Assessing the Impacts of Ethnic Based Federalism in Ethiopia in Developing National Identity: The Case of Silte Zone

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Abstract

Following the incorporation of the unconditional right to ethnic self-determination in the FDRE Constitution, previously under oppressed ethnic groups can establish regional or zonal self-administered government. Despite its success, there are still challenges in the practical application of ethnic based federalism in Ethiopia. Within this framework, this study aims to assess the impacts of ethnic based federalism in developing national identity in Silte zone. The qualitative approach with descriptive survey study research design was employed. Interview, observation, document analysis, legal analysis, and literature were used to collect data. Thematic method of data analysis was employed. By purposive sampling out of 10 woredas and 5 town administration six woredas were selected, four institutions were selected, 48 civil servants for interview were selected, 2 federalism experts were selected as the source of data. According to the finding of the study even though ethnic based federalism results in many challenges in the process of nation building in Ethiopia it ensures partially socio- economic, political and cultural development in Silte zone. The finding of the study also indicates that beside its positive outcome ethnic based federalism results negative impacts on nation building such as decline in national identity, it erodes common values, symbols and our common identities, imbalance between ethnic identity and national identity (imbalance between components of self-rule and shared rule), it results in excessive sense of division, isolation, and frustration to have property to exogenous people in Ethiopia. In addition to these ethnic based federalism results in competition and conflicts between ethnic groups, specifically about "resources: land, water, minerals, and federal budgets and about power. To construct national identity and to mitigate drawbacks of ethnic based federalism in Silte zone the finding of the study revealed several mechanisms such as balancing self-rule(ethnic identity) and shared rule(national identity), conducting national identity plat forum (national discourse on how to construct national identity in multinational states), reforms in early schooling system and educational curriculum, legal requirement for collective rights of exogenous groups, power sharing through zoning of political and bureaucratic posts, building democratic federalism, special programs designed to bring young people together, and ideologies designed to raise consciousness about tolerance, unity, loyalty, discipline, and obedience and designing mega projects like renaissance dam to unite the people are also   mechanism to balance ethnic identity and national identity in Ethiopia and in Silte zone in particular. Based on the conclusions, the following recommendations are made to resolve the negative impacts of ethnic based federalism in developing national identity in Silte, such as the Silte zonal government should balance promoting ethnic identity with national identity, and the Silte zonal government should conduct consistent national discourse or national plat forum on how to construct national identity, the Silte zonal government should build democratic federalism, there should be institutions to promote national identity parallel with ethnic identity at federal, at regional and at zonal level, there should be curriculum revision in a way to integrate common values, history and culture in education system especially at students earlier schooling age, as common working language is an instrument for nation building and constructing national identity emphasis should be given for the teaching of Amharic (it is the federal working language),the federal government should design mega projects like Renaissance dam to unify the people in Ethiopia, there should be: legal recognition for collective rights of exogenous groups, power sharing through zoning of political and bureaucratic posts, Special programs designed to bring young people together, and ideologies designed to raise consciousness about tolerance, unity, loyalty, discipline, and obedience.

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Background of the study

A number of scholars have defined federalism differently. Despite the differences however, almost all scholars have agreed that federalism creates at least two levels of government. According to K.CWheare while studying the American constitution, defined the Federal Principle as a method of dividing power so, that the federal and the regional governments are each, within a sphere, coordinate and independent.[1] K.C Wheare's definition gives emphasis on the division of powers and functions that are divided between the federal and regional governments. Therefore, according to Wheare powers and functions are divided between independent and coordinate

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[1] K.C. Wheare,1963, Federal Government, 4th ed. (London: Oxford University press, P:11

authorities, and both levels of government operate directly with regard to the people.

According to Watts, federalism as an organizing principle advocates a multi-tiered government combining elements of shared-rule through common institutions for some purposes and regional self-rule for constituent units for some other purposes, there by accommodating unity and diversity within a large political union.[1] Hence from Watts' definition what can be gathered is that, federalism as a normative principle is the preservation of both unity and diversity in the former for uniting the existing diversity whereas in the latter for accommodating, preserving and promoting distinct identities within a long political union. Based on the objectives they have there are national and multi -national federalism in the world. National federations are federations where the federal structure accommodates other needs than the accommodation of ethnic diversity. The creation of a national federation can be stimulated by the ambition to offer better protection against external threats (e.g. the US), by the ambition to facilitate access to the administration in very large areas (e.g. the US, Australia and Brazil) or by the aspiration to protect democracy (as in Germany).[2] Not only does the federal structure in national federations have nothing to do with the constitutional integration of ethnic diversity; federalism can moreover be utilized as a mechanism to erase ethnic differences, as a homogenizing nation building strategy.[3] Atypical example for this is US federations. Even if the U.S society is diverse ethnically, state delineation was made based on what is called WASPS (white Anglo-Saxon Protestantism). This was implemented through assimilation policy.

Beside national federalism, there is ethnic federalism that does not aim to deny or erase ethnic diversity, but rather uses this diversity to found the state organization. This means, that ethnic federations attempt to provide ethnic groups the right to self-rule with their own territory. In ethnic federations the boundaries of the federated entities are determined on the basis of the territory of ethnic groups.[4] As such, the self-rule of ethnic groups within their own territory is aimed at. So, ethnic federalism presents itself as an ideal mechanism to reconcile the potentially conflicting objectives of accommodating ethnic diversity and guaranteeing state stability. In ethnic federations, ethnic groups have a right to self-rule in their own territory. Multi-national federations like in India, Belgium, Switzerland and Ethiopia, the idea behind the federal structure is to accommodate and institutionalize diversity.[5]

One of the first countries that used federalism as a mechanism to accommodate ethnic diversity was Canada. The federal construction was created in the nineteenth century with a view to accommodate the French-speaking from Québec.[6] Nonetheless, it is especially in recent years that the vision on federalism as a mechanism to accommodate ethnic diversity has gained strength. Particularly in Western Europe, there is a recent but clear trend to develop federal structures as a constitutional/legal strategy to solve or contain ethnic conflicts and tensions. Obviously there is the example of Belgium where, over the past 30 years, the state has evolved from a unitary state into a federal one in order to provide an appropriate institutional framework for the peaceful cohabitation of its Dutch speaking and French speaking citizens.[7]

On the contrary, in Africa, there is still a lot of suspicion toward federalism. Two important reasons can be mentioned. In the first place, the leaders of the newly independent states had to find a solution for the poor legitimacy of their authority. [8]They believed that a unitary state structure offered better chances for their authority than a structure where state power was distributed over various entities. Secondly, it should be noted that the African states, which had been created by the colonizer, were and are characterized by an enormous ethnic diversity. Consequently, the African leaders were afraid of the potential impact of federal structures on their project of national integration.[9] They thought that the creation of federal structures would accentuate the ethnic differences and, hence, result in the fragmentation and disintegration of the state. They thus opted for the development of a centralized administration and a homogenizing nation building project, as such hoping to weaken ethnic affinities to the benefit of national identities. This situation, however, seems to be changing, diversity is coming to be recognized. In Africa there are some experiments of federal state structure in Nigeria, Ethiopia and South Africa.

Two fundamental criticisms are raised against ethnic federalism.[10] The first criticism on ethnic federalism is simultaneously one of the reasons why African leaders are apprehensive toward the introduction of federal

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[1] Ronald L. Watts, Comparing Federal Systems, 2nd ed. (Montreal and Kingston: MC Gill-Queen's University Press, : pp. 1-10
[2] J. McGARRY, 2002, "Federal Political Systems and the Accommodation of National Minorities" in A.L. GRIFFITHS(ed.), Handbook of Federal Countries, Montreal & Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press,2002, (416) 428.
[3] Van der Beken, C., 2012. Unity in Diversity: Federalism as a Mechanism to Accommodate Ethnic diversity: the case of Ethiopia (Vol. 10). LIT Verlag Münster.
[4] McGarry, J. and O'Leary, B., 2005. Federation as a method of ethnic conflict regulation. From power sharing to democracy: Post-conflict institutions in ethnically divided societies, pp.286-287.
[5] Supranote,4
[6] W. KYMLICKA, 1995, Multicultural Citizenship - A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights, Oxford, Clarendon Press,p. 28.
[7] Supranote , 4
[8] Supra note, 7
[9] Supra note ,4
[10] Supra note ,4

structures. The criticism implies that the introduction of an ethnic federal structure does not result in the creation of stability in the state, but rather leads to growing tensions, instability and ultimately to the disintegration of the state. The creation of an ethnic-based state structure strengthens ethnic identities and thus creates a growing gap between the diverse ethnic groups of the state. These kinds of critical comments are also often made about Ethiopian federalism. The creation of an ethnic based federal structure in Ethiopia would not only have led to a strengthening of existing ethnic identities, but would moreover be at the base of the development of new ethnic identities.

Consequently, societal problems are increasingly expressed in ethnic terms, which make it difficult to achieve national consensus. Growing contradictions can lead to instability and to the demise of the state. Ethnic federalism is said to increase the risk of secession because the ethnic groups of the federation already dispose of their own territory, government and parliament.

These critical comments seem to be supported by the disintegration of multi-ethnic federations such as the USSR, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.[1]The second criticism departs from an *a priori* positive attitude toward federalism. Federalism can be a perfect mechanism for the accommodation of ethnic diversity in the state if all ethnic regions are inhabited by one specific ethnic group: if, in other words, there is a perfect overlap between ethnic group and territory. However, in practice it is impossible to achieve such an overlap. In each ethnic-based region, there will be ethnic minorities, i.e. people who do not belong to the regionally dominant group. These can be minorities that have their own region or minorities that constitute a minority everywhere. In ethnic federal structures a concern for the position of these minorities arises. There is a substantial risk that the members of the regionally dominant group will consider their region as their property and will, in the best of cases, treat minorities as their guests.[2]

The analysis of the Ethiopian case will demonstrate that this is a genuine risk in Ethiopia. In Ethiopia, the creation of an ethnic-based federal structure has not led to the creation of perfectly ethnically homogeneous territorial entities. On the contrary, all Ethiopian regional states are, to various extents, characterized by ethnic diversity. In the regional states dominated by a specific ethnic group or groups there exists a substantial risk of discrimination of ethnic minority groups.

Against these objections, counter-arguments are raised by the proponents of federalism as a mechanism to accommodate ethnic diversity. The proponents of ethnic federalism do not deny that the creation of ethnic-based federal structures can lead to an increased ethnic consciousness and to a deepening of the gap between the various ethnic communities.[3] They point out that it is exactly the ambition to find an answer to the growing ethnic contradictions that has stimulated the introduction of federal structures. The federal structure has to canalize the existing ethnic demands and conflicts in order to guarantee the continued existence of the state. That this simultaneously leads to a stronger ethnic consciousness cannot be avoided. Not introducing federalism on the other hand would result in uncontrollable conflicts and the ultimate demise of the state. It is argued that an ethnic federal structure can be successful only if there are the elements of shared rule as one components of the federal system. The incorporation into the federal administration creates an institutional framework for the cooperation of ethnic groups at the federal level and leads to a larger interethnic solidarity and to affinity for the federal state. To the supporters of ethnic federalism the representation of the federated entities in a second chamber of the federal parliament is a means to accommodate ethnic diversity. Mechanisms such as the guaranteed representation of the diverse ethnic groups in the government, in the administration and in the courts can also be helpful in this regard.

Finally, it is submitted that the demise of ethnic federations such as the Soviet Union (USSR), Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia is not illustrative of the (lack of) viability of ethnic federalism. Although these countries were formal federations, in practice there was no genuine regional autonomy.[4] In the Soviet Union, for example, the autonomy of the union republics was severely restricted by the operation of the communist party that controlled all regional governments. Hence, political centralization reduced constitutional autonomy to a formality. In the USSR, the federal structure has never genuinely functioned so that it would be wrong to extrapolate global conclusions about the capacity of ethnic federalism from the specific experiences of that country.

The rationale behind this investigation is assessing the consequences of ethnic federalism in developing national identity. In other word the research critically assess the complex interplay between Ethiopia's policies of ethnic federalism the notion of national identity specifically the case in Silte zone.

Statement of the Problem
In many parts of developing world the challenges facing state and nation builders is to construct viable multi-

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[1] Supra note ,4
[2] T.O. HUEGLIN and A. FENNA,2006, Comparative Federalism – A Systematic Inquiry, s.l., Broadview Press, 26 - 27.
[3] Supra note, 4
[4] Supra note, 13

ethnic or multi-national states.[1] This is truer than in Africa, even though they have been eroded traditional values; institutions more continue to exert considerable influence over various segments of social life. For instance, even though national government routinely seeks to instill in general population sense of liberal citizenship and organize a political life accordingly, civic republican citizenship is often found to be at odds with such objectives. This reality presents particular problems in deeply divided society , where national government have attempted federal solutions to reduce the perceptions among some religious , ethnic or nationality groups   that they have been and continue to be systematically discriminated against at the expense of other more favored groups .[2] This reality is clearly visible in pre 1991 Ethiopia state building process. After the downfall of military government Ethiopia adopts ethnic federalism with the aim to accommodate diversity. Since the adoption of the 1995 FDRE all nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia have to recognized and protected to express and develop their own culture. The FDRE constitution gives guarantee to diverse ethnic groups of the country to practice their distinct cultural and linguistic rights. As stated in article   39 of the FDRE constitution all nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia have the rights of self-determination up to secession as one of the components of group rights. According to this constitutional provision the FDRE governments adopt ethnic federalism constitutionally since 1995, even though it was practiced at the time of transitional government based on Article 2 of the transitional gov.t. This type of federalism gives responses to one of   the 1960s Ethiopian student's movement question (the question of nationality) which is stated in the article of walleligne Mekonnen in 1969. It is type of federalism which mainly focuses on accommodating Ethnic diversity to those who are concentrated in a certain area can exercise self- rule and other collective rights such as language and cultural rights. Since then almost all ethnic groups exercise these rights. Even though they promote their ethnic identity and promised to resolve ethnic conflict gradually we observe the decline in national identity and interethnic conflict here and there. As Asefa fisaha stated in his book in federal state there should be balance between shared rule (to ensure unity) and self-rule (to promote diversity). If not federalism may lead over fragmentation and instability of state and interethnic conflict and sense of isolation. This is mainly reflected in post 1991 Ethiopian federal structure that extremely promote ethnic diversity or ethnic identity rather balancing national identity and ethnic identity. According to Tasew Tafese   no ethnic group in Ethiopia seems to have smooth relationship and live at peace with its neighbor. All peripheral and central regions remain insecure and have experienced several inter and intra-ethnic violence and conflicts. As he concluded conflicts are resulted because of identity-based federal structure. For instance, Somali, Gambella, Benishangul-Gumuz, Oromia, Amhara, SNNPR, Afar, and Harari regions were affected by inter and intra-regional conflicts. In those regional states, experiences of federalism are exposed them for bloody ethnic conflicts. For example, interethnic conflicts between Oromo and Amhara in 1992 and 1993, Afar and Issa since 2000, the Borana and Garri in 2001, the Karrayu Oromo and Afar in 2002, the Nuer and Anyuaa in 2002, the Ayuaa and Majang in 2002, the Anyuaa and the highlanders in 2003, the Oromo and Somali in 2005, the Nyangatom and Kara in 2007, the Majang and highlanders in 2013, and Silte and Gurage before 1993. In addition to these even though ethnic federalism promote ethnic identity and promised to resolve ethnic conflict gradually we observe the decline in national identity and interethnic conflict here and there in areas listed above. Currently Ethiopia and specifically in silte zone there is contest between ethnic identity and national identity. Based on my observation and my last year investigation on the benefits and challenges of adopting Siltigna as zonal working language there is confusion of the issue of national identity and ethnic identity. There is tendency of promoting ethnic identity rather than balancing it with national identity. Therefore, the researcher interested on this issue because the mismanagement of ethnic federalism and imbalance between share rule (unity) and self-rule (diversity)we observe decline on national identity and inter-ethnic conflicts in different corners of Ethiopia including silte zone.

Objectives of the study
The research has both general and specific objectives that we address at the end of this study.

General objective:
The general objectives of the study are to:
  ➢ Assess the impact of ethnic based federalism in developing national identity in Silte zone.

Specific objectives of the study:
The specific objectives of this study are to:
  ➢ Identify the attitudes of the Silte community towards adopting ethnic federalism in Ethiopia.
  ➢ Explain the negative effects of ethnic –based federalism in developing national identity in Silte zone.
  ➢ Assess the success of ethnic federalism in Silte zone.

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[1] Supra note, 13
[2] Supra note, 4

> ➢ Assess the challenges of ethnic federalism in developing national identities in Silte zone.
> ➢ Describe the mechanisms to balance ethnic identity with national identity in Silte zone.

Definition of federalism

According to Elazar the term "Federalism" originated from the Latin term "Foedus", meaning "Covenant".[1] For Börzel federalism "refers to a spatial or territorial division of power between two or more levels of government in a given political system"[2]. According to Riker quoted by Fillippov et al, defines federalism as a state in which "two levels of government rule the same land and people; each level has at least one area of action in which it is autonomous; there is some [Constitutional] guarantee.....of the autonomy of each government in its own sphere."[3]

As noted by Agbu the earliest advocates of federalism like Wheare and Duchacek equated federalism with democracy.[4] Duchacek claimed that "democracy and federalism are always found together [and that] federalism is a territorial dimension of democracy."[5] According to Watts, federalism refers to "the advocacy of multi-tiered government combining unity and diversity and of accommodating, preserving and promoting distinct identities within a larger political union."[6] According to Ronald watt federalism is an organizing principle that "advocates a 'multi-tiered government combining elements of shared-rule through common institutions for some purposes and regional self-rule' for constituent units for some other purposes

In a similar manner Watt, drew the following three conclusions on federalism:

> *"First, in the context of the contemporary global scene, federal political systems combining shared rule and self-rule do provide a practical way of combining the benefits of unity and diversity through representative institutions, but they are no panacea for humanity's political ills. Second, the effectiveness of a federal political system depends on the degree of public acceptance of the need to respect constitutional norms and structures, and on a spirit of compromise and tolerance. Third, within the broad genus of federal systems and even within the narrower species of federations there are many variations in the application of the federal idea."[7]*

It is a political ideology that, as an optimal form of political organization, propagates the realization of unity in diversity, of joint as well as self-rule federalism is a concrete manifestation of the right to internal self-determination of specific communities in a multi-ethnic or multi-national state.[8] A federation, on the other hand, is a polity in which decision-making power is divided between central and regional governments.[9]

Rationales for Adopting Federalism in Multiethnic Societies

Many scholars and commentators forcefully argue that in today's world, ethnic and cultural diversity must be seriously addressed through recognizing the right of national self-determination of these ethnic and cultural groups and thus all efforts of constitutional engineering to realize the concept and right of self-determination must inevitably lead to forms of federalism. Federal arrangements are seen as interesting solutions to accommodating differences among populations divided by ethnic or cultural cleavages yet seeking a common political order.[10] In fact, for Rousseau, good government was not possible in countries with large populations or vast territories without some form of federalism.[11] James Madison saw federalism as a way to provide collective goods covering a large territory without sacrificing local accountability.[12]

Federalism is a concrete manifestation of the right to internal self-determination of specific communities in a multi-ethnic or multi-national state. A federal structure of the state has the potential to accommodate the legitimate aspirations of all ethnic, linguistic or religious communities for self-government and protection of their distinct cultural and religious identities, while at the same time guaranteeing equal participation by all communities and by all citizens in the political and economic affairs of the country as a whole. Thus, federalism is considered as a multi-layered political structure that facilitates both unity and diversity: "The federal idea, in short, is generally conceived as a compromise, conveyed by the image of checks and balances between unity and

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[1] Záhořík, J. and Teshome, W., 2008. Federalism in Africa: The case of ethnic-based federalism in Ethiopia. International Journal of Human Sciences, 5(2), p.506.

[2] Ibid

[3] Ibid, 18

[4] Ibid, 18

[5] Ibid, 18

[6] Ronald L. Watts,1999, Comparing Federal Systems, 2nd ed. (Montreal and Kingston: MC Gill-Queen's University Press, pp. 1-10

[7] Supra note, 18

[8] Habisso, T., 2010. Multiethnic (Multinational) Federalism in Plural Societies: Does It Make a Difference. Habisso] Available at: http://aigaforum. com/articles/Multiethnic_federalism. pdf.

[9] Ibid

[10] Ibid ,25

[11] Ibid ,25

[12] Inman, R.P. and Rubinfeld, D.L., 1997. Rethinking federalism. Journal of economic perspectives, 11(4), pp.43-64.

diversity, autonomy and sovereignty, the national and regional.[1] It is a system that allows for a balance between "…the preservation of the autonomy, the self-consciousness, and the influence of territorially concentrated social groups, on the one hand, (and) desires for a strong country-wide community on the other. So federalism comes into play as a reasonable design for a political system that secures social unity and political stability within (culturally/ethnically) divided societies.

Federalism is considered as a means to live with cultural diversity. The federal political order allows space to the expression of different identities or diversities within a country. It is a political order that allows for the peaceful coexistence of people of varying cultures within one country. It is as well a device for nation building (or the preservation of a nation) as for the preservation and the protection of sub-national political communities. From the point of view of the individual, federalism requires the establishment of multiple loyalties and it facilitates the expression of several identities (being Québécois and Canadian; Corsican and French; [Oromo and Ethiopian]; Tamil Nadu and Indian; Scot and British): "In a stable federal system, the division of jurisdiction between the two orders of government is duplicated by dual identities and loyalties in the psyche of each citizen."[2]

Though it remains difficult and complex to establish a federal arrangement based on ethnicity, many scholars in the field argue that one of the characteristics of federalism is its aspiration and purpose to generate and maintain both unity and diversity simultaneously.[3]

Common features of federalism

Federalism is not a fixed formula, and states use it as an institutional arrangement for evolving multinational interactions and territorial division. States may also use federalism for its symbolic qualities to reflect a political practice between diversified political communities according to their identity. So, federalism comes in many forms and contexts. Despite such differences, there are some common characteristics shared by federations which distinguish them from other forms of government. Watts identifies the following common structural characteristics of federations as a specific form of federal political system:[4]

1. At least two orders of government, one for the whole federation and the other for the regional units, each acting directly on its citizens;
2. A formal Constitutional distribution of legislative and executive authority and allocation of revenue resources between the two orders of government ensuring some areas of genuine autonomy for each order;
3. Provision for the designated representation of distinct regional views within the federal policy-making institutions, usually provided by the particular form of the federal second chamber. According to Preston King, this is the major distinctive characteristic of a federation: "*I take a federation to be most significantly distinguished from other forms of sovereign state by the fact that its structure is grounded in the representation of regional governments within the national or central legislature on an entrenched basis.*" The participation is primarily realized through the bicameral system where the federal parliament is composed of two chambers. The first chamber represents the total population of the federation; the second chamber is the representative assembly of the federated entities.
4. A supreme written Constitution not unilaterally amendable and requiring the consent for amendments of a significant proportion of the constituent units;
5. An umpire (in the form of courts, provision for referendums, or an upper house with special powers); and
6. Processes and institutions to facilitate intergovernmental collaboration for those areas where governmental responsibilities are shared or inevitably overlap.

A state missing one of the aforementioned common characteristics of federations or a state having any operational differences in the allocation of policy jurisdiction, the structure of federal subject representation in the central government and the role of the federal subjects in determining the national policy are not necessarily considered as a unitary form of government.

Arguments against and in favor of multinational federalism

Multi-ethnic states have been confronted with sophisticated problems of managing diversity. States cannot eradicate and reduce such ethnic conflicts by establishing themselves as a neutral state rather by designing institutions to recognize and accommodate diversity. There are different contending arguments by different scholars whether ethnic federalism can serve as an effective institutional arrangement to accommodate diversity and build national identity to maintain political and economic integration in a multinational state.

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[1] Supranote, 25
[2] Supra note, 25
[3] Elazar, D.J., 1987. Exploring federalism. University of Alabama Press.
[4] Watts, R.L., 1998. Federalism, federal political systems, and federations. Annual Review of Political Science, 1(1), pp.117-137.

Arguments against multinational federalism

Marriage of ethnicity with federalism has been viewed as a risky approach due to the fact that there is an easy opportunity for politicization of ethnicity that can instigate ethnic consciousness and create ethnic groupings at the expense of common interests.[1] According to Christophe Vander Beken there are two fundamental criticisms are raised against ethnic federalism. The first argument against multinational federalism is that it leads to increased ethnic identification.[2] The criticism implies that the introduction of an ethnic federal structure does not result in the creation of stability in the state, but rather leads to growing tensions, instability and ultimately to the disintegration of the state. The creation of an ethnic-based state structure strengthens ethnic identities and thus creates a growing gap between the diverse ethnic groups of the state.[3]These critical criticisms seem to be supported by the disintegration of multi-ethnic federations such as the USSR, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.[4]The second criticism departs from an *a priori* positive attitude toward federalism. Federalism can be a perfect mechanism for the accommodation of ethnic diversity in the state if all ethnic regions are inhabited by one specific ethnic group: if, in other words, there is a perfect overlap between ethnic group and territory.[5] However, in practice it is impossible to achieve such an overlap. In each ethnic-based region, there will be ethnic minorities, i.e. people who do not belong to the regionally dominant group. These can be minorities that have their own region or minorities that constitute a minority everywhere. In ethnic federal structures a concern for the position of these minorities arises. There is a substantial risk that the members of the regionally dominant group will consider their region as their property and will, in the best of cases, treat minorities as their guests.[6]

Arguments in favor of multinational federations

Against the above objections, counter-arguments are raised by the proponents of federalism as a mechanism to accommodate ethnic diversity. The proponents of ethnic federalism do not deny that the creation of ethnic-based federal structures can lead to an increased ethnic consciousness and to a deepening of the gap between the various ethnic communities.[7] They point out that it is exactly the ambition to find an answer to the growing ethnic contradictions that has stimulated the introduction of federal structures. The federal structure has to canalize the existing ethnic demands and conflicts in order to guarantee the continued existence of the state. That this simultaneously leads to a stronger ethnic consciousness cannot be avoided. Not introducing federalism on the other hand would result in uncontrollable conflicts and the ultimate demise of the state.[8] It is argued that an ethnic federal structure can be successful only if there are the elements of shared rule as one components of the federal system.[9] The incorporation into the federal administration creates an institutional framework for the cooperation of ethnic groups at the federal level and leads to a larger interethnic solidarity and to affinity for the federal state.[10] To the supporters of ethnic federalism the representation of the federated entities in a second chamber of the federal parliament is a means to accommodate ethnic diversity. Mechanisms such as the guaranteed representation of the diverse ethnic groups in the government, in the administration and in the courts can also be helpful in this regard. Finally, it is submitted that the demise of ethnic federations such as the Soviet Union (USSR), Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia is not illustrative of the (lack of) viability of ethnic federalism.[11] Although these countries were formal federations, in practice there was no genuine regional autonomy. In the Soviet Union, for example, the autonomy of the union republics was severely restricted by the operation of the communist party that controlled all regional governments. Hence, political centralization reduced constitutional autonomy to a formality. In the USSR, the federal structure has never genuinely functioned so that it would be wrong to extrapolate global conclusions about the capacity of ethnic federalism from the specific experiences of that country.[12]

According to Michael Burges multinational federalism, conveyed a sense of 'separateness' within the state rather than separation from the state.[13] It presumed the protection, preservation and promotion of distinct sub-

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[1] Chekol Baweke, E., 2015. Ethnic Federalism and Nation Building in Development: The Case of Ethiopia (Doctoral dissertation, Addis Ababa University).

[2] Supra note, 4

[3] Supra note ,4

[4] Supra note, 4

[5] Supra note, 4

[6] Kymlicka, W., 2004. Nation-Building and Minority Rights: Comparing Africa and the West. Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa, 168.

[7] Habtu, A., 2003. Ethnic federalism in Ethiopia: background, present conditions and future prospects.

[8] Siegle, J. and O'Mahony, P., 2006. Assessing the merits of decentralization as a conflict mitigation strategy.

[9] Supra note, 33

[10] Supra note, 33

[11] Supra note,4

[12] Jackson, V.C., 2004. Comparative constitutional federalism and transnational judicial discourse. International Journal of Constitutional Law, 2(1), pp.91-138.

[13] Burgess, M., 2009, September. Territorial and Non-Territorial Identities: Multinational Federalism in Multinational Federation.

state nations that would be able to determine themselves *as nations* within the larger federal state. This, in turn, meant that multinational federation would be *ipso facto* predicated upon the notion of a vibrant multinational federalism and that this would be its principal purpose as a state.[1] Horowitz, in his work "Ethnic Groups in Conflict", noted that "skillful division of power" in a multinational state has a potential to minimize ethnic conflict.[2] His argument is that ethnic wars in different countries were fought for seeking devolution of political autonomy and formal independence and therefore, it is ethnic federalism that provides stability and long lasting solution to the management of ethnic disputes in ethnically divided societies.[3] Likewise, Ghai has noted that autonomy or self-rule is the "best way to reduce ethnic conflict by promoting integration and interaction" among different communities and between the center and regions. [4] Though Horowitz and Ghai consider that ethnic federalism is an attractive way to regulate ethnic conflict and brings peaceful coexistence between different communities, they have reservations on the issue whether ethnic federalism can fully mitigate conflict. In this regard, the case study Horowitz has conducted in Nigeria has proved that ethnic federalism can either aggravate or reduce conflict, depending on the circumstances, and further notes that even democratic federalism has broken down throughout different countries in Africa and Asia.[5] These observations indicate that federalism is a Constitutional arrangement that is meant to forge national unity among divided societies by avoiding the bad effect of tyrannical governments by accommodating diversity. Contrary to the foregoing views, others argue that federalism for ethnically and territorially structured societies gives the realistic path towards the accommodation of the interests of two or more distinct ethnic communities locked within the boundaries of a single state thus providing a sound strategy for promoting national unity and political legitimacy.[6] In countries, where there are political demands of integration and separatism, federalism seems a necessary solution to reconcile these conflicting interests, hence, appealing for federalism offers Constitutional institutions that not only tolerate diversity, but also promote diversity.[7]

It is to be noted that the promotion and tolerance of ethnic differences through various mechanisms, should not be done by excessively celebrating the differences. This is because undue focus on the divisions and differences creates incentives for elites toward polarization or to mobilize massive ethnic groups. In this regard, Snyder underlines that that while ethnic federalism does not always produce ethnic violence in late developing states and transitional societies, it has a potential to create strong incentives for the elites of ethnic groups to mobilize and get immense support around ethnic themes.[8]Focusing only on "the design of federalism does not have much contribution in understanding ethnic federalism and its impact on national unity and political stabilization", instead it is enormously important to explain the crucial factors and circumstances that affect the real operation and practice of ethnic federalism.[9] This is to give emphasis that the mere appealing for federalism as a solution to deal with ethnic diversity does not assure its effectiveness. It has to be rather emphasized on the capacity of federalism to respond to the challenges of ethnic diversity. Challenges of ethnic federalism encompass those factors and circumstances/ institutions codified in a Constitution and other economic and social factors that have direct and indirect impact to the workability of ethnic federalism. The codified factors that determine the workability of ethnic federalism include issues relating with the drawing of boundaries of subunits, Constitutional division of powers and jurisdictions, ways and extent of representation, Constitutional clause of secession.[10]

However, taking ethnic federalism as the only option in situations where there is a high demand of political integration and separatism seems very distant and extreme argument. It is the employment, adjustment and implementation of formal and informal institutions that determine the effectiveness of federalism in balancing the tension between integration and separatism.[11] This balance calls for designing institutions that facilitate the accommodation of various ethnic differences and at the same time promoting the mutual benefits of progress and development in a unified state: a state in which there is a strong bond among ethnic societies for common economic and political goals.

In conference "Multinational Federalism in Perspective: A Viable Model.

[1] Ibid

[2] Supra note ,41

[3] Supra note, 41

[4] Supra note, 41

[5] Supra note,5

[6] Fessha, Y.T., 2008. Institutional recognition and accommodation of ethnic diversity: federalism in South Africa and Ethiopia (Doctoral dissertation, University of the Western Cape).

[7] Ibid

[8] Abbink, J., 1997. Ethnicity and constitutionalism in contemporary Ethiopia. Journal of African Law, 41(2), pp.159-174.

[9] Supra note, 41

[10] Blumstein, J.F., 1994. Federalism and civil rights: Complementary and competing paradigms. Vand. L. Rev., 47, p.1251.

[11] Suberu, R.T. and Diamond, L., 2002. Institutional Design, Ethnic Conflict. The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy, p.400.

Research design

In order to conduct this investigation a qualitative research approach would be used to obtain adequate information concerning the issue under investigation. The qualitative approach is selected because of the subjective nature of the data i.e. it seeks wide understanding of the entire situation related with the impacts of ethnic based federalism in Ethiopia particularly the case of silte zone   in developing national identity and unity. This research employed descriptive case study research design due to the problems identified; the questions raised and types of questions used to ask the respondents.

Source of data can be interview, observation, and document analysis. In general both primary and secondary source of data will be used to gather relevant information on the issue under study.

Subject of the study

Target populations of this study are peoples in Silte zone, because, the investigation is undertaken in Silte zone. So, peoples in Silte especially civil servants, politicians and zonal scholars on federalism and related fields, the Silte ethno- nationalist (those who struggle for the identity right of silte ethnic group before and after 2000),and members of zonal legislative council and if available zonal activist are the target population of the study.

Sampling size and sampling technique

It is impossible to collect data from all populations in silte zone, it is necessary to take samples from the total population of the society. If not it is not manageable to conduct the research with total population. In addition to these it is mandatory the sample to be representative while determining the sample size. Taking these tips in consideration the researcher tries to pay particular attention while representing the whole characteristics of the target population. So the researcher would have been selected institutions such as the office of culture, tourism and government communication office, the administrative council, the legislative council, the office of education. The   institutions that have been selected as the sample of the study based on purposive sampling technique because the issues of federalism relatively related with the above mentioned institutions.

As the zone comprises 10 weradas and 5 town administration, it is impossible to collect data from all weradas because of time constraint to collect data from this large area coverage. Therefore, the researcher will select 6 out of 10 weradas and 3 town administration using random sampling method (Siltie werada, lanforo werada, Dalocha werada, Sankura werada, Holmberg Werada, Werabe town administration). Silte zonal administration purposively selected as the sample of the study. The researchers would have been selected 56 civil servants, available scholars on federalism and related fields in Silte community and available Silte ethno-nationalists   purposively and 10 members of ZLC purposively because of the qualitative nature of the study from each selected woredas and 10 members of ZLC purposively out of 47.

Method of data collection

Due to the qualitative nature of the work the researcher would have been   utilized the following data collecting tools such as interview, observation, document analysis

Interview

It is an instrument to gather deep understanding of the respondents concerning the issue understudy. For the purpose of getting adequate and in depth information the researcher will design unstructured and semi structured interview. This is because the above types of interview can give freedom to the interviewees and to dig out what they know about the impacts of ethnic federalism in national identity development. This type of interview help the researcher to modify questions while interviewing the respondents based on the interviewee condition and it enables us to get in depth information concerning the issue.

Observation

The researcher will use complete participatory observation to get deep uncovered data by behaving what the society looks like as the researcher is members of the society.

Document/literature analysis

The FDRE 1995 constitution, southern region 2001 revised constitution and the work of other researcher in this area would be analyzed.

Method of data analysis

For the purpose of this investigation, the researcher would have been used thematic analysis to analyze data collected using different instrument because of the qualitative and the subjective nature of the investigation.

Findings of the study

This study was set out to assess the impacts of ethnic based federalism in developing national identity in Silte and has assessed the attitudes of the Silte community towards adopting ethnic federalism in Ethiopia, the negative effects of ethnic -based federalism in developing national identity in Silte zone, the success of ethnic federalism in Silte zone, the challenges of ethnic federalism in developing national identities in Silte zone, describe the mechanisms to balance ethnic identity with national identity in Silte zone. More specifically the study sought to answer:

> What are the attitudes of the Silte community towards adopting ethnic federalism in Ethiopia and particularly in Silte zone?
> What are the negative effects of ethnic based federalism in developing national identity?
> What are the major successes of ethnic federalism in Silte zone?
> What are major challenges of ethnic federalism in developing national identity in Silte zone?
> To what extent ethnic federalism balance ethnic identity with national identity in Silte zone?

Based on discussions above in chapter four the researcher can arrive to the following findings:

Even though there are two extreme arguments on ethnic based federalism, the Silte communities have positive attitude to ethnic based federalism. This is because ethnic federalism ensures socio-economic, political and cultural development in the communities. The number of schools, health centers, hospitals, cleans water, roads, have increased. Accessibility of social service institutions are incomparable to the past. Today even though there are problems in its quality we can find at least 2-3 schools, 1 health post in each kebele. Since 1986 E.C Siltigna language adopted as medium of instruction since 2010 E.C Siltigna language adopted as zonal working language. This in turn leads the development of the Siltie culture, language and relatively it prevents the Siltie culture and the Siltigna language from extinction. These are result of ethnic self-determination. Because if the level of government is nearer to the people at grass root level especially in states with large territory and diversity the needs and the problems of the people can easily addressed. However, it does not mean there were not gaps in ethnic based federalism. Its pitfall should be resolved by different mechanisms which are stated in the recommendation of the study. Therefore by solving mismanagement in its implementation, ethnic entrepreneurship (ethnic manipulation), by supporting ethnic based federalism   through democratization process it is necessary to continue with ethnic based federalism.

To begin with the positive impacts of ethnic based federalism, it is clear that prior to 1991 in Ethiopia there was no equality of ethnic groups. There was dominance of one ethnic group and its language Amharic. The Amhara culture and language was forcefully imposed on all nation, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia. The nationality question was one of the basic issues which were raised by the 1960s Ethiopian student's movement. After the demise of Derg and the coming of EPDRF this nationalities questions have been answered constitutionally. It is recognized in article 2 of the transitional government charter and article 39 of the 1995 FDRE constitution. Especially, based on article 39 of the 1995 FDRE constitution unconditional rights of self-determination legally provided to all nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia. Since then there is changes in protection of the rights of all ethnic groups. Even if it is not sufficient some ethnic groups practice their constitutional rights at regional and zonal level. They establish self-government at regional or zonal level; use their local language as medium of instruction and regional or zonal working language. Like other ethnic groups Silte ethnic groups practice group rights such as the right to establish local language, the right to use and develop their language and to have political participation in regional and federal institutions. After the introduction of the 1986 Ethiopian education and training policy Siltigna adopted as medium of instruction in primary education. After a long bloody struggle the Silte ethnic group can establish ethnic local government and in 2010 E.C. This ethnic self-government can bring socio-economic, political and cultural development in Silte zone.

However ethnic federalism can negatively impact nation building process especially in developing national identity. After the introduction of ethnic based federalism in Ethiopia in general in Siltie zone in particular there is extreme promotion of ethnic identity, rather balancing ethnic identity with national identity. Ethnic based federalism erodes common values, symbols and our common identities. Common citizenship is still underdeveloped since 1991 in Ethiopia, because it is not the basis of constitutional sovereignty and rights as ethnicity is the prime basis of people's identity: for voting in elections, for party membership, and for identifying yourself when you come to a police station to report a stolen object. Ethnic federalism as an institutional set-up privileges ethnicity as one marker of identity over many others (economic, citizenship, occupation, religion, class, or gender) and, in a sense, freezes this one marker of identity, or rather encourages people to identify in ethnic terms. So ethnic based federalism unable to develop better national identity or unable to balance ethnic identity and national identity. Ethiopian citizenship is still overlaid by cultivated ethno-regional identity, put above democracy. In addition, in daily life ethnic identities are now ''internalized'' by people to a significant extent. This may enhance more mutual prejudice and stereotyping. The finding of the research shows that even if it is not extreme in comparison to others decline in national identity is also observed by Silte communities. Currently Silte society working in different part of the country want to return back its ethnic zone due to ethnic

based federalism. Ethnic based federalism has resulted in excessive sense of division, isolation, and frustration to have property to exogenous people in Ethiopia. Ethnic federalism leads mistrust between different ethnic groups. Ethnic based elites extremely politicized ethnicity as a vehicle to arrive them to power and resource. As stated in many literatures in federalism there are two fundamental components such as self-rule which promote diversity and shared rule which promote unity. To have stable federal system there should be good balance between these two elements. Unless there is a balance between ethnic identities with national identity federalism can be a source for over fragmentation and secession. When we observe the Ethiopian case in general and the Siltie case in particular there is imbalance between these two elements. In addition to these ethnic based federalism results in competition and conflicts between ethnic groups, specifically about "resources: land, water, minerals, and federal budgets and about power.

The introduction of ethnic based federalism results positive result in multi dimension. First all nation, nationalities can acquire legal recognition to practice their group rights. Since then they exercise their constitutional rights through establishing ethnic based self-rule, at regional or zonal level, they start using once indigenous language as media of instruction in 1st cycle of primary education and they adopt their language as working language in their respective region or nationality zone. In addition to this ethnic based federalism contribute a lot in socio economic development. There are developments in social service infrastructures such as schools, health facilities, clean water and road construction. After 10 years struggle the nationality questions of the silte communities have been answered in 1993 E.C. Since then by using constitutional rights the silte nationality zone was established officially. This zonal organization as part of ethnic based federalism brings many socio –economic, political and cultural development in in Silte zone. In Silte zone the number of primary and secondary school, the expansion of health center, provision of clean water, rural and urban roads are highly increasing and can easily accessible. There are 3 district hospital and with great standard one comprehensive hospital, 33 health centers and58 health posts. Today primary and secondary schools are easily accessible in Silte zone, even if there are quality problem. We can find at least 2-3 schools in one kebele. In addition to this ethnic based federalism enable the Silte communities to use siltigna as medium of instruction since 1986 E.C and since 2010 E.C siltigna become zonal working language. This brought real development in siltigna language and the culture of Silte communities. It also helps to preserve the siltigna language from language shift and indigenous language extinction. This is result of ethnic based federalism to Silte communities.

Ethiopia in general and Silte zone in particular faced many challenges after the introduction of ethnic based federalism that hinders the development of national identity. One of the major challenges of ethnic based federalism is narrow-minded sense of localization. It makes all ethnic groups to emphasize on excessively promotion of their ethnic identity rather balancing it with national identity. As localization is extremely promoted, it can adversely affect to develop sense of "we feeling" or national identity. The other challenges the affect the development of national identity in ethnic based Siltie zone is constitutional gaps in protecting the group rights of exogenous group. Even though the establishment of ethnic based local government does endow minority groups with important powers to protect matters related to their identity, it does not achieve comprehensive protection of identity matters due to absence of complete overlap between ethnic and territorial boundaries. Ethnic federalism cannot accommodate the group rights of dispersed ethnic groups. It is a perfect mechanism to accommodate diversity if there is an overlap between ethnic and territorial boundaries. There is no legal protection to promote the group rights of internal migrants in Ethiopian constitution. So all ethnic group prefer not to move other region to live, work and have property. This feeling gradually leads sense of separation, division, frustration between different ethnic groups. This becomes a great challenge in nation building and having common national identity.

There are also other challenges that affect the construction of national identity in Silte zone. The discrepancy between constitutional rights and its practice is the other major challenges of ethnic based federalism in Ethiopia. The promising principles of ethnic self-determination and the protection of minority rights that are manifested in the Constitution could not prevent unexpected backlashes that gave rise to new conflicts and decline in national identity. This is because of mismatch between what is stated in the constitution and constitutional practice. Even though the FDRE and regional constitution provide unconditional rights of self-determination, practically only five ethnic groups can establish ethnic based region and few ethnic group can establish their self-government at nationality zone level. Identity question cannot easily addressed by federal or regional government. For example the identity question of Silte was responded after 10 years better struggle. These discrepancies between the constitutional provision and its practice limit the legitimacy of the central government and the willingness of several groups to identify with a united Ethiopia. This discrepancy between the constitutional rights and its practice gradually results in decline in sense of national identity and loose of trust on national government.

The finding of the research shows that low institutional efficacy can also affect the effectiveness of ethnic based federalism in developing national identity. Ethiopia is categorized under weak state classification by different writers. So Ethiopia is facing the typical features of "a weak state". So the lack of trust in the state

leads to the abuse of power, which in turn reduces the willingness of citizens to obey its rules. As a result, the state adopts authoritarian practices which contradict the objectives manifested in the Constitution. The lack of trust in the relationship between the state and its citizens are the reason for low institutional efficacy and decline for national identity. Weak institutions, however, are a major factor which endangers the success of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia to achieve the goal of unity in diversity.

Static concept of ethnicity is also can be challenges of ethnic based federalism in developing national identity in Ethiopia and in Silte zone particularly. The reinforcement of ethnic identities and the primordial understanding of ethnicity constitute a core problem of ethnic federalism. The concept of ethnicities as fixed identities facilitates the strategic use of membership and easily generates ethnic essentialism. The finding of the research indicated that elites extremely politicized ethnicity as an instrument to seize power. The Ethiopian Constitution evokes the primordial view of ethnicity because it defines Ethiopians as peoples and nationalities without providing the option for a supra-national identity. In the last 29 years ethnic based federalism results in imbalance between ethnic identities and national identities in Silte zone.

Absence of an Overarching Identity and trust is the last challenges of ethnic based federalism in developing national identity. The EPRDF succeeded to promote ethnic and cultural expression, but it has failed to simultaneously foster a voluntary pan-Ethiopian identity. It is important to note that the promotion of an overall identity could prevent ethnic conflict because the commitment to a common citizenship could neutralize claims for secession and lead to interethnic cooperation and unity. The promotion of unity would furthermore require a considerable amount of trust between the center and the constituent units. However, the present relation between the government and its citizens is still characterized by mistrust. As long as the state ignores the complexity of identity and applies discriminatory ethnic policies, large scale trust cannot be established. Consequently, the unity of Ethiopia remains fragile.

The finding of the study indicated that there are many mechanisms to balance ethnic identity with national identity in Silte zone. In order to prevent ethnically based self-rule from leading to narrow-mindedness and fragmentation, space must also be given to the development of an overarching identity in addition to the ethnic one is the first mechanism. People should have a loyalty to the ideas of both an overall citizenship and the more narrow 'indigeneship in multinational federation. A balanced promotion of these two identities can be a solution for declined national identity in Silte zone. It is crucial therefore that the state promotes an overall identity that can include the whole variety of ethnic groups within its borders and that its practice proves to be non-discriminatory. The 2nd mechanisms to balance ethnic identity with national identity are the prevalence of general consensus between the federal government and the constituent units. General consensus and inclusiveness on the national integration by groups, general consensus on the content of federal arrangement among the participants, consensus on the division of power among the constituent units to ensure self-rule and negotiation on the mechanisms for the avoidance of violent conflicts between ethnic groups are critical issues that should be taken seriously during the establishment of federal arrangement. Federal arrangement is a compact as a result of which everybody should be in and nobody should be out in order to curtail bargaining against the formation of federalism and to ensure the continuation of the unity. Whether federalism has emerged from devolution (holding together) or aggregation (coming together), what matters is the inclusion of and consensus by ethnic groups in the formation stage. Therefore federalism should not be imposition by some dominant groups; rather it should be a choice by divided groups. Practical accommodation of ethnic diversity can be the 3rd mechanism to develop national identity because it creates trust on all ethnic groups especially on minority groups. Ethiopians or national identity can be developed by protecting individual and collective rights of citizens. Ethiopianism is a privilege can be developed by promoting common values such as common culture, history, national heritage and common language and realistic accommodation of diversity. Consistence national discourse or national plat forum on how to construct national identity in multinational federalism at zonal, regional and federal level is the 4th mechanism to balance ethnic identity with national identity.

Reforms in educational policies and curriculum are the 5th mechanism to construct national identities. By teaching certain common political principles-like principles of justice, tolerance and civility and shared values citizenship education provides the foundation for national unity as well. In this context teaching of history and common language is fundamental in constructing national identities. In multination states, then, citizenship education typically has a dual function: it promotes a national identity within each constituent national group, defined by a common language and history, but it also seeks to promote some sort of transnational identity which can bind together the various national groups within the state. If schools are to fulfill their responsibilities regarding citizenship education, we need an entirely new account of the basis of shared identity in multination states. Therefore, the schools are responsible to promote an emotional identification with our history, teach our children our common history, culture and values at their earlier stage. Students should view the nation's history as their history, and hence take pride in its accomplishments, as well as shame in its injustices. This shows, yet again, that citizenship education is not simply a matter of teaching the basic facts about governmental institutions or constitutional principles. It is also a matter of inculcating particular habits, virtues, and identities. The findings

of the study revealed that of legal requirement for collective rights of exogenous groups, power sharing through zoning of political and bureaucratic posts, special programs designed to bring young people together, and ideologies designed to raise consciousness about tolerance, unity, loyalty, discipline, and obedience is the 6th mechanism to balance ethnic identity and national identity in Ethiopia and in Siltie zone in particular.

Conclusion

The "national question", propagated in the late 1960s and early 70s by Ethiopian students' movement in the compound of Addis Ababa University has been institutionalized as the foundation of the current state formation in Ethiopia. The 1995 FDRE constitution try to address the nationality question starting from the preamble of the question. The constitution resides all sovereign powers to all nation, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia. The FDRE constitution in article 39 provides unconditional rights to self-determination. Based on these constitutional provision 9 ethnic based region have been established. This ethnic based self-administration can be exercised by establishing ethnic based local government. Silte zone is one of ethnic based local government which was established in 1993E.C after 10 years of identity request. This ethnic based local government results in positive and negative consequences in Silte zone. As the aim of the research to assess the impacts of ethnic based federalism in developing national identity, the researcher drawn the conclusion of the study from discussion in chapter.

The Silte society have positive attitude towards ethnic based federalism in Ethiopia. This is because ethnic base federalism ensures the group rights of the Silte communities through constitutional recognition and practical application. Based on FDRE constitution Article 39 the Silte communities exercise unconditional rights of self-determination which includes using Siltigna language as medium of instruction developing, preserving and promoting the Silte culture since 1986 E.C, establishing ethnic self-rule Since 1993 E.C, and adopting Siltigna as zonal working language since 2010 E.C and political representation of the Silte communities in regional and federal institutions especially in state council and nationality council at regional level and in house of federation and house of peoples representative at federal level . In addition to these the introduction of ethnic based government can assure the accessibility and distribution of social service institutions such as schools, health facilities (health posts, health center, and hospitals), roads, clean water. Werabe comprehensive hospital is also the results of ethnic based local government. So the people in Silte communities are in favor of ethnic based government due to the success stated above.

Even though federalism can ensure success in socio-economic, cultural, and political dimension it results in decline national identity in Ethiopia and particularly in Silte zone. Ethnic based federalism erodes common values, symbols and our common identities.   After the introduction of ethnic based government since 1991 in Ethiopia and Ethnic local government in Silte zone there is excessive promotion of diversity rather balancing it with unity. In federal system extreme promotion of diversity and extreme promotion of unity is a challenge. If society privileges unity and ignores diversity, it will inflame discontent and conflict which may culminate in disintegration. Second, if society, on the other hand, privileges diversity and fails to reconcile different demands, it may endanger its unity and solidarity. Therefore, it is imperative for multicultural societies to maintain a right balance between the demands of unity and diversity. For holding a plural society together, it needs a shared self-understanding among its political community which is commonly found in its national identity. In short, the issue is about inclusivity.

Ethnic based federalism has resulted in excessive sense of division, isolation, and frustration to have property to exogenous people in Ethiopia. Ethnic federalism leads mistrust between different ethnic groups. Ethnic based elites extremely politicized ethnicity as a means to seize power and resource. It restricts the movement of different ethnic groups from region to region or from their ethnic region to the other due to absence of legal recognition to protect their group rights such as the right to use their language and the right to have equal political participation. There is also regional and zonal working language precondition to be employed out of its ethnic region or zone. So the people highly developed sense of isolation, separation and considering the neighboring ethnic region or zone as neighboring state. People in a certain ethnic region or zone wrongly perceive the resources, powers in that region belongs to the people or ethnic group within it. In addition to these ethnic based federalism results in competition and conflicts between ethnic groups, specifically about "resources: land, water, minerals, and federal budgets and about power.

Ethnic self-government in Ethiopia and particularly in Silte zone experienced many challenges that affect the development of national identity. One of the major challenges of ethnic based federalism is narrow-minded sense of localization. It makes all ethnic groups to emphasize on excessively promotion of their ethnic identity rather balancing it with national identity. As localization is extremely promoted, it can adversely affect to develop sense of "we feeling" or national identity. Absence of constitutional recognition to the collective rights of exogenous groups can be the other challenge for ethnic based government in Ethiopia. Ethnic based government is a best accommodative mechanism if there are a perfect overlap between ethnic boundary and regional or zonal boundary. If not it can be sources for mistrust between the minority group and the government.

This in turn leads de-legitimization of national government and demise of national identity. In addition to these the discrepancy between what is stated in the constitution and its practice, low institutional efficacy , top down political dominance, static concepts of Ethnicity, and absence of overreaching identity and trust can be challenges that hider the construction of national identity in Silte zone.

There are many mechanisms to balance national identity with ethnic identity or strategies to construct national identity in Silte zone. First space must be given to develop and promote national identity in addition to ethnic one. A balanced promotion of these two identities can be a solution for declined national identity in Silte zone. It is crucial therefore that the state promotes an overall identity that can include the whole variety of ethnic groups within its borders and that its practice proves to be non-discriminatory. This can be achieved by conducting national identity discourse or national identity plat forum at zonal level. Reforms in schooling System and curriculum is the other major mechanisms to construct national identity. The schools are the strongest and most stable agent of socialization and national identity. Schooling is responsible for socializing children and the youth on both specific task-oriented skills and societal values, and national values. For instance, in contemporary world society schooling is charged with the task of both training the individual for practical occupations and skills and to provide the individual with basic societal values, like loyalty to country, politeness, patriotism, national values and national heritage.

Generally, the school obviously both competes and cooperates with other agencies in the process of national identity construction. But the frequency and intensity of influence excreted by the school system is by far greater than other agents. What the school contributes is a range of information, beliefs, and concepts which build up on these earlier attitudes engendered by the family, media, peers and/ or religious institutions. Moreover, students may bring information about Ethiopian identity from their past exposure to the external environment such as the family, media, religious institutions, political parties, and civil society at large. Then the knowledge, values and beliefs about Ethiopians gained at school will be added to the already established information so that a deeper and broader understanding of Ethiopian identity could be crystallized by the school system. lastly legal requirement for collective rights of exogenous groups, power sharing through zoning of political and bureaucratic posts, building democratic federalism, special programs designed to bring young people together, and ideologies designed to raise consciousness about tolerance, unity, loyalty, discipline, and obedience and designing mega projects like renaissance dam to unite the people are also mechanism to balance ethnic identity and national identity in Ethiopia and in Siltie zone in particular.

Recommendation

Based on the conclusions, the following recommendations are made to resolve the negative impacts of ethnic based federalism in developing national identity in Siltie. They are:

1) The Siltie zonal government should balance promoting ethnic identity with national identity. There should be a balance between elements of shared rule and elements of self-rule.
2) The Siltie zonal government should conduct consistent national discourse or national plat forum on how to construct national identity.
3) The Siltie zonal government should build democratic federalism. A federation cannot be genuine if it is a result of coercion from above, because coercion undermines the federal division of power and the self-rule of member states.
4) There should be institutions to promote national identity parallel with ethnic identity at federal, at regional and at zonal level.
5) MOE at federal level, regional educational bureau and zonal education bureau should conduct curriculum revision in a way to integrate common values, history and culture in education system.
6) Teachers especially (language , history and citizenship education) try to inculcate to their students necessary shared values, shared principles, common history and national heritage without distortion make the students proud of their national history, national flag, to be patriot. Proper teaching of common language, history and citizenship education is best mechanism to construct national identity. By teaching certain common political principles-like principles of justice, tolerance and civility and shared values citizenship education provides the foundation for national unity as well.
7) As common working language is an instrument for nation building and constructing national identity emphasis should be given for the teaching of Amharic (it is the federal working language).
8) The federal government should design mega projects like Renaissance dam to unify the people in Ethiopia.
9) Continuous awareness creation program on the concepts multinational federalism should be given at all level of government.
10) There should be:
    ➢ legal recognition for collective rights of exogenous groups,
    ➢ power sharing through zoning of political and bureaucratic posts,

> ➢ Special programs designed to bring young people together, and ideologies designed to raise consciousness about tolerance, unity, loyalty, discipline, and obedience.

11) As Ethiopia is adopting territorial federalism, the group rights of non-indigenous groups will not be protected. There is any law that protects the group rights of exogenous groups. This is the limitation of territorial federalism. So to protect the language rights of internal exogenous minorities the territorial approach must be supplemented by non- territorial approach in which the rights are given to the people, not to the territories. It is practiced in Brussels the capital of Belgium.

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