

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

GLOCALIZATION AS A CHALLENGE TO THE LEGITMACY OF
SECESSION RIGHT IN THE FDRE CONSTITUTION: THE CASE OF ADDIS
ABABA AND BAHIRDAR

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**GLOCALIZATION AS A CHALLENGE TO THE LEGITMACY
OF SECESSION RIGHT IN THE FDRE CONSTITUTION:
THE CASE OF ADDIS ABABA AND BAHIRDAR**

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ACRONYMS

CSCE	Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe
EPRDF	Ethiopian People Republic Democratic Front
EU	European Union
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GTP	Growth and Transformation Plan
ICCPR	International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Right
ICJ	International Court of Justice
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
UN	United Nations

ABSTRACT

The present study examines the impact of the features of glocalization to the popular legitimacy of secession right in the Ethiopian constitution. The study participants are 37 youths from Addis Ababa and Bahir Dar city who are within the age range of 16-36 and who are at least engaged in formal education. Qualitative research methods were applied and data was collected from Focus Group Discussions (FGD) and Key informant in-depth interviews. In order to meet the objectives of the study, purposive sampling was used to select the discussant and key informants.

The study revealed that the glocalization environment and identity of many of the participants contributed to their lack of consent to the constitutional right of secession. It further disclosed that the identity perception of participants got multiple and changeable because of their exposure to a glocalized lifestyle and therefore it became a challenge for them to rely on a fixed ethnic based identity categorization. The study found out that the political, social and economical perspectives of the participants were the outcome of their glocalized reality they face every day. Hence, although the secession right claimed to have a constitutional equalizing effect among 'Nation, Nationalities and Peoples' of Ethiopia, the study revealed that there are groups who do not categorize themselves based on a certain classification criteria applied to the right's holders of the constitution. The study indicated that the socio political and economical causes driven by their glocalized demand resulted in their lack of legitimacy towards the secession clause.

Operational Definition

Glocalization: A form of global - local interaction which manifest universal values along with the social, political and economical norms of the localities to transcend any form of territorial or ethnic identity.

Legitimacy: A ground for the feeling of obligation that makes political life a search for the rules and procedures through which the members of a community come to an understanding in order to be obligated.

Identity: A term that used to describe a person's conception and expression of their individuality or group affiliations in terms of national and cultural distinctiveness.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

The 1995 constitution of Ethiopia protects fundamental rights and freedoms which are recognized in a number of international human rights instruments. The promotion of self-determination right is among the constitutionally granted rights to the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia owing to the prevailing ethnic, cultural and religious diversity (Tronvoll 2008:54). The socio-political structure to unity in diversity is legally expressed in the granting of a right to self-determination to all the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia (The preamble of FDRE constitution). The right is taken as an instrument to reorganize Ethiopia to overcome ethno-national grievances by Henze (2007), Nahum (1997), and Eshete (2010). FDRE constitution's self-determination rights include language rights, cultural rights and rights of self-administration to the extent of secession. In conformity to these rights, the constitution creates a federal state structure, starting from 1995, which classify the Ethiopian territory, administratively, into nine regional states. Also, as supported by the federal regime, the Eritrean struggle for liberation came to an end according to the referendum held in the time being (Van der Beken 2009:35-42).

Yet, regardless of federal arrangements that claim to set right ethno-national grievances among many ethnic groups in the country, there are some groups who question the matter of popular legitimacy to the constitutional right of secession. There are several factors that indicate the lack of legitimacy among the society; anthropological, political, and economical factors related to social structures are identified to influence the society's consent towards the right (Regassa (2010:103-108), Adejombi (2007:145-147), Fessha (2008:380), Aalen (2006:20). Among such factors, fear of fragmentation, opposition to the political ideologies of the government in power, identity and developmental factors closer to the new world order, identified in this study as 'Glocalization,' and other related causes the researcher may not have covered are included.

Glocalization is a new world order which is a recent anthropological discovery of the effect of globalization within the local sphere. It expresses large number of people or a society of a given

country exposed to other cultures on a daily basis through a variety of communication media (Roudometof 2005:119 & Khondker 2004:5-8). According to a cultural anthropologist research, the understanding of fixed and widely shared ‘culture’ is not found in non-western societies. ‘Societies are constantly reinterpreting and transforming their cultural conception as they are exposed to rapid changes through the internet, the media, consumption patterns, and other results on globalization processes (Decorse & Scupin 2008:521). Roudometof (2005:118-121) also describes glocalization as a form of ‘micro’ globalization (internal globalization) within a country due to the outcome of modernity and technological advancement that facilitates urbanized social interaction.

Reports show that Ethiopia’s rate of urbanization and urban population grew in the past twenty years. According to the spatial report ‘Population, Development and Environment in Ethiopia’, the rate of population growth in urban areas is much higher than in rural areas; while the national population growth rate is 2.46%, the urban centers grow at rate of 4.1% (ECSP Report 2004:46). Starting from 1994 census, new cities have been created and economically viable cities have experienced large growth in population count and density. Given that growth in number of cities with at least 50,000 people mainly occurred in the four major regions, it is shown that increased urbanization rates are primarily occurred in these regions (Table 1 and 2). Improvements in road infrastructure between large cities as well as increase in population density along these corridors have increased urbanization rates from 3.7 to 14% over the last three decades. (International Food Policy Research Institute 2010:19)

The researcher identified features of glocalization such as; transnational communication, technological advancements, and cosmopolitan approach that include “cosmopolitan democracy”¹ in the urban areas of the country. Article 39(1) in the Ethiopian Constitution is about the right of ethnic groups to independent self-rule based on ‘predominantly contiguous’ territorial occupation. But city residents are the target of glocalized cultural integration and constant movement to maintain primordial ethnic based territorial existence. In other words, they transcend ethnical territorial consciousness as an identity while they are under the influence of cultural, political and economical global trend. Anthropological researches conducted in recent

¹ Cosmopolitan democracy implies the tolerance of diversity in great imperial and trading cities that always reflected particularly the absence of need or opportunity to organize political self-rule (Calhoun 2006:872).

years (most of them after 9/11) reveal that ‘supposedly fixed “real” ethnic cultures and civilization are not stable (Hefner 2000; Eickelman and Piscatori 2004; Scupin 2006, cited in Decorse & Scupin 2008:648). According to these researches, the process of globalization and local-level political and economic situations are reproducing a constant change of ethnic and national identity along with the weakening of those identities and commitments among many different people with societies around the world (Decorse and Scupin 2008:648-650).

The 2005 election (in which oppositional parties got a large vote for the first time after EPRDF came to power) may be conceived as a major historical incident in which political debates on the issue of secession right had gained wide coverage on national media and the press. Regassa (2010:88), Fessha (2008:375) and Africa report (2009:8-10) identified the incident as a reflection of the stand of the public as to the legitimacy of secession. During the election, one of the opposition parties ‘Coalition for Unity and Democracy’(CUD) ² had a manifesto which claimed that there are provisions of the Constitution it would strive to change should it come to power; mainly, article 39(1) on the right to secession. During the election, CUD advocated private and communal holdings, criticized the ruling party’s conception of ethnic based citizenship and demanded revocation of article 39 of the constitution and return to a more unitary national state (Africa Report No 153-4 2009:7). The fact that the party had won a relatively large number of seats in the cities was taken by the writer as a significant indication towards the rate of legitimacy given to article 39 by the society under the culture of urbanization. This research is therefore organized from the claim that anthropological factors such as the society’s glocalised arrangement could be a challenge to the legitimacy of the ‘secession right’ in the FDRE constitution.

In the Ethiopian context, the researcher claims that the glocalised phenomenon is best reflected in major cities of the country. Because of the better technological and economical advancement compared to other regional capitals and as a capital city where different individuals with different ethnic as well as socio-cultural background live, Addis Ababa is selected by the researcher as a glocalised city. Addis Ababa with 24% experienced the greatest urbanization

² Coalition for Unity and Democracy was a strong oppositional party at that time that had won all seats in the capital city and relatively large number of seats in the parliament. In Addis Ababa, it achieved a land slide winning 137 of the city council’s 138 seats. ‘International Crises Group work to prevent conflict worldwide’ (Africa report No153-4 sep 2009 and Ishiyama 2007).

from 1984 to 1994 (International Food Policy Research Institute 2010). The other target city is Bahir Dar, which is the capital of the Amhara regional state and currently recognized as one of the fastest growing tourist attraction cities. The urban features characterized as glocalized phenomenon and identified in these two cities are believed to reflect a new identity that came along with the adoption of globalized outlooks and economic changes in the past twenty years in the country.

1.2 Statement of the problem

As the socio-political and historical background of Ethiopia tells us, group rights did not get recognition before the ratification of the 1995 Constitution. The transformation of Ethiopia from a unitary to an ethnic federal state was a formation of a new era of minority and group rights protection in the country (Habtu 2003, Fessha 2008, Van der Beken 2007, Nahum 1997). As many could agree upon, the recognition to such rights has undeniable effect in guaranteeing the equality of ethnic groups. However, even though group rights are legally recognized as fundamental rights for the existence of ethnic groups as well as minority groups, secession right as part of self-determination rights, has been controversial among different groups of the society.

Despite the claim of promoting and respecting self-determination rights for all nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia, the matter of legitimacy to the constitutional secession right has been a target of political as well as academic debates. Though the right gained a legal recognition in the constitution of the land, to what extent it is accessed remains to be a controversial matter among legal and political analysts.

However, some argue that the 2005 election in which opposition groups participated with a manifesto of amending Art 39 could be identified as a major reflection to the lack of popular legitimacy (Regassa 2010:88). The fact that the party has got a large vote from the urban society could be determined as a sign for lack of legitimacy among societies exposed to a cosmopolitan culture.³ If that is the case, it means there are certain societal groups who have a serious doubt on the equal protection and implementation of their rights by the state. Since political self-determination right granting a sovereign power to secession is for the claim of recognizing

³ Election Results on the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia; <http://www.electionsethiopia.org/Index.html>. Last checked in Nov, 23 2011.

people's right to self-administration; it needs to involve the consent of the people who have passed through a cultural reconstruction for the past 20 years. Otherwise, negligence may occur on people's demand that comes along with societal changes and urbanized anthropological arrangements under the Ethiopian federalism model which has a motto of 'Unity in Diversity'.

A research done by Dr. Habtamu Wondimu (1997), shows that those who were raised in rural areas have a higher ethnic identity score than those raised in urban places and the study shows a similar finding with regard to "psychological modernity" which prevails on urban raised than the rural. According to the five year Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) of the country, urbanization will be higher than the current rate by 2015, which will bring about the emergence of a more glocalized society. With the emergence of this new society (mostly in major urban centers of the country) and with high demand for economic mobility and social interaction, what is the presupposition for constitutionally affirmed secession right based on primordial ethnic classification?

Adejumobi (2007) states that the very argument against secession right in Ethiopia is driven by the fear from the private investors' skepticism that their investments were going to be fully protected in regions further away from their ethnic "home base". According to the author, "The constitutional guarantee for secession, it was argued, was likely to limit labor and capital mobility across the ethnic enclaves" (Adejumobi 2007:139). Would that be a suggestion for the state for further consideration to the will of the people? Glocalization has development policies which are concerned with the expansion of rapid urbanization⁴, free market economy and electronics and information technology advancement which also are taken as agents of societal change (Glocalization Research Study and Policy Recommendations 2003). Such factors could also influence primordial form of 'nations, nationalities and peoples' identity; hence, the core foundation of article 39(1). Therefore, this research aims at examining the right's addressability from the need of a glocalized society. Since there is no research undertaken to determine how factors of glocalization are a challenge to the legitimacy of secession right in the FDRE's constitution, this study is conducted to fill this research gap.

⁴ United Nation of the world population 2007 report, the majority of people worldwide will be living in towns or cities. In regard to future trends, it is estimated that 93% of urban growth will occur in developing nations with 80% of urban growth occurring in Asia and Africa. Also in Preliminary 2007 census result, Addis Ababa contains 22.9 % of all urban dwellers in Ethiopia

1.3 Hypothesis

*Globalization and transnational phenomenon in urban areas open up a new perception of identity. Electronic and technological reliance, particularly to globalised communication media and social networks, drive the society's psychological make-up towards a cosmopolitan identity. Moreover, liberal attitude that comes along with capitalism and urban development, initiate social and economic activities which facilitate cultural change and integration. Hence, glocalization sphere creates a challenge to the legitimacy of the FDRE's constitutional secession right granted on the basis of a primordial ethnic identity.

1.4 Research question

What are glocalization features affecting the legitimacy of constitutional secession right in Ethiopia?

1.5 General objective of the study

The general objective of the study is to identify whether a glocalized identity is a challenge to the legitimacy of secession right in the FDRE constitution.

1.5.1 Specific objectives of the study

1. To identify the effects of glocalization to the legitimacy of secession right in the FDRE constitution.
2. To identify how glocalization affects the legitimacy of secession right in the FDRE constitution.

1.6 Methodology

1.6.1 Research Design

This specific study is organized in the form of qualitative research. The nature of the issue to be researched is wide in range making it impossible to generalize the findings. Because of this a qualitative data collection method is chosen by the researcher. According to Dawson (2007:33) in qualitative research fewer people take part in the research but their attitudes, behavior and experiences are very important in which the contact tends to last a lot longer. In qualitative

sampling the aim is to provide insights in to the behavior of the wider research population from the description of a smaller group's perception on the issue at hand (Dawson 2007).

1.6.2 Sources of Data

Both primary and secondary data sources are used. The primary data was collected from individuals exposed to Glocalized lifestyle. It was collected through qualitative method generated by focus group discussions (FGD) and in-depth interviews with selected key informants on the subject matter by taking into account age, educational background, socio economic activity and other variables. Besides secondary sources such as internet, books, various journals and articles were consulted.

1.6.3 Description of the Study Area

‘Cities are engines of economic growth, centers for cultural and intellectual innovation, and privileged arenas for social empathy and changes’ (Glocalization Research Study and Policy Recommendations 2003). According to the Glocalization forum research, cities are identified as centers of glocalization since they are target to economic activity, urban planning, information and technology communication, cultural exchange, tourism, humanitarian assistance and other development factors. Because of such identifications Addis Ababa from federal and Bahir Dar from regional states are chosen by the researcher as a place for primary data collection.

1.6.4 Population and Sampling

The target respondents for the study are selected through purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is used for description rather than generalization (Dawson 2007). According to Berg (2001:32) purposive samples (judgmental sampling) are used in spite of serious limitation that limits wide generalization. The youths for the focus group discussion were selected from the two cities. For Addis Ababa official residents of the city were selected from Arada and Kirkos sub cities, and the Addis Ababa University fifth year law students were also included. ‘The youth’s imagination and orientation to the future is essential to the glocal vision’.⁵ Based on the data

⁵ Glocalization research study and policy recommendations’ World Bank institute, Glocalization forum, and the Think Tank on Glocalization; May 2003:16 ,Rome

secured from Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Population Census⁶ , target respondents for this research were selected based on literacy and economical activity rates in ranks. As the glocalization research study reveals, knowledge is the key criteria to ‘insert local actors and organizations into global communication circuits to enhance the practice of real multiculturalism’.

Therefore based on the two criteria, Arada and Kirkos sub cities are registered as the highest in economic activity. The researcher contacted the Addis Ababa youth associations in each sub city and organized members for the FGDs. Also, student volunteers from fifth year law students from Addis Ababa University participated in the FGD. Similarly one of the Bahir Dar FGD participants was members of the Bahir Dar youth association chosen from the nine districts of the city. The other group was voluntary extension students from Bahir Dar University social science faculty. The youth associations in both cities have a common vision of enhancing productivity and active participation to political, social and economical activities of the youth.⁷

Hence the selected Individuals are registered residents of the two cities; they are believed to have a reasonable exposure for the Glocalization phenomenon and political self determination rights to the extent of secession. Also, the age group is selected from 20 to 39 since it is registered in the census (2010) as economically active literate people. Besides, the researcher conducted in depth interview with key informants, mainly with university scholars on the subject matter and individuals who are closer to the social, political and economical activities of the youths in these cities.

The sampling technique implied five focus group discussions; three from Addis Ababa, and the other two FGD were conducted in Bahir Dar city. Each respondent for the study was selected based on the age group criteria, literacy and economic activity rate. Therefore, the social groups selected were taken as appropriate from the society living in the global-local trend that can also be close to the political reality of Federal democratic republic of Ethiopia. Furthermore, seven scholars on the subject matter and two youth association representatives were selected through purposive sampling technique for the in-depth interview.

⁶ commission central statistical agency , The 2007 population and Housing Census of Ethiopia: Results for Addis Ababa city administration and Amhara Region statistical report August 2010

⁷ Doc of Addis Ababa youth association, 2002 and Amhara Region youth association Doc, 2004

1.6.5 Research Instrument

The researcher conducted five focus group discussions with six to nine participants in each group. The questions and answers and the discussions were tape recorded. The researcher forwarded subject related questions and facilitated discussions to increase the accuracy of information provided by the respondents. According to Berg (2001:111), with FGD the researcher strives to learn through discussion about conscious, semi conscious, and unconscious psychological and socio cultural characteristics and processes among various groups. Moreover, the informal group discussion atmosphere intends to encourage participants to speak freely and completely about behaviors, attitudes and opinions they possess. Furthermore, in depth interviews were conducted with key informants and were tape recorded. In depth interview provides a holistic understanding of the interviewee's point of view or situation (Dawson 2007:46).

1.6.6 Procedure of Data Collection

The FGD was carried out by the researcher and two assistants who were briefed about the objective of the study. At the beginning the researcher introduced the topic and explained the purpose of the study before conducting the discussion. And then each respondent was asked to give their informed consent to participate in the study. In each FGD the researcher employed a tactic called extended focus group discussion. It is a procedure that includes questions with information that may assist both group members and the moderator (Berg 2001). The questionnaire allowed the participants to develop a commitment to a position before any group discussion begins. Audio recording equipment was used alongside notes for recording each conversation with FGD participants as well as key informants.

1.6.7 Data Analysis

Soon after the completion of the field work, the data from the various sources was transcribed and coded according to their order of categories by the researcher. According to the themes of the subject matter, the data was sorted and categorized into major themes for content analysis and, interpreted to reach to the stage of the findings of the study.

1.6.8 Ethical considerations

The researcher followed a procedure of informing the respondents about the objective of the study in every stage of the data collection process. Also efforts were made by the researcher to get verbal consent of the respondents and confidentiality was assured and kept throughout the process.

1.7 Scope of the study

The study will attempt to clarify glocalization factors challenging the secession right in the FDRE constitution as stated in article 39(1). Addis Ababa and Bahir Dar are target cities for the purpose of this study. In the Ethiopian context, the researcher claims that the glocalized phenomenon is best reflected in major cities of the country. Due to better technological and economical advancement compared to other regional capitals and as a capital city where different individuals with different ethnic as well as socio-cultural background live, Addis Ababa⁸ is selected by the researcher as a glocalized city. The other target city is Bahir Dar, which is the regional capital of Amhara region. The city is a tourist center recognized as one of the fastest growing cities.⁹ The urban features characterized as glocalized phenomenon that are identified in the two selected cities reflect a new identity that come along with the adoption of a globalized outlook and living standards in the past 20 years. And as per the World Bank institutes research (2003) on glocalization, youths are identified as key actors to glocalization. Because of their tendency to get involved with the development of public policy and their involvement in decision making process, the research also recognizes youths as key sector of the glocalized sphere. Therefore, the study selected youth participants from both cities as target respondents.

1.8 Significance of the study

The study will help to create awareness about determining factors of glocalization in the legitimacy of article 39(1) of Ethiopia's constitution. Then this will contribute to the literature by identifying factors of glocalization that challenge secession right. It is also to test whether article 39(1) is responsive to the needs of the emerging glocalized groups. It attempts to make

⁸ <http://www.addisababa.city.gov.et>

⁹ <http://www.Bahir Dar city.net/ila.edu.et>

recommendations as to how the needs of these people should be addressed and how their rights are respected especially with the development targets the country is envisioning to achieve according to the GTP. It also attempts to implicate mechanisms for harmonious federal union that target equality among the different ethnic groups.

1.9 Organization of the study

This study has five chapters. The first chapter deals with introduction, statement of the problem, basic research questions, objective of the study, scope of the study, significance of the study and its limitation. Chapter two and three discuss about related literatures and methodology, respectively. The fourth chapter discusses the analysis and interpretation of the data. And, the fifth chapter contains the summery, conclusion and recommendations drawn from the analyses.

1.10 Limitation of the study

Lack of existing research or study in the subject matter has been the greatest challenge the researcher encountered during the process of this study. Thus the researcher hopes that this limitation would be taken into consideration while reading this paper. Also, this research is qualitative by design and therefore will not answer some questions that need to be verified by quantitative data.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Historical and Theoretical Context of Secession Right

2.1.1 Historical Background

Even though known in theory as a democratic right or principle, self-determination rights first arose during the bourgeoisie democratic revolution in the 18th and 19th century in Europe. It was first included in the United Nations charter at the insistence of the Soviet Union. Yet it does not appear in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and did not find a clearer formulation until 1966 in the international covenants (Shivji 1989:72&73).

Secession right is part of political self-determination rights. It is recognized as a claim of self-administration beyond a territorial integration of a given state. The first written document arguing the right fullness of secession was adopted in July 22, 1581 and applied for the independence of the Netherlands from the Spanish crown. However, since the document implies the right specifically to the Dutch people, only the grounds became the justification for the right of the people to secede. The American Revolution, on the other hand, brings a different turn in the right of secession by interpreting it as a common right of ‘all the people’ in the world. Even though paragraph 1 of the ‘American Declaration of Independence’ proclaimed that right as common to all peoples, it did not require any preliminary conditions for right to secede and to independence. The French revolution identifies secession right in the heart of the right of self-determination. It combines the right with the people’s right to sovereignty and the right to equality. The inalienability of people’s sovereignty and freedom was formally included in the covenant by the famous ‘Abbe Gregorie on floreal 4 of the I year of the republic’. Such principles gain international recognition by the well known declaration of President Wilson ‘on the right of self-determination’ in 1918 (Martinenko 1996:20-23).

According to Falk (2000:31), the more radical but less clearly influential proposal for the right of secession was articulated by Lenin. He proclaimed self-determination as a crucial condition for peace in the world. In Lenin’s words “the liberation of all colonies, the liberation of all dependent, oppressed, and non sovereign peoples; is necessary for the maintenance of

international peace” (Lenin 1964:393-454). Its comprehensive theorization is to be found in Lenin’s writing where it was elaborated as ‘right of nations to self determination’; he was referring to the right of oppressed nations to independence and formation of their own separate states. Hence, there the right includes the right to secede.

2.1.2 Theoretical Context

A lively discussion in the academic mainstream on the morality and legality of secession has occurred among, predominantly, liberal democratic political philosophers who are heavily influenced by what they perceive to be the arrival of global democracy as making ‘the end of history.’¹⁰ Allen Buchanan, a prominent liberal democratic political philosopher, defined secession as “the repudiation by a group of persons of their obligation to obey the state’s law as well as the taking of a part of the territory claimed by an existing state”. He also connotes secession as the ‘severance of a government’s control over territory’ (Buchanan 1997:35). According to his definition, in the case of secession the newly formed state is an independent state, not a successor of the predecessor state.

Allen Buchanan implies two normative theories of secession. According to him, all theories of the right to secede either understood the right as a remedial right only or a primary right to secede. Remedial right only theories assert that a group has a general right to secede if and only if it has suffered certain injustice for which secession is the appropriate remedy of last resort. Primary right theories in contrast asserts that certain group can have a general right to secede in the absence of any injustice. They do not limit legitimate secession to being a solution for remedying an injustice (Buchanan 1991:27-80).

However, according to Allen Buchanan (1997), remedial right only theories allow that there can be special right to secede if; ‘the state grants a right to secede, the constitution of a state includes the right to secede, or the agreement by which state was initially created out of previously independent political units included the implicit or explicit assumption that secession at a later point was permissible’. But, all remedial right only theories have in common is the thesis that there is no general right to secede from a ‘just state’ without a remedial cause (‘Just State’ connotes a state which abstains from human right violation of the specific groups or unjustly

¹⁰ Francis Fukuyama, the end of history and the last man; New York, Avon Books: 1993 cited in Kreptul, 2003

taken the sovereign territory). This theory of secession also indicates the necessary conditions for the process of secession beside the protection of minority and human rights for the just terms of secession to include “a fair division of national debt, a negotiated determination of new boundaries, arrangements for continuing renegotiating or terminating treaty obligations and provisions for defense and security” (Buchanan 2004:396).

On the other hand, primary right theories identify two main classes: ‘Ascriptive group theories’ and ‘Associative group theories’. The former reflects the national principle that every nation or people are entitled to its own state while the latter represent those that confer the right to secede on groups that can muster a majority in favor of independence in a plebiscite (Buchanan 1991:27-80). This is similar with the plebiscite theory as Allen Buchanan refers as the right to secede for any group that can constitute a majority in favor of secession within a portion of the state. Another variant of plebiscite theory is also reflected by Christopher Wellman’s theory of secession right (Wellman 1995:161). He argues that there is a primary right of political association or what he calls it as political self-determination. It implies the right of any group that resides in a territory to form its own; if that group constitutes a majority in that territory, if the state it forms will be able to carry out effectively what was referred earlier as the legitimating function of state (preeminently the provision of justice and security) or, if its serving the territory from the existing state will not impair the latter’s ability to carry out effectively those same legitimating functions.

This implies that any group which satisfies these criteria has the right to secede without any ascriptive group variant of primary right theory. In ascriptive group theories non-political factors also plays a significant role, like ascriptive characteristics that unite a group as a nation or people such as the fact that it has a common culture, history, language...Neither actual political organization of the group nor any actual collective choice to form a political association is necessary for the group to be a nation or people. Associative group theory rather focuses on the voluntary political choice of the members of the group (or the majority of them) to form their own independent political unit. No need for common ascriptive characters, what unite them, rather, is only the desire to have their own state. “They assert that there is a right to secede that is or is an instance of the right of political association.” (ibid)

Thus, the general connotation of primary right theories imply that a group has a general right to secede even if it suffers no injustice. Even though the theory does not deny the existence of remedial secession, it recognizes a general right to secede from a perfectly just state. A just state described by Buchanan, as a state characterized by its just actions to its citizens by avoiding violence to basic individual moral rights and by not implementing discriminatory policies towards minorities (Buchanan 1997). However according to Buchanan, relatively remedial right theories have a better chance of legitimacy. He implies that “Primary right theories are not likely to be adopted by the makers of international law because they authorize the dismemberment of states even when those states are perfectly performing what are generally recognized as the legitimating functions of states” (Buchanan 2004:371). The reason behind this claim is that primary right theories are characterized as a threat to the territorial integrity of states, even the just states. In contrast, remedial right theories are much more restricted and less of a threat to the territorial integrity of the states.

2.2 State Formation in Ethiopia

2.2.1 Modern Empires and Unification in Ethiopia

“Since the middle of the nineteenth century the unification of Ethiopia had been a matter of utmost priority” (Gudina 2002:60). The concept unification and independence began in a modern history of Ethiopia during Emperor Tewdros regime in 1955. “Tewdros has been described as Ethiopia’s first monarch with a concept (however vague) of modernization” (Zewde 1991:31). Furthermore, despite the socio political structure of his former dynasty ‘Zemene Mesafent’ he conducted various forms of modernizing efforts. His unification tactics includes, “military reforming techniques which aims to replace the regional armies of ‘Zemene Mesafent’ with a national army which cut across local loyalties”. He was also demanding the church to free excess land acquisition to be distributed among tribune paying peasants (ibid).

According to Zewde (1991), for the first Emperor Tewodros who took the major steps on the matter of unification, the matter was the creation of a centralized unitary state. Despite the failure of his policies in centralizing Ethiopia, he had set a new standard for future empire builders a vision of highly centralize Ethiopian state. According to political Scholar Gudina’s (2002) view, Tewdros was the first modern Ethiopia ruler who explicitly recognized the ethnic factor in his

project of empire building. “Tewodros was consciously challenged the supremacy of the Oromo princes over the Abyssinian state. And the Oromo he dreaded and whose supremacy he brought to an end by ending the Yejju rule were later fully incorporated” (ibid: 59).

Emperor Yohannes who follows Tewdros’s footsteps in the creation of centralized government shift the tradition of political administration and established autonomous regional rulers under an emperor’s kind political control. His policy of unification followed power sharing among the nobilities. “He request the title king of kings with the implication that the first among equals, Yohannes in contrast was ready to share Ethiopia with his subordinates provided his suzerainty was recognized” (Zewde 1991:43).

Even though the Emperors’ motive in establishing a unitary form of government had shares many similarities, there was a difference in their target of centralization. “Tewdros’s vision of Ethiopia was limited to the central provinces with Shoa marking the southern limit while Yohannes conception was extending further in the north” (Gudina 2002:60). However, by 1900 the western, eastern and southern frontiers of Ethiopia were largely established and both north and south Ethiopia were brought under one political center based in Addis Ababa during emperor Menlik II (Gudina 2002). It was emperor Menelik who in the last decades of the nineteenth century expanded the Ethiopian land strongly dominated by orthodox Christians who used Amharic and Tigre as the most important language with territories in the south, east and west. The conquered peoples spoke dozens of languages, professed several religions and had different socio economic activities and governance structure. But the government policy aimed to transform this heterogeneous group into a homogenous Ethiopian nation (Teshale 1994:41 cited in Fessha 2008). Menelik pushed the frontier of the Ethiopian states to areas beyond the reach of such famous medieval empire builders and the Ethiopia of today was born its shape consecrated by the boundary agreement made after the battle of Adwa in 1896 with the adjoining political powers. As a result, the majority of the southern populations were basically reduced to tenants of the new land lords with no rights to the land they once owned (Markakis 1978:11 cited in Fessha 2008 & Gudina 2002:60).

Nevertheless, the unitary state which Tewdros had dreamed comes to final realization during Emperor Hayla Sellase (Zewede 1991). The identity manifested was the national identity the Amhara language culture and religion (Ethiopian orthodox Christianity) were strongly

propagated and all other languages, cultures and religion were denigrated (Van der Beken 2009:2). However, since regions of the north were taken over by the ‘Shewan Aristocracy’ that was already prevalent in the administrations of southern regions, the northerner’s too were denied to be administered by their own nobilities (Fessha 2008:345).

After the fall of the imperial regime in 1974 DERG came in to power with the great emphasis to socialist ideology. The military government faced strong pressure from various Marxist movements. Hence, in order to acquire greater support from the people, the regime became ‘increasingly radical’ in the adoption of ‘Ethiopian socialism’ at the end of 1974 and by 1976. From the adopted Marxist and Leninist ideology DERG was obliged to consider the ‘nationalist issue’ (Henze 2007 and Van der Beken 2009). Also Fessha (2008) implies that the DERG document known as ‘program of the national democratic revolution from 1976’¹¹ reflected this stance of the regime.

Van der Beken(2009) stress that such provisions show the clear resemblance with the current state building strategy. However, he indicated that ‘the term nationalities instead of nations’ show the DERG resistance to the right to secede despite its advocacy of the ‘Leninist’ and ‘Stanlist’ ideology of self determination rights. The author associates this approach of DERG with the ‘traditional differentiation between nations which had a right to secession and nationalities which had not’. As a result DERG shows a determination towards celebrating heterogeneity and abolishing class antagonisms in attempt to solve ethnic problem even though its ‘self determination program’ suffered certain limitations (Emphasis mine).

Nevertheless, DERG’s absence of clear ideology and excessive bloody actions facilitates instinctive opposition on the regime (Henze 2007). The effect of Mengistu’s rule in his socialist

¹¹ **The document states;** ‘The right to self determination of all nationalities will be recognized and fully respected. No nationality will dominate another one since the history, culture, language and religion of each nationality will have equal recognition in accordance with the spirit of socialism. The unity of Ethiopian nationalities will be based on their common struggle against feudalism, imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and all reactionary forces.’ The document also grants a full right to self government. each nationality was provided with in its environs ,the right to determine the contents of its political ,economic and social life ,use its own language and elect its own leaders and administrators.[(Gudina, Merara; ‘Ethiopia- competing ethnic nationalism and the quest for democracy,1960-2000’, (Maastricht: shaker publishing 2002:p82-83)) cited in Van der Beken 2009:5]

state which was supported by the so called developed socialist state Soviet Union has resorted to military suppression of the struggle of nations and nationalities in Ethiopia for self determination. The soul ground for self determination right includes people's right to choose a new social or political regime free from oppression of an authoritarian government. Then after, EPRDF a coalition of oppositional parties defeated the regime and came up with a new resolution for the historical ethnic based questions in 1991. They introduced a different Ethiopian state organized under ethnic federal system. Hence, the election of June 1992 reinforced EPRDF dominance in the central government as well as in the regional government that had been created by proclamation No.7/1992 (Shivji 1989:78-81).

2.2.2 Societal Struggle against Homogenization

There were many social as well as ethnical struggles against homogenizing system of the different regimes in Ethiopia. Fissaha (2008) indicates the 1940 peasant rebellion in Tigray known as the 'Weyane rebellion', the 1963 Bale rebellion, the 1968 Gojjam rebellion which all been attempted to show a clear resentment to Shewan domination. There was also a significant opposition expressed by students' movement that was against the regime of Emperor Haile Selassie. The movement holds a critical attitude towards the unity claimed by the government that was dominated by the Amhara identity. Their particular view was reflected in the article wrote by one prominent figure from the students movement named as 'Walleligne Mekonnen' that reflects their stand on the need for a new state in which, "all nationalities participate equally on the state affairs, where every nationality is given equal opportunity to preserve and develop its language, its history, its music....even accepting secession although the ultimate objective remained unity..." (Van der Beken 2009:4).

They were also movements related to ethnic diversity and self determination during the first year of Derg namely EPRP (Ethiopian people's revolutionary party) and MAESON (the Amharic acronym of all Ethiopian socialist movement) which defended the right of self determination of diverse Ethiopian people's. The two groups supported the Marxism-Leninism of the student movement and especially on the Lenin and Stalin advocacy on class struggle as a means to successful liberation for oppressed ethnic groups. But both parties turn out to be against each other because of their different attitude towards the military government. The MAESON was an

ally while EPRP followed a critical approach to DERG's governing mechanisms. However, DERG totally destroyed the parties for the absolute control of the state (Henze 2007:19-26).

Consequently, liberation movements on a certain region or ethnic group grew strongly. The EPLF (Eritrean people's liberation front) and TPLF (Tigray people's liberation front) are the major indicated movements which are regional and ethnic movements. For the TPLF the national/ethnic antagonism was major concerns which bring them to the struggle. And in the course of the liberation struggle, the TPLF decided to widen its objectives and to extend its actions to areas outside 'Tigray' in order to bring about the complete down fall of DERG. Hence in 1989 TPLF conjoined with other fronts and EPRDF created. It was a coalition ethnic based party which over took the military government (Fessha 2008:356-360).

2.2.3 Constitutional Development in Light of Ethno National Questions in Ethiopia

The first ratified constitution introduced to Ethiopia's politics is during the reign of Hayla Selassie. The historian Bahru Zewde (1991) describes the emperor's policy as 'manifestation of absolutism by enhancing the political power of the monarchy and guaranteeing the economic privilege of the nobility'. The 1931 constitution set up the problem of emergent absolutism. The debate preceding its spread was a clarification to the continuing struggle between centralism and regionalism. The new elite composed of the ministers and 'mekwanent' the recently appointed nobles, true to its class origins argued that appointments (including provisional governor ship) should be by merit rather than by birth. Also, the revised constitution of the 1955 was intended as a vehicle for national integration. Parliament was to be a school of national unity. Even more than its 1931 predecessor, the revised constitution of 1955 was a legal charter for the consolidation of absolutism. The constitution legalized the emperor's absolute powers in appointments and dismissals, the rendering of justice, the declaration and termination of wars and the granting of land and honors. Emperor Tewodros's efforts at centralization in the 19th century were accomplished in the absolutism of Emperor Haile Sellasse in the twentieth century. After 1941, the power of the state reached a limit unprecedented in Ethiopian history. A ruling class based on landed property but with interest in trade and industry as well exercised this power (Zewde 1991:141-206 & Fessha 2008:344-348).

The 1974 revolution terminated not only the longest reigns in Ethiopia history, but also the so called ‘Solomonic’ dynasty. The imperial regime had faced Opposition that was more open and mass based, which includes peasants rebellion against increasing demands on their produce , Nationalities interest for self determination and, intellectuals struggle for their vision of a just and equitable order (Van der Beken 2009, Fessha 2008, Zewde 1991). Nevertheless, even though the military government took over power after wards, it took them thirteen years to finally consider ratifying a constitution that reflects the government stance on the remained ethno national questions starting from the emperor’s time. But, the government makes it clear that the nationalities question should be addressed within the frame work of national unity. Hence, the 1987 constitution established the people democratic republic of Ethiopia (PDRE) on the bases of framing the question of nationalities according to the “indivisible and inviolable nature of the Ethiopian state in the reflection of “chauvinism and narrow nationalism” (Fessha 2008:360). The institution with the mandate of drafting the constitution considers “the desire to secede from the socialist Ethiopia is a desire to join imperialism and the reactionary camp” (Andargachew 1993:266 cited in Fessha 2008:361).

The 1987 constitution follows different territorial formulas from the vantage point of controlling secession activities. It provided small nationalities with the region of their own in a way which were not powerful enough to present a viable threat to secession. But large nationalities were rather divided to different regions in the view to “counter act the lure of secession” (Clapham, 1988:253 cited in Fessha 2008). Fessha (2008:363) agrees with this view and implies that the general impression of the constitution was to establish territorial structure that used to provide nationalities with some level of territorial autonomy without possessing a threat to the territorial integrity of the country. But despite its ratification, lack of detailed provisions on how the right is to be implemented makes the constitution a short lived constitution for three years which never applied in some northern parts of Ethiopia (Meles 2008:2).

After the down fall of DERG the new government introduces a constitution which was approved by a constituent assembly on 8 Dec 1994. Also the foundation of ethnic federation was included in the transitional charter in July 1991. Art 2 of the charter entrench elements of both self rule and shared rule for each nations, nationalities and peoples the right to administer its own affairs with in its own defined territory and effectively participate in the central government on the

bases of freedom, fair and proper representation (Transitional Charter of Ethiopia 1991). The FDRE constitution therefore confirms ethnic federalist Ethiopia in a more determined power sharing governmental structure. Compared to the rigid centralist position advanced by the military government and before, the new constitution take a historical departure in recognizing the long standing ethno national questions in relation to self determination rights. The constitution is the basis for ethnic based territorial autonomy for each nation, nationalities and peoples to the extent of the right to secede (Emphasis mine). As Meles (2008:1) express it “the federal democratic republic of Ethiopia’s constitution is not only a legal document but also a ‘political covenant’ among the various ethnic groups”

2.3 Glocalization

According to the 2003 World Bank institute research on ‘Glocalization’, the term at times indicates a social process, on other occasions; it refers to a project or a policy and in other instances to a system of thought or ideas. In this study glocalization is taken as one of the major challenges to the legitimacy of secession right. The term has its roots in the Japanese term ‘Dochkuka’ which first appeared in the late 1980s in articles by Japanese economists in the Harvard business review. It originally meant ‘adapting farming technique to one’s own local condition’ (Sharma 2005). The first time the term was used in English can be attributed to Professor Ronald Robeston (1995) for the purpose of symbolizing the theory on the local interest in line with global standard and principles. He conceptualizes the term as “the universalizing of particularization and the particularization of universalism”. According to his argument globalization is a reflection of the inter dependence of the particular to the universal and the universal to the particular hence called G-localization. Thus, “Glocalization is a term which is given to a form of internal globalization” (Khondker 2004:3).

As Khondker (1994) express it glocalization is the process of combining the twin process of macro-localization and micro-globalization. According to Roudometof (2005:7), it is transcending the global-local opposition and lives in ‘glocal’ cultural universe. As Decorse & Scupin (2008) indicates, many anthropologists refer to themselves as studying globalization from below by focusing on the people in local areas being affected by multinational technological and international economic and political policies that are produced by globalization. “Globalization is not a process dominated by the major industrialized capitalist or socialist countries rather it is a

nuanced process of interactive relations between the local and global levels” (Decorse & Scupin 2008:519).

Roudometof (2005) explains internal globalization as a phenomenon in which large numbers of people around the globe are exposed to other cultures daily without crossing borders on a regular basis. Simply, through the variety of communication media (including satellite broadcasting, radio and other forms of communication) the society’s interaction flows in one horizon transcending the local boundaries. Furthermore, encountering immigrants, refugees, or tourists in their own locality introducing cultural artifacts and commercial establishments facilitate a global local new identity. Hence, globalization is a discourse about markets, media, technology and other themes geared at unifying rather than dividing (Diez and Joenniemi, 1999:14). In this regard, glocalization is about making global information available to local social context and giving people the flexibility to find, organize, share and create information in a locally meaningful fashion that is globally accessible.

Moreover, glocalization is discussed as a version of cosmopolitanism that symbolizes living in a world where social life consists of structured relationships that extend beyond national borders (Roudometof 2005:115-118). This assertion makes glocalization identity the outcome of living in transnational world exposed to cosmopolitan outlook (Appiah 2006:43; O’Brien 2007:3).¹²According to Appiah (2006), this is contrasted with communitarian and particularistic theories, especially the ideas of patriotism and nationalism. He identifies the cosmopolitan community exposed to an inclusive morality, a shared economic relationship, or a political structure that encompasses different nations. In its more positive versions, the cosmopolitan community is one in which individuals from different places form relationships of mutual respect.

The philosophical ground for cosmopolitanism goes back to the early period of Socrates following his answer concerning his social identity. He identified himself as ‘the citizen of the world, not a Greek or an Athenian’ (MJ 1999:329 cited in Appiah 2006). In his 1795 essay *Perpetual Peace*, Immanuel Kant stages an *ius cosmopoliticum* (cosmopolitan law/right) as a guiding principle to protect people from war, and morally grounds this cosmopolitan right by the

¹². “Cosmopolitanism is the ideology that all human ethnic groups belong to a single community based on a shared morality”

principle of “universal hospitality”. His ground for the claim is to "finally bring the human race ever closer to a cosmopolitan constitution" (ibid).

Similarly, Diez and Joenniemi (1999) imply how the sharp lines separating one sovereign sphere from another are increasingly turning in to fluid boundaries enhancing the global local relationship. One of the major dimensions varying pure cosmopolitanism and localism is a degree of attachment to a state or country .Cosmopolitans opposes specific cultural membership to the nation because such membership excludes people on the basis of ascribed criteria. Locals on the other hand identifies as more ethnocentric than cosmopolitans. The authors implying the arrival of glocalize world order believes that the vision of a global community rests on the emergence of a set of global norms and values, and assumes in certain respect all human beings are the same. And, the glocalization paradigm as stated by the authors is unifying this to extremes and reflecting the cosmopolitan essence to the locals (emphasis mine).

The cosmopolitan approach might be taken as imposing a liberal culture in the new world order which is identified as glocalization. It is the reflection of civilized communities’ negative perception for specific identities in the form of regionalism. Instead it is the emphasis on a glocalization world order in which liberal values and principles are taken up by local communities but there by also get transformed resulting in ‘westernic’ instead of ‘western cultures’ (Diez and Joenniemi 1999). “ Glocalization is a middle ground between seeking limit on the exercise of state power and contemplate transcending it or on the other hand, encouraging a cosmopolitan perspective and to regard nationalism as merely a fading inheritance to seek advance global civil society and imagining democracy to thrive without effective states” (Calhoun 2006:4). Hence, the glocalization notion emphasizes that it is through the cosmopolitan perspective in concern to social stratifications that people are identified to each other than ethnic based identities. In cosmopolitan society individuals from varying locations (physical, economic, etc...) enter relationships of mutual respect despite their differing identities and beliefs (emphasis mine).

In this new world outlook the notion of identity has a different implication which relies on the global local combined perception. This also implies for the conception of security which is different from the usual state and military connotation. The more glocalized insight of security with regard to identity relates with ‘societal security’, such as nations and religious communities

in line with subject identities. These are including the referent object with the introduction of other sectors such as the economy and the environment (Diez and Joenniemi 1999). The authors claim that identities are constantly reproducing with different dimension within the age of glocalization. They stress on the shifting of the notion of security and identity in to a new paradigm in the glocalized era. “Large scale violence has neither disappeared nor has it unfolded in places where it has been expected to have its site. The violence of today is subject to few limitations of a modern kind, it is more often than not initiated by groups other than states and it is frequently organized in non territorial ways” (Ibid: 12). O’Brien (2007) strength this claim as he raised the example of ‘international terrorism’ as a wide spread and profound danger shared by the world community.

For this reason, passing through different ideologies and universal concerns in this era make it possible to speak differently about war, peace and security with regard to a glocalized identity (Emphasize mine). According to Calhoun (2006) such movements from the national to the cosmopolitan public sphere is a result of “a world developing as a single whole thanks to the societal activity and the desperate will of a population sharing common values and interests such as human rights democratic participation, the rule of law and the preservation of the world’s ecological heritage” (Calhoun 2006:4).

2.3.1 Ethiopia in the Realm of Globalization hence Glocalization

The concept of globalization in Ethiopia emerges way back the imperial era along with the concept modernization and the entrance of foreign skilled professionals (estimated time starting from 1855). When global hegemonic forces came together to undermine Ethiopian independence, the Ethiopia’s Afro modern credentials were once again affirmed with the globalizing conceptions of human right, black nationalism and various modes of representation of collective identity. And by the end of the twentieth century, Ethiopia’s history had been through nearly five hundred years of relationship with Europe which was largely characterized by mutual intellectual and cultural exchanges and selective incorporation of modern technologies on the part of Ethiopia’s undeveloped economy (Adejumobi 2007:131-147).

Ethiopia’s history with Globalization reaches to its peak in the EPRDF regime when the country shifts from the Marxist-Leninist ideology of the cold war era to embrace economic liberalization.

The government transformed Ethiopia from a centrally planned economy in to a market oriented one and the process boosted the overall GDP growth rate to an annual 4.0 % in 1991-2003 from 2.8 % during DERGE rule (1974-91) (Adejumobi 2007:138). According to the EPRDF program introduction, market economy is a fundamental aspiration of the EPRDF. Goods and services are provided in price and quality to increasingly globalize market. The government's target is to employ free market economy in which rapid economic growth is guaranteed and the goal is to make the position of the country in the global economy increase so that people will benefit from the growth and development gained from it.¹³

The aspiration towards the globalization order in combination to local norms, anthropological arrangements and national policy's however moves the country towards the age of glocalization. The Ethiopian government stand on free market economy facilitated suitable conditions for liberal economical activities. The market system enhances the overall development of the country in the globalize sphere and opens up the moral perception of a cosmopolitan towards mutual benefit. Stimulating the Ethiopian economy based on global market economy signifies a sample of moral insights of a cosmopolitan (Holtug 2007). From this instance, it is possible to identify glocalization elements in Ethiopia's government effort to join global market systems conjoining technological reliance and national economic policies (emphasize mine).

Research shows that glocalization is generating tendencies in both directions (centralization and decentralization) with the aim of providing good governance and a stable, secure and just government. It is creating incentives for sub national governments to play a more active role in attracting foreign investment promoting trade, providing infrastructure and enhancing human capital, yet on the other hand, it is promoting various forms of centralization by increasing the importance of macroeconomic policy levers, especially monetary policy and central banks (Sharma 2005).

In Ethiopia, decentralization is being designed to adjust to the process of transition from socialist system to market economy and democracy. It has been adopted as path to national unit, to meet the challenge of ethnic tensions. However, as Sharma (2005:15) implies it, "what should be asked in a 'glocalize era' is how much to decentralize". Excessive decentralization, one that

¹³See the full version of EPRDF program www.eprdf.org.et/EPRDFE/document/ep.pdf

incapacitates the central government is a recipe for failure of democratic governance. He says “if decentralization aspect is stretched to its extreme it can even encourage and incite separatist tendencies” (ibid).

The government structure 20th vs. 21st is changed from centralized to decentralized along with more globalized culture. Decentralization is the feature of globalization. In emerging borderless world economy a new federalism perspective will be called for, because in the times to come the functions such as regulation of ‘financial transaction, international trade, global environment and international migration, corporate taxation, stabilization, international conflict resolution, transnational production, investment and technology transfer, and terrorism will gradually pass upwards. And each country must find its own model that best fits its specific social, economic, political, cultural, historical and geographical conditions’. This is to fit on the globalization phenomenon (ibid).

In the ‘Globalization research study and policy recommendation 2003’, the sector to Globalization approach includes the networking of cities. According to the research, concrete and realistic solutions to global problems required the urbanized administrative qualities that initiate city to city connections whenever a problem arises in the different local context. As the ‘International Food Policy Research Institute Urban Growth Analysis’; Ethiopia, from 1994 to 2007 showed increased urban linkages and city to city connection. According to the study Ethiopian cities grew and the country's transportation network expanded. It implied that urbanization and improved transport within the country has facilitated greater mobility of capital goods and people. Also improvements in road infrastructure between large cities as well as increases in population density along the corridors have increased urbanization rates from 3.7 to 14 percent over the last two decades.

2.3.1.1 Cities Emerged Over the Three Census Year in Ethiopia

Table1. Number of Cities Over 20 and 50 Thousand People During the Census Years

Region	Cities in 1984		Cities in 1994		Cities in 2007	
	Over 20,000	Over 50,000	Over 20,000	Over 50,000	Over 20,000	Over 50,000
Tigray	1	1	5	1	10	3
Oromia	7	3	17	4	32	8
Amhara	5	3	7	3	18	7
SNNP	4	0	7	1	18	5
Addis Ababa	1	1	1	1	1	1

Source: International Food Policy Research Institute – Ethiopia strategy support program ‘Urbanization and Spatial connectivity in Ethiopia: Urban growth analysis using GIS’

Table2. Percent of People Considered Urban by Region

Region	Cities in 1984		Cities in 1994		Cities in 2007	
	Total Pop (Thousands)	Percentage Urban	Total Pop (Thousands)	Percentage Urban	Total Pop (Thousands)	Percentage Urban
Tigray	2,692	2.0	3,136	3.8	4,314	8.0
Oromia	14,016	1.7	18,733	4.6	27,158	9.2
Amhara	10,686	2.0	13,834	3.7	17,214	7.5
SNNP	7,501	-	10,377	2.2	15,043	21.1
Addis Ababa	1,423	61.2	2,113	85.5	2,738	99.3

Source: International Food Policy Research Institute – Ethiopia strategy support program ‘Urbanization and Spatial connectivity in Ethiopia: Urban growth analysis using GIS’

CHAPTER THREE

Legal Framework and Analysis for the Right to Secede

3.1 International and Regional instruments

There is no direct mention of the right to secede found in any significant modern international document. But it is implied in the right of self-determination (Martinenko 1996:22). The international law reflects neutrality that arises from the international legal principles of territorial integrity and self-determination rights. It does not grant nor does it prohibit secession (Roethke 2007:38-41).

From a treaty perspective, the UN charter and covenants of human rights (ICCPR and ICESCR) are taken in to consideration. Art (1.2) and Art 55 of the UN charter, and Art 1 of both covenants of human right emphasize that the existing right of self-determination and the right to secede is to be derived from these sources (Kueger 2009:122-128). Paragraph 2 of art 1 of the UN charter proclaims the principle of equal rights and self-determination as one of the main principles of modern international law. Art 55 of the charter determines it to be fundamental for economic and social cooperation. Paragraph (b) of art 76 stresses at least two constituent parts of the right of self-determination; the right to self-government and the right to independence. The UN general assembly resolution proclaiming the ‘right of the peoples and nations to self-determination’, expressed the right to self-determination as “right of an independent state existence, national sovereignty and independence” which follows the two covenants (G.A. Res.637A (vll), Des.16, 1966). Art 1 of both covenants (ICCPR and ICESCR) in paragraph 1 declares that “all people have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right, they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development”. As Kueger (2009) argues, since the right of independence broadly includes the right of secession, it becomes obvious that a proclamation of the right to self-determination also implicitly includes the right to secession.

In the customary international law, there is no proof to the existence of a right to secession for ethnic peoples, groups and minorities in the form of fundamental principle of international law. Some legal scholars however, argue on the existence of the right to secession by accepting the

premise that an exceptional to secession constitutes in fundamental principle of international law. The proponents of exceptional secession points the 'Friendly Relations Declaration' of 1970 particularly on the 'saving clause' that states the applicability of its paragraphs for states (Kueger 2009:127-129). In the preamble 1, 2, 3, and 4, present number of conditions on the principle of territorial integrity of states by declaring the need for the principle's compliance with the principle of equal rights and self determination of peoples, and thus address to a government representing the whole people belonging to the territory without distinction as to 'race, creed or color'. But according to Kueger (2009:125-128) the 'saving clause' doesn't contain any exact legal condition justifying a separation hence the rather declared unspecified right to secession would leave the doors wide open to the possibility of abuse and would be difficult to reconcile with the primary aims of the declaration; like preserving security and peace.

Legal and Political scholars discusses on the impossibility of formulating clear, definable and universal conditions for an exceptional secession on the basis of the 'saving clause'. Since it is soft law, its character could hardly be approved as a basic norm of customary international law (it is essential for it to reflect a 'fundamental principle of international law'). Other documents such as the CSCE final act (Helsinki final act) 1975 and the OSCE charter of Paris (1990), asserts the right to self determination of peoples in which both documents stress that the right to self determination is only to be respected if it is exercised in accordance with the principle of territorial integrity. Also, World Human right conference 1993 (Vienna Declaration and Program of Action 1993), contains 'saving clause' as comparable and imprecise as 'friendly relation declaration' with the term 'any kind' instead of 'race, creed, or color' about the existence of an exceptional right to self determination. Nevertheless, on the treaty level the more specified instrument is the 'Vienna convention on the succession of states in respect of Treaties 1978' which is taken as a convincing argument but establishes "separation" as a form of state secession which does not necessarily imply that ethnic groups should have the right to secede (Kueger 2009, Martniko 1996, Rothke 2007).

From the regional human right documents, the African charter could be interpreted in consideration with international law's conception of secession right when it provides in Art 20(1); "all peoples shall have the right to existence. They shall have 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”. And, Article 20(2) states that “colonized or oppressed peoples shall have the right to free themselves from the bonds of domination by resorting to any means recognized by the international community” (African charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights, June 27, 1981). According to Gittleman (1981:679), it is therefore clear that the African charter is inconsistent with UN stand and the view under international law. Article 23(1) of the charter affirmed this position. It states that “the principle of solidarity and friendly relations implicitly affirmed by the charter of the United Nations and reaffirmed by that of the organization of African unity shall govern relations between states” (African charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights, June 27,1981)

As Dupont (2009:5) refers it, legal commentary frequently highlights and deplores the instrumental weakness of state secession in accordance to the absence of determining rules from relevant treaty law and custom. None of the documents has ever been invoked by the contractual states as a basis for supporting secessionist movement. Rotheke (2007:38) indicates that in the scholastic debates of secession right, some argue that self determination only allows for the creation of new states in the context of decolonization as many other scholars assert that the right of self determination legally entitles peoples subject to extreme persecution to remedy their situation through secession. Heiko (2009:131) affirms that territorial separation within the context of decolonization is one constellation in which international law could legitimize secession. Allen Buchanan (2004: 334) also signifies an international legal right to secede by pointing out two rather specific circumstances namely ‘classic decolonization’ what he defines as an overseas colony seeks to liberate itself from metropolitan control and, the claiming of state territory that is subjected to ‘unjust military occupation’. This condition includes the decision taken by the entire population of the mother state like; secession arising under national law or independence for an area which was originally unlawfully annexed.

But, these authors argue that the definition of the term “peoples” as right holders of collective rights to self determination is unclear and creates its own ambiguous implication to the right. Rotheke(2007) implies that the ethnic extent to which peoples, groups and minorities are entitled to self determination rights particularly the right to secede along with the concept of territorial integrity has been a challenge to the international law. And the lack of precise definition of “people” in which the people’s right to secession to be exercised is another controversial matter.

“If it is a majority of the people seeking secession or the population of a specific area, or the population of the entire state is a challenge in the referendum mechanism” (Buchanan 2004:334-336). But Roethke (2007:38-40) argues that in the definition of ‘a people’ subjective speculation is more suggestible than objective distinctions which symbolize the definition of the term from the outsiders (external) identifications to the group’s distinct aspect. He exemplifies the inhabitants of Somaliland as singled out by the former regime for persecution based on objective perception and naming with regard to their clan affiliation.

However, the principle of self determination as recognized in modern international law and practice does not entail recognition of a unilateral right to secede apart from certain exceptional circumstances such as colonial context, the recent exceptional case for international law is Kosovo’s unilateral declaration of independence as identified by many legal scholars as a ‘defacto secession’(Dupont 2009: 8). The Kosovo’s unilateral declaration of independence is the first case to be brought before the court. And the verdict announces that “By a vote of 10 to 4, the declaration of independence of the 17 February 2008 did not violate international law because international law contains no prohibition on declarations of independence” (ICJ advisory opinion on Kosovo’s declaration of independence, 22 July 2010). According to the ICJ’s legal argument in support of the declaration, under the presumption of international law civil and political rights of minorities should be protected. And, the report states that the principle of territorial integrity constrains only other states not domestic actors. Moreover, the right of self determination is a right of all peoples not only those of in colonial context. But, the ICJ report concludes that even though the international law contains no prohibition on declarations of independence, the issue of recognition was a political one (ibid 12).

However, the EU committee on legal affairs and human rights report with regard to seceding right refers that the lack of clear criteria for state hood and for law full secession has encouraged the emergence of numerous secessionist movements and there by threatens peace, stability and the territorial integrity of existing states also in Europe (Parliamentary assembly; council of Europe 12 July 2011). The report point out the consideration of Kosovo’s unilateral declaration of independence as legitimate is a phenomenon that needs serious consideration on part of territorial integrity of states. The 2011 EU legal committee report claims that even the case of remedial secession for minority groups would make the international organizations

ungovernable. The result will be political instability within the member states. Rather, the committee point out a safe way to grantee independence for minority groups is an appropriate way of implementing the right to self determination as it is seen in the ‘council of Europe’s frame work convention on the protection of national minorities’ (ETS No.157 cited in Parliamentary assembly; council of Europe 12 July 2011).

Similarly Allen Buchanan (2004:331) points out the necessity of the international law’s involvement of declaring international human right norms that prohibits “religious and ethno national discriminations” in the sovereign state. Moreover, he acknowledge the status of intrastate autonomy regimes that he calls as “self government short of full sovereignty” although he is against any claim of a state which aims to suppress secession in the reference of ‘remedial right only’ argument without the interest of the affected group (Buchanan 2004:331) .

There exists controversy as Allen Buchanan (2004) indicates it in the exact stance of the international law concerning the legitimacy of secession. He discusses that it is only the unilateral right to secede in cases of ‘classic or military occupation’ that is included in the international law. However it does not include any clear prohibition of secession either. Therefore, international law does prohibit neither negotiation to allow secession between the states and the secessionist nor does it prohibit secession by constitutional provision as such by the exercise of an explicit constitutional right to secede and by a process of constitutional amendment. Buchanan suggests two mechanisms for the international legal reform concerning secession: 1st, to recognize a group attempt to establish its own state as a politically independent unit through a remedy of last resort for injustice. And 2nd, though states are not obliged to recognize the legitimacy of the new state, but to restrict their interference in the secessionist movement of gaining a recognition (ibid 334-335).

Nevertheless, as it has seen in the recent secession case of Kosovo some legal scholars argue that international law agrees on secession not only on the substantive claim, it may also recognize ‘a defacto secession’ under a procedural matter. “Since secession threatens the established order, international law should guide the process along a non threatening path” (Rothke 2007:46 citing Tancred, 2006:189). Hence, Rothke (2007) point out three procedural criteria for international law to legitimate secession, 1) the secession must occur without military aid from foreign states

2) the population of the seceding territory must democratically approve of the secession 3) secession must respect the principle of *uti possidetis*¹⁴ (ibid).

And when it comes to constitutional secession right, according to Kreptul (2003:171) constitutional secession right have often been used as a tactic to attract smaller sovereign ethnic and national groups in to a large political union for purpose of enjoying perceived social and economic benefits. However, once the political union has attained the right of secession was often illegitimized either through practical politics or legal repeal. He exemplifies the communist China in 1931, the 1947 Burmese constitution, and the right to secede that retained in all three Russian constitutions which had not shown any practical effect and was never intended to be exercisable. Kreptul (2003) also indicates that out of 89 constitutions in the world only seven constitutions have provisions of the right to secede; Austria, Ethiopia, France, Singapore, St. Christopher, Nevis, the former Soviet Union and the former Czechoslovakia.

3.2 National Law to the Right to Secede

Unlike the 1991 transitional charter which made secession dependent on the violation, denial or abrogation of rights, the 1995 constitution explicitly recognizes the right to secede with the clear stance that asserts its absolute nature (FDRE constitution Article 39(1)). Art 93(4) (c) of the 1995 FDRE's constitution rather affirms that the right to secede cannot be suspended or limited even in the extreme cases of external invasion, a breakdown of law and order, and other calamities that warrant a proclamation of a state of emergency. However, there are certain procedures that are included for the right to be exercised by the group in demand. The first procedure declares the necessity of "a two-third majority of the members of a legislative council of the nation, nationality or people concerned" and "the referendum that needs to be organized by the federal government within three years from the time it receives the relevant council's decision for secession" in the Art 39 (4) (a). Also, Art 47(2) and Art 47(3) consequently states the right of ethnic group that do not have the state of their own to secede from the regional state they are demarcated in to and the procedure according to which those ethnic groups can acquire the state of their own. And, if an ethnic community with in a regional state seeks to secede from

¹⁴ A concept of international law that defines borders of newly sovereign states on the basis of their previous administrative frontiers.

the federal state, it must first go through the procedures outlined in Art 39(4) of the constitution and achieve the status of state hood (FDRE constitution 1995).

3.2.1 The Notion of Legitimacy for Seceding Right in the FDRE Constitution

Regassa (2010:88-95) explains that legitimacy of constitution is ‘a bridge between the making (design) and constitutional practice (implementation)’. The assumption is that the right approach in the making facilitate a faster legitimacy and a better degree of legitimacy which would promote better enforcement. But according to the author legitimacy is a matter of degree, not absence or presence, and its original form cannot be absolute.

From this instance the contradicting notion of legitimacy begins in the making of the constitution. Although the 1995 constitution has experienced a better legal process compared to the former sources of legitimacy for state power which were dominated by religion and force, complaints were part of the history of its ratification process (Matti 1995; Regassa 2010; Fessha 2008; Tronvoll 2008). Regassa (2010:103) emphasizes on this by referring to Meaza Ashenafi one of the technical sub committees (or committee of experts) at the time of the drafting of the constitution who stated, “the process was not fully participatory, those who were not sympathetic to the transitional government and were dismissive of the whole process did not take part in the constitution; they believed that participation would be ‘legitimizing’ the process”. Ugo Mattei (1995:114) also indicates that there was no participation from the oppositional political and ethnic forces of EPRDF in the process of constitutional making.

For this reason, although historically speaking the 1995 constitution grants equality for nation, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia, there remain some scholarly as well as politically contradictory views on its recognition to self determination rights to the extent of secession. The FDRE constitution includes the right to secede within the chapter which deals with human rights and fundamental freedom. Seceding right is thus inserted as a human rights approach to accommodate the needs of multiethnic society by establishing a consensual federation which allowed a safe exit (Meles 2008:3). Similarly, Nahum (1997:159-161) expressed the FDRE constitution’s secession right as the ultimate extension and expression of the right to self determination.

However, as Teshome and Zahorik imply (2008: 8-12), the most common criticism against the federal model of Ethiopia is the inclusion of the right to secession in the 1995 constitution. And, according to Fessha (2008:425-432) the central debate concerning the legitimacy of secession right is concerned with the lack of outlined grounds under which a demand of secession can be made. He explains that according to Article 39 of the FDRE constitution, a group that seeks to secede is not constitutionally required to demonstrate “the moral ground” on which it may seek secession, only the certain procedures that according to which the right to secede can be exercised. This implies that FDRE’s constitutional right to secede is not for instance like ‘a remedial right only’ type of secession as prominent political philosopher Allen Buchanan favors as a standard to international law’s recognition (emphasis mine). The seceding right as adopted in the constitution does not require the claimant group to show a legitimate cause for secession. It only requires the claimant group to pass through the support of their legislative representatives and eventually a referendum to proven support for the secession claim.

Kreptul (2003:80) implies that for a democratic state which do reasonable job of ‘Rawlsian distributive justice’¹⁵, then no moral reason exists to justify the constitutional secession right. Also Meles (2008) shares this view and argues that the self determination right granted in the constitution is appropriate given the heterogeneous nature of the Ethiopian society, but ‘to what extent’ is what activates the debate. On the other hand, some groups argue that this unconditional grant of secession right intensified the victory gained after historical ethnic based domination and suppression of a certain group. It is considered as “a stroke of genius that would halt century old ethnic domination in Ethiopia and ensure longevity” (Nahum 1997:51). They implies on the necessity of the inclusion of this right by pointing out that the exclusion of this right might lead to bloody civil wars.

Yet despite supporting the inclusion there remain some groups with a great doubt up on the implementation of the right. For some the reason for the inclusion of secessionist right in richly composed constitution with universally accepted human right provisions is taken as a hidden attempt to discourage secession. It is asserted that the inclusion has a motive of avoiding

¹⁵ According to John Rawls ‘theory of justice, rev.ed . Cambridge, Mass: Harvard university press, 1999.Chaps,1-3
‘A constitutional democratic state must necessarily be a ‘just’ state because it is the only type of political organization that can secure and protect basic human and political rights equally for all citizens.’ Cited in Kreptul (2003)

violence that could be expected from unilateral secession and to implicate the consensual unification of multinational federation (Van der Beken 2007; Meles 2008; Fessha 2008; Teffery 2008). According to this group's view, the conditionality of secession right is challenged by the procedures that would make the right prohibitively difficult if not impossible hence conditional. According to Art 46, 2/3 vote is expected from the regional council in which the 9 regional are multinational themselves. That would make the regional council the composition of different ethnic groups. Meles (2008:12) express this as "the right holder and decision maker as different entities."

In support of this claim Van der Beken (2009:18) indicates that even though article 39 and art 46 granted the right to secede and the right for establishing their own region for the minorities, two different requests for the latter right has been rejected by EPRDF so far. The case of Sidama (an ethnic group in the southern region) requested the establishment of their own regional state and Berta (one of the ethnic groups living in Benshangul-Gumuz). The rejections according to some opinions confirmed to the claim that the Ethiopian constitution emphasis on ethnic rights is nothing but the repetition of Lenin's view that sees the grant of a right to self determination as a strategy to achieve unity rather than an end in itself (ibid). Van der Beken (2009) believes that this is the indication that in practice the EPRDF today focuses on unity based on the traditional Marxist-Leninist view that 'granting ethnic rights will lead to a neutralization of ethnicity'.

But for others whether the ruling party is opposed to the exercise of the right to secede, with the constitutional secession the implementation of the right is kept alive. The followers of this view assert that, Art 39(1) signals disintegration of the historic and multi ethnic state of Ethiopia which endured various challenges for centuries. The flow of this argument is mesmerized with the nationalist vision of territorial integrity as prior to sovereignty. Buchanan (2004) also considers territorial integrity as vital to the enforcement of constitutional democracy because territorial integrity is a cause for all citizens to have a morally legitimate interest in the integrity of political participation. And, the inclusion of secession right without the remedy for last resort considerations contradicts the existence of the state. Similarly, Aalen (2006) believes that the inclusion of Art 39 in the constitution has encouraged the ethnic based organization in the country that has secessionist programs such as the ONLF and OLF to fight for a separate state. According to him for the last two decades the secessionist movements of the two groups reached

a very high level and the political parties are able to get international attention by conducting armed resistance (Aalen 2006:243-261).

Kreptul (2003:56) based on the constitutional law scholar Cass Sustein argument, identifies the constitutional status of the right to secede as a challenge to the civil, political as well as economic rights. From this instance, the right to secede in FDRE's constitution might implicate unrealistic significance to protect the right of nations, nationalities and peoples without suppressing some universally accepted civil and political as well as economical individual rights. This is because of the socio-political, economical and cultural impacts to ethnic identity (emphasis mine). Also, Teshome B. and Zahorik (2008:8-25) asserts how ethnic federalism can be a danger for a country in which 'substantial portion of the population exist with mixed ethnic background or unsure of which ethnic group they belong' let alone granting unilateral secession right .

Moreover, the effect of modernity has identified as crucial in determining the degree of legitimacy. "The dominant culture at least in the formal urban legal system and among the informed voting public that is friendly to transplanted values such as human rights, constitutionalism and democracy, in the age of hyper-technologized flow of information and television would influence legitimacy " (Regassa 2010:108). Also Loukeris (2004-2005:7) point out that there are the new features of Ethiopia who are in professions, started business and pursued higher education which can be described in his exact words as "a critical mass of Ethiopians who understood such concepts as democracy, constitutionalism, and human rights; all and all educated cosmopolitan democrats held starkly different views of the theory of governance from that of the liberation front".

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS OF THE STUDY

4.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

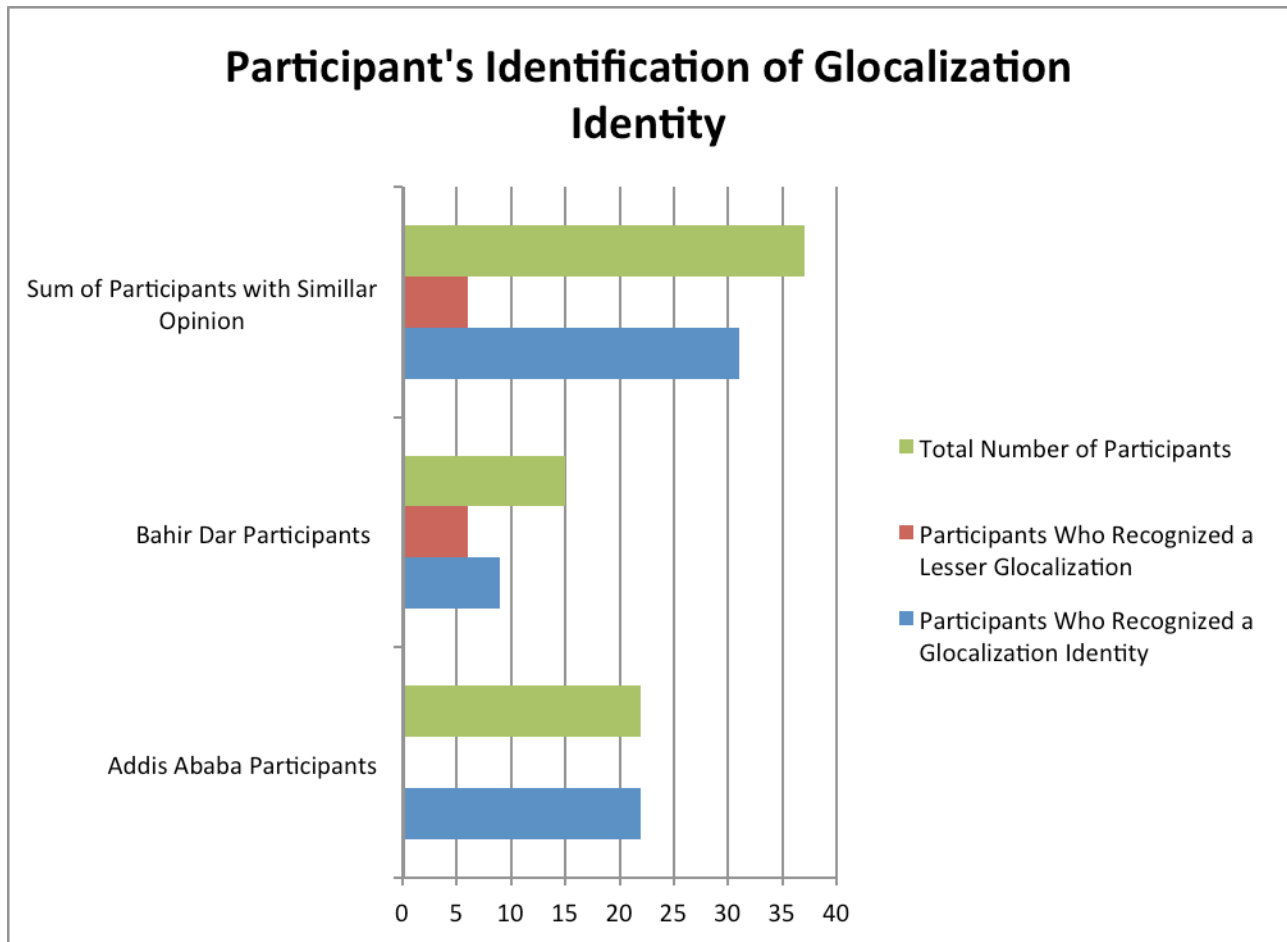
Qualitative data was collected and analyzed on anthropological and socio-economical characteristics of the respondents participated in the FGD and the key informant's interview. Respondents were asked about their socio economic activities, their ethnic outlook, and knowledge on constitutional ethnic based rights, particularly the secession right. Although difference had been reflected with regard to the scale of its occurrence, the participants of the discussion acknowledged the glocalized phenomenon in their location as a current anthropological paradigm. They agreed on its impact on the psychological and cultural perception of the society they live in. They have shown resistance towards fixed ethnic identification rather most of them implied the multiplicity of their ethnic origin caused by enter marriages and societal causes. Based on such an encounter with the participants, the analysis was under taken to answer what aspects of glocalization out looks determine the legitimacy of Article 39(1).

4.1.1 Anthropological Perception and Ethnic Status of Respondents

The qualitative survey questions for both FGD and key informants consider the respondents insight on ethnic identity and anthropological factors that could determine their opinion. The questions attempted to reveal their identity outlook and the anthropological causes behind it. During their discussion with the researcher, glocalization was identified as one environmental factor influencing people's perception on identity. Most of the participants consider ethnic factors as changeable in accordance to political and economical needs and benefits. They acknowledge the glocalization approach as the component of culture construction.

Table 3. Participants Identification of Glocalization Identity

	Addis Ababa Participant	BahirDar Participant	Sum of participants with similar opinion	% of participants with similar opinion
Participants Who Recognized a Glocalization Identity	22	9	31	84%
Participants Who Recognized a Lesser Glocalization	0	6	6	16%
Total Number of Participants	22	15	37	100%



4.1.2 Socio-Economic Status of the Respondents

The socio economic status of the respondents was measured on educational background, occupational status or professional activities which were identified through the FGDs and interview questionings. As a result, the FGD participants are identified from high school graduates to higher education diplomas holders and have different occupations. The key informants are; administrative members of youth associations, instructors and postgraduate students of higher institutions.

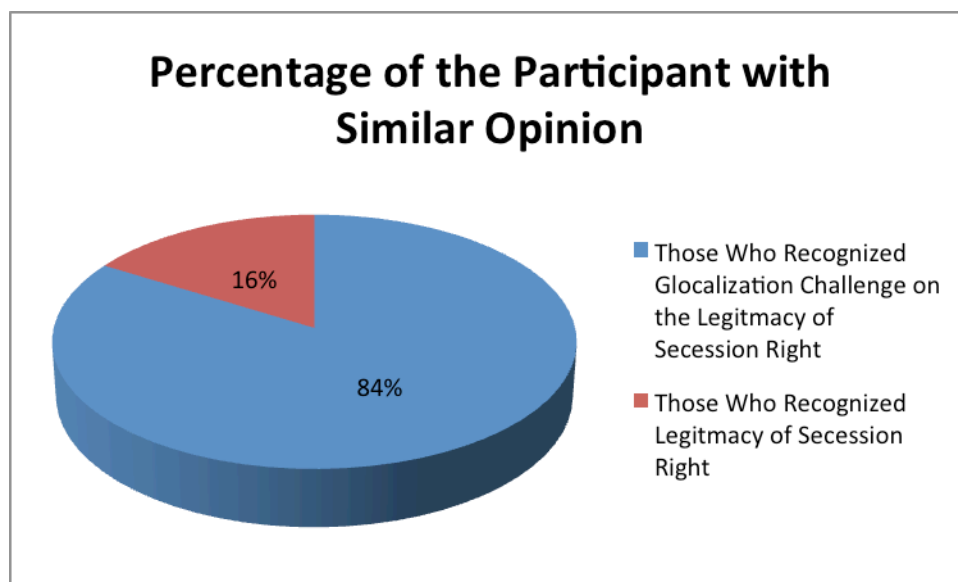
4.1.3 Knowledge of the Respondents about the Constitutionally Granted Secession Right

Knowledge of the respondents about constitutional right of secession is examined by the qualitative questions presented to the respondents of the FGD and key informants of the study. Although their knowledge is highly influenced by the politicized nature of the right than its human right approach, they all are aware about its constitutional status. However, the researcher classified the respondents in to three groups based on their opinion towards the secession clause. The first ones are those who argue on its self-determination aspect valuing its offer of peaceful political divorce for the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia. They referred it as historical outcome that attempts to reduce tension between different ethnic groups of the country. One of the proponents of this idea compares the effects of secession clause as “a rope fastening separate sticks together to give them special strength”. The second group claims on the nominal effect of the right because of its decoration role to self-determination right in the constitution. One argues that “its effect is as similar as staying in very high temperature ninth floor room while someone is there to offer you an open window to jump.” According to this group the secession right is not meant to be exercised, it is just there to legalize the ruling party’s recognition of Eritrea’s secession. The third groups are those which are more radical in their stand about the disintegrating effect of the secession clause to historic Ethiopia.

The participant’s pre-described position determined and leveled their argument towards the effect of glocalization to the legitimacy of seceding right. As a result the researcher asserts that the second and the third group take a similar stand on the determining effect of glocalization identity towards their consent provided to Art. 39(1), while those who support the constitutional implication of the right to secede denounced the challenges of glocalization identity.

Table 4 Participants Opinion on the Legitimacy of Secession Right

Opinion of Participants	Sum of the Participants With Similar Opinion
Those Who Recognized Glocalization Challenge on the Legitimacy of Secession Right	31
Those Who Recognized the Legitimacy of Secession Right	6
Total Number of Participants	37



4.2 Actual and Potential Challenges of Glocalization to FDRE's Constitutional Secession Right

During the discussion, in order to meet objectives of the study considerations have been made to biased opinions on the issue as well as the effects of widely held views. In order to discover the challenges of glocalization to the popular legitimacy of secession right, the researcher considered two critical matters: how aware the participants were about the issue and, where did their perception come from. This is due to disassociating a neutral from politicized position towards 'secession clause' of the FDRE constitution. However the researcher witnessed the matter at hand is a real challenge for the participant's neutrality. Thus, thematic analyses were applied until politically neutral ideas were categorized to reflect the actual and potential challenges related to the subject matter. Therefore, the themes were organized under three categories to reflect the actual and potential challenges of glocalization to participants' consent to wards secession right.

4.2.1 Socio-Cultural Glocalization Approach as a Challenge to the Legitimacy of FDRE's Constitutional Secession Right

From the total number of participants in both cities, 84% recognized the effect of glocalization in daily bases of their lives. Glocalization is determined as insertion of globalized culture to local realities of the socio-economical and political arena. The discussants explained that the environment did not allow them to give more emphasis on distinct localism. As one of the Addis Ababa participants in Kirkos sub city describes it, common identity lost its status in his home city. He refers a 'tie analogy' in order to make his point clear, "I understand ethnic identity as a 'tie' in a full outfit, which you have it but does not create any difference to your nakedness if you drop it" (Participant 1).

Similarly, a participant from the Arada sub city in Addis Ababa said that the city is becoming one through a glocalization culture despite the diverse nature of the society. The participants acknowledged the glocalization phenomenon as a challenge towards the primordial identity of the localities. Peaceful coexistence of a diverse society initiates a new form of identity that relies on cultural tolerance.

According to the discussion such glocalization environment creates a transcended form of identity like ‘Addissabebian’.¹⁶ They described on a mixed identity of universal and national consciousness that rests on city belongingness. They indicated the overflowing technology, communication media, and global economic equipment as a cause to such societal change. One of the discussants of the student groups said that; “We are making the local globalized by adopting what is instrumental for us and by focusing on the unitary aspects of cultural tolerance and economical development. We the urbanized societies are inheriting the attribute of a global citizen (Participant 2).

The participants of FGD raised the essence of identity change influenced by different variants of glocalization; culture integration, modernization, transnational settlements, liberal economical activity and so on. A key informant who teaches in Bahir Dar University said; “The form of culture resistance to the total impact of globalization could be indicated as one major sign for our entrance to glocalization phenomenon” (Key informant B).

He thinks that the society learns to utilize global norms and principles on the bases of local cultural integration. His opinion on this world order is associated with the advanced cosmopolitan belief to the form of brother hood over any form of divided existence. However, according to his perception because of business causes and technology exposures the effect of glocalization phenomenon is more of a reality to the city centers of the country than the rural regions.

The Bahir Dar participant implies that even though it existed as a recent phenomenon combating culture rigidity of the society, there is a combination of civic nationalism approach with globalization outlook. One of the participants says, “The city is in the stage of development and modernization. Globalization is influencing the society’s perspective towards change and economical growth. There is an open attitude towards technology” (Participant 3).

According to many participants there is change witnessed to the primitive norms of the society especially to the young generation’s globalized outlook that has shown development in the business spectrum. Also they have said one of the largest universities of the country facilitates culture integration among campus students and city residents in a way that influences fixed

¹⁶ Their expression for ‘Addis Ababa city’ local identity

identity out looks. An FGD participant in Bahir Dar identifies glocalization as current approach that mobilizes the city's society towards modern identities. She argues that because of media exposure of the outside world, even wearing styles are copy pasted from foreign singers. She gave the examples of out fits which combine the local (shema) with the foreign style garments.

However, 16% of the participants argued that there is a culture resistance towards glocalized perspectives. One of the participants refers fixed approach to culture as similar as “a stamp” that causes more personal attachment to ethnic identity. In such a case member ship is ascribed to ethnic groups and vividness of collective right is observed through the process. They claim that the country is still in the early stage of civilization and contains original culture of different ethnic groups that needs to be celebrated in its uniqueness. But, as some were arguing back the conditions in the modernized Addis Ababa are not suitable for ethnic based life styles. As one of the Arada sub city participants put it, if ethnic identity is vital he would associate it with language but again he implies that the language he is closer to is the language he develops through learning, in which English language takes the credit as equal to his mother tongue. He says; “as a civilized citizen I suppose I have the power of naming my identity, my parent's identity should not by any means be my identity” (Participant 4).

In addition the discussion implied that there is always a construction element to culture, language and norm of a society. Living within globalization develops societal change to the level of universalism. They have raised the example of the teaching medium which is English in most private schools as a challenge to the pure existence of native languages. Because of such visible examples those who held a similar view on culture construction argued on the absence of any pure or common ethnic identity in the age of glocalization. A key informant from anthropology back ground affirms this idea by pointing the construction of national identity which is more likely influenced by the socio-economical and political paradigm we are living in. She emphasized that in the glocalization phenomenon individuals cannot have special or emotional attachment to any of their primordial connection like mother tongue because, they simply prefer a language which fits to their community. According to her the foreign language domination in the private schools, higher education programs also in the professional field, is not something we can keep on avoiding however hard we try to celebrate our uniqueness. She said the English media of instruction by itself has an effect to the child's psychological attraction to glocalized

norms. “External impacts like foreign language domination affect the promotion of native languages and would challenge the primordial existence” (Key informant A).

As many of the FGD participants agree up on the intervention of globalization in the life of the society, they described the primordial mode of identity classification in the FDRE constitution as vague, controversial and meaningless in the eye of the globalized society. One of the participants supporting this claim argued that he finds it hard to claim art 39(1) as his own right. He feels that his identity has not been recognized fully since the right holders are defined due to ‘primordial factors of identity’.¹⁷ He said, “It is hard for me to distinguish myself as owner of those constitutionally described fixed identities” (Participant 5).

Art 39(5) of FDRE constitution defines nation, nationalities and peoples as “a group of people who have or share a large measure of a common culture or similar customs, mutual intelligibility of language, belief in a common or related identities, a common psychological make-up, and who inhabit an identifiable, predominantly contiguous territory”. A key informant from the philosophy department of A.A.U referring a German philosopher Hegel stated that “every definition by itself is a negation”. According to him such criteria in the definition impose certain characteristics to right holders of art 39(1) which are primordial ethnic aspects. He said the negation of the definition relies in the primordial aspects victimization by social change and time; “A Gurage person in the Gurage region and a Gurage person who lives in Addis Ababa should not be expected to share common psychological makeup and language but they both are members of Gurage ethnic groups. Environment factors contributed for identity differences” (Key informant P).

Similarly, the key informant from civic and ethical education department in Bahir Dar University explained a cosmopolitan approach in the city as one reason to hide ethnic identity. It is a form of social change that dissolves the original identity and in such environment identity gets fluid, multiple and constructed form. Constructivism ethnic theory tells us that change can be a product of the very political and economical phenomenon in which the process associated with a stable democracy, elections, parties, cycles of political competitions and the process associated with

¹⁷ It is created when a community shares ideas of bloodshed, the same race, speech, territory, religion, customs and traditions, history and ancestors in which membership is hereditary. ‘The constitution of national identity on primordial’s and instrumentalism’, Viera Bacova, institute of social sciences, Slovak Academy of sciences, ‘Human affairs,1998,1,29-43)

economic growth, industrialization, urbanization, print capitalism, differential modernization and changes (Chandra 2009:6).

Also a key informant from anthropological background emphasized on the constructivism approach to ethnicity and referred it as a social construct. She said “under the environmental attack such as glocalization and other anthropological factors we get subjective on ethnic identity and its fluid nature overrules its fixed nature. Generally it is a target of change.” As Chandra (2009) explains the principal theoretical revolution in the study of ethnic identities in anthropology, literature, history, political science and sociology has shown the constructive nature of ethnicity.¹⁸

For the FGD respondents recognizing the socio cultural challenges of glocalization towards the primordial ethnic aspects, the constitution definition of ethnic entities is a dismissal to their glocalized perception of identity. Either for those considering the decoration status of the right to secede in the constitution or those who fears it in its disintegration effect, the definition of the right holders is a major factor that contradicts their acceptance towards the right. The constitution does not allow any space for constructive ethnic elements or any form of fluid identity. One of the participants to describe his stance on secession right says; “My constitution fails to recognize my identity but my individuality. My absence in the right holders of Art 39(1) is an enough reason for my lack of consent” (Participant 5).

Professor Mesfin Woldemariam from the opposition group argues that identity is a significant matter that should have been considered in the ratification of secession right. He argues against the identification of ethnic groups based on primordial factors of identity. According to him in the long history of Ethiopia there is intermixing of culture, language and religion. He says “identity is multiple and complex, it is not chosen rather it is accidental, mixed and invisible”

¹⁸ He cited Economist, April 2,2005,51 and exemplified the number of Muslims in Bosnia increased by over 75% between 1961 and 1971 and during the same period the number of “Yugoslavs” in Bosnia decreased by 84% (Bringa 1995,28) and 31% of the population of Britain thought of themselves as English in 1992, less than ten years later, the number had increased to 41%

(Amharic Book)¹⁹. And, intermarriage and transnational movements are historical facts that dominate new culture in the lives of the society. The other problem he indicated is the vagueness in the terminology of ‘self determination’. From his understanding, the term ‘self’ itself could be referring many aspects of identity. Terminologically ‘self’ is addressed to many entities with different identity outlooks with regard to political views, race, language, ethnicity, territory or history which is in contrary to the limited application of the word to primordial ethnic groups. From his arguments the definition of the ethnic entities would only proves the controversial status of the secession clause (ibid: 104-109).

In the eye of those who argue the right is not meant to be implemented, the denial of glocalized identity’s representation in the right holders category is a proof for its impracticable design. For them it is more of a meaningless matter from a fluid identity perception. Also, a Bahir Dar university key informant argues that the constitutional essence of secession right is easier to grasp by a certain primordial ethnic group or else it is not the concern for others in terms of practical aspects. He provides three reasons for this claim on ‘only a paper based status of secession clause’,

1st it is not structured to be multi dimensional (its lack of consideration on different theoretical aspect of ethnicity), 2nd it can’t be equally accessed and 3rd it is a ‘right’ which does not acknowledge my right (Participant B). Professor Mesfin Woldemariam in his book confirms these problems and associates it with the problem of its participatory essence in the ratification of the law. He raises questions like ‘if the real identity of the authorities who formalized the constitution does not buy our concern, whether they were true representatives of the people do initiate our inquiry’. He thinks that in the making of the law, the true authority of the people was shadowed by the political demand of the leading party.

The second group position on the disintegrating effect of secession presupposes on the aftermath of its practicability. As the proponents imply it they fear that their identity existence will be dismantled from their ethnic origin. Similarly, Linda Bishai (Edited in Lehning 1998:91) argues on the impossibility of ethnic identity as the bases for secession because of the incompatibility of

ethnic secession with democracy. “If state is the bases on ethnos, it neglects those who are not members of the ethnos, and democracy works best in civic nationalism and common citizen ship not in ethnic nationalism”. But an informant from political science background argued against this idea by pointing out the impracticable aspect of secession with the developing culture of ethnic federalism. He said the controversial effect of secession right is decreasing with the manifestation of ‘unity in diversity’ concept. He stresses that along with the experiment of federalism, the disintegration fear against secession clause is fading away. He says, “Despite ethnic federalism arrangement, Addis Ababa and other big cities will be places for diverse ethnic identities. And, the effect of ‘business language’ make the society identical in a global national fashion” (Key informants O).

The third group who implies that the glocalization impact is in its infant stage argues the uniting aspect of constitutional seceding right in Ethiopia. They referred ethnic federalism’s grant to seceding right as a historical incident that overcome the grievance that could be raised from the previous regimes homogenization attempt. They associate the emphasis to the society’s primordial culture as compensation to past discrimination and ethnic oppression. Such factors are the causes for the constitutional recognition to the primitive demarcation of ethnic groups. The secession clause is a promise for a safe exit in cases of ill treatment within the federalism system. The political science key informant asserts that this implication of the right is also started to be grasped by the members of the separatist movement since half members of OLF (an oppositional armed separatist movement) are reported anecdotally to drop their secession objective.

From the discussions that were conducted with all focus group participants, the glocalization environment of the cities has contributed to their perception towards constitutionally grunted seceding right on primordial ethnic identity bases. According to Bacova, “individuals living in the city are dominated by constructed network with other culture, religious and political beliefs like the functioning of the community, modernism, liberalism, universalism, democracy and opinions on human rights” (Bacova 1998:42). However, comparing the two cities numerical difference has been observed to the ‘pro and against FDRE secession clause’ given the scale of glocalization approach in their city. Due to access to technology, history of modernization and urbanization level, the Addis Ababa participants are identified as more glocalized than the Bahir Dar participants. On the other hand, as much as the claim towards the emerging glocalized

identity in the city, part of the Bahir Dar participants were valuing ethnic elements that goes along with the primordial culture of their region.

And, the socio cultural glocalized identity discussed in this section is discovered by the researcher as the cause for the socio political and economical argument of the glocalized participants' legitimacy stand. As a result the next sub section will report the findings with regard to the variants.

4.2.1.1 The Glocalized Socio-Political Challenge to the Legitimacy of FDRE's Constitutional Right to Secede

The Discussant who was in favor of the secession clause argued that the right gives the regional sub-states a political strength. According to them the granted free choice for ethnic groups brought national consciousness over each group's equal political right. Eshete (2010:9) implies that the objective of Ethiopian federalism is to enhance the political freedom and equality of all cultural communities by calling for emancipation of many cultures and identities that had been 'scorned' and whose land and labor forcibly taken by those who belonged to the politically privileged culture. He identifies the secession clause as a result of 'irresistible historical experience'. He argues that the makers of the new constitution, who supported the Eritrean self determination and independence, won't refuse self rule or the right to secede in Ethiopia.

The opponents of this view, though accepting the importance of respecting oppressed driven ethno nationalist question, they argue that the historical question was all about equality within the land not the demand for secession. This group believes that recognizing and respecting a right through secession is not the answer against centralization, rather respecting diversity and fundamental international norms and principles of human right were the demands of Ethiopian people. They claim that even though the constitutional framework take a stand of promoting and respecting fundamental rights of ethnic groups, the inclusion of secession clause destroy the faith on the applicability of the grant rights. The participants in support of this opinion consider Art 39(1) as a threat to their political right. According to them since individual existence lacks constitutional recognition to territorial claim their lack of ethnic membership is a limitation to benefit from territorial resources like land owner ship.

Some of them give their own practical example with regard to regional officials' objection to their request for land settlement. They have mentioned their inability to associate themselves with a single ethnic group has limited their benefit from certain rights. One group member said, "Self-determination right with its secession clause has no form of recognizing my citizenship based on my multiple cultural identities but as a specific ethnic group relying on primordial ethnic facts. Hence, it is complicated for me to understand its constitutional equalization effect" (Participant 6). In this respect, he believes that it's even logical for the local administrations to be sensitive to his ethnic identity since that's what the constitution implies them to do.

One of the Kirkos sub city participants of Addis Ababa agreed with this concept and indicated that ethnic federalism by itself has the effect of ethno national sensitivity towards a glocalized identity. He raised the example of state official's minimal awareness to the instrumental nature of language which always creates a mistreatment of individuals from another language. According to him such lack of recognition to the individuals mixed identity created hatred. It contradicts national belongingness. He even fears that such things might cause for a separatist movement, in which case the secession clause lacks his consent. Another one presented a case of his father's retirement payment from the Regional Bureau which he was supposed to handle but failed to do so because of his inability of speaking his father's language, "I am a member in blood relationship but I cannot ask for my right because of my inability to speaking the language of that specific ethnic group. But the city life style I am used to teach me differently about the values and principle of right" (Participant 4).

The participant implied that his identity is closer to civic nationalism that would make him closer to the current world order on universal human right principles and norms. The discussant implied that secession is a negative connotation to the principle of tolerance. It has the effect of reminding hatred and grievances among the ethnic groups. They determine it as a cause for conflicting ideologies even in the same group demanding political peace resolutions. More than that, some part of this group implies that due to the fact that the federalism system in the country is still in the early stage, secession might be considered as a way out for certain groups with issues of mistreatment. As one of the proponents of this group indicates, even the advocacy describing the very essence of ethnic federalism as rescuer of historical oppression and suppression of a certain ethnic groups creates misguided hatred against each other.

This group further asserts that the inclusion of historic domination and suppression in each aspect of the equalization teachings of 'ethnic federalism' creates uncertainty on the binding force of the system. It is highly likely that it contribute to ethnic gap let alone recognition to fluid identities of the glocalization phenomenon. Hence, the system's acknowledgement to seceding right is referred as a danger to disintegrate Ethiopia. The participants assert that the advocacy method guided by proposed seceding right is one major challenge to the success of ethnic federalism.

The key informant from political science reinforces this point and said that in the current ethnic reality of the country, he has a serious doubt on the concept of 'unity' although encouragement to 'diversity' dominated the political culture. He referred to the clashes among university students usually motivated by ethnic causes. For him including the secession clause for a country in which the federalism culture is in its infant stage has its own danger. He believes that the Ethiopian ethnic federalism in its original essence has the nature of 'from coming together to going apart' implication. Habtu (2003:24) also implies that a "mismatch between the liberal - democratic political pluralist elements of the constitution and the political praxis of the dominant party (given the violation of voting rights of citizens) contributes to the controversial perception of right to secede in the public discourse in Ethiopia and its Diaspora communities".

The key informants who is a lecturer in Bahir Dar university viewed that the over emphasis on diversity than unity is caused by the wrongly applied federalism system to politics. The diversity concept is always used by politicians for power strengthening reasons. They used historical ethnic grievances to address current ethno political problems. Key informant of federalism department implies that the secession right in Ethiopia has been manipulated by the political elite's interest to power; rather than its human right aspect it has given wide spread political aspiration. The rights appearance as a subject of interest for political debates and election proposals gave ontological political essence to its societal insight. The key informant from political background also believed that even though historical facts have shown that it is regarded as a covenant among different ethnic groups for equal coexistence or as a contract against homogenization, yet some groups use it as an instrument to achieve their political goals.

The success of ethnic federalism is vital for addressing glocalized society's need. This view has been supported by many of the participants who were arguing on the disintegrable aspect of secession or the paper base essence of it. According to them the world wide view on globalization is dominated by oneness through mutual political integration of states. They said there would not provide any favor for secession under this consideration. For them glocalization is a pragmatic approach for the political networking and stability of the nations worldwide. Unless learning how to get along with peace keeping and developmental international mechanisms, we are in no position of escaping a global political invasion. Such complaint of the participants also was identified by Habtu (2003:23) " the imposition of ascribed ethnic classification is a source of common complaint among de- ethnicized urban folks who wish to self - identify as Ethiopian only". Based on the participants' discussion, the accomplishment to 'unity in diversity' could lead to the new Ethiopia national consciousness. They emphasized on the glocalized society's interest to the promotion of civic nationalism as a reflection to democratic citizen ship and recognition to global values. For proponents of the global local political paradigm, the democratic citizen ship remains firmly national even though moral principles are cosmopolitan in nature (Modood and Squires 2004:13-15).

4.2.1.2 The Glocalized Socio-Economical Challenges to the FDRE's Constitutional Right to Secede

The glocalize perception of economical challenges raised in the FGD rested to the limitation individuals claimed to experience towards their socio-economical rights. They associate the incapability of exercising their right as a failure towards the ethnic federalism integration aspect. They implied the possibility of secession under such circumstances.

Some of the participants in this category implied that the sub state officials' stance on the beneficiaries of the natural resources is specific to ethnic members only. One of the Addis Ababa participants said, "You face discrimination because of your separate identity, and the worst thing is the action doers only consider it as their constitutionally granted right" (Participant 7).

According to the discussion the limited consciousness level on the correct implication of 'self determination' misguided the application of the right. Because of the grudge held against once ethnically privileged groups, the constitutional right is applied as a 'payback' mechanism. Even

though most agreed that the situation is not vital around Addis Ababa, some of the participants told the researcher they have faced discriminatory treatment from their peer mates from another ethnic group while they worked in the 'small scale economic activities' organized by the city administration. They confirmed they had been called 'names' and discouraged to participate equally in the income generating activities. One particular participant said that he was unable to perform what he had been trained to do because he was not welcomed by any of the trainees with him who were of the same ethnic identity.

The proponents of this view believed that the awareness in the regional level with regard to civic nationalism and equality is very limited. This situation is reported as a limiting factor to individual right to movement as recognized in the constitution. This creates a controversy between individually granted rights and ethnic based rights which affects the success of the federalism approach. However the comparative politics is under the stress of globalization requirement to democratization and economical growth due to the freely granted individual rights. And the very essence of the federalism system is to settle culture heterogeneity and individual peaceful coexistence in the form of covenant. But as the discussion implies it the direct combination of historical misdeed of the past regimes with specific ethnic groups motivated the present ethnic discriminations.

The connecting effect of modernization and globalization paths towards development had been discussed among the Bahir Dar youth association participants. Some reflected that the history of the city on the absence of domination to ethnic outlook facilitated the concept of brotherhood and healthy business competition within the environment. But they feared that such realities are only limited to the glocalised environment they are in. Because in some occasions they had moved around their region for awareness creation purpose among the youths, they had received a report on the problems of individuals' mobility for economical purposes to other regions as a result of ethnic discrimination and mistreatment. And this difficulty raised by them is beside the language barrier they are required to face to exercise their employment right. The discussant implied that such ethnic based discriminations and ill treatments could lead to separation movements.

A key informant from philosophy department of Addis Ababa University identified this problem with regional administrative lack of awareness on the peace making effect of unity in ethnic

diversity. He felt such actions from the regional government would limit people's freedom of movement and economic, social and cultural rights as stated in Art 32 and Art 41(1) of the constitution.²⁰ He said in the current situation, the problem is so serious to the extent of treating member of another ethnic group as a foreigner (outcast) with regard to his economic needs.

For a political science post graduate student ethnic based provisions wrapped up by group right advocacies always contains a risk. He gave the example of communist China in which group right is advocated through civic nationalism. Priority to group right brings more success in the ethnically homogenous society like china. But in cases of countries like Ethiopia there is always a challenge in respecting the rights of ethnic group and implementing individual rights. According to Tefferi (2008:20-22) the emphasis on group rights over individual rights in the FDRE constitution is testimony to the validity of the claim that 'multiculturalism federalism negates liberalism'. He says, "There are often clashes between the collective right of a nation, nationalities and peoples of a certain region and the right of individuals living in that region"

According to a key informant from anthropology, another factor that facilitates the challenge to individuals' freedom to mobility is the mentioning of ethnic identity in the citizen residential identity card. For her, this situation is fully responsible in opening up a new form of hatred among ethnic groups especially in the business community. Individuals are to be measured by their ethnic identity.

For all the key informants under this category secession by itself is not a threat to the business community inclination for wealth accommodation since its practical effect is unobserved. They asserted that if there is any direct linked threat towards secession clause with regard to its effect of disintegrating large enterprises with the seceding state, it is based on the experience of Eritreas' secession in the past. However, administrative problems supported by misguided ethnic patriotism denounced individual's role towards economic activity and private investment. They all share a view that political factors and historical truths have contributed to the psychological awareness of elite administration's position on ethnic membership and economic rights.

²⁰ Art 32 of FDRE Constitution, 'Any Ethiopian or foreign national lawfully in Ethiopia has, within the national territory, the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his residence, as well as the freedom to leave the country at any time he wishes to.'

Art 41(1) of FDRE Constitution, 'Every Ethiopian has the right to engage freely in economic activity and to pursue a livelihood of his choice anywhere within the national territory.'

Nevertheless, those who are in favor of Art 39(1) argue that the right holders of FDRE constitution are ethnic groups. They are the one who needs to be liberated from oppression and suppression in their own land. Hence, any economical privilege should first be delivered to ethnic members.²¹ A professor in the federalism department of Addis Ababa University based on the recognition to the right holders of the constitution, pointed out that individual's claim should not be counted as a threat to the appearance of secession clause. He explained that the first priorities of the constitution are not individual citizens rather its ethnic groups. Even in the economic field they should be the ones who need to be beneficial from their land and natural resources. According to him it is their constitutionally granted right to decide on their land and grant business permission based on their regional law.²² However, the professor implied to the researcher that the glocalization effect is more real in the economical spectrum of the country. Business interaction from the global market to the country enhances the economical activity in each local level of the country. He said the networked commercial society initiate a glocalized outlook and identity.

And, the anthropologist key informant emphasized on the role of individuals networking with market relations and social life as a cause to social change. She implied that the individual interaction with the global system is a facilitator to glocalization identity. The key informant from philosophy department in Addis Ababa University shared her view and said that, "The more socio economically developed a society is, the more it gives emphasis to socio economic needs and conditions to expedite economic growth" (Key informant P).

Hence, liberal economic activity dominates the civilized world; it has gained preference in many countries economic policy. Chandra (2009:42) implies that ethnic identity categories are not objectively given but constructed by human actions. He says "changes in ethnic identity are the outcome of individuals' perception. When large members redefine the ethnic identity categories that describe them, large scale changes in the distribution of identities in the population as a whole". He indicates that the process associated with, 'economic growth, industrialization,

²¹Art 8(1) refers the sovereign entities of Ethiopia, 'All sovereign power resides in the Nations, Nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia.'

²² The constitution recognize power and function of states, Art 52 (2b) 'to enact and execute the state constitution and other laws; Art 52 (2c) 'to formulate and execute economic, social and development policies, strategies and plans of the state'

urbanization, print capitalism, differential modernization’ are challenges towards presumed ethnic divisions that threaten economic growth.

4.3 The Prospect to the Legitimacy of Secession Right with in the Glocalize Phenomenon

The participants of the study have pointed out means of reconciliation to the glocalization perception of urbanized society and popular consent provided to the legal status of seceding right in FDRE’s constitution. As the makers of the constitution agree the inclusion of seceding right portrays a safe gate away for those who could not get the promise of ethnic federalism. As Habtu (2003:10) describes, “the declared objective of the framers of ethnic federalism was to transform the empire state in to a democratic state of ethnic pluralists in order to ensure that no ethnic community would find it necessary or desirable to secede” This essence of the right somehow gets an equivalent status with the international human right documents stand on the human right value of secession.²³ Moreover, under chapter three of the constitution, Article 13(2) on the scope of application and interpretation declares that ‘the fundamental rights and freedoms specified in this chapter shall be interpreted in a manner conforming to the principles of the universal declaration of human rights, international covenants on human rights and international instruments adopted by Ethiopia’.

As it has been discussed in the literature review section of this paper, the remedial right only theory of the specific right tends to be dominant in the international human right instruments in relation to self determination rights. As Allen Buchanan a liberal democratic theorist confirming the present international order describes, only the limited right to secede should be accepted to hold state territorial integrity sacrosanct (Buchanan 2004). According to his theory the most compelling moral argument for remedial secession relies;

- 1) Persistent violation of human right
- 2) Rectification of past unjustly taken territory
- 3) Discriminatory redistribution

²³ like the ‘ Vienna Declaration and programme of action , world conference on HR, Vienna, 14-25 June 1993: complete text on <http://www.unhchr.ch>)

Hence Ethiopian federalism is structured to redress such short comings of the previous regimes; its success will probably assure the remedial right only status of secession.

As we go through the analysis on the challenges of glocalization towards the right to secede, the participants' response to legitimacy is concerned on the practicability issue of the right. Both the proponents and opponents linked their position on the effectiveness of the right. The former associated their support to the necessity of the right as a form of last resort, while the latter denounced it for its fragmenting effect. However, both arguments rely on the success or failure of the federalism system in the country. The chances of the right staying only in its remedial right status or its disintegrating threat rely on the outcome of the federalism practice. Therefore, the glocalize society's legitimacy stand which is the reflection of their glocalized demands depends up on the grant of the federalism promise. The prospect relies on the compromise aspect of federalism experiment in addressing the glocalized society's demand.

The reconciliation aspect proposed by the participants' lies in how does secession maintain its remedial right only position without manipulated by political interests of a certain group or how does the right remain in its last resolution form without causing hazard to the glocalized society. Even the FGD participants who were manifesting the ethno nationalist arguments in favor of the secession clause for its peace keeping and equalization effect agreed that there is no actual historical record that identifies secession as a matter of interest for the historic struggle of democracy-hungered Ethiopian people. Peoples strived to achieve democracy and recognition to their self determination rights. They claimed that the secession clause is the constant reminder to the bloodshed struggle towards this end; it has the connotation like 'a sacrifice to pay till the 'highest end' for the sake of equality and freedom'. According to Tefferi (2008), even though self-determination often understood to mean secession, in FDRE constitution only the external aspect refers seceding right while the internal refers the democratic self-rule for ethnic groups; which precondition the external implication of self-determination right. Therefore, before this extreme, nation, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia aspire to see the success of ethnic federalism through a democratic trend.

The opponents of the secession clause describe that ethnic federalism is the reality of Ethiopia. Due to the long fought intention of the people of Ethiopia against political and economical ethnic policies of the past regimes, ethnic federalism is a pragmatic approach that grants political

stability and economical advancement. However, the system held a challenge to its integral attempt if not practiced keenly; like the constitutional inclusion of the right to secede. The participants assert that unless the federalism experiment strengthens, the secession clause will be adherent to political instability and the down fall of unity.

There is a very likely resemblance between the federalism objectives and the glocalization approach. As Gudina (2006:119) implies it the Ethiopian federal experiment has two objectives; “to create a country of equal ‘nations, nationalities and peoples’ and to put an end to authoritarian rule by democratizing the Ethiopian state and society as a whole”. He indicates that even though there exist conflict of interest among the different ethnic elites, the Ethiopian people quest for peace, democracy and development remains as elusive as ever. As the ‘Glocalization research study and policy Recommendations’ (2006:1-4) which is organized in collaboration by the World Bank institute and glocalization forum implies the vision of glocalization through established networked policies, has the objective of facilitating peace, democracy and development by empowering individuals of diverse cultures. As the research indicates, ‘the political design of glocalization aims to integrate the strong powers of global governance that largely fail to realize the importance of cultural diversity and the strength of the local dimension.’ In this instance, the experiment of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia will smooth the progress of glocalization approach.

Madood and Squires (2004:233) also point out that “recognizing rather than denying ethnicity holds the key to democratizing the state and development”. Therefore, the success of ethnic federalism is vital for addressing glocalized society’s need. Similarly, Eshete (2010) asserts that through federalism Ethiopian people install the cultivation of their own culture and identify it with all its reach diversity as ‘a leading asset to a cosmopolitan community of peoples’ in their own terms.

However, as Merera Gudina who is an associate professor of political science and international researcher also a member opposition party states, the major challenge for the experiment of federalism model in Ethiopia lies on the competing interests and contradictory visions of the contending elites who are the ‘moving spirit of ethnic nationalism’ (Gudina 2006). According to him contradictory perspectives dominated by past and current political demands of the ethnic based political parties have impacted Ethiopian democratization in three ways; they affect the

political will of the competing elites to reach a national consensus on the democratic transition, they have fragmented the opposition by undermining its unity, and they impacted the workings of civil society and the independent press.

Gudina(2006:129) emphasize that “without national consensus on the modality of democratic governance, successful democratization is an illusion at best and hypocrisy at worst”. He states that democratizing multiethnic states need carefully constructed political structures which can mediate and accommodate diversity rather than difference. If we win the challenges of ethnic federalism in such fashion, the extravagant claims to the right to secede by certain other elites could be dropped.

A key informant from Bahir Dar University implied that since it seems impossible to avoid ethnic federalism the important thing is to work on its aspect of ‘unity’ for the sake of its success, otherwise the city residents will be the one to suffer from ethnically privileged rights. As Tefferi (2008:4-24) also implies ethnic conflicts are often a reflection of mismanagement of ethnic diversity. According to him we should give more emphasize on the substantive preconditions apart from the procedural conditions in order to minimize the danger. He suggests mechanisms to make the federation viable and reduce ethnic tension; ‘avoiding over fixation with ethnic differences because of denominators of the Ethiopian people caused by century old intermarriages, striking fair balance between respecting individual rights and the exercise of the right to self determination of a group, and injecting the federal values on people is instrumental to the validity of the Ethiopian federal model’.

The political scientist key informant believed that if more advocacies are provided to the real essence of the right, even secession can become a uniting factor. He says, “Secession clause if positively advocated in the society can be one mechanism to show a right granted to all on the base of equal recognition” (participant O).

According to him, despite its politicized nature, it has a chance of bringing unity based on respecting difference and respecting the equal right of groups to secede. He further connotes that although ethnic federalism is realistic to Ethiopia’s anthropological and political arrangement, realizing its negative aspect is important. Its diversity celebration could bring over fixation and ethnic patriotism which might lead to a separatist movement. He says, “Any attempt of ethnic

accusation for economic backwardness and ignorance should be halt in order to avoid hatred. As far as history is concerned there was a corrupted system of governance in Ethiopia, it is not one ethnic group over the other, rather rulers' oppression and administrative suppression was enemies of people's backwardness". He indicated that serious historical research should be done in that area to defeat political propaganda because that's the main thing that corrupted people's mind.

Gudina (2006) also implied that to accomplish the success of ethnic federalism political leaders who think and act bigger than their ethnic groups and with a sense of history have significant role. For him such political reform would cultivate the national consensus in which the 'inter-elite competition is democratically regulated and ordinary citizens are empowered'. The political teaching of cosmopolitan democracy also emphasize up on the accountability of expert politicians for the achievement of peaceful cultural coexistence.²⁴

The participants of the discussion in this research paper pointed out on the importance of empowering individuals and equal recognition of their right with collective rights. They believed that the existence of conflicting individuals with in a group is a cause for political instability. The proponents of this view predict that the success of the federal model could be achieved if equal privilege is given for constitutional human and democratic rights. But their argument on the possibility of secession rests on their concern regarding the effectiveness of the Ethiopian federalism handling the gap between constitutionally proclaimed principles and political practice. They agreed that the less values given to human right principles limit the glocalize society's healthy business competition and political participation. The message of human right and its equal value should be addressed by both the regional and administrative level without being polished by any preconditions. When efforts are made to redress the matter of human right the federal experience will receive more trust.

According to the participant's discussion, in order to reach to this consciousness level; we do need to remember means of social interaction and cultural integrations in the federalist Ethiopia. And since the cities are the exact models for the advancement of such norms, the promotion to the networking of cities socio economic development needs to be manifested. The rights of

²⁴ Held, 2003 cited in Tariq Modood and Judith Squires, 'Ethnicity, Nationalism and Minority rights', 2004; Cambridge

diverse identities need to be recognized in the same manner as the primordial ethnic members of the local areas. As Chandra (2009) argues that if our theories about the relationships between ethnicity, politics and economics are based on the unreasonable premises that ethnic identities are fixed the conclusion cannot be reasonable.

As the participants reflected, since individuals in the cities are more likely to be affected by fixed ethnic identity and the disproportional privilege it has gained, there is a reasonable claim to their lack of legitimacy to constitutionally granted seceding right. In the glocalization phenomenon primordial identity avoidance has resulted because of global cultural exposure. As affirmed by the FGD participants as well as key informants of the study culture construction is anthropological reality within city residents. The fact that membership to territory is associated with primordial ethnic identity creates a gap to individuals' sense of belongingness. And also the over fixated ethnic nationalism from residents of a certain region is a challenge for glocalize society activity in the area. Lehning (1998) states that because of liberalism aspects in which individual rights are universally applicable, the equality of each person's 'land value entitlement' is necessarily global in scope.²⁵ Also, he argues that "modern individuals are embedded in interrelated and changeable identity possibilities". Regardless of a defined fixed national identity, individuals may identify with number of various identities.

Linda Bishai (Lehning 2008:105) suggests that since identities are inclined to change, the only solution for the protection of rights (both individual and collective) is one that is flexible enough to accommodate those changes in one that is not rooted in territory. Under this connotation glocalized identity is supple to the universalized democratic citizenship. And, the reconciliation mechanisms delivered by the participants of the study to accommodate similar solution focused on the celebration of 'unity' among the heterogeneous ethnic societies. Both group acknowledged that at least from the glocalized society's perception 'the right to secede' demanded to held its internationally recognized status in order to avoid its fragmentation approach.

²⁵ the author associate this point with the requirement of international distributive justice with regard to national territorial entitlement; 'Theories of secession' Percy B. Lehning , 2005

CHAPTER FIVE

5. SUMMERY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

This section deals with the summery of the study, conclusion and recommendation with regard to the findings. First summery of the study will be reflected, and then recommendations will be followed by the specific conclusions made from the findings of the study.

5.1 Summery

This study is organized to investigate the challenges of glocaization to the legitimacy of the right to secede in the FDRE constitution. From the historical and theoretical aspect, also international legal analysis of the right, secession is generally identified as a brake down or a separation from a predecessor state due to the need to evolve as a new state. This study developed to investigate the legitimacy of FDRE's seceding right from the glocalized society's perspectives. In this study 'Legitimacy' is considered as the society's level of acceptance or perception towards the constitutional right.

Since the study aims at identifying the effects of glocalization and how it affects the popular consent towards the right; the stand of the glocalized societies towards legitimacy was examined and then the main factor influencing their opinion was analyzed. To investigate the effect of the glocalized approach to the participants' stand of legitimacy, an analysis was made to the environment and the lifestyle they belong to as per the description of the concept of glocalization.

For analysis purposes the study groups were categorized into three groups; participants advocating for the secession right, those who agree in its nominal effect and the rest who consider the right as a threat to the territorial integrity of Ethiopia. Then the cause of glocalization was detected from the second and the third groups as they reflect upon the glocalization features that resulted in their lack of consent to the right. From the discussion held, glocalization features like cultural tolerance, constant societal change with technological intervention, liberal economical activities, business and professional mobility and modernization were identified as causes for the position the discussants currently hold. Mainly such

glocalization features had impacted the participants' perception of identity which opposes the ascribed characteristics of the right holders as is defined in the constitution.

In this study glocalization is identified as an anthropological paradigm which is a variant to cultural constructivism that undermines a primordial ethnic identity. Participants of the study claimed that the ascribed characteristics of the right holders of the constitution do not consider the targeted primordial identity to change over time. They expressed ethnic factors as change sensitive to the political and economical needs and benefits of the society. They identified the globalization trend to reflect on the local realities, especially on the socio political and economical realities.

Secession right is identified as a territorial right, but as the findings of this study revealed, territorial right is not the concern of a glocalized society. Only development based on globalized values and cultural recognition determine their perception of identity. Most of them denounced local identities that reflect a single culture only. And, as the analysis implies the glocalization identity affects the participant's stand towards legitimacy through the socio cultural, political and economical causes. Based on the findings of the study, although Article 39 has the purpose of constantly reminding the equal stance of ethnic groups, the glocalized society opt for a form of civic nationalism that comes along with the union of diverse groups based on mutual benefit. They characterized the glocalized environment they live in as a reflection of peaceful coexistence of a diverse society with a culture of tolerance.

The analysis showed that the main effect of glocalization is its implication to identity. The participants of the study that are exposed to glocalization recognized the phenomenon as a catalyst to social change influenced by global values. In this regard the study revealed that the socio political and economical arguments presented by the discussant as determinant factors to their legitimacy towards the secession clause were the outcomes of their perception on fluid (conditional) identity. They claimed that since fluid identity lacks constitutional recognition to territorial claim, Article 39(1) is a threat to their individual right to benefit from resources such as land ownership. Also the participants indicated lack of recognition to individual mixed identities from regional and administrative officials. They pointed out that the priorities given to ethnic membership to benefit from natural resources, as a challenge to their economic need and business mobility. According to the discussions such conditions are considered to aggravate

mistrust to the binding effect of the federalism model and might encourage a secessionist movement. They identified healthy business competitions supported by advancements in information technology as a form of glocalization challenge to divided existence.

Most significantly the analysis reflected that the perception of these glocalized groups go along with the core objective of ethnic federalism of Ethiopia. The discussion concluded that decentralization is the feature of glocalization based on cultural integration. The discussants agreed that the success of the federalism experiment would pave the way to glocalization within the country and would facilitate the recognition to a glocalized identity. From the participants point of view the implementation of federalism is vital for addressing the need of the glocalized society. They asserted that the celebration of 'diversity' as affirmed by 'unity' could lead to the new Ethiopian national consciousness that embraces the globalization. They identified the federalism structure as a means to the promotion and fulfillment of human rights; and manifestation of democratic cultures. Since democratic citizenship is pursued by the glocalized society the participants stressed on the enhancements of democratic values and equal recognition to universal human right principles.

The study groups asserted that the more unity is achieved based on political, social and economical integration, the closer it gets to the concept of civic nationalism and democratic citizenship. And, the reconciliation mechanisms delivered by the participants of the study to accommodate similar solutions focused on the celebration of 'unity' among the heterogeneous ethnic societies which transcends territorial demarcation. For this reason the glocalized group participated in this study provided a favored recognition to remedial right theory of secession.

5.2 Conclusions

It is observed in the study that the central cause for the debate with regard to secession right is concerned with the lack of outlined grounds under which the demand of secession can be made. Though many agree on the federal structure of the government and the self-determination rights in consideration to the heterogeneous society of Ethiopia, the extent of the secession right is considered as controversial. The analyses revealed that the deep rooted debate about the legitimacy was because except for the procedures the claimant group needs to follow, gaps exist in the constitution about the type of secession it follows or what to consider when demanding secession.

Based on the definition given to ‘Ascriptive type of secession right’ by Allen Buchanan, the researcher discovered clear resemblance of the FDRE’s secession right to ‘Ascriptive secession theory’ that depends on ascribe characteristics to unite a group of nation or people, culture, history and language. But based on the findings of this study, at least from the understanding of the glocalized groups, there is no clear speculation or standard set to demand secession to build their argument on. For this reason their responses relied on historical and political assumptions.

Nevertheless, the overall result of this analysis confirms that glocalization features play significantly in the urbanized society’s legitimacy aspect of the constitutional secession right. The objectives of glocalization as networking the urbanized society, contradict with secession’s disintegrable effect. The reconcile point discovered in the study about the possible ground to the claimant group’s interest on secession relies on the implication of the right as last resolution. Even though their reasoning was relative to their interest, both pro and against groups demanded for the constitutional ‘secession right’ to embrace its widely recognized international status in order to avoid risk of fragmentation. Most of them valued it from the view point of respecting its human right approach to protect ethnic groups from unjust treatment from the state. But the participants requested this as a last resort since the federalism that the country is following now has a unifying effect which goes in line with current globalization realities.

5.3 Recommendations

From the findings of the present study, I would like to forward few recommendations;

- As section three of this study reveals, the main cause for scholastic debate about legitimacy comes from the absence of clear grounds in which the demand for secession gets acceptance. The present findings reflected that the debate among the glocalized groups was also influenced by the contradicting opinions forwarded by politicians and academicians on secession rights. Therefore, I recommend for legal educational forums such as workshop/symposiums and social discussions to be organized to deliver legal analysis and explanations to the significance of the constitutional right of secession. This should include and target the glocalized community. There needs to be a certain outline that provides a political clarification which can lead to a general consensus as to its human right provisions.
- One of the identified problems was the mismatch between collective and individual liberties. The discussant pointed out the elite's response towards ethnic membership and their socio economical and political rights affected by biased understanding. They claimed that such over fixation to diversity resulted in fear to the presupposed non remedial unilateral secession. Therefore, more emphasis needs to be given to the celebration of cultural integration on the bases of unity through diversity. And therefore I recommend that the Ministry of Culture and other governmental or nongovernmental organizations to promote the unifying aspect of culture and to use national days like 'Flag Day' to deliver these kinds of messages.
- One of the challenges I came across when conducting this research was the availability of limited data and research on the subject matter. I hereby recommend for a rigorous research in the area by research groups and learning institutions.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Research Instruments

1.1 Interview Guide

1.1.1 Interview Guide to Key Informants

General Introduction: The purpose of this in depth interview is to gather information related to the prevalence, types, cause and Consequences of glocalization as a challenge to the legitimacy of FDRE's secession right. The questions are structured to identify the impact of glocalization approach to constitutional secession right and explore the available scholastic and institutional explanation on the subject matter. The data to be collected will be solely used for academic purposes. Dear participant, your response will be kept confidential and I kindly request you to participate voluntarily in this study. The quality of this study depends up on your genuine response. For this reason, I would like to ask your consent. Thank you in advance for your kind cooperation.

I. Research Site and Personal Information

1.1. Research Site

Site Name _____

Date _____

Place _____

1.2. Personal Information

Sex _____

Position _____

Age _____

Department/institute _____

Academic Status _____

How long you stayed in this position _____

II. Issues to be raised during Key Informant Interviews

1. Do you think modernized cities like Addis Ababa are in the state of globalization? If yes what are the chances of cultural construction and globalized identity perception within the society?
2. What is your opinion to the urbanized society's perception of primordial aspects of ethnicity in line with social reforms resulted from modernity and globalization approach?

3. Which ethnic theory characterizes the Ethiopian people? Can we describe the urbanized society in ethnic form?
4. How do you describe the Global- local relationship in the context of Ethiopian society? Which society can be identified as glocalized society?
5. What do you think causes the ratification of Article 39(1) as a constitutional right to ethnic groups? What is its significance to equality with in ethnic groups?
6. How do you characterize the theoretical aspect (legitimate ground) of secession in the FDRE constitution?
7. Despite the international law controversy, what do you think are the real challenges to the legitimacy of secession right in Ethiopia? What do you think are the causes that could affect the popular legitimacy of Article 39(1)?
8. From the glocalize society's perspective to the federalism integral experiment with in the past twenty years, how do you identify the society's consensus to secession right?
9. Could you please explain the effect of glocalization approach to the collective liberty implication of secession right?
10. What are the significant features of glocalization which are inconsistent to territorial right of the constitution?
11. Do you think considerations have been done to glocalized society's stand as a challenge to popular legitimacy of Article 39(1)?
12. Do you think there is sufficient awareness about the legitimate ground of the constitutional status of secession right among the glocalized society? If not what is your suggestion for different bodies with related responsibilities?
13. Any additional points related to the issue at hand?

Thank you very much for your valuable information!!!!

1.2 Focus Group Discussions Guide

General introduction: The purpose of this Focus Group Discussion (FGD) is to gather information related to “Glocalization challenge to the legitimacy of secession right in the FDRE constitution”. The data to be collected will be solely used for academic purposes. Your response will be kept confidential. I kindly request you to participate voluntarily in this study. The quality of this study depends up on your genuine response. Therefore, I would like to ask your consent. Thank you in advance for your kind cooperation.

I. Research site Identification and Personal Information

1.1. Research Site

Site Name _____

Date _____

Place _____

1.2. Focus Group Discussion Participants personal data

Name _____ Education status _____

Sex _____ Occupation status _____

Age _____

I. Issue to be Raised during the Discussions

1. Could you please describe the identity perception in your society?
 - A) Globalized multicultural coexistence
 - B) entirely globalized
 - C) single culture dominated
 - D) imposed ethnic identity
2. How do you characterize the globalization impact to your environment?
3. How do you identify your identity?
4. Do you think the city life your leading contributed to your identity perception?
5. Could you please elaborate your conceptual understanding on Article 39 (1)?
6. To what extent do you think the right is granted to the ‘Nation, Nationalities and Peoples ‘of Ethiopia? How do you identify its peace keeping and equalizing effect?

7. What are the major causes that could contradict to the constitutional legitimate status of secession right?
8. Do you prescribe yourself among the 'right's' holders of the constitution?
9. Could you please describe the glocalization features that could determine your consensual stand towards the territorial right based on primordial aspects? And how?
10. In your opinion, what specific conditions facilitate cultural integration and development from the social, political and economical dimensions?
11. Do you think there were sufficient advocacy to the right of secession as collective liberty and the legitimate ground to its exercisability? If not why and what is your suggestion
12. Any additional points related to the issue under discussion?

Thank you very much for your valuable information!!!

Appendix II: Profile of Research Participants

2.1. Profile of Key Informants

Code of Informant	Sex	Age	Educational status	Organization	Position	Duration in office
Informant B	M	28	BA and MA of Philosophy	Bahir Dar university	Instructor	Four years
Informant A	F	25	MA student of Anthropology	Addis Ababa University	Civil servant	Three year
Informant O	M	32	MA student of Political science	ECA	Human Resource	One Year
Informant P	M	36	BA, LLB and MA in Philosophy	AAU	Instructor	Two Year
Informant L	M	26	LLB	Insurance Company	Legal department	Three year
Informant F	M	---	PHD	AAU	Chair man	-----
Informant I	M	---	Professor	AAU	Instructor	-----
Informant Y	M	25	BA	Amhara youth association	-----	Two year
Informant E	M	30	BA	EPRDF league Youth association	-----	-----

2.2. Profile of FGD Participants

FGD 1: Kirkos Sub City Youth Association Participants

Place: In their office

Date: November 15, 2011

Code of participants	Sex	Age	Education Level	Occupation
Participant:1	F	23	10+3 Certificate	Event organizer
Participant:2	M	23	2 nd year BA	Student
Participant:3	M	21	Cinema auto graphic student	Private
Participant:4	F	19	High school diploma	Office work
Participant:5	F	23	Teaching Diploma	Teacher
Participant:6	M	25	BA	Group supervisor
Participant:7	F	22	1 st year BA student	Student
Participant:8	M	24	Diploma	Technician

FGD 2: Arada Sub City Youth Association Participants

Place Main office meeting Hall

Date November

Code of participants	Sex	Age	Education level	Occupation
Participant:9	M	25	BA	Civil servant
Participant:10	M	26	3 rd year BA student	private
Participant:11	M	21	Diploma	Private
Participant:12	M	19	Diploma	Press
Participant:13	M	34	BA	Youth supervisor
Participant:14	M	18	High school Diploma	Member of the association
Participant:15	F	23	Diploma	Member of the association
Participant:16	M	26	2 nd year BA student	Member of the association
Participant:17	M	28	Certificate	Teacher

FGD 3: Addis Ababa Student Group Participants

Place: 6 Killo Campus

Date: November 15, 2011

Code of participants	Sex	Age	Education Level	Occupation
Participant:18	F	23	5 th year law student	Student
Participant:19	F	23	5 th year law student	Student
Participant:20	F	22	5 th year law student	Student
Participant:21	M	23	5 th year law student	Student
Participant:22	F	22	5 th year law student	Student

FGD 2: Bahir Dar youth association Participants

Place Main office meeting Hall

Date November

Code of participants	Sex	Age	Education level	Occupation
Participant:23	M	22	BA in electric engineering	Civil servant
Participant:24	M	22	3 rd year economics	Member
Participant:25	M	21	Certificate	Reporter
Participant:26	F	23	Diploma	Member
Participant:27	F	16	High school	Member
Participant:28	M	20	Diploma	Member
Participant:29	M	20	1 st year journalism student	Member
Participant:30	M	23	Mechanical BA	Member
Participant:31	M	19	High school student	Member

FGD 3: Bahir Dar student group Participants

Place: Peda Campus

Date: November 15, 2011

Code of participants	Sex	Age	Education Level	Occupation
Participant:32	M	27	2 nd year extension student	Private
Participant:33	F	23	2 nd year extension student	Student
Participant:34	F	21	3 rd year extension student	Teacher
Participant:35	M	26	2 nd year extension student	Banker
Participant:36	M	24	3 rd year extension student	Private Business
Participant:37	M	27	3 rd year extension student	Private Business