and local politicians’ with popular participation for obtaining enduring long lasting peace.

It is possible to suggest that the political representatives, appointers, elders, indigenous conflict resolution institutions leaders, professionals organizations, peace actors and civil societies at large, in cooperation, should have to establish and show their willingness formally organized “the Zonal Focal Peace Committee” at local administrative unit have further strengthened the joint task of the two institutions.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix: I.

The purpose of unstructured Interview is to gather information in order to examine the gaps between theories and practical experience of policy, institutions in the accommodation of ethnic-minorities in the Federal Ethiopia: The case of Hadiya nationality zone. Also, it is planned to investigate the major and specific causes of tensions and socio-political and economic impacts on the way of accommodation the existed intra-zonal ethnic-diversity in the local political and administrative institutions. To end this problem, the researcher, further, design potential policies, institutional and indigenous conflict resolution system as an options to manage and to resolve the problem, and it was suggested possible solution for exclusion and marginalization of Zonale intra-minorities, from political representation, appointment and as well as from to use an develop their own language. The researcher used interview methods to collect the primary data, as an instrument. In addition, secondary source data were used also used.

Guideline for in-depth interview

1. How do you express the existed ethnic-diversity, and its demographic composition at Zonal, Woredas or City Councils and administrative positions, in Hadiya Nationality Zone?
2. . How do you accommodate the right to political representation, appointment and language of dispersedly settled Zonal intra-minorities at local political and administrative institutions?
3. Do you aware the constitutional and institutional options or gaps in the accommodation of political rights of dispersedly settled intra-minorities at local government level?
4. What are the critical challenges for Zonal intra-minorities?
5. What are the basic factors and consequences for the inter-ethnic tension and conflict between Zonal majority and intra-minorities; particularly, for the

- occurred violent conflict between Danta-Dubamo peoples and Hadiya ethnic group in Soro Woreda administration?
6. What are the potential solutions to curve this intra-Zonal problem?

Guideline for the key-informants interview

1. How do you express the existed ethnic-diversity, and its demographic composition at Zonal, Woredas or City Councils and administrative positions, in Hadiya Nationality Zone?
2. How do you accommodate the political rights of dispersedly settled intra-minorities, particularly, the rights to political representation, appointment and language at local political and administrative institutions?
3. How do you understand the existed policies and institutional possible options and its gaps in the accommodation of political representation, appointment and language rights of dispersedly settled intra-minorities' at local government?
4. What are the critical challenges for the Zonal intra-minorities at local level?
5. What are the critical causes and its consequences for the incidence of inter-ethnic tension and conflict between majority and intra-minorities, specially, violent conflict between Denta-Dubamo peoples and Hadiya ethnic group in Soro woreda administration of Hadiya Nationality Zone?
6. What do you propose the possible solution to curve this problem?

FGD guideline

1. How express the existed ethnic-diversity in Hadiya Nationality Zone?
2. How do you explain the demographic composition of ethnic diversity at Zonal, Woredas or City Councils and administrative positions, in Hadiya Nationality Zone?
3. How do you realize fair political representation, appointment and use of language rights of the dispersedly settled intra-minorities at local political and administrative institutions?

4. How do you recognize the provided constitutional and institutional options and gaps in the accommodation of dispersedly settled intra-minorities rights to political representation, appointment and language, at local political and administrative institutions?
5. What are the basic causes, aggravating factors, and consequences of inter-ethnic tension and conflict which were occurred between Denta-Dubamo peoples and Hadiya ethnic group in Soro woreda of Hadiya Nationality Zone?
6. What are the potential approaches to bend this problem?

Appendix- II: List of Tables

Table 7.1 contains list of informants

No	Name of informants	sex	age	Ethnic background	Position
Interviewed informants					
1	Gadebo Sebo	M	38	Hadiya	School Principal
2	Mohammed Girma	M	30	Kembata	Teacher
3	Amarch Sodebo	F	32	Danta-Dubamo	Teacher
4	Sadik Kassa	M	30	Hadiya	Teacher
5	Abere Guje	M	30	Hadiya	Teacher
6	Aschalew Haile	M	27	Tigray	School Principal
7	Takilu Tuke	M	32	Wolayita	Teacher
8	Melaku Timachew	M	38	Hadiya	Teacher
9	Nuradine Aman	M	36	Silte	Teacher
10	Melese W/kidan	M	38	Kembata	Teacher
11	Gizachew Lakew	M	31	Amhara	Teacher
12	Ajabush Wakalito	F	28	Hadiya	Member of Hadiya Nationality Zone council
13	Tedalach Amanuel	F	34	Hadiya	Chief speaker of Hadiya Nationality Zone Council
14	Tesfahun Ayano	M	27	Hadiya	Civil servant
15	Daniel Hundoro	M	27	Kembata	Civil servant
16	Petros Haile	M	46	Kembata	Civil servant
17	Tireza Alamu	F	32	Hadiya	Chief of Soro woreda council
18	H/Mariam Eyobi	M	38	Hadiya	Soro woreda Good governance expert
19	Ermiyas Kebato	M	44	Hadiya	Chief Speaker of Hossana city council

20	Abayinash Abamo	F	37	Hadiya	Vice Speaker of Hossana city council
21	Abebach Haile	F	32	Hadiya	Chief Speaker of Misrak Badawacho woreda council
22	Adana W/Tsadik	M	40	Hadiya	Vice Speaker of Lemo woreda council
23	Maza Getachew	F	30	Hadiya	Member of Lemo woreda council
24	Fikre Latiso	M	48	Hadiya	Chief Speaker of Shashogo woreda council
25	Balew Balayine	M	42	Hadiya	Member of Shashogo woreda council
26	Ashanafi Assefa	M	30	Silte	Civil Servant
27	Mulukana Tariku	F	28	Amhara	Civil Servant
28	Tagessa Daniel	M	34	Hadiya	Civil servant
29	Sintayew Mirka	F	38	Kembata	Civil Servant
30	Getachew Kassa	M	33	Danta-Dubamo	Member of Soro woreda council
31	Bekelach Laphiso	F	28	Danta-Dubamo	>>
32	Asikala Bufebo	F	40	Danta-Dubamo	>>
33	Demaka Chafamo	M	30	Danta-Dubamo	>>
34	Alamu Shanko	M	35	Danta-Dubamo	>>
35	Asankach Suloro	F	34	Danta-Dubamo	>>
36	Adanach Yanore	F	30	Danta-Dubamo	>>
37	Wudinash Ayele	F	39	Danta-Dubamo	>>
38	Tesfaye Dalikasa	M	35	Danta-Dubamo	Civil Servant
39	Tarekegn Ayala	M	33	Danta-Dubamo	Civil Servant
40	Marikos Arfito	M	40	Danta-Dubamo	Farmer
41	Adil Kassa Wariye	M	52	Danta-Dubamo	Traditional institution leader
42	D/gn Eliyas Elamo	M	55	Hadiya	Traditional institution leader
43	D/gn Tiramo Nahom	M	58	Hadiya	Traditional institution leader
44	D/gn Abreaham Ganoro	M	54	Hadiya	Traditional institution leader
45	D/gn Achiko Sulito	M	59	Hadiya	Traditional institution leader
46	Assefa Watingo	M	52	Hadiya	Traditional institution leader

47	Zelalam Wolanise	F	34	Amhara	Member of Misrak Badawacho woreda council
48	Debaba Ayala	M	52	Amhara	>>
49	Simon Dajamo	M	50	Kembata	>>
50	Aynalem Gatiso	F	24	Wolayita	>>
51	Alemu Somano	M	45	Wolayita	>>
52	Haji kemail Seliya	M	40	Halaba	>>
53	Ermiyas Daniel	M	43	Hadiya	Chief administrator of Misrak Badawacho woreda.
54	Brihanu Mage	M	46	Hadiya	Law expert in Hadiya zone police Department
55	Dessalegn Shugute	M	41	Hadiya	Chief of Hadiya zone police Department
56	Solomon Haile	M	28	Hadiya	police
57	Demakach Hirgo	F	33	Bahirawork Masimasa	Member of Hadiya Nationality Zone council
58	Tesfaye Ontoro	M	28	Halaba	Civil servant
59	Capt. Solomon Wondrad	M	45	Amhara	Private
60	Brihanu Tesfaye	M	38	Hadiya	Civil servant
61	Lubiso Tamire	M	32	Hadiya	Civil servant
62	Getu Beyana	M	33	Oromo	Civil servant
Key-informants					
63	Abatikun Lamboro	M	66	Hadiya	Former member of HPR and civil servant
64	Zenabach Eribeto	F	39	Hadiya	Appointer and Member of Hadiya Nationality Zone council
65	Desta Bekele	M	40	Danta-Dubamo	Instructor in Hossana College of Teachers Education
66	Tarekegn Beykaso	M	42	Hadiya	Social policy expert in Hadiya Nationality Zone Administration
67	Temasgen Nukuro	M	40	Hadiya	Security issue expert in Hadiya Nationality Zone Administration
68	Assefa Bunte	M	65	Hadiya	Pensioner
69	Ad/l Kassa Tafeso	M	70	Hadiya	Traditional conflict resolution institution leader in Soro woreda
70	Gr/d Dagu Teito	M	74	Hadiya	>>
71	Da/ch Mathewos Yadore	M	48	Hadiya	>>

72	D/gn Dajane Garikabo	M	50	Hadiya	>>
73	D/gn Daniel Galide	M	60	Hadiya	Law consultant in Bonosha town
74	Ato Girma Muzamil	M	49	Hadiya	Chief of Hadiya Zone electoral district
75	Temirat Dodobo	M	40	Hadiya	Vice Speaker of Soro Woreda Council
76	Asnake Kifle (PHD)	M	46	-	Assistant Professor Political Science at the Addis Ababa University
77	Honorable Ato Lemma Gezume	M	42	-	The SNNP council of nationalities Speaker
Focused group participants					
78	Yodit Bekele	F	30	Amhara	teacher
79	Ababa Anito	M	48	Danta-Dubamo	private
80	Damalesh Fikre	M	32	Kembata	Civil servant
80	Nigatu Fanta	M	30	Amhara	private
81	Denake Daniel	M	31	Hadiya	Civil servant
82	Brihanu Mulugeta	M	33	Silte	Civil servant
83	Gashew Darise	M	36	Amhara	private
84	Beley Tefari	M	37	Amhara	private

Ethnic composition of informants: Hadiya = 41

Intra-minorities = 43

Total =84

Sex and age composition of informants

Table 7.2 Shows, sex composition of total informants

sex	Gender categories	Age affiliations			Remarks
		below 35 years	Between 35-50	Above 50 years	
M	65	24	30	11	
F	19	13	6	–	
Total	84	37	36	11	

In the above table 7.2, shows the gender categories of the research informants. From its total, sixty five informants are males and the rest, nineteen of them are females. Regarding to the age affiliation, thirty seven informants are below 35 years old, and thirty-six informants are between 35-50 years old. Also, the rest, eleven informants are above fifty years old. Hence, 44 % of the informants were found in the young age ranges and 42. 8% of the informants were found in middle age ranges, and the rest 13.2% of the informants were found under old age ranges. Therefore, most of the respondents were found in young and middle age ranges.

Ethnic affiliation of the informants

Table 7.3 shows Ethnic affiliation of informants

No	Ethnic affiliation of informants	Sex			Remarks
		M	F	Total	
1	Amhara	6	3	9	
2	Danta-Dubamo	9	5	14	
3	Hadiya	34	7	41	
4	Kembata	6	1	7	
5	Silte	3	-	3	
6	Wolayita	2	1	3	
7	others	6	1	7	
	Hadiya informants	34	7	41	
	Intra-minorities informants	32	11	43	
	Total	66	18	84	

The above table 7.3 enumerates the ethnic affiliation of the informants. In total, there are eighty four informants. From its total, forty one informants have Hadiya ethnic background, and forty three informants have intra-minorities ethnic backgrounds. From this also, nine of informants have Amhara ethnic background; fourteen of informants have also Denta-Dubamo ethnic background. Likewise, seven of the informants have Kembata ethnic background, three informants also, have Silte ethnic background, whereas, three informants have Wolayita ethnic background and seven informants have others intra-zone non-indigenous ethnic backgrounds.

Appendix-III: List of some key-informants and FGD Pictures

Picture-1



Ato; Girma Muzamil; Chief of Hadiya Zone electoral district (key-informant)

Picture-2



Honorable: Temirat Bobodo; Vice Speaker of Soro Woreda Council (key-informant)

Picture-3



Ato Fikre Lubiso; Chief Speaker of Shashogo Woreda Council (key-informant)

Picture-4



Focused Group Discussants (FGD)