

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF LAW AND GOVERNANCE
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A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Addis Ababa University In Partial Fulfillment of Master of Art In The Rights For Poletical Participation Of Non-Indegenious People's In Gambella Region Particularly In Gambella City, Abobo, Godere, Lare And Itang Special *Woredas*

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December, 2017

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

The Rights for Political Participation of ‘Non-indigenous’ people’s in Gambella Region particularly in Gambella city, Abobo, Godere,Lare and Itang special *Woredas*

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Declaration

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

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Acknowledgement

First and Foremost, I wish to express my gratitude to the Almighty God gave me patience and health that helped me and guidance throughout the process of writing this thesis.

Second, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Regassa Bayissa for his scholarly invaluable advice and intellectual contribution in shaping this work, constructive comments he has given to me useful suggestions.

Next, I would like to thanks all the officials, resident and experts of Gambella Peoples National Regional States of *Woredas* for their tremendous assistance during data collection and all interviewees for their lovely supportive cooperation in providing the necessary information that help me to finalize my thesis.

My special gratitude also goes to my mother (Tasmir Adimassu) for her unconditional love and encouragement throughout my school life, my sisters, (Fentanesh Alebachew, Asnakech Muhiyee) and brothers (Mulle, Dill, Biruke, Fiste and Wase) for their Moral, financial support and concern behind of me throughout the year of the study.

Finally, my special thanks also goes to my wife Selamawit Temesgen and my friends Ayalew, Reday Birhanu Assefa, Birhanu Wubale, Sileshi Aleme, Tesfaye Fitwi and Wagigary Regassa who have been sharing my worries and have been source of encouragement, materials, professionals and moral support and they have given me the strength to pass all the difficulties during my stay at Addis Ababa University.

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Acronyms

ANDM	Amhara National Democratic Movement
EPRDF	Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
GPNRS	Gambella Peoples National Regional State
GPUDM	Gambella Peoples Unity Democratic Movement
ICCPR	International Covenant on civil and political Right
ILO	International Labor Organization
NGO	Non-Government Organization
OPDO	Oromo Peoples Democratic Organization
PNRD	Program of National Democratic Revolution
SEPDM	Southern Peoples Democratic Movement
TGE	Transitional Government of Ethiopia
TPLF	Tigray Peoples Liberation Front
UN	United Nation
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNHRHC	United Nation Human Right of the High Commission
UNDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Right
WB	World Bank

Abstract

Every citizen has the right to enjoy in political participation, since it is accepted and endorsed by, UDHR, ICCPR, as fundamental rights of all human being found in the universe served as an instrument to citizens that assure their political exercise and give a space to the people who are going to be their best representative. The FDRE government of Ethiopia is a part of this universal agreement. In accordance of this the FDER constitution stated and declared every Ethiopian nations and Nationality, without any discrimination to vote and to be elected at periodic elections to any office at any levels government through the election which conducted under universal and equal suffrage. Ethiopia is a part of the glorious basic democratic right stipulated under FDRE constitution that allowed the people to participate on their mutual agenda without any distinction and discriminating. However, Gambella People's National Regional State shows serious problems in relation to political participation of „Non-indigenous“ ethnic peoples are not able to enjoy their political exercise and because of in efficient representation. Therefore, the ultimate objective of this research is to assess and to evaluate the political participation of „Non-indigenous“ ethnic people's in Gambella Region: particularly Gambella city, Abobo, Godere, Lare and Itang special Woredas are the selected study areas. Therefore, this research aims to identifying problems and shows relevant solution in regarding to the right to have fair representation, to elect and to be elected, the right of self-administration, the legal frame work for political representation and the constitutional right of „Non-indigenous“ ethic group in the Government institutions of Gambella city, Abobo, Godere, Lare and Itang special Woredas. In finding out reliable data, the researcher used qualitative research method with in-depth interview, field observation and Key informant interview as way of data collecting method with utilizing different written document.

Key words: Indigenous, Non- indigenous people of the rights for political participation.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of The Study

Ethiopia is one of the ancient states that has become symbol of freedom for Africans and remains independent and had never been colonized by European rule.¹ In addition, the Ethiopian state is the second largest country in Africa (next to Nigeria) in terms of population size and a home of multi-cultural and multi-religious societies.² At the beginning of 1960 student movement initiated against the rule of Emperor of Haile Selassie largely focused on social objective.³ Consequently, the student movements were critically influenced by the Marxist-Leninist ideology that focused on nationality question rise up.⁴

Particularly, an article written by Walleign Mekonen which recognized the ethnic diversity of Ethiopia shows the end of Amhara regime that undermine the political and economic exercise of the others peoples.⁵ Therefore, the continuation of Amhara dominancy over the dozen of peoples tackled and accelerated by the student movement, peasant revolt and urban dwellers uprising that deposed the Emperor Haile Selassie from his power on 12 September 1974 followed by the military junta controlled the power under the name of Derg (in Amharic Committee).⁶

At beginning, the Derg had declared (adopted) visible Marxist-Leninist political ideology even though, accepting without implementation that clearly expressed under the Program of the National Democratic Revolution that began from 1974 look like with current EPRDF

¹ Belay shibeshi Awoke, 2010. Minority Right protection in Amhara National Regional States; The case of the kemant people in north Goander, Faculty of law, Addis Ababa ,university, Ethiopia, page 1

² Assefa Fiseha, 2012. Regional and Federal studies, Ethiopia's Experiment in Accommodating Diversity:20 years" balance sheet, Institute of Federalism and Legal studies, Ethiopian Civil Service University, Addis Ababa Ethiopia, vol.22, No.4, 435-473, p, 438.

³ Christophe Van der Beken, 2007. *Federalism and the Accommodation of Ethnic Diversity: The Case of Ethiopia*: „Ethiopia: From a Centralized Monarchy to a Federal Republic“, *Africa Focus* Vol.20, No. 1-2, pp.13-38.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

government structure.⁷ In the meantime, different ethnic based resistance stands against the authority of *Derg* regime to assure the right to self-determination which promised by the Military rule which is not implemented in practice.⁸ Following to this, after a protracted of civil war the 1991, a transitional government in which the EPRDF organized on an ethnic based that bring a new experience of the Ethiopian state towards the ethnic problem.⁹ However, the post 1991, after the decline of military rule, Ethiopia introduced a federal system which provides dominantly ethnic-based territorial arrangement.¹⁰

In the main, therefore, transitional period government, (TGE) acknowledged the right of nations to self-determination to all *nations*“ *nationalities* and *peoples* of Ethiopia.¹¹After the promulgation of FDRE constitution in August 1995, the state organized in to nine constituent states with two city administration.¹² The constitution under Article, 39(3) stipulated that every nations and nationalities and peoples have the right to self-determination up to and including succession and to preserve their language, culture, history and customs.¹³In similar fashion, the FDRE constitution of the 1995 allows right to secession necessarily as a unilateral right to the constituent units of the region.¹⁴

In accordance of this, the 1991 transitional government of Ethiopia became a base in order to adopt constitutional federalism which laid down the foundation for ethno national federalism in Ethiopia.¹⁵ Likewise, regional states and nation, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia are demarcated based on their settlement pattern, identity, cultural integration and consent of the

⁷Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰ Alem Habtu,2003.Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia: Back ground, Present Conditions and Future Prospects. *International Conference on African Development Archives*,Department of Sociology, Queens College/CUNY.

¹¹Ibid, p,2.

¹²Ibid,p,168

¹³ The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic Of Ethiopia, Article, 39, (1-2).

¹⁴ Alem Habtu, 2005.Multiethnic Federalism In Ethiopia: A study of the Secession Clause in The Constitution, Oxford University, Vol.35, No.2, pp, 313-335, p, 324.

¹⁵Stegaye.R.2004.State constitution in Federal Ethiopia: A preliminary observation, A Summary for the Bellagio, 22-23p, 9.

people.¹⁶ However, to have self-administration rights of different, nations, nationalities and peoples“ had never been worked in the history of the country and the ultimate goal of FDRE constitution was mainly focused to correct the past unjust system that undermines the rights of *nation, nationalities* and *peoples* for political exercise on their defined territory.¹⁷

As forwarded by Menge Legese, the institutionalization of successor clause and self-determination excludes other ethnic groups who do not belong to the host region commonly known as exogenous or „Non-indigenous“ communities.¹⁸ According to Van Der Beken and Yonatan Fisseha notes, the FDRE constitution allows regions to adopt their own regional constitution, this process creates the category of „Indigenous“ vis-a-vis „Non-indigenous“ by different regional states constitutions.¹⁹ For instance, the Gambella regional state constitution makes the five ethnic groups as “Founders” and the remaining became “Non-founders” of the region.²⁰ The „Non-indigenous“ people are not able to enjoy their group right even for the right to be politically represented in the regional offices as the founders.²¹

The regional and federal constitutions are suitable to the „Indigenous“ people (founder) of their region and it excluded the „Non-indigenous“ people who do not belong to the given regional state in the new Ethiopian federal structure.²²

Hence, based on the revised constitution of Gambella people’s national regional state, the five ethnic groups referred as Anywaa, Nuer, Majang, Opo and Komo are identified as the “founder”

¹⁶Yonatan Fessha, (n.d). Federalism and the demarcation of internal boundaries; the territorial management of ethnic diversity in western cape Ethiopia, Workshop17; Federalism, community identity and distributive justices, university of cape,p,7.

¹⁷,Lovise Aalen,2006.Ethnic Federalism and Self-Determination for Nationalities in a semi Authoritarian state; the case of Ethiopia, International journal on minority and group rights,p,245

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹ Yonatan and Van der,2013.Ethnic Federalism and Internal Minorities: the legal protections of internal minorities in Ethiopia, African Journal of international and comparative law 21(1):32-49,p,5.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid,p,11

²²The Revised Constitution,2002 Of The Gambella Peoples National Regionals States,Article,47,p,106.

members of Gambella people's National Regional State as (indigenous) people, but the others are considered as non-founder (non-indigenous) people.²³.

1.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The main objective of Ethiopian federalism was to introduce which creates opportunities for Nation, Nationalities and Peoples to practice their political rights up to the local level. Different regional states, *woredas*, Zones and cities in Ethiopia are home to various ethnic groups coming from different corner of the country. But the FDRE federal arrangement lacks many consideration in addressing the protection and rights of „Non-indigenous“ (internal migrants), of peoples.²⁴

However, Ethiopian federal system was chosen as the opportunity for establishing that guarantee the right to elect and to be elected at different government spheres for different nations and nationalities. The assumption was that, every Ethiopian nation and nationalities are fixed to its Owen region or a given specific territory so that it exercises its constitutional right to self-administration with the help of new federal epoch.²⁵

On the other hand Asnake, assert that, as a result of Ethiopian federal arrangement system it failed to address the group political participation of the two categories of people in ethnically constituted self-administrative units: between the „Indigenous“ ethnic groups who are entitled to self-administration in their home regions, but “Non-indigenous“ ethnic groups-dispersed settler/migrant minorities are not able.²⁶ Hence, this indicates that, those peoples who are entitled as non-indigenous people because, the new Ethiopian federalism approach which make them to

²³Ibid.

²⁴Getachew Assefa, 2011. Federalism And Legal Pluralism In Ethiopia: Preliminary Observation On Their Impacts On The Protection Of Human Rights, faculty of Law, Addis Ababa, University, East African Journal of peace and Human Rightsvol.17:1,p,180.

²⁵ Christophe van der Beken, Ethiopia: Constitutional protection of Ethnic minorities, at Regional level, African focus, v.2, No 1, p, 105.

²⁶Asnake Kefale, 2014. Ethnic Decentralization and the challenges of Inclusive Governance in Multiethnic cities: The case of Diredawa, Ethiopia, Department of political since and international relations,vol.24,No.5,589-605,p,592.

unable to apply or exercising their right to political participation.²⁷ Moreover, in Ethiopian federal system, ethnicity is as a basis for political participation so that, the „non-indigenous“ peoples those found in Gambella peoples national regional state living even for their life in city or *Woredas* are not granted as the same to the „indigenous“(“founder”) peoples of the regional state on their political exercise and scholars like, Yonatan and Van Der Beken conclude that the regional constitution and the ground political practice in FDRE Government show that the rights for political participation of „Non-indigenous“ peoples“ deliberately buried down.²⁸

While the right to self-determination denotes greater autonomy for „Indigenous“ community on their traditional homeland which exclude the others of ethnic group referred to as „Non-indigenous“ peoples.²⁹ So, due to this, even though the right to political participation of „Non-indigenous“ peoples in the region remain on the merits of „Indigenous“ peoples, there are study gaps that need to have further assessment in relation to the right for political participation of „Non-indigenous“ people in Gambella peoples National Regional State.

According to Beza Desalegn, Gambella peoples“ National Regional State is among the three regions which is necessary established to ensure the political empowerment and legitimacy of the „Indigenous“ people.³⁰ Likewise, Beza also added that, when the FDRE government empowered the „Indigenous“ people of Gambella in paradox of this the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic groups are “unwelcomed guests.”³¹ The revised constitution of Gambella Peoples“ National regional state stipulated that special zone arrangement is recognized belongs to „Indigenous“ people, namely, Anywaa, Nuer, and Majang nationality zone except the two Komo and Opo nationalities.³² The revised constitution of Gambella peoples National Regional state stipulated that, each

²⁷ Getachew Assefa., 2011. Federealism and legal pluralism in Ethiopia: preliminary observations on their impacts on the protection of human right. *East African journal of peace and human rights*, Volume 17.1, p.15.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Beza Desalegn, 2015. Where lies the Equilibrium in political Empowerment? Regional Autonomy versus adequate political Relation in Benishandul Gumuz Region of Ethiopia, p.37.

³¹ Ibid, p.38.

³² Proclamation No.27/2002. The Revised Constitution of Gambella Peoples National Regional State, article,46(1).

Administration of Nationalities can be established in accordance of Article, 1 and article 46(2) of the regional constitution.³³ Because of this this, it is impossible to give free space to the „Non-indigenous“ people“s for political participation right and it became the fundamental question in Ethiopian with correct measurement of constitutional guarantee.³⁴

In addition to his, Menge Legese, firmly notes that, ethnic federalism is not the best alternative and option particularly in Ethiopian in order to accommodating the different ethnic groups and it is far from the protection of „Non-indigenous“ people“s right for participate in the political position either in regional or at local level.³⁵ However, „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group does not have sufficient and significant political representation in the region, zone and *Woredas* parliament despite their demographic size.³⁶ In addition to this, the regional constitution, the sovereignty given to the five “Indigenous” (“Founder”), ethnic group and they have significant recognition as a national minorities.³⁷ The „Non-indigenous“ (“highlander”) their undermining is not only about their exclusion from the political representation and economic insecurity but also what they consider lack of administrative justice and they see themselves as victims of unfair authority.³⁸

Therefore, to narrow the problem which is forwarded on the above, the study is going to evaluate and conduct an assessment the condition, to some extent that become the obstacle to the right for political participation of „Non-indigenous“ people in Gambella peoples National Regional state of four *woredas* and Gambella city by taking in to account from the regional, national and international human and democratic right perspective based on the principles of international, national rules and regulation.

³³Ibid, Article 46, (2), the administrative hierarchies to be established in the regions hall is delimited on the basis of the settlement patterns, and peoples in regional state.

³⁴Menge Legese,2010.Federalism for Unity Minority Protection;(A Comparative Study on Constitutional Principles and their practical Implication; US India Ethiopia), central European University Department of Legal studies, Budapest, Hungary, p, 12.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶ Dereje Feyissa, 2009. A National Perspective on the Conflict in Gambella, *Proceedings of the 16th International conference of Ethiopian Studies*, p, 644.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

1.3. Research objective

The main objective of this study is to examine Ethiopian federal system and to find out the space provided for political participation of „Non-indigenous“ people in Gambella peoples national regional state for selected study areas particularly in Gambella city, Abobo, Godere, Lare and Itng special *Woredas*.

1.3.1. Specific objective

- To assess whether the „Non-indigenous“ communities have the right to participate in political activities at the host region.
- To examine the federal constitution whether it has a clue for the political participation of „Non-indigenous“ communities in the Ethiopian federal set up.
- To investigate the role and responsibilities of *Gambella* Regional State administrations for „Non-indigenous“ political participation as the case in four *woredas* and Gambella city.
- To identify the major constraints and prospects related to for political participation of „Non-indigenous“ people the case in four *Woredas* and Gambella city.
- Based on the finding of the research valuable recommendations.

1.4. Research questions

The study raises and seeks to answer the question that, given the ethnic federal system of the country, how are, „Non-indigenous“ communities are participated politically at regional level? The study seeks to answer this question by taking Gambella peoples national regional state of Lare *Woreda*, Abobo, *Woreda*, Itang Special *Woreda*, Godere *Woreda* and Gambella city Administration as case study.

With a view to answering the main question stated above, the study also raises related, specific questions including:

- ✓ Are „Non-indigenous“ ethnic communities entitled for political participation?
- ✓ Does the federal constitution contain a principle for political participation of „Non-indigenous“ communities?

- ✓ Is regional state envisaged to play a role in this respect as the case of regional state of four *woredas* and Gambella city Administration?
- ✓ Are the „Non-indigenous“ people recognized through regional and federal constitutional provisions in relations of their political right either to elect or to be elected in Gambella regional state?

1.5. Methodology of the study

1.5.1. Research method/design

The study is going to investigate the right for political participation of “Non-indigenous” people in the selected stated *woredas* and Gambella city of Gambella people’s national regional states in relation to the Ethiopian federal government and the practical application of federal system. Strongly it emphasizes and focused the implementation in regarding to the right to political participation of “Non-indigenous” people in selected *woredas* and Gambella city.

The researcher used qualitative research method because qualitative research study things in their natural setting, attempting to make sense of or to interpreted phenomena in terms of meaning people bring to them. Due to this the study has applied qualitative research method obtained from the most informed members of the targeted area.

1.5.2. Source of data

Source of data, for this study obtained from both primary and secondary sources of information. The primary source of data is to be obtained from focused group of “Non-indigenous“ communities(residents),lawyer, officials, Head of affiliated parties and other concerned stakeholders to obtain information, and secondary data gathered and obtained from documents, proclamations and policies as well as the researcher is used secondary sources like formerly written research papers, newspaper of the region, state document, official statistic and journal articles to obtain information to the relevancy of this stud

1.5.3. Data collection techniques and tools

As a qualitative research, to collect sufficient information, the research applied the purposive sampling techniques. The targeted area of the study need to have better knowledge and capacity of the respondents on how and when the condition of political participation of „Non-indigenous“

communities experiencing in the political situation and legal procedure of the regional State in addition to local administration. Because of this the researcher used purposive sampling technique.

1.5.4. In-depth interviews

In-depth interviews were conducted to investigate the main primary data from the informants that is used to check the existed information enable to compare with the secondary data that find out from documents. The research was applied in-depth interview to knowledgeable people which are matured enough of the research problem in the study area. Moreover, the interviewed peoples were identified with the relevant experience through snow-ball purposive sampling technique was interviewed.

The participants were from residents, civil servants, government officials, professionals and some of political elites and from government offices like, Gambella city, *Agnwa zone Abobo Woreda*, *Majang Zone Meti Woreda*, *Nuer zone Lare woreda* and *Etang special Woreda* council, administration council and justice office were interviewed to find a way out to the problem.

The respondents are asked open-ended question that helps to a conversation and reply the question without any fear and freely to dig out clear and truth information of the issue. It is obvious that the medium instruction of the region is Amharic. So, the interview is conducted in Amharic language and it is translated into English. Initially the respondents were asked their interest or choice, the way they prefer to give information. During the interview, the researcher was applying clearly explained their information used for academic purpose and it give promise to the keep their secret and dignity.

A. Key informant interview

The research focused or key informant interview to obtain better information from well-known respondents. Key information interview is applied with selective government official of the study area and professionals from related knowledge with their subject of their field and professional analysis. Meanwhile, the (EPRDF) coalition Parties of each chief chairman residents of people live in the region on their life, the affiliated party leaders from the „Non-indigenous“ vs. „Indigenous“ ethnic group, the experts and professionals from civil service were interviewed.

These focused groups are selected according to their own contribution and residence on the study area.

B. Field observation

In addition to the above data collection tools, the researcher collected data through personal observation without deviation from the area for months which „Non- indigenous“ people are settled. This data collection system helps to the researcher to rich on different condition and position of the participant. The researcher assessed service delivery, City and *Woredas* arrangement settlement pattern and the socio-economic and political interaction of City and *Woredas* resident

1.5.4.1. Document analysis

The researcher used practical techniques to analyze in detail the data gathered from interview and field observation. It is common that qualitative research connected closely description categories and interconnection of data. From the fact that, the researcher is sort, organize and eventually approve the data that is collected from interview and observation.

1.5.4.2. Data analysis

Documents regional and federal proclamations, constitutions and policies, documents that have relation to the subject relation to the subject under investigation, evaluate and analyzed together with the data gathered from primary sources through interview. However, a number of documents rule, policies, constitutional provision and reports of the both of regional and federal levels as well as international device with regard to political rights of the “Non-indigenous” people Existed problem of “Non-indigenous” rights in Gambella peoples national, regional states particularly in *Abobo Woreda, Itang special Woreda, Lare Woreda, Godere Woreda* and Gambella city Administration.

1.6. Significance of the study

This study contributes for professional and researchers by providing information about the position of on the political participation to the new minorities, related to institutional activity mechanism of the right to political participation of „Non-indigenous“ people in Gambella

people's regional states. It also attempts to fill the vacuum on the research theme. The research study give better access and information about the reality existence and reliable situation of the right to political participation of „Non-indigenous“ communities.

1.7. Scope of the study

The existence of problem different study, shown in the residential area of „Non-indigenous“ people and their obstacle to the right to political participation are common now a day in Ethiopian federal system. On the behalf of this the reason is Gambbella region is among the nine regions which constitutionally classified its people as „Indigenous“ and “Non-indigenous”.

Because of this, the issue shows more multi direction, understanding of Gambbella Regional State were purposefully for this research and in addition to this to manage the study area and to handle clearly to examine the problems in expected period and in depending on the financial and material constraints at a right times the study area is bounded on the geographical area of, Gambbella people, National regional state in four *woredas* and in Gambella city administration.

Meanwhile the right for political participation is a worldwide concept and endorsed internationally as a basic human and democratic right by the members of UN countries, the research study is emphasized on the tight to political participation of “Non- indigenous” people in the three spheres of government arrangement.

1.8. Limitation of the study

During the preparation of this proposed study the researcher have different limitation and challenges during the proposed study. The availability of sufficient and reliability of data and financial aid are among the obstacle that affects and influences the effectiveness of the quality of the research. As a result, the very key informant interviews and both of the „Non-indigenous“ and „indigenous“ people, the data which obtain may lack perfectness to handle the correct of local community problem.

Eventually the examination and investigation of the right for political participation to all „Non-indigenous“ people have related problems and must be settled through, variables, policies, laws and rules in *Abobo Woreda, Lare Woreda, Itang special Woreda, Godere Woreda* and Gambella

city Administration. Meanwhile, the researcher is used the relevant data to handle properly and well communication with the respondent to produce good quality of research.

1.9. Ethical consideration

The researcher applied essential ethical consideration from the first to the final chapter in between the researcher's and participate in the study area. For the reason that the well-being of the research someone who respond and participant is the most important element concerning the research questions, the respondents is treated full respect and their identity has to be "care with full responsibility to their security.

The researcher has a great effort and influences to prevent a risk of respondents of the research and without doubt informed them at their right to withdraw from the interview without specification if they are not interested.

1.10. Structure of the study

This study has five chapters including the introduction part. Chapter two defines the review of related literature to understand fundamental assumption of about the subject situation.

Chapter three explores emphasis to discuss the general background and description of the study area. Chapter four also discusses the data interpretation and analysis attention from the respondents with assistance recorded (related), document material. Finally the conclusion provides the final chapter provide the conclusion and recommendation.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

INTRODUCTION

2.1. Conceptualizing the right to political participation

2.1.1. The right to political participation

Political participation is one among other types of participation and has greater relation with society and counted a long life within the development of political science.³⁹ The historical growth Evolution of political participation goes back since 1930s and its ultimate objective was mainly to enhance the voting system and developing electoral activity within the state in general.⁴⁰ According to Bengu Hosech—Dayican, political participation maximize and leads in to positive sprit and enhances the overall effectiveness of democratic system in given country.⁴¹

Despite to this, recognition to the right to political participation is necessarily significant which give as meaningful and successful” inclusion” of different ethnic groups that enable them to have special power(influence) on the process of decisions making in political issues.⁴² Political participation covers a broad idea which peoples tend to express their decision making processes that determine their feature of wellbeing.⁴³ According to Weitz-shapiro and Matthew S.winter, political participation is a model of democracy and has different characteristics” which enable to vote to their representative at regular and legal election to decide on their national affairs based on the establishment of the state constitution.⁴⁴

³⁹Bengu Hosch—Dayican, 2010.Poletical Involvement and Democracy Benign is the future of post— industrial politics?, Print Partners Ipskamp, Enschede, The Netherland, p,46.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid, ps, 40.

⁴²,Endalkachew Geremew,(n.d)/The Roles of Subnational Constitutions in Balancing Participation Right and Autonomy of Ethnic Minorities; An Appraisal of Revised SNNPR Constitution, No. page.

⁴³ House of Parliament, 2015.Postnote, Trends in political Participation, p, 1.

⁴⁴ Rebecca Weitz and Matthew 2008.Political participation and Quality of life, Colombia university, p,1.

According to Rebecca and Matthew definition, political participation has significant contribution through establishment of political integration in group and the individual participation in legal protest against the government.⁴⁵ Despite of this, Tracy Justice classified political participation in to two forms namely; active and passive political participation.⁴⁶ He notes that, active and passive political participation include being opponents and against of a government and in involving in any political agenda meeting is key element to enhance public participation on their social, economic and political affairs.⁴⁷

As stated by Rebecca and Mmattew, political participation influences processes of policy formulation, how the government design and perform/ implements public affairs issue, because policies have a vital role in directing and reshaping society's interaction on their daily life.⁴⁸ In spite of this, political participation plays a great role in democratization process in order to get policy option and to maximize happiness and satisfaction of individuals on their day to day activity.⁴⁹

On the other hand Steven, E. Finkel, defines political participation as an instrumental act that enables to handle leaders properly and to maximize the accountability of individuals.⁵⁰ Patrick J.conge, notes that, political participation is studied by different comparative politics researchers in terms of the practice of different political parties' activities and which enable them to create knowledge and preferable policy in a way to get opportunity to the public choice.⁵¹

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Tracy just, 2002.Poletical participation Trends of yesterday and today, p, 2.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Rebecca Weitz-shapiro and Mattew 2008. Political Participation and Quality of life, Colombia University,p, 4.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Steven E.Finkel, 2005.The Effects of participation on political Efficiency and political support; Evidence from a west German panel, The journal of politics,Vol.49,NO.2 University of Virginia,p,144.

⁵¹Patrick J.Conge, (n.d). The concept of political participation, toward a definitions Review Article Published; Comparative politics, Ph.D. programs in political science, city University of New york is collaborating with JOSTER to digitized, preserve and extend access to comparative poletics,p,241.

For example, Joost de Moor, states that:

“Political participation is infinite and includes action such as voting, demonstrating, contacting public officials, boycotting, attending party rallies, guerilla gardening, posting signing petitions, volunteering and suicide protests.”⁵²”

On the other hand, both the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (hereafter, UNDHR) 1948 and the International Covenant on Civil and Political (hereafter, ICCPR) 1966 acknowledged the right to political participation. UDHR Stipulated on Article 21 sub article 1, 2, and 3 stated the following to as to every individual has statement which enables to get free space about the right of political participation.⁵³

“1, everyone has the right to take part in the government activities to his country directly or indirectly or through chosen representative

2. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country

3, the will of people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed.”⁵⁴”

As, Ross Campbell saying, Political participation is activities that conducted based on the interest of individual citizens to enable them in controlling political power either directly or in directly in order to enhance their political choices at different governments level.⁵⁵ In addition, Shimelis Kassa, defines political participation as a human part of life that leads in to better political practice through giving a political participation space and enable to keep discriminatory

⁵² Joost de Mor, 2014. Lifestyle politics and The Concept of Political participation for Citizenship and Democracy, Ku,Leven.

⁵³United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights,(1948),Article 21,sub article 1,Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representative,p,3.

⁵⁴ International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.Adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations (1966) Article,25(a—c).

⁵⁵Ross Campbell, 2011.Socialist Values and Political Participation in Germany;A Barrier to Inner Unity? Vol,34 No,2,362—383,p,365.

variables of the citizen which undermine participation and implementation of national local policies those helping them to cultivating their wellbeing.⁵⁶

2.1.2. Concepts and meaning of ‘Indigenous’ and ‘Non-indigenous’ peoples

2.2. Who are Indigenous and who are Non-indigenous people?

The concept of „indigenous“ peoples emanated from colonial experience this was occurred when aboriginal peoples of a given soil were taken away their land by white settler during the colonial invasion period.⁵⁷ However, the term „Indigenous“ has long been applied in designation to distinguish those who are“ native“ from “others” in specific locals and with varying scope.⁵⁸

Moreover United Nations (UN) defines the „Indigenous“ issues in different times. Even tough, there is no international agreement and global Conesus on a single universal definition since; the world population is too extreme diversified. In addition to this, U.N Community developed the following definitions in relation to „Indigenous“ peoples, but it is silent to give clear definition about the „Non-indigenous“ people.⁵⁹

*“(1) Self- identification as „indigenous“ peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community as their Member (2) Historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies.(3)Strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources.(4)Distinct social, economic or political systems.(5)Distinct language, culture and beliefs.(6) Form non-dominant groups of societies.(7) Resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and system as distinctive peoples and communities”.*⁶⁰

⁵⁶Shimelis Kassa, 2015.Journal of Global Economics, Department of Civics and Ethical Studies, Arbaminch University,p,2.

⁵⁷The state of The Worlds Indigenous Peoples, United Nation 2009.Department of Economic and Social affairs Division for social policy and Development, secretariat of the permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, New York,p,6.

⁵⁸Francesca Merlan, 2009.Indigeneity Global and local, volume,50, p, 304.

⁵⁹ Ibid,P1.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

Morover, the world community conducted a number of meeting in order to standardized based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights law about the „indigenous“ people.⁶¹ However, United Nation is seeking toward the recognition of the „indigenous“ peoples and have signed a treaties that acknowledged the „Indigenous“ people, comparable to the „Non-indigenous“ people.⁶² But, still there is no any declaration document in the international organization concerning the „Non-indigenous“ peoples“ due to this, which is „indigenous“ and „non-indigenous“ people in the near feature, is a controversial issue.⁶³

As stated by different scholars, international organization like United Nations, (UN) has passed different agreements in defining „Indigenous“ peoples, however they seem silent to give any clue the peoples who are commonly call as „Non-indigenous“ peoples.⁶⁴ Gizachew Wondie, also added that, the definitions are necessarily targeted to focus on „Indigenous“ propels“ but, it creates boundary in between other group of peoples and it also influence the Socio-political and the right for political participation of „Non-indigenous“ peoples.⁶⁵ However Alexandra Hughes define Indigenous peoples those who are sharing similar or common ethnicity, religious, culture, customs and linguistic, even though they have full right to affirm strongly to say in their territory prior to others ethnic group.⁶⁶

⁶¹Gizachew Wondie, 2015. Indigenous and „Non—indigenous“ Peoples Right in Benishangul—Gumuze Regional State; The Right to political participation of Non-indigenous people in Bambasi woreda, Addis Ababa University, Collage of Law and Governance Center for Human Right,p,24.

⁶²United Nation,2009.The State of The world’s Indigenous people, Department of Economic and social Policy and Development, Secretariat of the permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues New York,p,3—4.

⁶³ Christian Erni, mai 2008. The concept of Indigenous peoples in Asia; International Work Group for Indigenous Affaires (IWGIA), Asia Indigenous peoles pact Foundation (AIPP), copenhagen,No,123,p,108.

⁶⁴Gizachew Wondie, 2015.Indigenous and Non-indigenous Peoples Right in Benishangul—Gumuze Regional State; The Right to Political Participation of Non-indigenous people Babasi Woreda, Addis Ababa university, Collage of law and Governance Center for Human Right, p,25.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶Alexander Hughs, 2005.Minorities and Indigenous peoples An Issues paper published by minority rights group international, 7.

2.2.1. The view of academic definition in relation ‘Indigenous’ and ‘Non-indigenous’ people

There are several scholars’ works and conduct their research to evaluate the ‘Indigenous’ rights from the international/global scope of perspective. As Jeff J. Corntassel, on his definitions of ‘Indigenous’ people are the ancestral roots of the society which existed before the emerging of colonialism.⁶⁷ He also added that, ‘Indigenous’ peoples are free from on dominance, historical continuity, socioeconomic and sociocultural differences, which come first and who followed is the main distinct of their characteristics.⁶⁸ As stated, by Benedict Kingsbury, ‘Indigenous’ peoples are which having a historical flow in before and after colonial invasion that developed territories on a given region and consider themselves differ from others community, but now exist on their territories.⁶⁹

Benedict, understand, the above definition to keep the historical flow of generation continuity and for an extended duration, he forwarded the following measurement and criteria:-

“(a) attachment to ancestral territories and to natural resources in these area; (b) self- a close and identification by others as a members of distinct cultural group; (c) an indigenous language, often differ from the national language and presence of customary social and political institutions.”⁷⁰

As stated, by Mary and N. Mac Donald define, ‘Indigenous’ peoples are who suffered and face grievous abuse and displacement from their permanent place during the colonial era and currently (now a day) reestablished their identities.⁷¹

⁶⁷Jeff J. Corntassel, 2003. Who is Indigenous? People hood and Ethno nationalist Approaches to Rearticulating Indigenous Identity, Nationalism and Ethnic politics, vol,9,no,1,pp,75—100,p,79.

⁶⁸*Ibid*, p,81.

⁶⁹ Benedict Kingsbury April, 2007. Indigenous peoples’ In International Law; A Constructivist Approach To The Asian Controversy, American Society of International Laws, Vol.92, No.3(july., 1989), pp.414-457, Published by; American Society of International law, p,419.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 419.

⁷¹ Mary N. Mac Donald, 2011. The primitive, the primal, and the Indigenous in the study of Religion, Journal of the American Academy of Religion, Oxford University press, Vol.79, No.4, p,819.

On the other hand, Benedict Kingsbury states that, the „Indigenous“ peoples` economic activities is based on small scale market system and they engage in poorest farming tradition which commonly considered as poorest divides of population.⁷²

Meanwhile, based on the agreement by the international community and different treaties define „Indigenous „peoples who existed under exclusionary in domestic right of the state regime that invaded their land those established hegemony policy up on their shoulders.⁷³ International and regional bodies, non- governmental organizations (NGO), and advocacy members are now a day seeking strong interest and focused to ward indigenous humanization agenda but, who are „Non-indigenous“ still remain in question.⁷⁴ However, African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights,(ACHPR) give recognition and advocating trough providing a special protection right to „Indigenous“ peoples and make them to be above, over the rights of all other group within the same state.⁷⁵

2.2.2. Definitions of ‘Indigenous’ and ‘Non-indigenous’ at International, Non-Government Organizations

Different definition is stated in the United Nations which are trying to give more emphasis and advocating the meaning of indigenous peoples like, International Labor Organization, (ILO) the World Bank (WB) and United Nations of Human Rights Office of the High Commission (UNHROHC) are among the most significant organization.⁷⁶

The World Bank defines the term „indigenous“ people in the following ways:-

⁷²Benedict Kingsbury 2005.The American Journal of International Law, “ Indigenous peoples” In International Law; A Constructivist Approach to the Asian Controversy,Vol.92.3 (July,1998),pp,414—457, American Society of International Law,p,420.

⁷³Robert A William,JR, 1990.Encounters On The Frontiers Of International Human Rights Law; Redefining The Terms of Indigenous peoples Survival In the world, Duke Law Journal,vol.1090,No4,Frontiers of Legal Thought III,(sep,1990),pp.660—704,Duke University of Law,p,664.

⁷⁴Ibid,p, 665.

⁷⁵ African Commission on Human and peoples“ rights (ACHPR),2006.Indigenous peoples in Africa; the forgotten peoples? p, 11.

⁷⁶Christian Erni, 2008.The Concept of Indigenous Peoples in Asia. Resource Book, international Work Group for Indigenous Affaires (IWGIA), Copenhagen, Denmark, p, 108.

*“(1) Self—identification and identification by others a members of a distinct indigenous cultural group;(2) Collective attachment to ancestral territorial and to natural resources in these areas;(3) Presence of customary social and political institutions;(4) and indigenous language, often different from the national language”.*⁷⁷

The international organization like, United Nations General Assembly,(UNGA) has fundamental declaration that acknowledge the right to have self-determination on its Article-3 it says:-

“Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination in all affairs and they considered as central decisive of their right at international level.”⁷⁸

Of course, the United Nation General Assembly, (UN) passed a decision on the implementation of the right to self-determination not only the „Indigenous „it includes the implementation of others right.⁷⁹ However United Nations for Human Rights Office of the High Commissioners (UHORC) notes that, those „Indigenous“ peoples or individual had the right to belong to an „Indigenous“ Community in accordance with the traditions and customs of the community and they have the right to determine their Own identity.⁸⁰

As statement of (ACHPR), every community can be „Indigenous“ which means there is no any boundary and delimitation in order to call this is „Indigenous“ and to make others to say “Non-„Indigenous“ peoples“.⁸¹ On the other side, International Labor Organization (ILO) has recognized a definition of „Indigenous“ peoples on two perspectives; the statement existed in

⁷⁷Tom Griffith July 2005. Indigenous peoples and the world bank experiences with participation, Forest People Program, p,1.

⁷⁸ United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commission,2013.“Indigenous peoples” and the United Nations Human Right Systems, United Nation, New York and Geneva fact sheet No.9/rev.2.

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Ibid

⁸¹Ibid.

convention No, 107 (1957), No, 169 (1989) respectively.⁸² The statement which is found in ILO convention No, 169-Article, 1 defines „Indigenous peoples“ as follows:-

“They are found as a “peoples in independent countries who are considered as indigenous on regarding to their descent within populations which occupied the country, or the defined territories that is on the behalf of the country, at a time of conquest or colonialism, during the establishment the present state boundaries and who irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their social, economic, cultural and political institution.”⁸³

Moreover, the international treaties like ILO, have a discourse related to with the two main concept of “indigenous peoples” is paradoxical on two statements.⁸⁴

1,who is going to be identified as a distinct „people-who are entitled to people“ right under international treaties? 2, The inquiry of „Indigenous“ who can be identified as „Indigenous“ that have been first in a given country before the Coming of the present majority population, from now on entitled to the specific rights of „Indigenous“ peoples?.⁸⁵ International law stands trying to address the event which challenge the „Indigenous“ peoples as well as their priorities.⁸⁶Due to this, the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) adopted a declaration on article (3), regarding „Indigenous“ peoples that provided a space for them to achieve the right to self-determination including freedom of practicing right for political participation except the 'Non-„Indigenous“ peoples.’⁸⁷

⁸² International Labor Office Hand book for (ILO) Tripartite Constituents Understanding the Indigenous and Tribal peoples Convention, 1989 (No.169) program to promote ILO Convention No.1699 (PRO 169) International Labor Standard Department Geneva.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴John B. Henrisken 2008. Research On Best Practices for the Implementation of the Principles of ILO Convention No.169, Programmer to promote ILO Convention No, 169, p,8.

⁸⁵Ibid, p,8.

⁸⁶United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commission 2013.Indigenous peoples and the United Nations Human Right system, fact sheet No.9/Rev.2 United Nation, New York Geneva, p, 4-5.

⁸⁷Ibi.

Generally speaking, (ILO) is the first organization which stands to give high attention in stating relevant document to the “indigenous peoples” that focused on the right to have self—identification and prioritizing right of „indigenous“ peoples.⁸⁸ The preservation of the right to self-identification enables „Indigenous“ peoples obtained power to decide according to their members of community and without any external interference⁸⁹. World Bank also defines indigenous peoples which are similar with others of inter-governmental organization and based on its operational mission defines as follows:-

*(a) self—identification and identified by others as belongs of their members and distinct of identities an indigenous those are sharing common goods on their culture, tradition, and customs of life;(b) which possess group (collective) right attachment to ancestral territories and to natural resource in the areas;(c) Presence of customary social and political institutions; and (d) indigenous language often different from others language, vulnerable, social and cultural group.*⁹⁰

In addition to this, Gizachew, also stated that „Indigenous“ peoples are those who are not holding the state power and the economic activities of a country in which they live, since they are dominated in the historical trajectory of a given state.⁹¹ Beza, remarked that, the use of the term „Indigenous“ peoples remains contested even if it is being widely used with in the international human rights regime.⁹²

⁸⁸International Labor Office Hand book for (ILO) Tripartite Constituents Understanding the Indigenous and Tribal peoples Convention, 1989 (No.169) program to promote ILO Conventions (PRO 169) International Labor Standard Department Geneva, No.169.

⁸⁹United Nations 2009.Department of Economic and Social Affairs Division for social policy and Development Secretariat of the permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues State of World’s Indigenous peoples, New York,No.09.vl.13,p.4.

⁹⁰Tom Griffith,2005. Indigenous peoples and World Bank;experiences with participation, 1.

⁹¹Gizachew Wondie, 2015.Indigenous and Non-indigenous Peoples Right in Benishangul—Gumuz Regional State; The Right to Political Participation of Non-indigenous people Babasi Woreda, Addis Ababa university, Collage of law and Governance Center for Human Right,p,30.

⁹²Beza Desalegn, 2016. Minority in Ethnic Federalism and the rights to political participation of Regional Minorities in Ethiopia, Center for Human Right, Addis Ababa University,Ethiopia,p,44.

2.2.3. Definition of ‘Indigenous’ and ‘Non-indigenous’ People from the national perspective

Still, there is no Global consensus about the definitions of „Indigenous“ and „Non-indigenous“ peoples“ even if at a national level.⁹³ As notes by, the Russian government „Indigenous“ peoples are distinct ethnic group, having self-identified peoples, small number in population size which is not exceeded more than 50.000 population number.⁹⁴ On the other side, India, Bangladesh, and Myanmar are stressing that “indigenous peoples” are descendant from their ancestor or race of original inhabitant those who are subjected under colonial rule or invaded by external force.⁹⁵

Despite the fact that, before and after the invasion the first Nations of Australian peoples identified themselves within their country i.e. example, Darug, Gandngarra, Tharwal, Eora, Kamilaro, Wiradjuri and so on.⁹⁶ They, consider the term Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander are the colonial legacy which is given to them to impose on their diverse cultures and languages. But, the Australian government define „indigenous“ peoples as „Aboriginal „and „Torres Strait Islander“ which is a common name given to them through the international community and the Australian government.⁹⁷ In general, Australia government understands the term „indigenous“ as follows:-

“A member of Aboriginal race of Australia identified as an Aboriginal person and is accepted by the Aboriginal community in which the person lives who is a descendant of the indigenous inhabitant of the Torres Strait Island.”⁹⁸

⁹³African Commission on Human and peoples“ Rights (ACHPR) 2006. Indigenous Peoples in Africa; The Forgotten Peoples? The African Commission Works on indigenous peoples in Africa, African Commission On Human Right and Peoples Right (ACHPR),p,9.

⁹⁴Johannes 2014.Indigenious peoples in Russian Federation International Work Group For Indigenous Affairs, p,9.

⁹⁵Christian Erni 2008.The concept of Indigenous Peoples in Asia A resources Book IWGIA Document No.123 International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) Asian Indigenous peoples pact Foundation (AIPP) Copenhagen/change Denmark, p, 123.

⁹⁶Working With Aboriginal peoples and Communities A practice Resources, February 2009.Aboriginal services Branch in Consultation with the Aboriginal Reference group, p, 7.

⁹⁷Ibid.

⁹⁸Ibid

However, the Indian government, did not accept who come first and after, because the movement of peoples, migration absorption and differentiation “it is impossible to say who come first”.⁹⁹ However, Gizachew Wondie notes that, countries can decide based on their legal institutional laws at a national levels which is suitable to them and they create categories on those groups of peoples as “indigenous” where as those group of peoples to call „Non-indigenous” which make them to be vulnerable.¹⁰⁰ Albeit Christian Erni, states that some state pursue or may not carry out an international policy of denial even while their internal(domestic) agencies acknowledge distinctive identities of individual „indigenous” groups at a national level.¹⁰¹

2.3. Understanding of ‘Indigenous’ and ‘Non-indigenous’ peoples in current Ethiopian context

2.3.1. The ‘Indigenous’ and ‘Non-indigenous ’peoples in Ethiopia

Therefore, „Non- indigenous” people in Ethiopia can be defined as “people who have moved from their original place of residence to the different part of the country due to resettlement program undertaken by the pre Ethiopian government policy in 1980s.”¹⁰²On the other hand, Beza, stated that, „Indigenous” peoples are those people obtain legal and political legitimacy those empowered to be the owners of the given territories in which they are inhabited.¹⁰³ However, Ethiopia is silent to be a member and to sign treaties of International Labor Organization’s (ILO) „Convention in relation identifying who is going to be „Indigenous” and „Non-indigenous” people.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹Christian Erni 2008.The Concept of Indigenous Peoples in Asia. Resource Book, International Work Group for Indigenous Affaires (IWGIA), Copenhagen, Denmark, p,124.

¹⁰⁰Gizachew Wondie, 2015.Indigenous and Non-indigenous Peoples Right in Benishangul—Gumuze Regional State; The Right to Political Participation of Non-indigenous people BabasiWoreda, Addis Ababa university, Collage of law and Governance Center for Human Right,p,31.

¹⁰¹Christian Erni,2008.The Concept of Indigenous People in Asia.Resource Book, International Work Group for Indigenous Affaires (IWGIA), Copenhagen, Denmark, 135.

¹⁰²Beza Desalegn,2015. Where Lies the Equilibrium in political Empowerment? Regional Autonomy versus adequate political Relation in Benishandul Gumuz Region of Ethiopia,35-51,p,37.

¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴Seyum Mesfin, 2017.Ethiopian Ethnic federalism: without space for Indigenous people? volume.16, No.3, pp, 246-259,p,251.

Due to this, FDRE government does not adopt legal framework in stating who is „indigenous“ and “Non-indigenous“ people instead of this, Ethiopia’s 1995 constitution provided which is relevant and significant space is organizing, which use ethnic groups as a unit of self-government.¹⁰⁵ According to Seyoum Mesfin, the FDRE constitution give opportunity to identify „Indigenous“ and „Non-indigenous“ under the blanket terms „nation, nationalities and peoples“ and the 1995 constitution categorized the applicability to the „indigenous“ as:

(a) Self-determination right: (b) cultural rights: and (c) land resource rights.¹⁰⁶ In accordance of this, the new Ethno federal arrangement enshrined in the 1995 constitution obligates the Federal Government to promote self-rule of the nations, nationalities, and peoples to respect their identity which stated under Article,88 (1-2) because it considered as a bridge which indicate „indigenous,“ without specific identification of the terms.¹⁰⁷ Minding this, Article 46, (2) of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopian Constitution, authorized Regional state to organize themselves in accordance of their settlement patterns, language, identity, and consent of the people.¹⁰⁸

The relevant space of FDRE and GPNRS of the revised constitution enable to establish their own different levels of government whatever it is necessary they find it.¹⁰⁹ Due to this, most of the FDRE Regional States established three tiers of local government are structuralized, commonly named as zone, *woreda* and *kebele* in order to accommodate different internal (ethnic) minorities.¹¹⁰ In addition to this, the 1995 FDRE constitution gives a mandate to local

¹⁰⁵Ibid, p, 252.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid,p,252.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid,p,252.

¹⁰⁸The (1995) Constitution Of The Federal Democratic Republic Of Ethiopia article, 46 (2).

¹⁰⁹Christophe van der Beken April 2015.Federalism,Local Government in Ethiopia; Opportunities and Challenges, Journal of African Law, volume59, No 1,(12015),150-177 SOAS, University of London,2014,p,162.

¹¹⁰Fissha, Yonatan and Van der Beken 2013.Ethnic federalism and internal minorities; the legal protection of internal minorities in Ethiopia, University of the Western Cape Research Repository comparative Law 21 (1);32-49,p

government under Article, 50 (4) to establish local government and its tiers including their responsibilities.¹¹¹

Zemelak, notes that, the FDRE constitution give comprehensive right to the regional states enable them to establish namely “regular and ethnic local government and to make the public more participatory in leading to sustainable development and to deliver basic service.”¹¹² Therefore, to exercise relevant self-government the existence and establishment of *liyu* (special) *woreda* and Nationality zone are important components, they enable numerically minority ethnic groups such as, Opo and Komo to accommodate and to achieve the right to have self-rule on their territory.¹¹³

Based on the federal and Regional constitutional provision, like Amhara Regional state gives recognition to those ethnic communities which settled in the territories of the region. In its constitution, article, 73 (1) Nationality zonal administration of Himra, Awi, and Oromo peoples have right to establish their own *liyu*, (special) *Kebele*, *Woreda* and zone.¹¹⁴ Contrary to this, Benishangul/Gumuz Regional state does not recognize the mere existence of other ethnic communities except the five ethnic group mentioned in Article(2) namely Berta, Gumuze, Shinasha, Mao and komo considered as the “Indigenous” of the regional state.¹¹⁵

Likewise, constitutional provision provide to them on Article,74 to have their own Regional council, regional state administrative council and the state of judicial power all these belong to the five national and nationalities peoples of the regional states.¹¹⁶ Similarly, Gambella Peoples” National Regional State, constitution under Article,47 (3) allowed the three „Indigenous” ethnic communities to have their own nationality zone and in practice the three ethnic community

¹¹¹2014. The Politics of sub-national constitutions and Local government in Ethiopia perspectives on Federalism vol.6 issue 2,p, E.94.

¹¹²Zemelak Ayetenew 2014.The [Politics of sub-national constitutions and Local government in Ethiopia perspectives on Federalism vol.6 issue 2,p, E.95.

¹¹³Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Christoph Van der Beken, 2015.Federalism, Local Government and Minority Protection in Ethiopia: Opportunities and Challenges in Ethiopia, Journal of African Law, volume 59,No.1(12015)pp., 159-177,p,159.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶Benishangul Gumuze regional state revised constitution Approval proclamation No 31/2002.

maintained their own nationality zone, namely Anywaa, Nuer and Majng zone which stipulated under article 77(1) on the revised constitution of, (GPNRS).¹¹⁷ As, Yonatan and Van Der stated, it is important to give a space that enhance the „Indigenous“ internal minorities which enables to exercise self-rule in accordance of determined to the specific functions of local government, due to this most of regional states are forced to establish special local government in order to accommodate the claim of „indigenous“ peoples.¹¹⁸

In similar fashion, the FDRE constitution provides different technique to protect the internal „Indigenous“ minorities with the help of ethnic-based territorial administration.¹¹⁹ But it failed to address, the internal migrant who are settled in different part of the regional state like, Gambella Peoples National Regional State. Therefore, the internal migrants are not recognized in federal and regional constitution as members of the region, they are obliged to face series challenges in realizing their self-rule unless they obtain constitutional solution.¹²⁰

For example, Oromia Constitution 2001 Under Article, (8) authorizes the „peoples of Oromo Nation“ and it reserve the right to self-determination to the peoples of Oromo Nation, but the „Non-indigenous“ peoples are excluded from the constitutional framework.¹²¹ This is because, the FDRE constitution stipulated under Article, 47(2) gives guarantee to the nine regions that enable them to establish any time their own state.¹²² However, Gambella peoples National Regional State is among the nine FDRE member and recognized only five (5), „indigenous“

¹¹⁷The Revised Constitution, 2002.Of the Gambella Peoples“ National Regional State Approval Proclamation.

¹¹⁸Fissha, Yonatan and Van der Beken 2013.Ethnic federalism and internal minorities;the legal protection of internal minorities in Ethiopia, University of the Western Cape Research Repository comparative Law 21 (1); 32-49, p, 8.

¹¹⁹Ibid,p,10.

¹²⁰Ibid,11.

¹²¹Fissha, Yonatan and Van der Beken 2013.Ethnic federalism and internal minorities; the legal protection of internal minorities in Ethiopia University of the Western Cape Research Repository comparative Law 21 (1);32-49,p,12.

¹²²Zemelak Ayetenew 2014.The Politics of sub-national constitutions and Local government in Ethiopian perspectives on Federalism vol.6 issue 2.

people under the region of constitution on Article, 47 (3) and those ethnic groups have the right to form self-rule and self-government on their respective region.¹²³

2.3.2. Understanding of ‘Indigenous’ and ‘Non-indigenous’ peoples in Gambella Peoples’ National Regional State

Gambella Peoples’ National Regional State is authorized to establish its own self-administration governance system under FDRE constitution. The region identified the five “Indigenous” people through its revised constitution under article, 47 as “Founder” of the regional state. Which mean that, the rest of ethnic people who are moved in the region as result of settlement program which are affected by famine and peoples’ and to search better job opportunity in the region are called “Non-founder.” The previous Ethiopian government policy made the regional states to be characterized by compositions of different ethnic groups’.¹²⁴

The right of movement from place to place is also among fundamental human rights which is universally accepted and FDRE of Ethiopian government endorsed under the constitution of 1995 on Article, 32(1).¹²⁵ „Indigenous“ and „Non-indigenous“ peoples are entitled equally in relation to equality of individual rights but the paradox is the right to self-determination and self-rule is delimited and given to the „Indigenous“ peoples in the early 1991 transitional period.”¹²⁶ Due to this, in current Ethiopia context referred as,“Non-indigenous“are the peoples who are moved from their permanent ancestral place area in to different corner of Ethiopia as a government policy of settlement programs the people moved in to the region in mid1980s.¹²⁷

¹²³ Proclamation No.27/2002.The Revised Constitution, 2002 of the Gambella Peoples’ National Regional State.

¹²⁴Christophe van der Beken 2014. Federalism, Local Government and minority protection in Ethiopia; opportunities and challenges, journal of African law vole 51, No 1(2015), 150-177, university of London, p, 160.

¹²⁵Federal Democratic Republic Of Ethiopia (FDRE),of 1995 the Constitutions.

¹²⁶ Chirstoph van der Beken 2014.Federalism.Local Government and minority protection in Ethiopia; opportunities and challenges,journal of African law vole, 51 No 1(2015),150-177,university of london,p,161.

¹²⁷Beza Desalegn 2017.Wherin lies the Equilibrium in Political Empowerment? Regional Autonomy adequate political Representation in the Benishangul Gumuz Region of Ethiopia,ACTA HUMANA/special edition 31-51, p, 37.

According to Dereje Feyissa, “*Ecologically highlander is on who is not from the Gambella and Comes from Highland region.*”¹²⁸

On line of this, „Non-indigenous“ peoples moved to search job opportunities and to improve their living standard in practicing freedom of movement which declared under UDHR and included as a part of FDRE constitution.¹²⁹ However, Gambella Peoples National Regional States constitutions does not show explicit criteria about the “Founder” and “Non-founder” of ethnic groups of Gambella peoples except listed down as a “founder” of the regional state.

In accordance of the Revised Constitution of Gambella regional state, under Article, 47 listed out, the “founder” of Gambella Peoples National Regional States referred to as, Angywa, Nuer, Majang, Opo and Komo Nationality.¹³⁰ There is no Constitutional Protection and acknowledgement in relation to the commonly named as “Highlanders” in Gambella region. Due to this, the Regional Constitution and proclamations consider the peoples who are not listed in the regional constitutions under article 47 are named as „Non-indigenous“ peoples”.¹³¹ From, the perspective of Gambella Peoples“ National Regional State constitutions and proclamation „Non-indigenous“ or “Non-founder” peoples“ are not existed before in the region and those peoples are which live in the region are not considered as the owners of the region.

On the other side, „Indigenous“ are existed on their regional states and those people are considered as the original peoples of the regional states they didn`t come from other parts of the country (in Amharic *Nebar Bihereseb*). Therefore, according to the new ethno federal arrangements in Ethiopia, the „Indigenous“ peoples are peoples having similarity with the peoples of the regional states in terms of culture, language, custom, are entitled as the

¹²⁸Dereje Feyissa, 2006.Decentralization as Ethnic closure, with special reference to a declining Negotiated Access to Natural resource in western Ethiopia, Africa development, vol.XXXI.No.2, pp., 243-260.

¹²⁹BezaDesalegn, 2017.Wherein Lies the Equilibrium in political Empowerment? Regional Autonomy adequate political Representation in BenishangulGumuz Region of Ethiopia, ACT HUMANA/Special edition 31-51,p,37.

¹³⁰Proclamation No.27/2002.The revised constitution of Gambella Peoples National Regional State Approval Proclamation, article 47(a-e).

¹³¹Ibid, Article,47 (a-e).

„Indigenous“.¹³² Gizachew wondie, rise a question due to lack of legal consensuses in political definition by the regional constitution which stated under the category of both of ethnic groups have influence indifferent direction particularly,

*“What would be like who have boy/girl from the indigenous mother and Non-indigenous father, those two children’s are belongs to the individuals the issue is started in the regional constitution because it is not well addressed”.*¹³³

2.4. MAJORITY AND MINORITY RELATIONS IN ETHIOPIAN FEDERALISM

The often mentioned, majority and minority groups usually defined as in terms of population size, power and on their status.¹³⁴ Basically, there is no acceptable definition by the international community on the group of people who belong to minorities and majority.¹³⁵ But, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) clearly stipulated protection for minorities without identifying who minorities and majority are.

It states correctly that, “in those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of the their group, to enjoy their Owen culture, to profess and practice their Owen religion, or to use their Owen language”.¹³⁶ On the other hand, “ICCPR paves the way to give the term minorities but, not definitely accepted definition while, it doesn’t answer the question: which ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups within the state are minorities”¹³⁷? As written by

¹³²Gizachew Wondie, 2015.Indigenous and „Non-indigenous“ Peoples Right in Benishangul—Gumuze Regional State; The Right to Political Participation of Non-indigenous people Babasi Woreda, Addis Ababa university, Collage of law and Governance Center for Human Right,p,38.

¹³³Ibid.

¹³⁴Viviane S.etal,2008.Dimensions of Majority and Minority Groups, Group Processes, Intergroup Relations, vol 11(1) 21-37, p, 22.

¹³⁵Menge Legesse, 2010.Federalism for Unity and Minorities :(A Comparative Study on Constitutional Principles and their Practical Implication, US, India and Ethiopia),p,22.

¹³⁶International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966.Adopted by General Assembly of the United Nations, Optional Protocol to the above mentioned Covenant, article 27.

¹³⁷ Menge Legesse, 2010.Federalism for Unity and Minorities: (A Comparative Study on Constitutional Principles and their Practical Implication, US, India and Ethiopia), p, 23.

different literature, there is no ethnic, linguistic or religious group which is the majority over the rest of the whole population.

Likewise, as others of federal system Ethiopia does not have clear who belongs to minority under the FDRE constitution. However, in multi-ethnic federation of Ethiopia in terms of political participation the concepts “majority” and “minority” have their own definition rather than economic, social and other perspectives. As stated by Yonatan and van der Beken, multi-ethnic federation in the world like, Canada, Belgium and Yugoslavia face hostilities within the problem of internal minorities¹³⁸. In line with this, the oldest Nigerian federation was not unable to accommodate the internal migrants not considered as „Indigenous“ peoples“ to the state in which they inhabit.¹³⁹ Due to this, “the internal migrants in Nigeria often are subjected to the discriminatory policies and laws.¹⁴⁰”

Challenges of accommodating internal migrant/ „Non-indigenous“ minorities is common experience along different governance system.¹⁴¹ Multi-ethnic federation has different mechanism to protect internal minorities. On the other hand, for example, Canada applied the constitutional security through judicially enforceable bill of rights in order to protect the internal minorities.¹⁴² However, Ethiopia is characterized by different ethnic groups and “majority-minority” relationship obviously visible in most of the regional state.¹⁴³ However According to Yonatan and van der comments that, classification of internal minorities in to „Indigenous“ and „Non-indigenous“ find possible solution in both regional and their political practice.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁸Yonatan Tesfaye and Van der Beken,2013.Ethnic federalism and internal minorities: the legal protection of internal minorities in Ethiopia, African journal of International and Comparative Law,21(1) 32-49,p,3.

¹³⁹Ibid,p,4.

¹⁴⁰Ibid,p,3.

¹⁴¹Ibid.

¹⁴²,Yonatan Tesfaye Fessha,2011. Federalism, the sub national constitutional frame work and local government: accommodating minorities within minorities, university of Western Cape, p, 160.

¹⁴³ Yonatan Tesfaye and Van der Beken,2013. Ethnic federalism and internal minorities: the legal protection of internal minorities in Ethiopia, African journal of International and Comparative Law,21(1) 32-49,p,4.

¹⁴⁴Ibid,p,5.

As a result of the 1991 federal arrangement, Ethiopian ethnic groups mainly characterized by the two types of minorities“ referred as „Indigenous“ and „Non-indigenous“ minorities still find recognition through federal and regional constitutions.¹⁴⁵ Perhaps, there is no any regional state ethnically pure, since internal minorities are dispersed throughout the region.¹⁴⁶ Hence forth, the post 1991 federal principle that was available for the purpose of accommodating ethnic diversities of the state.¹⁴⁷

According to the Gambella Peoples“ National Regional State revised constitution, these internal migrants fall under the category of „Non-indigenous“ (“Non-founder”) groups.¹⁴⁸ The overlap of ethnic borders and regional border is as a result of inconsideration of the other ethnic peoples“ during the establishment of the nine regions and before adopting federation which become the challenge for ethnic accommodation.¹⁴⁹ Therefore, “Securing the rights of internal minorities that are created by autonomy arrangement is crucial to the long term success of Ethiopian federal system.¹⁵⁰” On the other side as stated by Jon Abbink, the ethno-linguistic based federalism in 1991s was that it initiated a liberating phase of ethnic and linguistic self-expression.¹⁵¹

In addition to this, Jon Abbink argues, after the coming of EPRDF took power from the “Highlander” the previous dominant local administrator, but later shifted towards the „Indigenous“ of Gambella Peoples because state boundaries are defined along ethnic lines.¹⁵² Due to this, at Ethiopian federal level, majority-minority relationships characterize most of

¹⁴⁵Ibid, p,4-5.

¹⁴⁶Ibid,p,4.

¹⁴⁷Yonatan Tesfaye Fessha,2011. Federalism, the subnational constitutional framework and local government: accommodating minorities within minorities, university of Western Cape, 160.

¹⁴⁸Proclamation No.7/2002.The Revised Constitution of Gambella Peoples“ National Regional State Approval Proclamation, Article,47(1).

¹⁴⁹Yonatan Tesfaye and Van der Beken,2013. Ethnic federalism and internal minorities: the legal protection of internal minorities in Ethiopia, Africa journal of International and Comparative Law, 21(1)32-49, p,5.

¹⁵⁰Ibid,p3.

¹⁵¹Jon Abbink, 2011. Ethnic-based federalism and ethnicity in Ethiopia: reassessing the experiment after 20 years, *journal of East African Studies* vol,5 No.4,596-18,p,603.

¹⁵²Ibid.

regions.¹⁵³ To be precise, although Article 47 of FDRE constitution establishes the nine regions that are largely delimited along linguistic lines: the state of Afar, the state of Tigry, the state of Oromo, the state of Amhara, the state of Somalia, the state of Harari, the state of Benishangul Gumuz, the state of Gambella Peoples National Regional state and the state of South Nations, Nationalities and peoples(SNNPR).¹⁵⁴

Although, this implies that none of the regional state are ethnically pure.¹⁵⁵ As concluded by Yonatan and van der Beken, internal minorities are scattered throughout the regional majorities giving rise to majority-minority tension.¹⁵⁶ The question is „Ingenious“ groups are treated equally by the regions as national minorities countrariwise, the „Non-indigenous“ peoples are treated as a regional migrant in the current FDRE of regional arrangement/system.

2.5. The right to elect and to be elected

Elections are one of the basic instruments that become a mechanism to establish a democratic state and enable the peoples involve on their government with maximizing their potential in decisions activity.¹⁵⁷ On line with this, “elections are the most common accountability mechanisms practiced around the world.”¹⁵⁸ Therefore, they have a significant role in the political process of a given society and ensuring constitutionalism with in the country.¹⁵⁹The Citizen’s right to elect and to be elected is specified in the international convention, constitutions or laws and its implementation is decided by legal activities.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵³Yonatan Tesfaye and van der Beken,2013. Ethnic federalism and internal minorities: the legal protection of internal minorities in Ethiopia, Africa journal of International and comparative Law, 21(1)32-49, p,4.

¹⁵⁴Ibid,p, 4.

¹⁵⁵Ibid.

¹⁵⁶Ibid.

¹⁵⁷,Eyob Amedie,(n.d).The Impact of Electoral System On Political Representation in Diversified Society; An appraisal of National Elections of Ethiopia, Faculty of Law, set, Mary’s University College, Addis Ababa,p,140.

¹⁵⁸Adem Kassie Abebe,no year. A constitution without a guardian: Is Ethiopian constitution really supreme?, center for Human Right, University of Pretoria,p,5.

¹⁵⁹Ibid.

¹⁶⁰CDL—EL(2006)031rev. Convention on the standards of Democratic Elections, Voting right and Freedoms in The Member States of The Commonwealth of Independent States,p3.,

In addition to this, the above statement tells us creating a boundary of the right to elect and to be elected in the national and state constitution results discrimination and undermining the right to elect and to be elected of each citizen's.¹⁶¹ Universally, the right to elect and to be elected is explicitly documented in international law of Universal Declaration of Human Right, (UNDR) which found on Article, 21(1) and every citizen has full acceptance to be represented in the government office.¹⁶² On the other side, universal declaration of Human right,(UDHR) stipulated under Article, (3)says, "the will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of the government; this will shall be expressed in periodic genuine elections which shall be by Universally and equal suffrage and held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures".¹⁶³

In addition to this, under International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, (ICCPR) on Article 25(b) tell as, "to vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by Universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of electors."¹⁶⁴ As stated above, the rights to vote and to be elected motivate political participation and make the people to obtain fair and equitable political representation.¹⁶⁵ Minding this, the right to vote and to be elected is a pillar of democratic right principle, because it helps the people to hold government institution and to decide on their own issues.¹⁶⁶

Therefore, if electoral laws are not considering ethnic minorities for political participation and in relation to take part political position will face a challenge.¹⁶⁷ Therefore, the right to take part on public affairs directly or through freely chosen representatives enables citizens to participate on

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² UNDR, 1948, Article 21(1).

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ ICCPR, 1976, Article, 25(b).

¹⁶⁵ Convention on standard of Democratic Election, voting Rights and Freedoms in the member states of the commonwealth of independent states, p,3.

¹⁶⁶ Human Rights Advocates, The Rights to vote; A Basic Human Rights in need of protection, University of San Francisco school of Laws International Human Rights,p,2.

¹⁶⁷ Beza Desalegn,(n.d). The Right Of Minorities To Political Participation Under Ethiopian Electoral System, p, 68.

their national political issues.¹⁶⁸ Based on the principle of election, the right to vote and to be elected through constitutional declaration or legal law is the most essential component and characteristics of democratic country.¹⁶⁹ As forwarded by different scholars, the right of political participation of people's predominantly ensured by applying the right to elect and to be elected which is a road of democratic principle to take government office.¹⁷⁰ In general, elections are standing to handle government officials properly and to make them more responsive and increase accountability of government officials.¹⁷¹

However, as component of political rights, the right to vote and to be elected is sometimes suspended and limited in certain problems. Under the No.25 Paragraph 10 of the Human Right Committee, states as follows; the "right to vote and to be elected should be established by law and may be subjected only to responsible restrictions, such as setting a minimum age limits for the right to vote" this implies that there may be responsible restriction on process of the right to vote and to be elected.¹⁷²

2.6. The right to have fair representation

In democratic governance system, political representation is a component of political participation which through mobilizing a large number of people to obtain their best candidates to make decision on the behalf of them. Therefore, political representation is democratic component that enable to have consensus among the people.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁸ ICCPR, Article, 25. (a),p,179.

¹⁶⁹Gizachew Wondie, 2015.Indigeniouse and Non—indigenious peoples Rights in Benishangul-Gumuz Regional States; The Right to political Participation of Non-indigenious peoples in Bambasi Woreda, Addis Ababa University, Collage Of Law and Governance Center For Human Right,p,19.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, p,42.

¹⁷¹Rusel Dalton---et,al,2011.The Dynamics of Democratic Representation; How Democracy Works, panel 34-6,The Comparative Study of Electoral Institutions and Representationp,p,3.

¹⁷²Human Rights Committee, General Comment 25(57), General Comment under article 25 of the International Rights, Add by the committee at its1510th meeting. U.N. Doc. ccr/c/21 Review:1/Add.7.

¹⁷³Eline Severs, 2014.MPs“Concepts of Political A not on aesthetic and ethics in an age of distrust, p,2.

However, political representation is defined as the vital element that fills the gap in between people in policy planning and implementation.¹⁷⁴ Due to this, political representation for ethnic minorities“ has the opportunity to build confidence on their government and it became a channel for democratic principle.¹⁷⁵ Gizachew Wondie said that, to be representative and to be represented increase accountability of government duties legislative, executive and judiciary through their delegation based on the constitutional declaration.¹⁷⁶

But according to Andrew, political representation can be relies on both individuals and groups of people; therefore they have significant contribution in development for the process of political representation.¹⁷⁷ Hence Andrew, concludes that fair political representation can be obtained through the existence of “absolute terms” since it enables the citizen of the country to be represented in equitable political position in accordance with the space provided by the government.¹⁷⁸ “It is an essential part of democracy that minorities should be represented. No real democracy, nothing but a false show of democracy, is possible without it.”¹⁷⁹

2.6.1. The right for political participation of ‘Non-indigenous’ peoples and its significance for Ethiopia

The experience of political participation and the right of each individual in involvement in political issues in Ethiopia is not well established and yet not developed.¹⁸⁰ However, to establish efficient and effective political participation is depends up on the space provided by the government and in accordance of conscious mind of community.¹⁸¹ The right for Political

¹⁷⁴Jan Rosset---et.al,2011s.Poletical Representation of the poor and Economic In quality; A comparative Analysis,p,6.

¹⁷⁵MaralZhanartanova-----et,ai.2011.Poletical Representation of Ethnic Minorities In The Republic Of Kazakhstan, fucality of political science, university of Bucharest, volume,1,ner,number,1,p,4-16,p,8.s

¹⁷⁶Gizachew Wondie, 2015. „Indigenous“ and Non-indigenous“ peoples“ Rights in Benishangul-Gumuz Regional state; The Right to political participation of Non-ingenious“ people in bambasi woreda, Addis Ababa University, Collage of Law and Governance Center For Human Right, p, 22.

¹⁷⁷Andrew Gelman,2001.Voting, Fairness, and Political representation, Colombia University, p, 1.

¹⁷⁸Ibid.

¹⁷⁹John Stuart Mill,1960.Representation government, in three Essay by John Stuart Mill 143,252(oxford 1960)

¹⁸⁰Ibid,p, 40.

¹⁸¹Ibid,p,41.

participation is a broad activity, it begins from family and it reaches at different levels of government like that of local, regional, national and as well as at international issues.¹⁸²

In Ethiopian History, the right to political participation were practiced and applied through petition, opinion and directly involvement during the era of Emperor Haile Selassie in after the introduction of the 1931 written constitution.¹⁸³ Political participation and movement started in 1960 by Ethiopian student movement which stands against Haile Selassie in relation to ethnic identity and nationality question in order to avoid hegemony dominancy of Amara rule.¹⁸⁴ As stated by, Gizachew Wondie, in the history of Ethiopia in relation to election, demonstration, and the question of political representation of culture was not significantly put in practice and it was unthinkable.¹⁸⁵ The popular uprising revolt against Haile Selassie brings a military committee in to power through adoption of Marxist-Leninist attitude with a sense of ethnic identity issue.¹⁸⁶

However, the military government in (Amharic Committee) recognized the “right to self-determination of all nationalities and promised to respect and it acknowledged in accordance of the „program of the National Democratic Revolution”, (PNDR) started in 1976, but it was remain in papers.¹⁸⁷ Eventually, the transitional Conference held in Addis Ababa in 1991 established “predominantly” ethnic based government arrangement that laid a foundation to the birth of a new constitution.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸²Shimelis Sisay, 2011.Electoral Participation as Fundamental Political Right of Persons with Disabilities in Ethiopia; Critical Examination of the Law and the practice, Addis Ababa University School of Graduate Studies School of law,p,28.

¹⁸³Gizachew Wondie,2015.Indigenous and „Non-indigenous“ Peoples Right in Benishangul—Gumuze Regional State; The Right to Political Participation of Non-indigenous people Babasi Woreda, Addis Ababa university, Collage of law and Governance Center for Human Right,p,40.

¹⁸⁴Christophe van der Beken (n.d) Federalism and Accommodation of Ethnic Diversity; The case of Ethiopia,p,3.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid, p, 40.

¹⁸⁶ Christophe van der Beken,2007.Federalism and Accommodation of Ethnic Diversity; The case of Ethiopia, pp,23-48,vol.20, p,5.

¹⁸⁷Ibid,p,6.

¹⁸⁸Ibid.

Therefore, the main objective of Ethiopian Federalism was to answer rights of different Nations, Nationalities and Peoples“ those were marginalized in the past administration system.¹⁸⁹ From, the preamble of the constitution firmly indicates that, “We, the Nations, Nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia “which means that, different ethnic peoples are found in Ethiopia and all are fully guaranteed. Having said to this, each Nations, Nationalities and Peoples“ are entitled to enjoy that stipulated under FDRE constitution on Article, 39 (1),”have the right to self-determination including the right to secession.”¹⁹⁰

On the other hand, under FDRE constitution Article, 38(a), stated the right to elect and to be elected is read as follows:-

*“Every Ethiopian national, without any discrimination based on color, race, nation, nationality, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion or other status, has the following rights: (a) To take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly and through freely chosen representative”.*¹⁹¹

However, FDRE constitution on the other hand explicitly stated under article 43 (2) “Nations have the right to participate in national development and, in particular to be consulted with respect to policies and project affecting their community development.”¹⁹² However, the above statement tell as every citizen of Ethiopia has the right to participate in his/her public or official political issues and related with any development agenda without any discriminatory activities.¹⁹³

The FDRE constitution authorized the region to have self-determination up to secession on their defined territories, but it is a challenge to the internal migrants those moved from their region to other region and they lose the opportunities to take part to the right of political

¹⁸⁹Ibid..

¹⁹⁰Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) constitution of the 1995.

¹⁹¹Ibid.

¹⁹²Ibid.

¹⁹³Gizachew Wondie,2015.Indigenous and „Non-indigenous“ Peoples Right in Benishangul—Gumuz Regional State; The Right to Political Participation of Non-indigenous people Babasi Woreda, Addis Ababa university, Collage of law and Governance Center for Human Right,p,41.

participation.¹⁹⁴ For example, Gambella Peoples National Regional States, (GPNRS) the revised constitution under Article, 47(a-e) excluding other ethnic peoples saying, “Founder” and “Non-founder” of the regional states is a big question in holding to take part in the right of political participation to the „Non-indigenous“ peoples in Gambella regional state and it is difficult to answer the right to vote and to be elected without implementing multiculturalism of policy because, FDRE government want to establish as slogan “unity in diversity.”¹⁹⁵

2.6.2. Summary and Conclusion

The chapter made reviews of conceptual framework and theories related to political participation, definitions of „Indigenous“ and „Non-indigenous“ people, the right to elect and to be elected. The chapter also reviewed the literature and conceptual frame works in international and in Ethiopia context. In fact political participation is a core element which enhances the political choice of the peoples on their wellbeing. Moreover, the current FDRE government acknowledge under the 1995 FDRE constitutional provision that provide political participation and enable the citizen to say on their issues.

After the emergence of EPRDF in 1991 the regions are arranged in to nine constituent units which create the distinction in grouping the „Indigenous“ and Non-indigenous“ people of Ethiopia. „Indigenous“ and „Non-indigenous“ people are still controversial issue globally and the international community does not reach on any conclusion in regarding to the definition.

After all „Non-ingenuous“ people in Ethiopia defined as, a people who moved from their original place of residence to different part of the country which under taken by the government policy, due to resettlement program and drought/ famine. „Indigenous“ peoples are those people obtained legal and political legitimacy since, the emergence of 1991 FDRE federal system which are empowered to be the owner of the given territories in which they inhabited.

¹⁹⁴Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Proclamation No.27/2002.The Revised Constitution of Gambella Peoples National Regional State Approval Proclamation, on article, 47(1).

Ethiopia holds diversified ethnic people which overlap with the ethnic borders and regional border of the federal government that crates the people considered as „Indigenous“ treated equally by the region as a national minorities and contrary wise, “Non-indigenous” people are treated as regional migrant in the current FDRE of government arrangement system. Local people in Ethiopia have the right to enjoy either to elect or to be elected. Based on the principle of constitutional provision the right to vote and to be elected is the most essential component.

The right to political participation of people predominantly ensured through actively involvement because, the right to elect and to be elected which is a road of democratic principle to take government office. In the meantime, the FDRE constitution authorized the region to have self-determination up to secession on their defined territories, but it is the main challenge to the internal migrant, („Non-indigenous“) people those moved from their region to other region and they lose the opportunities to take part to the right of political participation. The details of the Ethiopian federalism in relation to the right to elect and to be elected, the way of accommodation mechanism, the right to self-administration, fair representation and the legal framework for political representation to the Non-indigenous people in Gambella peoples national regional state comparatively to the „Indigenous“(“founder”) of the people what the subsequent chapter look up.

CHAPTER THREE

DESCREPTION OF STUDY AREAS

3.1. Geographical Location of Lare *Woreda*, Abobo *Woreda*, Etang *Woreda*, Godere/Meti *Woreda* and Gambella city

3.2. Introduction

This chapter makes an attempt to give qualitative description on the experience of Ethiopian federalism on its implementation in GPNRS in general and the four *Woredas* and in Gambella city, Abobo, Lare, Godere/Meti and Etang *Woredas* in particular. This is going to be made by looking the political participation of the „non-indigenous“ peoples“ in the region and analysis of the basic indicators of the political participation in the study *woredas*, such as the right to vote and to be elected, accommodation mechanism of the region, recognition and the space provided in relation to the right to political participation of „non-indigenous“ people.

3.3. General Overview of the Gambella Peoples national regional state

Gambella people“s national regional state is situated in the South-western part of Ethiopia.¹⁹⁶ The Region is bordered in the East with Oromia Region, in the South west and North-west with the republic of Sudan, in the North with Benishangul Gumuz regional state and southern Nations, Nationalities and peoples“ regional States.¹⁹⁷ The region is located in the western Ethiopia about 777 kilometers from the national capital, Addis Ababa.¹⁹⁸ It is the hottest and low lands in among regions of Ethiopia which shows annually an average temperature of 37 degree Celsius with it“s an altitude of 500 meters above sea level.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁶ Abreham Sewonet 2002. United Nations Emergency Unit for Ethiopia (UN-EUE) Breaking the Cycle of Conflict in Gambella Region, assessment mission, p.1.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ Dereje Feyissa Playing Different Game; the Paradox of Anywaa and Nuer Identification Strategies In The Gambella Region, Ethiopia, p. 1.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.2.

The population of ethnic compositions in the region consists of Nuer (40%), Angwaak (27%), Majang (5.8%) and Komo and Opo each of them respectively (3%).²⁰⁰ On the other hand, the „non-indigenous“ ethnic communities consists of Amhara (8%), Oromo (6%), Kaffa (4.1%), Mocha (2%), Tigray (1.6%), and the following ethnic group predominantly from the southern-Ethiopia accounts (5.5%) are the total population size and the inhabitants of the region.²⁰¹

3.3.1. Geographical Location of Lare Woreda, Abobo Woreda, Etang Woreda, Godere/Meti Woreda and Gambella city

The data analysis of this chapter is based on the interviews with head of regional government officials, elected officials at *woreda* levels, professional and residents of members of the community at *woreda* level. In addition to this, some hard materials like, constitution, proclamations, newspaper, magazine is retrieved as well as observation of the researcher plays a significant role on this chapter.

3.3.2. Background of the study Woredas

This section gives an overview of the five study *woredas* with the highlights of the *woredas* of the Geographical location, socio-economic activities and the population size of the people. Beside to this, this information helps to the policy makers and researchers understand the conditions of the study *woredas* in general.

3.4. Gambella city Administration

3.4.1. Location demographic and socio-economic features

Gambella city is an administrative city in Gambella region and served as seats of regional government which have an area of 765.10k.m. The city is situated from Addis Ababa south west, Gore in south east and in south west with *Dnbidolo* of Oromia region.²⁰² According to the 2007 report of CSA of Ethiopia the total population of Gambella city account 77,925 of whom where 40,934 men and 36,991 were women and (60 %), of the total population are protestant, while

²⁰⁰Ibid.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰²Ibid.

(25.02 %), were orthodox Christian and (8.2 %), of the population are Muslims (3.8 %), are catholic (2.1 %), are traditional and other.²⁰³ According to the 2007 National Census of Ethiopia, Gambella city has an ethnic composition of Agnwaa (22.45 %), Nuer (28.947 %), Majang (0.988%), Oromos (10.71%), Amhara (12.23 %), Tigryans (2.44 %), SNNRS (21.87 %) , both of Komo(0.107%) and Opo(0.047%) Nationalities are resided in the city.²⁰⁴

Gambella City is Multi-ethnic which comprise different diversified ethnic groups who are the permanent or „indigenous“ and other emigrated from different region because of the ample resource of the region. According to interview with key informant of city council member stated; the composition of Gambella city people comprises different levels of social composition which ranges from non-educational background, better educational background like, first degree, masters. The livelihood of Gambella city people is depend on small scale in rearing animals to the consumption of the city, fishing, and business like hotel, restaurant and shops are the main sources of economic activity in the city.²⁰⁵

3.5. Abobo Woreda

3.5.1. Location, demographic and socio-economic features

Abobo *Woreda* is one of the 12 *Woredas* in GPNRS and it is one of the *Woreda* in Agnwaa zone. Abobo *Woreda* located at 45 km from the capital city of the region. It is located in the north with Gambella city, in the south with *Gog Woreda*, in the east with Mengeshi *Woreda* and in the west located with Itang special *Woreda*.²⁰⁶ The terrain land feature of Abob *Woreda* is 90% plain surface area and 10% of the land covered by up“s and down.²⁰⁷

The climate conditions of the *Woreda* predominantly hottest to some extent cool moisture and the eastern part of the *Woreda* is coldest weather condition.²⁰⁸ The elevation is in between 500—

²⁰³Ibid.

²⁰⁴Ibid.

²⁰⁵ The interview made with the regional council member,(Yegubae Abal).

²⁰⁶ Abobo *Woreda* Administrative, Pamphlet, Unpublished Material, 2016.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

700 m above sea level.²⁰⁹ Major water bodies of this *Woreda* include Lake Alwero which is one of the tributaries to the Baro River and the average annual rainfall distribution in *Abobo Woreda* receives 900—1200 mm per year.²¹⁰ Based on 2016 conducted by *Abobo Woreda* assessment, this *Woreda* has the total population of 22,420 of whom 11,531 are men and 10,889 are women. With the area of 3,116.17 square kilometers.

Abobo Woreda is divided into 19 Administrative *Kebeles* and 17 are rural with the 2 town of *Kebeles*.²¹¹ *Abobo Woreda* is the seat of *Agnwaa zone* and served as the Administrative of district *Woreda*.²¹² According to the National Census of Ethiopia, *Abobo Woreda* has an Ethnic composition of Agnwaak (46.05%), the Kembata (20.1%), Amhara (12.7%), Oromo (6.3%), and the Majang (5.99%), all other ethnic groups made up of (10.98%), beside to this, (32%) of the dominant of the residents are professed protestant religion (71.4%), while (9.98%) are Orthodox Catholic (10.77%), Muslims community are (5.93%), Traditional practice, (0.88%) were (0.82%) are belongs to others.²¹³

Predominantly the economic activities of *Abobo Woreda* depend on Agriculture. The majority of the *woreda* populations are live in rural area with the major occupation in farming through traditional system and the settlers of the six *Kebeles* in the *Woreda* are also rearing the animals.²¹⁴ *Abobo Woreda* has a potential and suitable fertile land for different production. Which are mainly produced crops are like, sorghum, maize; rice others vegetable such as cabbage, potato, banana, papaya and mango are the main production of the area.²¹⁵ Moreover, the *Woreda* is suitable for animal rearing and it has high potential for cotton production and fishing. Saudi star is one of the farming centers in the cotton and rice production and recently

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ The 2007 Population And Housing Census of Ethiopia, Results for Region, Statistical Report.

²¹⁴ *Abobo Woreda* Administrative, Pamphlet, unpublished material, 2016.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

different foreign investors started in crop production.²¹⁶ There are many hectares of potential fertile for cultivated land.²¹⁷

3.6. Lare Woreda

3.6.1. Location, demographic and socio-economic features

Lare is found in Nuer zone and it is one of the 13 *Woredas* in Gambella people's national regional state. It is located 80 kilometers away from of the regional capital city. Lare *Woreda* is bordered on the west with Baro River that separates it from Jikawo, on the south and east by Agnwa zone, and on the north bordered by Jikawo River which separated it from the Sudan.²¹⁸ The land feature of Lare *woreda* consists of grassland coverage and elevation range from 300-400 meters above sea level.²¹⁹ The climatic of Lare *Woreda* fall under the Kola with the mean temperature of 32---36 Celsius degree.²²⁰ As a report of the 2007 national of the Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia (CSA), the total population of Lare *Woreda* accounts 31,406 of who 16,145 are men and 15,261 are women.²²¹

From the total population of 6,549 are Urban Dwellers, while the rest of 24,857 are inhabited in rural areas.²²² According to the national Census Report the composition of religious in *Woreda* Orthodox (1.789%), while Protestant (86.81%), Catholic Christian (2.693%), and Muslim Community are (0.707%) ,Traditional religious profess(7.47%) and (0.334%) are others.²²³ Lare *Woreda* has an area of 685, 17 square kilometers with 25 Administrative units of rural *Kebeles* and one town. Korgang town is the administrative center of the district/*Woreda*.²²⁴ "The community also practices livestock rearing; hence it would be very appropriate to consider the

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Abrham G/ silassie, 2011. Assesment on The Implementation On *Woreda* Decentralization In Gambella Regional State: The Case Of Abobo and Lare *Woreda*, p,83

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ National Gambella peoples Regional state, Meteorology Agency service.

²²¹ The 2007. Population And Housing Census of Ethiopia, Results for Gambella Region, Statistical Report.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Lare *Woreda Administration* Office data storage and Human resource office of Chart, (2016).

community as a leading agro-pastoral mode of production.”²²⁵ The rest of population makes living as Government employee and they engaged in trade system.²²⁶

3.7. Goder/Meti *Woreda*

3.7.1. Location, demographic and socio-economic activities

Among the 13 *Woredas* of Gambella regional state is Godere *Woreda* with a district at the town of Meti. Godere *Woreda* is bordered with Abobo and Gog on the west, by Illubabor Zone of Oromiya region in the Northern, by Sheka and Bench Maji Zones of the southern Nations Nationalities People Regional State (SNNPRS) in south eastern part, by Dim District of GPNRS on the south, and by Agnwaa Zone of Gambella on the Western.²²⁷

The physical size of Godere *Woreda* has a total land mass of 592.75km square.²²⁸ Among the total population of Godere *Woreda* of whom male 19,928 and female are 18,853 are living in Godere *Woreda*.²²⁹ Out of 59,227 Majang nationality zone the total population of Goder *Woreda* is 38,763 of whom 7,137 are live in Urban of Meti town and 3,626 are live in rural area.²³⁰ The *Woreda* covered by densely forest plant and the climate condition characterized by warm temperature, relative humidity with plenty of rainfall distribution.²³¹ The „Indigenous“ people in Godere *Woreda* hunting keep bees and shifting cultivation is the main sources of their livelihood.²³²

²²⁵ Abrham G/ silassie, 2011. Assesment on The Implementation On *Woreda* Decentralization In Gambella Regional State: The Case Of Abobo and Lare *Woreda*, p 82.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Seyoum Mesfin, 2013. Federalism at the Margins of the Ethiopian State: The Lived Experience of the Majang people, PHILOSOPHY in Federal Studies Collage of Law and Governance, Center for Federal Studies, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, p, 7.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Central Statistically Agency, Statistical abstract, Addis Ababa. Ethiopia, March, 2013.

²³⁰ Seyoum Mesfin, 2013. Federalism at the Margins of the Ethiopia State: The live Experience of the Majang people, Philosophy in Federal Studies Collage of Law and Governance, Center for Federal Studies, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, p, 6.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Ibid, 9.

In this *Woreda* predominantly Highlanders are living in the rural area. The majority of those people come in to the area is during the dreg regime in settlement program because of drought from the North part of Ethiopia.²³³ These settlers dominating the economical activates of the area compared to the „indigenous“ of Majang people with the help of better farming system and raring the livestock“s.²³⁴ The area is fertile and suitable for different crops production like coffee, fruits and timbering are the main production in *Woreda*.²³⁵

3.8. Itang Special *Woreda*

3.8.1. Location, demography and socio-economic activities

Itang is one of the Special *Woreda* in Gambella regional state of Ethiopia. It is bordered by south and south east by Agnwaa Zone, on the west by Nuer zone, on the North West by Sudan, and on the north by Oromyia region, the part of the southern boundary is defined by Alwero River.²³⁶ It is located 45km away from the region town of Gambella.²³⁷ Itang special *Woreda*/district which is further divided in to 23 *Keble*'s, is one of the 13 *Woredas* of Gambella region.²³⁸ According to the 2007 national census the district has a total population of 35.307 of whom male are 17.778 and 17,527 are females.²³⁹ Out of the total population of 29,352(80%) are inhabited in rural area with total physical size of 25km square.²⁴⁰ According to the national Census Report the Composition of religious in *Woreda* (6.06 %),are Orthodox, Protestant Christians are (81.62%), while Catholic(2.62%), Muslim communities(0.0056%),Traditional accounts(6.7%) and (0.53%) are others.²⁴¹

The livelihood of Itang special *Woreda* system can be put under traditional farming system using an instrument of (challa/Pur in Agnwaa and Nuer language respectively) with a mix of fishing

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ WWW.Placebeam.Com/?.....Itang%2c%20The20State%20of%20Gambella%20Peoples.....6:25,2017.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Itang Special *Woreda* Council Data Organization Office in Graph,22016.

²³⁹ Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Central Statistical Agency, Statistical Abstract, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, March, 2013

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ The 2007.Population Housing Census of Ethiopia, Results for Gambella Region, Statistical Report.

and rearing animals.²⁴² Different ethnic groups are settled in Itang *Woreda*, Nuer, Agnwaa, Opo and „non-indigenous“ ethnic groups.²⁴³ Agnwaa constituted the dominant, live in 11 *Kebeles* out of 23 followed by Nuer people who inhabited 9, 1 is the town of Itang *Kebele* and the remaining 2 *Kebeles* are share by Opo ethnic groups.²⁴⁴

²⁴² Abebe Zewdu, 2011. Dimensions and determinants of Poverty and Rural Households: The Case of Itang Special District of Gambella In Ethiopia. No page number.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

CHAPTER FOUR

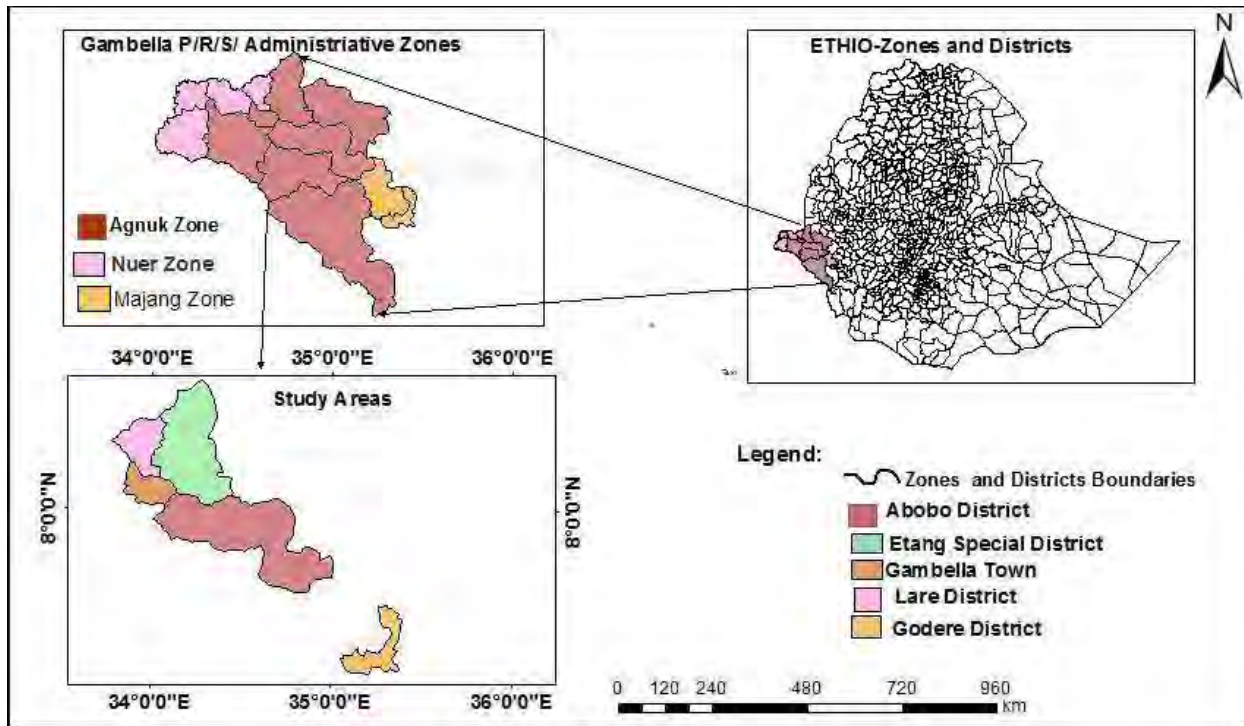
DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a brief overview of the rights of „Non-indigenous“ political participation in Gambella region of four *Woredas* and Gambella City administration. It is intended to provide in focusing the fundamental element or vital component of the right to political participation which are looking from the perspective of; the right to vote and to be elected, the right to have political participation accommodation mechanism and the right to have fair representation of „Non-indigenous“ peoples in Gambella region of Abbo *Woreda*, Itang Special *Woreda*, Lare *Woreda*, Godere *Woreda*, and Gambella city. Data analysis and interpretation conducted in this chapter is based on the information obtained from respondents of with the selected and expert officials at the region of, *Woredas* and city of the community members in four *Woredas* and city residents.

In addition this, the data is obtained from concerned with the right to political participation in both of election issues and representation are obtained from regional electoral board, the regional office of Gambella People Unity Democratic Movement (GPUDM) TPLF, ANDM, OPDO, and SPDM, which considered as advisor or supporter to the Gambella city and four *Woredas* of, council speakers, *Woredas* of administrator, and retrieving from written document. Most of the analysis and interpretation is based on qualitative description and to some extent applied quantitative data concerned with the situation of elections processes and representation numbers at local level.

Map 1:- Location Map of the Study areas from there National & Regional Settings



4.2. GENERAL OVERVIEWS OF THE RIGHT TO POLETICAL PARTICIPATION IN WOREDAS AND GAMBELLA CITY ADMINISTRATION

Political participation is a special interest of instrument for democratic societies which enables them to influence on the political decision that affect them at various issues in relation to protect unfair of political representation.²⁴⁵ On the other side, effective political participation provide space for individual in political right and public affairs enable them to have common sense in order to respect human rights with establishing vital component of the right to political participation.²⁴⁶ According to the statement of my key informant, “political participation to him is to organize the people, conduction demonstration peacefully, to make the officials to be accountable to their elected people and to ask the government activities directly or indirectly to

²⁴⁵Markus Pausch 2012. What is political participation good for? Theoretical debate and empirical data from Austria,Resistance Studies Magazine No.1, p, 4.

²⁴⁶Gizachew Wondie,2015.Indigenous and Non-indigenous Peoples Right in Benishangul—Gumuz Regional State; The Right to Political Participation of Non-indigenous people Babasi *Woreda*, Addis Ababa university, Collage of law and Governance center for human right,p,27.

their mutual benefits”.²⁴⁷ On the other hand, according the key informant with „Indigenous“ stated that; - “the right to political participation on the basses of the region party discipline (GPUDM) any Ethiopian citizenship can join in political processes depend on his/her will of interest.”²⁴⁸

He also forwarded that, “the right to political participation is universal consensuses and fundamental of democratic right that ensure the citizens interest at different levels of government institution.”²⁴⁹ It is clear that, political participation eliminates the discrimination of human right and helps to assure the achievement of equalities among people. The head of Gambella region ruling part seem to agree with the above statement. He stated that, “any citizens who live in Gambella region whether the „Indigenous“ or „Non-indigenous“ have unrestricted right to involve in political issue”.²⁵⁰

According to the informant, “the political participation in Gambella regional state is not only bounded by the „Indigenous“ people rather, any Ethiopian citizens who went to involve in political exercise based on national and regional constitution has full democratic right”.²⁵¹ Generally the head of the ruling party of Gambella region stated, “Gambella city, Abobo, Godere, Lare and Itang special *woredas* residents have the right participate in political exercise because, political participation is central point that enable the people to decide in all political matter which affects them in all affairs”.²⁵² Though, “the *woreda* and Gambella residents had the right to take part in political matters of their *woreda* directly or indirectly through their representatives regardless of the ethnic, religious, language and other affinities for all *woreda* residents and take part in election to have their own representative and to represent their communities”.²⁵³

²⁴⁷ The interview made with the senior officials in Gambella peoples National regional administrative council.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ The interview made with the head of Gambella regional state ruling party.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ Proclamation No.27/2002. The Revised Constitution of Gambella Peoples National Regional State approval proclamation article, 39(a-b).

The right to political participation of local people in Gambella city, Abobo, Lare, Godere and Itang special *Woredas* can also be summarized, if not all inclusive, in to the right to elect and be elected, the right to have fair representation, the right to represent at local level and the mechanism of accommodation system . Accordingly, these rights are exercised in different ways directly by residents or indirectly through chosen representatives. Hence in the next few section the paper try to assess the right to political participation in these four areas under the *woreda* and city administrations with data which was collected from interview and direct field observation together with documents, manuals and report of city and *woreda/* city administrations.

4.2.1. The right to elect and to be elected in Gambella peoples National regional state

The citizen's right to vote and to be elect is restricted constitutionally and it conducted through other normative legal acts of the state.²⁵⁴ Therefore, the right to vote and to be elected is recognized and accepted as the inherent of human right activities and declared on universal declaration of human right provisions on article 21(1).²⁵⁵ In accordance of the above international and national declarations of perspective, the right to elect and to be elected among political rivals enables the people in order to hold a political position through their representative.²⁵⁶ Having said to this, the right to elect and to be elected playing a vital role in expressing the desire of people's directly or indirectly and it is authenticity principle which is conducted in secret balloting system to provide freedom of expression.²⁵⁷ Ethiopia signed the right to elect and to be elected that stated under the UDHR article, 21(3) and ICCPR on Article, 25(b) of the treaty 1948 and 1993 respectively. Due to this, the people of the Gambella city and four *Woredas* have the right to freely participate at a national, regional and local electoral competition. But, the challenge is relies on the "change

²⁵⁴European Commission for Democracy throughout law 2007. Convention on The standards of Democratic Elections, Electoral Rights and Freedoms in the member states of the commonwealth of Independent States No 399, p, 3.

²⁵⁵ United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948 United Nations (UN).

²⁵⁶Gizachew Wondie, 2015. Indigenous and Non-indigenous Peoples Right in Benishangul—Gumuz Regional State; The Right to Political Participation of Non-indigenous people Babasi Woreda, Addis Ababa university, Collage of law and Governance center for human right, 75.

²⁵⁷European Commission for Democracy Throughout law 2007. Convention on The standards of Democratic Elections, Electoral Rights and Freedoms in the member states of the commonwealth of Independent States No 399,p,3.

of regime in 1991 and the establishment of nick name “ethnic federalism” have further influence the social boundary between “Highlanders” and the „Indigenous“ peoples.”²⁵⁸

However, FDRE constitution clearly stipulated the right to elect and to be elected provided on article 38(1) that tell as follows; “Every Ethiopian national, without any discrimination based on color, race, nation, and nationalities has the right to take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly and through freely chosen representative.”²⁵⁹ In addition to this, article 39(2) give a space to “every nation to elect their representative it says; “Election can be carried out on the basis of universal and equal suffrage and have to be held under secret ballot in order to ensure the free expression of the will of the electorate.”²⁶⁰

The other informant ,further explained that Gambella city, Abobo,Godere,Lare, and Itang special *Woredas* peoples have full right to enjoy their right to elect and to some extent to be elected respectively through Applying the FDRE and GPNRS constitution, and declarations of universal human rights.²⁶¹ Informant told to the author that, “the right to elect and to be elected in Gambella region is similar with the others of the regional state of Ethiopia.”²⁶² He firmly stated that, “any Ethiopian citizens have a right to elect and to be elect if, he/she is accepting the region party discipline and fulfill the FDRE/GPNRS of constitutional provisions and election procedures.”²⁶³ Moreover, the practice in regarding the right to be elected is depends on the regional government and the ruling party. On the other hand, the right to elect and to be elected is clearly stated in Ethiopian electoral law respectively as follows: - The Electoral law stipulated on chapter two under article (33), give the right to elect for any person who is, “Who

²⁵⁸Dereje Feyissa (n.d). Taking the Bull by its Horns, Expanding the natural resources based and Tackling the root cause of conflict, p,9.

²⁵⁹Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No.1/1995, Article 38(1).

²⁶⁰ Proclamation No.27/2002.The Revised Constitution of Gambella Peoples National Regional State Approval Proclamation article,39(20).

²⁶¹ The interview made with senior officials of the head of ruling party in Gambella regional state.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Ibid.

is an Ethiopian, is 18 years old and above at the time of registration, Has been residing within the constituency for at least 6 months may be registered as an elector”.²⁶⁴

In addition to this, the right to be elected is clearly stated under chapter three on article 45 as follows:- “any person shall be eligible for candidature, where he, “Is an Ethiopian, Is versed in the working language of the Regional State or the area of his intended candidature, is 21 years old or above on the date of the registration and has been regularly residing in the constituency of his intended candidature for two years immediately preceding the date of the election or his birth place is within the constituency of his intended candidature or where the city or *Woreda* has more than one constituencies or he has been regularly working in the city *or wereda* for two years, in the *wereda* or city he choose, is not deprived of his right to vote and to be elected”.²⁶⁵

Having said to this, the paradox of this constitutional and election rule are undermine since, the region clearly identified to the people of „Indigenous“ (“Founder”) and unconditional right to “self-determination including the right to secession” is guaranteed under article,39(1) of FDRE constitution.²⁶⁶ Contrary to this, the internal migrants are not recognized to have unconditional right to self-determination like the „Indigenous „people of the region which creates restriction/boundary between the local and internal migrants of the people.

For instance, the right to elect and to be elected in Gambella people’s national regional state is conducted periodically through the participation of all residents in Gambella region. Henceforth, right to elect and to be elected is an inclusive in the region and predominantly participatory which is considering the electoral board of Ethiopia and FDRE/GPNRS of constitutional provisions. Paradox to this, the right to elect and to be elected takes place even though the practical application of the election remain unable to answer the question and the interest of the „Non-indigenous“ people found in different *Woredas* of Gambella peoples national regional state.

²⁶⁴ The Amended Electoral Law of Ethiopia Proclamation, No. 532/2007, No.54, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ The 1995 Proclamation of the Constitution of The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

4.2.2. INCLUSIVE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF ‘NON-INDIGENOUS’ ETHNIC GROUP IN GAMBELLA REGION AT WOREDAS&GAMBELLA CITY LEVEL

4.2.3. The right to elect in Gambella city, Abobo,Godere,Lare and Itang special *Woredas*

Election is one of the highest principles that conducted through universal and equal suffrage that maximize direct expression of the people’s power to decide who is going to be their representative and it held in order to established democratic environment.²⁶⁷ On the behalf this, election is an element of democratic principle which make the largest public to involve in political participation results more meaningful in Gambella city and in different constituent unit of governance system in the region.

After having said this, the key informant suggested that, „Non-indigenous“ and „Indigenous“ the right to elect which is conducted in Gambella city Abobo,Lare,Godere and Itang special *Woredas* in general in region. “The right to elect is practically applied without any difference or identifying the people of „Non-indigenous“ from the „Indigenous“ people”.²⁶⁸

Even though, the right to elect stipulated under FDRE and GPNRS constitution as democratic right provisions, on article 38(b), and article 39(b), respectively. In accordance of Ethiopian amended electoral law of proclamation No.532/2007 guarantee all nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia have the right to elect their best representative. Likewise, Peoples in Gambella city,Abobo, Godere,Lare and Itang special *Woredas* are massively electing their representative in using their constitutional and Ethiopian amended electoral law. Because, Election is mandatory what Gambella city administration, Abobo, Godere,Lare, and Itang s special *Woredas* went to build a democratic governance system.

²⁶⁷Strasbourg, 2007.European Commission For Democracy Through Law, Convention on the standards of Democratic Elections, Electoral Rights and Freedoms in the member states of the common Wealth of Independent state,p,1.

²⁶⁸ The interview with the Gambella city,Abobo,Lare,Itang and Godere *Woredas* Standing committee members.

In accordance of the key informants stated that, every Ethiopian citizen live in Gambella city, Abobo, Godere, Lare and Itang special *Woredas* are guaranteed to decide who is going to be their representative through election.²⁶⁹ As stated by the key informant from ruling party said, “The ruling party of Gambella regional state has its Owen internal/domestic rule in addition to the national and regional constitutional provisions in regarding the election program”.²⁷⁰ Likewise “any Ethiopian citizens have the right to join as a member of ruling party of the region and he/she has full right to elect who will be the best representative”.²⁷¹

Similarly to this, people of Gambella city, Abobo, Godere, Lare and Itang special *Woredas* are participating in election program. However, the election campaign is owned by the ruling party of the regional state which is recognizing the five „indigenous“ (local) people as priority based on the current federal arrangement. While, the „Non-indigenous“ peoples considered as secondary subject even though, they elect their representative.

4.3. The right to be elected in Gambella city, Abobo, Godere, Lare and Itang special *Woredas*

The main requirement and pillar of democracy is to be elected that make the community to have a power to say on their government decision making processes through their Owen elected representative.²⁷² Although though, the right to be elected or represented is not unique to Gambella city, Abobo, Lare, Godere and Itng special *Woredas* people rather it is an international instrument enable the citizens to practice in accordance of their democratic right. In the meantime, as stated by the key informant “the right to be elected is allowed to the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group is by the region/ruling party and the „Non-indigenous“ people are participated to be elected is implemented with interest or wish of the regional government”.²⁷³ He also firmly assure that, “the “national parties”/Affiliated parties in Majng zone Godere

²⁶⁹ The interview made with the *Woredas* and Gambella city administrative standing committee.

²⁷⁰ The interview made with the senior government official of Gambella regional state.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² Ruth Greenwood, 2017. Fair Representation in Local Government, Indian Journal of Law and social Equality, Maurer School of law: Indian University, volume 5 Issue 1, p, 198.

²⁷³ The interview made with the head of affiliated parties in Godere Woreda and Gambella city administration.

Woreda, Gambella city are compete in election through the recognition of the regional government”.²⁷⁴

On the other hand, the right to be elected is unique in Abobo *Woreda*, the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group are run their political participation is only with the ruling party of the region. But, the political participation of „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group in Gambella city and Godere *Woreda* is held in between the affiliated and ruling party of the region. The „Non-indigenous“ people found in both *Woredas* of Lare and Itang their number is insignificant and settlers are not found, as a result of this political space to be elected is not given to them.

However, one of the key informant stated that, “I’m from highlander even though I live long period of time in the region even though, the right to be elected in Gambella city and the *Woredas* is participatory but, in efficient”.²⁷⁵ On the other side, the respondent assured to the researcher, “region has to be considered as a model since, it give position to „Non-indigenous“ people sharing from the „Indigenous“ positions and the regional government believe that incorporating the “Non-indigenous“ people is important to development of the region and „Non-indigenous“ people”.²⁷⁶

Table 1:-The population participation in voting and candidate ratio of (GPNRS), Gambella city, Abobo, Godere, Lare and Itang special *Woredas* in 2015 periodic election

Study Areas	Ethnic groups	Population in percent	Number of voters	No of candidate to <i>Woreda</i> council	Remark
Gambella city	„Indigenous“ people	56.21%	13093	47	
	„Non-indigenous“ people	43.78%	10200	10	
Abobo <i>Woreda</i>	„Indigenous“ people	52.08%	3506	60	
	„Non-indigenous“ people	47.91%	3225	30	
Godere <i>Woreda</i>	„Indigenous“ people	44.89%	6244	44	
	„Non-indigenous“ people	55.1.8%	7665	36	
Lare	„Indigenous“ people	96.86%	30420	79	

²⁷⁴Ibid.

²⁷⁵The interview with the standing committee in Gamella region.

²⁷⁶Ibid.

<i>Woreda</i>	„Non-indigenous“ people	3.12%	980	2	
Itang Special <i>Woreda</i>	„Indigenous“ people	96.15%	25718	107	
	„Non-indigenous“ people	3.38%	901	1	

Source: - Gambella peoples National Regional State Electoral Board of 2015 period election

As explicitly showed on the above table, except the two of Lare and Itang Special *Woredas* the participation of „Non-indigenous“ peoples in election campaign has a significant contribution and grate vote to elect their political representative.

However, as stated by the key informant “the regional government and the ruling party provided a space to be elected is emanated from the interest of them and they share to us what they have in their *Woredas* and region”.²⁷⁷ Therefore, in Lare and Itang special *Woredas* the right to be elected is unthinkable because, the dominant peoples are „Indigenous“ ethnic group except numerically in significant number of traders and civil servant employers. Both *woredas* are seemed to be closed their eyes toward the right to be elected to the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group. Contrariwise, according to the revised constitution of Gambella regional state is the right to be elected is clearly stated.

Every national, without any discrimination based on race, nationality, religious, language, sex, political opinion and other status:- (b) “to be elected on the attainment of 21 years of age, throughout periodically conducted elections to any public office at any level of state administration, in accordance to law”.²⁷⁸ In line with this, that stated under article (9), of Gambella regional state of domestic rule of the ruling party explicitly allows *being a member of any Ethiopian citizens*.²⁷⁹ In addition to this, it guarantee “to any candidate to be elected in different hierarchical government positions on article 10(10.1), based on the rule and regulations of the party.”²⁸⁰ However as listed in the above table 3:- particularly in Gambella city, Abobo and

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ The Revised Constituion,2002, Of The Gambella Peoples National Regional State, article 39(b).

²⁷⁹ Gambella Peoples Union Democratic Movement Party of rule and guidance,(2006),Gambella.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

Godere *Woredas* the candidates are insignificant compared to the electorate number of „Non-indigenous“ peoples which able them to be represented sufficiently.

Contrariwise, one of the key respondents stated, “basically the people found in Gambella region except five of the „Indigenous“ people are called Highlander (Degegana), the „Non-indigenous“ people are elected partially in accordance of their ethnic party”.²⁸¹ I argue that, there is paradox between the affiliated parties and the ruling party of Gambella peoples national regional state particularly Gambella city and Godere *Woreda*. Because, Gambella city and Godere *Woreda*, the right to be elected is conducted mixed approach between the ruling and affiliated parties. On the other side, as the notes by the key informants, “the region is open to accept the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group in political position with the “quota” from the affiliated and ruling party of the region”.²⁸²

Informant told to the author that, “the position given to the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group is not sufficient and they are not found decision making positions”.²⁸³ Because, “the political structure is purposely arranged to assure the political sovereignty of the „Indigenous“ people and to cultivate the marginalized people of the region in past government.”²⁸⁴ In similar fashion, Gambella peoples national regional state is designate as belonging to particular ethnic group which leaving the rest with a feeling of outsider.²⁸⁵ This creates “the inequality of the right to be elected in between the „Indigenous“ and „Non-indigenous“ ethnic people”.²⁸⁶ One of the key informant asserted that, “they are elected and hold the political position which asks the lowest unit and the higher/main government position is controlled by the „Indigenous“ people”.²⁸⁷

So due to this, the decision capacities those of elected government officials from the affiliated/ruling parties is limited and insignificant to say in different issue. In the meantime,

²⁸¹ The interview made with the resident and lower experts in Abobo, Godere and Gambella city.

²⁸² The interview made with the experts of Gambella city, Abobo and Godere *Woredas*.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ Yonatan Tesfaye, 2017, The Original Sin of Ethiopian Federalism, Ethno politics, Vol.16No.3, pp,232-245,p,236.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

according to the respondents in Majng zone, “the four affiliated parties elected and represented the „Non-indigenous“ in accordance of their ethnic line in national election 2015 found in Godere *Woreda* and the elected officials are not found currently in government position but, the region government have promise to those of political candidate to give political position.”²⁸⁸

However, the key informant added that, “the region and local government have a gap which unable to keep the legal political processes”.²⁸⁹ “Only one party obtained a government position from the candidates of affiliated parties among 4 affiliated parties of elected candidate in national election which assigned as Godere *Woreda* administrative council of head of secretary.”²⁹⁰ The affiliated parties are more responsible and devoted their time in serving the regional and local government as a bridge between the „Indigenous“ and „Non-indigenous“ people particularly in Godere, Abobo *Woredas* and Gambella city administration”.²⁹¹

The key informant state to the researcher that,” in fact affiliated parties are compete in election is through the permission of the region in Gambella city Godere *Woreda* but, they remain as facilitator and currently they are not found in political decision making process”.²⁹² However, “the affiliated parties and „Non-indigenous“ politicians“ are important to Nationality zone and *Woredas*”.²⁹³ Because “they are tools in regarding political and economic participation since, they are closed to the people”.²⁹⁴ So, the right to be elected is conducted insignificant ways like, Gambella city, Abobo and Godere *Woredas*.

As researcher observed, in general,the right to be elected in Lare and Itang special *Woredas* is not responsive to the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group. This is because; which is listed in above table shows the *Woredas* of council and administrative council is occupied by the “Indigenous“ ethnic group and the room of political participation in the right to be elected are closed. In general as stated by Assefa, „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group have the right to work and to live

²⁸⁸ The interview made with the officials of Godere *Woreda*.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ The interview made with the officials of Godere *Woreda*.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Id.Ib

*and do not ensure the right to be elected to hold the political position in Gambella regional state.*²⁹⁵

4.3.1. Accommodation mechanism of ‘Non-indigenous’ people in Abobo ,Lare ,Godere, Itang special Woredas and Gambella city Administration

Ethiopian federal system is among follower of federalism in the world which is not unable to accommodate diversities adequately in the current situation of Ethiopia political participation.²⁹⁶ Likewise, “Ethiopia accommodating ethnic-diversity is in making ethnicity an explicit basis for the organizational of the state”.²⁹⁷ However, federalism is a form of government and tool to make effective in accommodating diversities.²⁹⁸ Therefore, “effective and meaning full political participation also has a strong peace and security dimension in the coexistence of internal migrant as well as, to the local peoples“ in general.”²⁹⁹

Despite the fact of this, different scholar forwarded that non-territorial autonomy has sometimes preferable which is characterized mainly by deeply divided society as an alternative tool of accommodating different ethnic group like, Ethiopia.³⁰⁰

After introduction of, “the 1995 constitution generously recognizes the right to self-determination of ethno-national groups, of utterly fail to pay any attention to the „Non-

²⁹⁵Assefa Fiseha, 2016,Intra-Unit Minorities in the Context of Ethno-National Federation in Ethiopia,vol,13,p,179.

²⁹⁶Menge Legesse, Federalism for Unity and minority Protection,(A comparative study on local principles and their practical Implications; USA, India and Ethiopia),central European university department of legal study,p,4.

²⁹⁷ Yonatan Tefaye Fissaha, 2012.Federalism Territorial Autonomy and The Management of Ethnic Diversity in Africa: Reading The Balance Sheet, No 363, pages 265-285, p, 279.

²⁹⁸Menge Legesse, Federalism for Unity and minority protection, (A comparative study on local principles and their practical Implications; USA, India, and Ethiopia), central European university department of legal study,p,4.

²⁹⁹Beza Desalegn,2017.Ethnic Federalism and The Right to political Participation of Regional Minorities in Ethiopia, Human Right, Addis Ababa university,p,72.

³⁰⁰Bettina Petensohn,2013.Breaking the territoriality principle; non-territorial arrangement in multinational federations, multiple cultures and politics of stateless Nations, Department of politics and public administration, university of Konstanz,p,5.

indigenous“ groups who find themselves in the „wrong“ states.”³⁰¹ Due to this, the „Non-indigenous“/“Highlanders” have been out of formal political rights under the FDRE constitutional declaration of 1995, because they considered as migrants, and under the category of on their respective ethnic identities.³⁰²

In addition to this, GetachewAssefa stated that, the main reason unable to accommodate the rights of „Non-indigenous“ peoples, because, the early discussions of the 1991 and the federal constitutions the large number of the internal migrants reside in different part of regions was not properly addressed.³⁰³ However in Gambella Peoples“ National Regional States, „Non-indigenous“ groups involved in political participation, but it is not significant (effective) and it is without equity of political representation.³⁰⁴ Although though, it is not an interactive types of political participation of the Affiliates front member of EPRDF parties of ANDM, TPLF, OPDO and SEPDM are compete under the umbrella of the regional ruling party GPUDM, during the national and local election program.³⁰⁵

Likewise the, “the political representation is an elite based accommodation system which is not widespread popular public support in the region”.³⁰⁶ In accordance of researcher, observation the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic groups of Gambella Peoples National Regional State (GPNRS), apparently have in efficient of recognition and representation, but it is not standardized which assure equitable representation. However, Opo and Kom are numerically small in number. Those

³⁰¹Getachwe Assefa,2011.Federalism And Legal Pluralism In Ethiopia: Preliminary Observation On Their Impacts On The Protection Of Human Rights, *East African Journal of Peace and Human Rights*, Faculty of law, Addis AbabaUniversity,Vol.17:1,p,180.

³⁰²Dereje Feyissa (n. d) Playing Different Games; The Paradox of Anywaa and Nuer Identification Strategies in the Gambella Regional State,Ethiopia,vol.4,p,8.

³⁰³Ibid.

³⁰⁴Beza Desalegn, 2016. Minority in Ethnic Federalism and the rights to political participation of Regional Minorities in Ethiopia, Center for Human Right, Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia,p,11.

³⁰⁵Ibid.

³⁰⁶Assefa Fesiha,2017,Intra-Unit Minorities in the Context of Ethno-national Federation in Ethiopia,vol,13,p,

ethnic groups are treated as minority nationality and their representation/accommodation system implemented in the form of “quota” in Gambella region at different government level.³⁰⁷

In similar fashion, Opo in Itang special *Woreda* and Komo in Angwaa zone are recognized in legal political activity.³⁰⁸ Contrariwise, the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic groups are not treated and have not constitutional guarantee as a members of either in FDRE or in Gambella regional state. As the key informant of government official forwarded, “the right to be elected in Gambella region given to the affiliated parties and political position is provided”.³⁰⁹

In addition to this, the key informant stated that, “the ruling party of Gambella region (GPUDM), is give political position to affiliated parties at the consumption of the „Non-indigenous“ peoples”.³¹⁰ According to the key informant, asserted that, “the region and the ruling party have an access to communicate with „Non-indigenous“ people in different affairs”.³¹¹ Contrariwise, the current Ethiopian federal system of territorial definitions of subnational units recognize to specific ethnic groups providing self-management. Having said to this, “the arrangement of peoples alongside of their ethnicity has a potential to undermine the political accommodation system in diverting the political dimensions vice versa of ethnic identity”.³¹²

In addition to this, one of the key informant stated, he fear that “the design of political arrangement has potential to froze the political participation of „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group in the region, nationality zone and *Woredas* level.”³¹³ Due to this, accommodation mechanism of the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic groups specially in Itang and Lare *Woredas* is not available while, in Gambella city, Godere and Abobo *Woredas* have better compared to Itang and Lare *Woredas*. As listed in the above table of Lare and Itang special *Woredas* Candidates of *Woredas* council members are dominated and occupied by the „Indigenous“ ethnic people. In practice, in

³⁰⁷The interview made with the Abobo and Itang special *Woredas* head of house speakers.

³⁰⁸Ibid.

³⁰⁹The interview made with the Indigenous of government official.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹Ibid.

³¹² The interview made with the „None—indigenous“ political elites (Affiliated parties).

³¹³ The interview made with the resident of Abobo *Woreda*.

Gambella city, Abobo and Godere *Woredas* being a member of *Woreda* council is possible and because, the „Non-indigenous“ people are highly settled in those areas.

According to, the key informant in Godere, Abobo and Gambella city shows, „Non-indigenous“ people in those *Woredas* participating actively and they are engaged in establishing good governance administration system but, the accommodating system is too weak in those Nationality *Woredas* and City administration council. For example, Godere *woreda* is dominantly occupied by „Non-indigenous“ ethnic people (80%), whereas, their accommodation mechanism in Nationality Zone of Godere *Woreda* is not significant which is compared with their representative number in Godere *Woreda* Candidates of *Woredas* council listed in the above table.

From the total numbers of Godere *Woreda* out of 14 *Kebeles* 5 and 9 *Kebeles* are Occupied by the „Indigenous“ and „Non-indigenous“ ethnic people respectively. Likewise, Abobo *woreda* and Gmballa city also highly populated areas by „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group. In addition to this, Gambella city have 5 *Kebeles* out of those „Non-indigenous“ peoples dominantly settled in 3 *Kebeles* while in one *Kebele* relatively half and the indigenous settled in 2 *Kebeles*. According to the key informant with regional council(in Amharic (*Yegubaeabal*), member explain, “accommodation mechanism is too weak because, the „Non-indigenous“ people does not have demarcated area that enable the „Non-indigenous“ people to exercise their political right like, Agnwaa,Majang and Nuer nationality Zone which is recognized at regional level.”³¹⁴

In addition to this, “accommodation system in Gambella region and different *woredas* applied it in giving less number of representatives to the Non-indigenous peoples”.³¹⁵ Different literature read as, to overcome the successfulness of accommodation mechanism recognition and institutional base are mandatory element. On line of this the informant told to the author, „Non-indigenous“ people are not recognized through meaningful institutional reality in Gambella regional state with inclusiveness political participation in general rather, they are participated in

³¹⁴ The interview made with the Gambella people national regional state council member.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

considering them as filling the vacuum of political maintenance of the region”.³¹⁶ However, “the „Non-indigenous“ people are exercising their political right at *Kebele* level particularly in Gambella city, Godere and Abobo *Woredas*.”³¹⁷

According to the key informant forwarded “that, the accommodation mechanism of the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group of political participation is not formally accepted as democratic right of „Non-indigenous“ people at all”.³¹⁸ Due to this, “Gambella people’s national regional state involving the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group in political accommodation system it is not based on the FDRE and GPNRS constitutions and other domestic laws”.³¹⁹ Rather, it include the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group in political exercise is at the consumption of their right and for political development of the regional state.

4.3.1.1. The right of self-administration for ‘Non-indigenous’ people in Gambella region at local level

However, „Non-indigenous“ peoples are accommodated as a member of *Woredas* council have self-administration is given only at *Kebele* level particularly in Gambella city, Abobo, and Godere *Woredas*.

As the key informant stated contrariwise, “*Woredas* and City administrative council occupied by the „Indigenous“ people and veto power is in the hands of the „Indigenous“ political elites”.³²⁰ On the other side, the revised constitution of Gambella people’s national regional state stipulated under article 40(2), the rights of nations, nationalities and peoples of Gambella people’s national regional state read as follows; “Administer their Owen affairs within their Owen defined territories and effectively, participate and get fair representation”.³²¹ Likewise, this constitutional provisions is correctly implemented in Majng zone in Godere and Agnwaa zone in Abobo

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ The interview Made with the residents of Abobo, Godere *Woredas* and Gambella city administration and council memebrs.

³¹⁹ Ibid.

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ The revised constitution, 2002, of the Gambella Peoples National Regional State Approval Proclamation article,40(2).

Woredas at *Kebele* level out of 14(9), and 10(6), „Non-indigenous“ peoples are enjoy their self-administration respectively.

As report of 2007 national census accounts (47.25%), live in Gambella city administration occupied by the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group.³²² However, as researcher observed, Gambella city has 5 *Kebeles* and the Key position of the *Kebeles* like chairman office is run by the „Indigenous“ ethnic group even though the areas dominantly occupied by them in, 05 and 03 *kebeles*. In addition to this, the informant stated, “Gambella city of *Kebeles* council and administrative council to the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group are inclusive in lower position which is not able them to decide in key issue and insignificant key position”.³²³

“Gambella city has 57 seats out of those 10 seats are given to the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group in the name of affiliated and the ruling party of the regional state respectively”.³²⁴ “The remaining 47 seats are given to the „Indigenous“ ethnic group and from each of *Kebeles* 11 representative is nominated and assigned in city council during the periodical election”.³²⁵ The FDRE constitution guarantee Gambelle people notational regional state has a power to draft and amend the state constitution which stated in article 50(5).

In accordance of the FDRE constitutional provisions Gambella people’s national regional state constitution has approved by GPNRS parliament on December, 2002. This constitution organizes the administrative divisions in four hierarchical levels. Gambella regional state is hierarchically structured into, Region, Nationality Zone, Administrative *Woredas* and *Kebeles*.³²⁶

The informants, stated that, this because, “of the post 1995 federal arrangement that recognized the Identified peoples as “Founder” of Gambella peoples national regional state so in this case, the right to self-administration is recognized to the „Indigenous“ (“Founder”) not to the „Non-

³²² Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Central Statistical Agency, Statistical Abstract, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, March, 2013.

³²³ The interview made with standing committee of 03 and 02 *Kebeles* in Gambella city.

³²⁴ Ibid.

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ The Revised constitution,2002,of the Gambella Peoples National Regional State Approval Proclamation article, 46(1).

indigenous“ people.”³²⁷ Undermining of the „Non-indigenous“ people that exclude them which an able them to have self-administration is because of the FDRE and GPNRS constitutional provision. On the other side, according to the key informants, stated that, “any political, economic and social issues reported to the *Woreda* administrative council did not accepted and its implementation is not effective”.³²⁸ The entire of key informants asserted that, “the right to self-administration of „Non-indigenous“ ethic group is well addressed at *Kebele* and not goes beyond that.”³²⁹

4.3.1.2. The right to have fair representation of ‘Non-indigenous’ people in Gambella city, Abobo,Lare, Goder and Itang special *woredas*

The right to have fair representation is one of a fundamental right that helps the majority ethnic people to participate how and when to decide the government activities that enables the people to hold the political power through their representative.³³⁰ Fair representation is a linkage between the largest public preferences and mainly focused on public policy formulation which is stands primarily on the development of the people.³³¹ Therefore, the right to have fair representation enables the people to have equal opportunity in making any government activities and toward a development of democratic processes.³³² The right to have fair representation is prohibited in the 1995 FDRE constitution under Article, 54(1,2,3), clearly stated each of Ethiopian nations and nationalities have a right to be represented on both of upper and lower chamber of federal house through universal suffrage, direct, free and fair elections which is held in secret ballot.³³³

Gambella people’s national regional state (GPNRS) is among nine which is recognized on FDRE constitution under Article, 47(8) identified as member of federal democratic republic of

³²⁷ The interview made with the key informant of members of affiliated parties of the region.

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ The interview made with the key informants of Abobo,Godere Lare,Itang special *Woredas* and Gambella city administration.

³³⁰Gizachew Wondie,2015.Indigenous and Non-indigenous Peoples Right in Benishangul—Gumuze Regional State; The Right to Political Participation of Non-indigenous people Babasi Woreda, Addis Ababa university, Collage of law and Governance center for human right,p,79.

³³¹,JanRosset, 2011.Poletical Representation of the poor and Economic Inequality A comparative Analysis,p,1.

³³²Ibid.

³³³The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation 1995Article,54(1, 2, 3).

Ethiopia.³³⁴ Therefore, Gambella peoples national regional state had its Owen representative officials of the people who are elected by the people of the region through the processes of periodic election in considering the five „Indigenous“ peoples“and those who is going to obtain a position of the regional, Zonal and *Woredas* council parliament which can reflect the representative of the people.³³⁵

However, GPNRS constitution under article, 46(1) each and every administrative hierarchies of the region up to *kebele* government had their Owen representative those who are holding the legislative power of the *Woredas* and city which are elected regularly by the people the same to regional elected officials.³³⁶ Each *kebele* from each of ethnic group have representative in Gambella city and *Woredas* council that enable the people to get say on their government decision making activities.

As the author conducted interview, with political elite from affiliated parties he assured that, “the „Non-indigenous“ political representation in Gambella region is beyond fair and sufficient because, every ethnic groups have their Owen region such as, Amhara region for Amhara people and Ormyaia region belongs to Oromo People similarly, to the others ethnic people who are living in the region.”³³⁷ His, substantial idea is, “the „Indigenous“ people are the owners of the region while, „Non-indigenous“ people exercising the political activity at the consumption of the region even though, it is not meaningful.”³³⁸ The author observed in practice, in the study areas, the real political participation of the „Non-indigenous“ people at the local level is defined and provided by the regional government of political elites.

In similar fashion, the informant told to the author that, effective and efficient of political legitimacy of the region or political representation is given to the indigenous (“Founder”) of

³³⁴Ibid, Article 47(8).

³³⁵The Revised Constitution,2002. Of the Gambella Peoples“ National Regional State Proclamation No.27/2002 on Article 51(1,2&4).

³³⁶Ibid, Article 46(1).

³³⁷The interview with regional council member (Non-indigenous),of Gambella regional state.

³³⁸Ibid.

Gambella peoples national regional state.³³⁹In line of this, the other informant stated that, Ethiopian federal system assured only to the given people whose are found on the defined territories with providing the right to self-government in their Owen defined territories.³⁴⁰ Of course, this processes of federal arrangement empowering the people who are able to establish their internal/regional affairs by establishing the entire mandatory government institution including legislative, executive and judiciary organ on their defined regional state.³⁴¹

Paradox to this, the Ethiopian federal system is not setting legal institution which is able internal migrants to have political power that locate democratic criteria and meaningful political participation to the „non-indigenous“ people in Gambella region particularly to the selected study areas. According to the informant, Gambella region is a model why, “it gives few political positions to the „Non-indigenous“ people at regional and local levels.”³⁴² Contrariwise, Informants told to the author that, “the step forwarded is attractive which means it is not ignorance in regarding to the representation of „Non-indigenous“ people in Gambella region respectively in *Woredas*.³⁴³

However, it has long journey to achieve the fair political representation in regarding „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group and the limitation still has to be addressed.³⁴⁴

4.3.1.3. The legislative organ of Gambella City,Abobo,Godere,Lare and Itang special *Woredas*

The *Woredas* council is the highest authority within the *woredas* of the establishment and it is accountable to the nationality zone or regional council.³⁴⁵ While, Abobo *Woreda* holds 19 *kebeles* out of those 6 is occupied by the „Non-indigenous“ people who are settled in government

³³⁹ The interview made with Gambella regional government officials.

³⁴⁰ Alemante Gebre-Selassie,2003. Ethnic Federalism: Its promise and pitfall for Africa, William &Mary Law School.Vol.28; p, 65.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ The interview made with the Gambella city Godere,Itang special *woreda* and Abobo *Woredas*.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ The Revised Constituion,2002, of The Gambella Peoples National Regional State, article,90(1).

policy because of drought and famine.³⁴⁶ Likewise, Gambella city and Godere *Woredas* has 5&14 *Kebeles* out of those, *Kebeles* 2 predominantly and 9 absolutely occupied by the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group respectively. On the other hand, the „Non-indigenous“ people are represented in *Woredas* and city council (legislative) organ (in Amharic (Yegubae Abal), particularly in Gambella city, Abobo and Godere *Woredas*.³⁴⁷

But Lare and Itang special *Woreda* council and administrative council absolutely dominated and occupied by the „Indigenous“ ethnic group because, permanent settlers are not found except few traders and civil servant employers.³⁴⁸ Comparatively, Godere *Woreda* have better representative number than Abobo and Gambella city in their council members. The political position given to the „Non-indigenous“ as listed down in below table shows explicitly the two *Woredas* of Lare and Itang special are excluded, but the two *woredas* and Gambella city Administrative are inclusive in their *Woreda*/city council.

Godere *Woredas* give 36 position in *woreda* council from out of (80%), total position to the „Non-indigenous“ people.³⁴⁹ In addition to this, Abobo and Gambella city give 30 and 10 political position in *Woreda* and city council out the total position 90 and 67 respectively.³⁵⁰

On other hand, the key informant forwarded, “it is difficult to say the political position given is not fair to the „Non-indigenous“ people particularly in Gambella city, Abobo, Godere *Woredas*, because it is without consideration of the FDRE and GPNRS constitutional provisions and not to implement the recognition of constitution at different Government levels.”³⁵¹ Comparatively speaking ‘Non-indigenous“ ethnic group have better political position than the *Woreda* and city administrative council as stated below the table.

Even though, the numbers of representation is higher than *woreda* administrative and city level the position given to the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group is insignificant despite their population

³⁴⁶ The interview made with the Non-indigenous“ political leaders.

³⁴⁷ Gambella City, Abobo and Godere *Woredas* council office data organization chart (2016).

³⁴⁸ Lare and Itang special *Woredas* council office data organization, chart (2016).

³⁴⁹ Godere *Woreda* Council data organization office, chart (2016).

³⁵⁰ Abobo and Gambella city Council data organization, chart (2016).

³⁵¹ The interview with the Affiliated Party leader, (TPLF), in Gambella region and Godere *Woreda*.

size particularly in Gambella city, Godere and Abobo *Woredas*. In addition, as the key informant forwarded that, the space provided to the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group in political space given in legislative organ of government as stated in the above table shows better than Lare and Itang special *Woredas* and they are not accorded to right to be elected. However, as key informants, “the practical political exercise of „Non-ingenuous“ ethnic group is more concentrated in idea sharing, strengthen the city and *Woredas* of political exercise found in the hand of the „Ingenious“ ethnic group”.³⁵² Contrariwise “the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic are not independent in relation to practice their constitutional guarantee and by using the vote give to them during the periodical election”.³⁵³

Table 2:- Ethnic composition of study *Woredas* and Gambella city per seats

No	Institution	Ethnicity	Seats	Total	Remark
1	Abobo <i>Woreda</i> Council	Agnwaa	50	50	
		Majang	10	10	
		„Non-indigenous“	30	30	
		Total	90	90	
2	Gambella City Administrative Council	Agnwaa	19	19	
		Nuer	23	23	
		Majang	9	9	
		Opo	3	3	
		Komo	3	3	
		Non-indigenous	10	10	
		Total	57	57	
3	Godere <i>Woreda</i> Council	Majang	44	44	
		Non-indigenous	36	36	
		Total	80	80	
4	Itang Special <i>Woreda</i> Council	Agwaa	56	56	
		Nuer	48	48	
		Opo	3	3	
		Non-indigenous	1	1	
		Total	108	108	
5	Lare <i>Woreda</i> Council	Nuer	54	54	
		Agnwaa	25	25	
		Non-indigenous	2	2	
		Total	81	81	

Sources, Four *Woredas* and Gambella city council data organization office Graph/Chart of (2016)

³⁵² Ibid.

³⁵³ Ibid.

4.3.2. Executive organs of Gambella City, Abobo, Godere, Laere and Itang Special *Woredas*

The *Woreda* Administrative council is the highest executive organ at *Woreda* level.³⁵⁴ It comprises the Chief Administrator, Deputy Administrator and head of sector office.³⁵⁵ However, „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group are excluded from the executive administrative system. As notes by key informants, the region and *Woredas* administrative council significantly headed by the five „Indigenous“ ethnic group of people.³⁵⁶

As listed below the table shows, the members of „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group of people are assigned in *Woredas* Administrative council nominally like Gambella city, Godere and Abobo *Woredas* 2,2,1, respectively. Of course, Laere and Itang special *Woredas* does not including the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group on their *Woredas* administrative council. Gambella city and *Woredas* Administrative council is the highest executive organ which significant decision is passed through it. Broadly speaking, the key informants concluding that, “giving insignificant political position to the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group is emanating based on the interest/which of the regional state”.³⁵⁷

This means to hold the political power at region and local level is depend on the genuinely permissions of the regional political leaders. As researcher observed and interview with different residents in Agnwaa and Majang Nationality Zone, political representation of „Non-indigenous“ people in administrative council is reducing from time to time.³⁵⁸

According to the key informants, in Abobo and Godere *Woredas* assured that, “the problem is rise from the giving/recognition of Nationality Zone to the „Indigenous“ ethnic people”.³⁵⁹ Contrariwise, “the Non-indigenous“ ethnic group has no any place; rather they seek to

³⁵⁴ Proclamation No.27/2002. The revised constitution of Gambella Peoples National Regional State Approval proclamation. article.,94(1&2).

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ The interview made with the members of region and *woredas* council.

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

³⁵⁸ The interview made with the Settlers of resident in Abobo and Godere *Woredas*.

³⁵⁹ The interview made with the residents of Godere and Abobo *Woredas*.

get position in merit of Nationality zone of *Woreda* council and administrative government.”³⁶⁰ As the informant of the council of cabinet member notes, “her „Non-indigenous“ peoples are not enumerated as regional state of people so, they can’t claim the right to have fair of political representation or to hold key position in Administrative units”.³⁶¹

He concluded that, “the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group are not able decide anything their concerned issues and based on the new federal arrangement they are the subordinate elements of Gambella peoples National regional state”.³⁶² Despite the fact that, the key informants, “the space provided for political representation is fair in according based on the current political condition and arrangement of the region.”³⁶³ The key informants assured, “the political space explicitly arranged in considering the five ethnic people political representation given to the „Non-indigenous“ people said to be sufficient and while the region is belongs to them”.³⁶⁴ One of the head of affiliated parties firmly asserted that; affiliated parties are found in the region for two major purposes, “one is to keep the rights of „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group with assuring the freedom of movement and right to choose residence and not only to live, also citizens are free to have the right to property anywhere with in the country”.³⁶⁵ Second, “they stand to protecting the citizens right in accordance of FDRE and GPNRS of constitution with working and developing the „Indigenous“ ethnic group and to assure the mutual benefits of people”.³⁶⁶ As informant stated to firmly to the researcher that; “Gambella city, Abobo, and Godere *Woredas* are highly occupied by the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group”.³⁶⁷ But, “„Non-indigenous“ people are not represent fairly even if they holds numerically higher like, Godere *Woredas* (80%), (20%), “Non-indigenous“ and „Indigenous“ people respectively”.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

³⁶¹ The interview made with the cabinet member of Gambella city Administrative.

³⁶² Ibid.

³⁶³ Ibid.

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ The interview made with the head of affiliated party (ANDM, OPDO&TPLF).

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ The interview made with the standing committee of *Woredas* and Gambella city council.

³⁶⁸ The interview made with the oldest person resident in Abobo and Godere *Woredas*.

Table 3:-*Woredas* and Gambella city administrative council of ethnic composition per seats

No	Institution/ <i>Woreda</i>	Ethnicity	Seats	Total	Remark
1	Abobo <i>Woreda</i> Administrative Council	Agwaa	11	11	
		Majang	2	2	
		Non-indigenous	1	1	
		Total	14	14	
2	Gambella City Administrative Council	Nuer	5	5	
		Agwaa	6	6	
		Majang	1	1	
		Opo	1	1	
		Komo	1	1	
		Non-indigenous	2	2	
		Total	16		
3	Godere <i>Woreda</i> Administrative Council	Majang	16	16	
		Non-indigenous	2	2	
		Total	18	18	
4	Itang Special Administrative <i>Woreda</i> Council	Nuer	8	8	
		Agwaa	6	6	
		Opo	3	3	
		„Non-indigenous“	-	-	
		Total	17	17	
5	Lare Administrative <i>Woreda</i> Council	Nuer	11	11	
		„Non-indigenous“	-	-	
		Total	11	11	

Sources, Four *Woredas* and Gambella city Administrative council data organization office Graph/Chart of (2016).

4.3.2.1. Is their legal frame works for political representation to the ‘Non-indigenous’ people in Gambella city, Abobo,Godere,Lare and Itang special *Woredas*?

Establishing legal frame work for political representation is a vital element for coexistence and political participation.³⁶⁹ Legal frame work is an instrument which used to settle peaceful political competition among political candidate to exercise their government powers as representatives of the people.³⁷⁰ Why because, legal frame work enable to provide effective and inclusion of citizen representative in building democratic nature of government³⁷¹

However, as interviewed with the key informant notes that:-

The „Non-indigenous“ peoples are participating in politics in relation to elect and to be elected but, he firmly asserted that, “there is no any boundary which is demarcated as institutional base and legal frame work which assured the „Non-indigenous“ people for political participation”.³⁷² He mentioned as example, “the only area that is demarcated as *Kebele* or Local government is found only in Abobo and Godere *Woreda*, because that specific area is occupied by the Highland settlers”.³⁷³ Even though, “the boundary that demarcated in the above *Woredas* is limited only at *Kebele* level”.³⁷⁴

As researcher, asked the key informant notes, “legal framework is prepared by the central and regional governments that enhances and sustain the political participation of the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group”.³⁷⁵ Due to this, “the council and administrative *woredas* has not a

³⁶⁹ *Patric Merole*, 2008. PROMOTIN LEGAL FRAME WORKES FOR DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS, A National Democratic Institute For International Affairs (NDI), Guide for Developing Election Laws and Laws Commentaries, p, 1.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*

³⁷² The interview made with the member of *woreda* council.

³⁷³ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁵ The interview made with the standing committee of Abobo,Godere,Lare and Itang *Woredas* and Gambella city.

mandate to prepare the legal frame work and this question is not answered by them”.³⁷⁶In line of this, “in order to fill the gap that make legal the right to political participation of „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group of Frame works is established through discussion between the region central committee secretariat and EPRDF of central secretariat agreement”.³⁷⁷

Because, *Woredas* are accountable to region, Zone and their responsibilities is “to implement what is come from the regional and zonal level”.³⁷⁸ Likewise, the practical application of political representation to the „Non-indigenous“ people is too week.³⁷⁹ Even tough, “political position(nomination) is conducted based on the interest of regional government and ruling party of the region as approved by different interviewed of political elites and members of regional council”.³⁸⁰ According to the informant stated that, Contrariwise, “regions are shaping and organized to assure their self-administration and self-determination and significant political representation is given primarily to the „indigenous“ people because, they were marginalized and excluded from the development of the country in the past history”.³⁸¹

He believes that, even though, the region belongs to the „Indigenous“, “it is impossible to develop the region without the participation of the „Non-indigenous“ people respectively at region and local level”.³⁸² He added that, “Non-indigenous“ people have opportunity or a chance in order to be represented if, he/she is stayed as a members of region or affiliated parties.”³⁸³ Although though, as key informant, “affiliated parties are established in the region to secure the regional development and to protect the rights of all citizens found in the region without saying this Amhara, Oromo,Tigre or Nuer, Agnwaa....since, they are working in the region what went meet the FDRE/EPRDF government at national levels”.³⁸⁴

³⁷⁶Ibid.

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸Ibid.

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

³⁸⁰ The interview made with the Regional, *Woredas* and Gambella city council members.

³⁸¹ The interview made with the head of president advisers in Gambella regional administrative council.

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ Ibid.

³⁸⁴The interview made with the regional council member.

4.3.2.2. The right of ‘Non-indigenous’ people for political representation at local level in Gambella city, Abobo, Lare, Godere and Itang Special *Woredas*

The assessment of this paper is tries to give more emphasis on the right for political participation on „Non-indigenous“ people in Gambella city and in Abobo,Lare.Godere and Itang special *Woredas*. In addition to this the section of the study discusses, first on the right of „Non-indigenous“ peoples“ for political representation since it is recognized and accepted as the inherent of human right activities and through universal declaration of human right provisions.

Second the right to have fair representation is a fundamental right that enable the majority ethnic people to participate how and when to decide the government activities in having fair political representation at any government institution with a competitive way like others of „Indigenous“ people. However, the revised constitution of Gamblla region stated, under article 39(a), “the right to take part in the conduct public affairs, directly and through freely chosen representative.”³⁸⁵ Contrary, the constitutional provisions give a political space to all people without any distinction in relation to ethnicity, religious and economical background in the region to participate in elect and to be elected.

In spite of this, as the researcher observation, the practical implementation of representation of „Non-indigenous“ peoples in region and local level is not well functional with the legal procedures of constitutional and others rules of instruments. So in accordance of the revised constitutions of Gambella people“s national regional state, every individual/citizens have a right to be represented where he/she found respective of the region. Contrariwise, currently in Gambella region “the right for political representation of „Non-indigenous“ ethnic people is determined by „Indigenous „ethnic groups”.”³⁸⁶ According, to the key informants from Gambella city,Abobo and Godere *Woredas* council Members and standing committee said, “„Non-indigenous“ peoples are represented in relevance and their political representation lack political

³⁸⁵ Proclamation No.27/2002.The Revised Constitution of Gambella Peoples National Regional State article 39(a).

³⁸⁶ The interview made with the „Non-indigenous“ resident in Abobo,Itang,Godere and Gambella city.

authority in decision-making because, they considered as supporter of the regional development”³⁸⁷.

So that, one of the key informant stated, to the researcher that, “political representation of „Non-indigenous“ people in the region and local level is not meaningful as a result and in application of proper balance to „Non-indigenous“ in government position.”³⁸⁸

Likewise, “the „Non-indigenous“ people are involved in regional and *Woredas* council cabinet members but, it is not significant political authority and the elected representative is not perform his/her duties rather run its Owen personal political power or position”³⁸⁹ Because, One of the key informant from the affiliated parties stated to researcher, “they are found in the region not to ask/share the power of the region since, the „Non-indigenous“ people have not right to ask political representation.”³⁹⁰ In addition to this, they added “self-determination and self-rule is allowed to the five „Indigenous“ ethnic people not to „Non-„indigenous“ people.”³⁹¹

On the other side, the complicated issues is that the competition between the affiliated parties and ruling party in the region. Both parties become a candidate to represent the „Non-indigenous“ people where as it become a paradox and who is responsible to the representation of „Non-indigenous“ people in government level. Why because, the people who born and grow up in the region considered themselves as citizens of the region and the others taken as new comers to the region those included under the affiliated parties organized the resident of Gambella in accordance of their ethnic party.

As stated by key respondent with the senior officials of Tigray liberation Front (TPLF) and Amahara National Democratic Movement (ANDM),in the region forwarded, their opinion is they are organized and arranged based on the EPRDF party discipline in Gambella region.Bothe of the key informants stated, about the affiliated parties and ruling party, “they stand in election

³⁸⁷ The interview made with the Council members of Gambella city, Abobo and Godere *Woredas*.

³⁸⁸ The interview made with the Key informant.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

³⁹⁰ The interview made with the affiliated parties ANDM, OPDO, TPLF and SNNPR leadrs in Gambella city, Godere and region level.

³⁹¹ Ibid.

program independently as representative of „Non-indigenous“ people at local and regional level”.³⁹² But, the problem is the “„Non-indigenous“ people are attracted to their respective ethnic party and some of the „Non-indigenous“ people are joining with the ruling party of the region”.³⁹³ As the key informant stated that, “the „Non-indigenous“ people are confuse in relation to political participation some of them are with region of ruling party and others joined with the affiliated parties.”³⁹⁴ Due to this the, as view of key informant, “„Non-indigenous“ political participation would not be strong and effective enough to assure the political representation of the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group”.³⁹⁵ The entire key informant assured that, Gambella regional state absolutely is not excluding the „Non-indigenous“ people from the political participation.³⁹⁶

Rather, it holds the “Non-indigenous“ people to obtain Knowledge in the form of Shaping, formulation, guiding any policy in making suitable with the political context of the region.³⁹⁷ The question is who, which party is going to represent the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group in Gambella regional state? Are they represented in the ruling party of the region or the affiliated parties? It needs further studies and legal boundary to the open political space to the „Non-indigenous“ people. Minding this, as the researcher asked a key informant, he is among settlers in Abobo *Woreda* in chobo village, 14 forwarded; “there is no any organ from affiliated parties which organize them in accordance of their ethnic based”.³⁹⁸

However, one of the key informants forwarded that, political position given to the „Non-indigenous“ people is decided by the ruling party of the region weather it gives them position or denied in any activities of political position”.³⁹⁹ The informant, notes that, the resident of Abobo

³⁹²The interview made with „Non-indigenous“ political elites.

³⁹³Ibid.

³⁹⁴Ibid.

³⁹⁵Ibid.

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

³⁹⁷ The interview made with the judiciary expert in Gambella city.

³⁹⁸ The interview made with the Abobo *Woreda* resident of among Settlers in chobo village 14

³⁹⁹Ibid.

Woreda is run their political exercise with the ruling party of the region and any government issue of the right to represent or to be represented is practiced through the party discipline.⁴⁰⁰

Also the key informant added that, “the ruling party of the region is closed to the settler’s peoples than the affiliated parties (EPRDF), of the region”.⁴⁰¹ He also added that, “all the settlers of „Non-indigenous” peoples are the member of ruling party”.⁴⁰² So the role of Affiliated parties to the „Non-indigenous” people in Gmbella region need further studies and remain as contested issues.

4.4. Constitutional right of ‘Non-indigenous’ peoples’ to be represented in Gambella city and *Woredas* of council and council Administrative

A, in Gambella city Administrative and *Woredas* council

While, the revised constitution of Gambella regional state stipulated under article, 77 (1) give Power to the „Indigenous” peoples” to have their own nationality zone.⁴⁰³ In addition to this, respectively each nationality zone has a mandate to respect right of minority those of „Indigenous” peoples” to self-rules of their *Owen kebele* including the right to direct representation in the regional and zonal council found under Article,47(3).⁴⁰⁴

Likewise, the power and sovereignty of the „Indigenous” ethnic group determined by the preamble of the revised of the regional constitution stated as, having firmly believe that, *We the Nationalities of Agnwaa, Nuer, Majang, Opo and Komo, would be able to attain rapid economic growth, durable peace and democracy, only when we do manage to possess our Owen Constitution founded on the spirit of the Federal Democratic of Ethiopia, taking into account the concert circumstances of our Regional State;*⁴⁰⁵ According, to a key informant stated that, “even

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

⁴⁰² Ibid.

⁴⁰³ Proclamation No.27/2002.The Revised Constitution of Gambella Peoples National Regional State, article, 77(1).

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid, Article,47(3).

⁴⁰⁵ Proclamation No.27/2002.The Revised Constitution of Gambella Peoples National Regional State.

though the „Non-indigenous“ peoples are elected at regional and local level but, they remain in relevant political representation”.⁴⁰⁶

This, shows the right to be represented in Gambella city, Abobo, Godere, Lare and Itang the *Woredas* is the right to be elected of the „Non-indigenous“ people remain in question and it is not supported by the FDRE and GPNRS constitutional declaration. Contrariwise, minority nationalities of the „Indigenous“ people are represented in implementing the transitional government proclamation No.7/1992 stated under article 4(b), read as follows; “Where in *Woredas* as by more than one nation, nationality or people, such *Woredas* shall be incorporated in the adjacent self-government of the nation, nationality or people of which more than 50% of the *Woredas* is composed”.⁴⁰⁷

This is considering the people who considered as minorities of Gambella region namely Opo and Komo. In line of this, they have special recognition as regional minorities, Opo in Itang special *Woreda* adjacent to their *Kebele* and the same to Komo in Abobo *woreda*. Gambella regional state is established as among nine regions to have self-government with including the „Indigenous“ ethnic group during the transitional government mentioned under the proclamation No.7/1992. Contrary, the charter does not state anything about the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group that enable to enjoy the right to be represented at region and local government positions.

I argue that, even though, fundamental principle right is the right to equality that is documented on Gambella regional revised constitution on article 26 under chapter three as follows:-

“All people are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law. In this respect, the law shall guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection without discrimination on ground of race, nation, nationality, or other social origin, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, property, wealth, birth or other

⁴⁰⁶ The interview made with the residents of Godere. Abobo, Gambella city.

⁴⁰⁷ Proclamation No.7/1992. A proclamation to provide for the establishment of National regional self-governments article, 4(b).

Status”.⁴⁰⁸ Paradox to this, as knowledge of researcher, council representation of „Indigenous“ and „Non-indigenous“ people of Gambella resident in the city and four *Woredas* administrative council are the main contested issues and challenging factors.

It is obvious that, the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group are elected in *Woredas* council and have “Quota” of representation except Lare and Itang special *Woredas*. The rest of two *Woredas* and Gambella city administration „Non-indigenous“ ethnic groups are assigned to the *Woreda* council from region up to local levels.

One of the key informants, of Gambella city, Godere and Abobo *Woredas* “the representation of „Non-indigenous“ ethnic people or their “Quota” is decided by region, Nationality Zone, and *Woredas* administrative government”.⁴⁰⁹ It is true, the practice and the implementation of political representation in Gambella city, Abobo, and Godere *Woredas* shows the „Non-indigenous“ people represented from both of the ruling and affiliated parties of the region. As different key respondents stated to the researcher that, “the „Non-indigenous“ people are participating and give their vote to their representative after all the candidate of the „Non-indigenous“ people are not existed respectively in their nominated political position like Godere, Gambella city and Abobo *Woredas* administration”.⁴¹⁰

4.5. CHALLENGES FOR POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF ‘NON-INDEGINOUS’ PEOPLE IN Abobo, Lare ,Itang, Godere Woreda and Gambella city Administration

The people of „Indigenous“ are one section of society in which each and every administrative units of the Gambella city, Abobo, Lre, Godere and Itang special *Woredas* put independent of the „Non-indigenous“ people. Therefore, this clears identification influence their life in different ways. As stated by different literatures and Gambella city and study *Woredas* residents said that, different factors and political environment challenging that they do have in different government level. The normative instrument that shortening the right for political participation emanated

⁴⁰⁸ Proclamation No.27/2002. The Revised Constitution of Gambella Peoples National Regional State Approval Proclamation, article,40(26).

⁴⁰⁹ The interview made with the Godere and Abobo *Woredas* and Gambella city administration.

⁴¹⁰ The interview made with the key informants of Godere, Gambella and Abobo *Woredas*.

from the regional constitution which identify some group as owner of the region while nothing recognition is given to „Non-indigenous“ people at national and regional level.

According to the key informant stated that: -

The main challenge for the right of political participation of „Non-indigenous“ peoples in Gambella city, and four *Woredas* because, “Insignificant number of the „Indigenous“ people does not have genuine attitude in relation to political representation of „Non-indigenous“ peoples.”⁴¹¹ This implies that the representational right and number of candidate who contested in election in Gambella city and in the study areas is determined and decided by the regional government.

The key informant states that, “Whereas, the power of the region, zone and *Woredas* dominantly exercise by the „Indigenous“ ethnic group and belongs to them”.⁴¹² All of the key informants forwarded that, “majority people found in Abobo, Godere and Itang special *Woredas* do not feel that they belong to the state they have been demarcated in to their current mother region”.⁴¹³ However, in significant special representation is given to the „Non-indigenous“ people through EPRDF members who considered as the partnership and the supporter of regional development. Whereas, as forwarded by key informant, “this nominal representation of „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group is not considered as a positive and some of the „Indigenous“ ethnic group are asking why?”⁴¹⁴ Because they said, the region is belongs to us!!

However, different residents and government officials argues that, the problem of excluding the „Non-indigenous“ people from the right of political participation is emanated as a result of the deep rooted to ethno-territorial linguistic federal arrangement and political system of the country. One the other hand, the „Indigenous“ people believe that, “Ethiopian federalism established to sharpen and institutionalize the people of Gambella („Indigenous“), because what were previously

⁴¹¹The Interview made with the Chairman of Gambella Peoples National Regional State of Unity Movement party

⁴¹² The interview made with the resident of Abobo *Woreda*.

⁴¹³ The interview made with the *woredas* council members in Abobo, Godere and Itang special *Woredas*.

⁴¹⁴ The interview made with the standing committee of *Woredas* and Gambella city.

marginalized more diffuse based on their identities”.⁴¹⁵ As stated by the key informants, “Even though the right to elect and to be elected is practically implemented and „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group are participated in regional and local election is to fill the political vacuum of the region”.⁴¹⁶

However, “the political representation of „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group clearly and in practice remain at *kebele* level”.⁴¹⁷ The key informant stated that, “the core problem in the current political participation in regarding to the people come from different corner are not accepted as citizens of the *Woredas* or region compared to the „Indigenous“ ethnic group”.⁴¹⁸ He added that “the FDRE constitution is best and a model even for Africa but, the problem is it is not implemented on the ground”.⁴¹⁹ One of the elected within the *Woreda* council forwarded that, “the „Indigenous“ people are interpreting the constitutional provision negatively and the right to self-determination as a core point which become force to the „Indigenous“ ethnic group to discriminate others ethnic group live in district or region for more than quarter of the century”.⁴²⁰

According to the informant of substantial idea is, in fact “the region is organized and design only to the particular ethnic group which are recognized as the “founder” the region”.⁴²¹ Also, “the FDRE constitution has human and Democratic right which is seemed to stand to protect and to enable citizens to enjoy their political exercise at national, regional and local levels”.⁴²² Likewise, as notes by senior officials of the “Indigenous” stated:-“Currently regional states especially arrange to have shape that signifies the „Indigenous“ the right to self-administration and self-rule with their political right”.⁴²³ In accordance of this, he also stated that, “the regional stated development is not assured only by the „indigenous“ people rather apparently involving

⁴¹⁵The interview made with the resident of Indigenous ethnic group.

⁴¹⁶ The interview made with the residents of Godere, Abobo and Itang district (*Woredas*).

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸The interview made with the oldest person and resident of Godere *Woreda*.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

⁴²⁰The interview made with the elected officials in *woreda* council under the affiliated parties.

⁴²¹ Ibid.

⁴²² Ibid.

⁴²³ Ibid.

the „Non-indigenous“ people”.⁴²⁴ However, in practice the „Non-indigenous“ people are participating in political right in Gambella region as second subject of the people and responsible to create conducive political environment to the region.

As stated by the key informant, with standing committee of Abobo and Godere *Woredas*; “even though the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic groups are electing their representative during periodical election and their representative are not holding the real political position after the election campaign”.⁴²⁵ On the other hand, the key informants added that, “the largest public vote is remain zero-game after election and the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group considered as the coverage of the election program”.⁴²⁶ Likewise as stated, by council member (in Amharic Yegubae Abal), “the number of position given to the „Non-indigenous“ ethnic is in considering their population size”.⁴²⁷

In addition to this, the key informant stated to the researcher that, “the region, zone and *Woredas* level of Cabinet member of government position hold by the „Indigenous“ ethnic group”.⁴²⁸ On the other hand, “the right to be elected and represented is conducted without having sufficient institutional mechanism and legal frame work that guarantee the right to political participation of „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group”.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

⁴²⁵ The interview made with the Standing committee of Godere and Abobo *Woredas*.

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

⁴²⁷ The interview made with the council member.

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

⁴²⁹ Ibid.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION OF THE STUDY

5.1. CONCLUSION

The conclude remark, the right to political participation is fundamental or basic of human right that given to each and every citizens of the country. The international declarations and laws like, ICCPR, UDHR and domestic laws of the country which clearly articulated under FDRE constitution guarantee all the citizens of the country to have a right to political participation without any discrimination in color, race, nation, nationality, sex, language, religion, political and other status. The FDRE government, as central government, the regional state had similar duties and responsibilities in order to assure and protect the right of political participation of all citizens found in the region at local level irrespectively in accordance of the FDRE and region constitution. The regional constituent units are the best instrument to implement in practice and to ensure the right to political participation through providing demarcated local government the able to establish self-administration. The FDRE constitution in principle clearly articulated equality and avoid non-discrimination of the right to political participation for all nation, nationalities and peoples of the country.

Paradox to this, literally name of „Non-indigenous“ (“Non-founder”) in the current language the internal migrants of Gambella peoples national regional state are not exercising their right to political participation the same with the „Indigenous“ peoples of the region. Under the revised constitution of the regional state officially endorse demarcation of the people of the region as „Indigenous“ (“Founder”) and „Non-indigenous“ (“Non-founder”), in this case the rights to political participation of „Non-indigenous“ people restricted and undermine to enjoy their political exercise in the region . Article 39, of FDRE and GPNRS of the revised constitution a well-known contested article provide a good opportunity for political right of self-determination including secession in establishments of hierarchical institution were absolutely given to the „Indigenous“ (“Founder”) of the peoples.

However, „Non-indigenous“ (“Non-founder”) peoples are seeking and restricted from a decisive political authority in the region and their political participation remain in the merit of the regional political elites. Therefore, it indicate that, the federal and regional government are

responsible to revise and evaluate the political participation of „Non-indigenous“ people in irrespective of regional and local level. In the main, therefore, for this reason as suggest given by different scholars constitutional amendment solve the problems which create discrimination between those two group of peoples with equitable institutional arrangement of „Non-indigenous“ people in the basic political institutions of at regional state.

Having said to this, the political participation of „Non-indigenous“ peoples except Lare and Itang special *Woredas* in the rest of the study areas shows attractive and establish better political participation in the feature when we see from region particularly at *Kebele* level in the remaining selected study areas. However, the discouragement and exclusion of the right to political participation in *Kebele* is significant but, not in *Woreda* and regional administrative unit.

Although though, the „Indigenous“ and „Non-indigenous“ people such as in Godere. Abobo and Gambella city administrative units are significantly represented particularly in *Woredas*, city and *Kebeles* level of council and administrative council better than regional level. Following to this, when we compare the political representation with numeric population size of „Non-indigenous“ people and the number given of representative of „Indigenous“ people, Non-indigenous people in Gambella city, Abobo and Godwere *Woredas* had insignificant political representation and is not competent. Hence forth, this implies that the institutional accommodation mechanism and fairly representation of the „Non-indigenous“ people in city and *Woredas* administrative unit is in efficient.

Therefore, the city and *Woredas* administrative units were expected to have inclusive institutions which properly address the political participation and representation between „Indigenous“ and „Non-indigenous“ people. Inadequate political representation of „Non-indigenous“ people undermine their potential to participate in election campaign particularly to contest or to be elected. However, an insignificant political representation of „Non-indigenous“ people in Gambella city and study areas had not properly answer the interest of „Non-indigenous“ people of political participation also, they are not able to hold government office in equitable way.

For example, the population participates in voting their candidate in 2015 election campaign in the region number of electors especially in three districts of the study areas Abobo, Godere and

Gambella city administrative irrespectively the numerical size of „Non-indigenous“ people are out numbers of „Indigenous“ people, size of „Non-indigenous „is almost comparable even though Godere *Woreda* had registered voters out numbers of „Indigenous“ people. The determinant factor for less of numerical political representation of „Non-indigenous“ people the main obstacle relies on political arrangement and institutional organization of Ethiopian federal system.

After a demarcation of the constituent unit“s regional state along ethnic-based identity for each ethnic group of the country decline the political and tackled the citizens enjoyment of the right to political participation of „Non-indigenous“ people those considered as the internal migrant in the current FDRE political context. Due to this, the demarcation of ethnic group of peoples along their ethnic identity that give the region as the owner to some of people and exclusively restricting some of the peoples as the internal migrant for that specific regional state.

Therefore, this, shows that to protect the right of political participation of „Non-indigenous“ people need amendment of allocation of which identified in accordance ethnic line for each ethnic groups those can be determinant factors and largely affect the right of those people who considered come from other region.

5.2. RECOMMENDATION

Based on finding of this paper, the writer would like to recommend the following suggestions. The practical arrangement of Ethnic federal system with ethnic based political parties has formed the ethnic tension among people. Thus, the researcher would like to suggest that rather than ethnic federal system it is better to apply geographical based territory of federalism and political parties are responsible to avoid ethnic centered political practice. Besides to this, FDRE government should find solution devise and mechanism such as making suitable the constitution to the all citizens which guarantee their right to political participation.

Rather than, manipulating the political system based on ethnicity assuring the right to political participation to all of people create conducive political environment and the federal system become meaningful to all of citizens. After the regional state officially endorse distinction of people of the region „Indigenous“ and „Non-indigenous,“ the „Non-indigenous“ people face official limitation from the right to political participation. If the right to political participation of

„Non-indigenous“ people obtained guarantee through the constitution, it become a devise to preserve the federal system from misuse of ethnicity which apparently directs the society to ethnic division and that leads finally for the unable to respect the right to political participation of „Non-indigenous“ people reside in different part of FDRE regional state.

The FDRE and Regional constitution need to find that discouraging the exclusion approach of others ethnic group from the space of political exercise. Necessarily excluding of ethnically dispersed individuals and numerical minorities should be taken in to consideration after the territories which defined through ethno-national referendum. The national and Regional government should devise long lasting prevention mechanism in assuring the right to political participation in place where diverse ethnic groups reside. Ethiopian electoral law should publish a report of the investigation results which relates to limitation of the right to political participation of the residence. Self-determination has to be implemented in congruent with the right to political participation of all citizens.

The new emerged minorities who reside within the territory of self-determination ethnic groups should not discourage from the political exercise rather included under it. There should be safeguard protection mechanism for the right to political participation not to be excluded the internal emigrants of ethnic people. „Non- indigenous“ people are highly segregated from the major political institution which enable to decide like the State Council, Administrative Council, and Constitutional Interpretation Commission. The FDRE government must be implemented in accordance of democratic principle with adequate and equity of genuine political space to all of citizens without creating discrimination and other vulnerability situation among the different ethnic groups with the help of legal ground that enhance the political participation of all citizens.

Council of Constitutional Inquiry Body must be established and find solution to safeguard the constitutional right in general and to political participation in particular. Therefore, the federal system must be implemented based on democratic values and adequate political representation for the purpose of achieving long last of accommodating diversity as well as assuring the right to political participation of „Non-indigenous“ people. House of Federation has a devise proactive protection and respecting so as to safeguard the right to political participation of Non-indigenous ethnic group dispersed within the country and Gambella region.

In general the political participation of Non-indigenous ethnic group of peoples has misunderstanding from the perspective of some of „Indigenous“ ethnic peoples and it has to be created awareness about the significant contribution through the region, zone and *Woredas* government that able to assure equitable political development of the region. The FDRE and GPNRS have the responsibilities to revise their government organization and constitutional provision which make „Non-indigenous“ (dispersed peoples), to be inclusive in political participation at different government level in the region or local levels.

The „Indigenous“ and Affiliated political elites are expected to enhance the existed political participation of „Non-indigenous“ ethnic groups from the perspective of International, National and Regional laws with establishing legal background which give recognition to „Non-indigenous“ ethnic group in relation to political participation.

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APPINDEX

Appendix One Profiles of interviewed peoples

Table6:-List of interviewed Government Officials of GPNRS of Gambella city& Woredas

No	Name	Administrative duty	Date of Interview	Remark
1	Ukuggn Uboya	Head Bureau the ruling party of Gambella regional State	February 15,2017	
2	Udol Agwaa	Gambella region administrative Bureau	February 16,2017	
3	Mullugeta Bekelle	Gambella region administrative council president advisor Bureau	February 16,2017	
4	Abreham Mihari	Gambella city council head office of speaker of the house	February 18,2017	
5	Lema Zekaryias	<i>Majang</i> Nationality <i>Woreda</i> council speaker of house	October 15,2017	
6	Tarjat Gatkot	Itang Special <i>Woreda</i> Deputy Council speaker of house	October 20,2017	
7	Omod Omod Oboya	Head Administrative of Abobo <i>Woreda</i>	October 23,2017	
8	Ujullu Ulagey	Agnwaa Nationality zone Abobo <i>Woreda</i> council speaker of house	October 23,2017	
9	<i>Yasin Belay</i>	<i>Gambella region Livestock and Fishery Resource Agency Bureau</i>	October 10,2017	
10	<i>Abreham Shmebo</i>	Head of Road and Transport of Abobo <i>Woreda</i>	October 23,2017	

Table 7:-List of Interviewed residents and affiliated council members of GPNRS of Gambella city & Woredas

No	Name	Place of interview	Date of interview	Remark
1	Yimam Muhabaa	Abobo <i>Woreda</i> , village,14	October 23,2017	
2	Sofiya Moahmmed	Gambella city 05 <i>Kebele</i>	February 20,2017	
3	Lema Wolde	Godere o3 <i>Kbele</i>	February 21,2017	
4	Akwach Ujullu	Gambella city 04 <i>Kebele</i>	February 23,2017	
5	Yimer Ahmmed	Abobo woreda village 14 <i>Kebele</i>	October 23,2017	
6	Unanimous	Godere <i>Woreda</i>	October 15,2017	
7	Unanimous	Godere <i>Woreda</i>	October 15,2017	
8	Unanimous	Gambella region(city)	February 25,2017	

Table 8:-List of Interviewed Professionals and representative of Gambella city& Woredas

No	Name	Administrative duty	Date of interview	Remark
1	Desalegn Sitotaw	Gambella Regional State of supreme court	October 3,2017	
2	Abreham Bogale	Gambella city Higher court head of registrar	October 29,2017	
3	Tesema Hundeto	Teacher	October 30,2017	
5	Demelash Tekle	Godere <i>Woreda</i> Head Office of Speaker of the House	October 16,2017	
6	Tesema Mekonen	Gambella Region COC Agency human resource	October 29,2017	
7	Zeryhun Belihu	Godere <i>Woreda</i> Administrative Head officer of Cabinet Affairs and Coordinator of TPLF	October 16,2017	
8	Teferi Wljira	Coordinator of OPDO In Godere <i>Woreda</i>	October 17,2017	
9	Obong Uchan	Process Owner of Electoral Board in Gambella region	February 28,2017	

