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Determinants of Construction Projects Delay in Dire Dawa Administration:
The Case of Government Projects

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Abstract

The main objective of this study was to examine the determinants of construction projects delay in Dire Dawa Administration. Dominantly quantitative research approach was employed to examine the contribution of each of the factors to overall delays and to rank the attributes in terms of Relative Importance Index (RII). Both descriptive and explanatory (causal research) research designs were also utilized. Primary and secondary data were used. Census method of inquiry was employed through distributing 102 self-administered questionnaires to respondents from clients/government bureaus, contractors and consultants of government owned construction projects. RII technique, one way analysis of variance, Analysis of Variance (ANOVA), ordinal logistic regression model and Chi-square statistical tests were used for data analysis. The descriptive statistics result revealed that delay in manufacturing special building materials (RII = 0.81), delays in producing design documents (RII = 0.8), low productivity level of labors (RII = 0.8), inadequate contractor’s work (RII = 0.78), shortage of equipment (RII = 0.78), changes in material types and specifications during construction (RII = 0.75), equipment breakdowns (RII = 0.75), misunderstanding of owner’s requirements by design engineer (RII = 0.75), mistakes and discrepancies in design documents (RII = 0.74) delay in material delivery (RII = 0.74) were the top five observed causes of large construction projects in Dire Dawa Administration. Moreover, the ordinal logistic regression showed that organizational planning, project manager goal commitment, project team motivation and goal orientation, project scope and work definition, the capability of project managers and experience, the availability of proper control systems statistically significantly influenced the project delay and those antecedents caused 81% of large construction projects delay in Dire Dawa Administration. As a result, reconsideration should be due on the designing and construction projects planning to find out why it is harming the likelihood of timely project completion in which stakeholders such as owners, consultants and contractors has clearly define the goal i.e. establishing the needs of the stakeholders by interviewing or having consolidated meetings, prioritizing stakeholders needs and create a set of goals that can be easily measured

Keywords: Project delay, large construction projects, Dire Dawa Administration
1. INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, project management knowledge and practices become very essential because managing projects has been emerged complex and challenging from time to time (Alemu, 2016). In particular, megaprojects are becoming very important and increasingly used as the preferred delivery model for goods and services of many businesses and development sectors across the globe. Completing project outputs with available resources in the given time is the fundamental concern for project managers. Recently project management has been regarded as an important factor to reduce the chance of a project failing, to keep to timeframes, to meet the budgeted costs and resources (Fugar, 2010).

Moreover, across the global economy, every year organizations spend billions of dollars on projects. Standish group estimates that in 2013 alone, global annual spending on construction projects used was about USD 750 billion of which the United States accounted for about 40% of it or USD 300 billion, Europe spent about 25% of it or USD 200 billion, Asia account for USD 100 billion, and the rest of the other countries in the world spent the remaining USD 150 billion.

The success and failure of a construction projects is an important issue for most of the stakeholders namely; governments, users and communities. In contemporary construction projects there are significant challenges for different stakeholders to deliver the project successfully due to increasing complexity in design and the involvement of many clients and contractors (Doloi, 2009 cited in Ramlee, 2016).

According to Wang and Huang (2019), project will be considered as successful when the project is completed on time, within budget and the standard quality. The meaning of „success” itself has undergone many changes due to involvement of so many stakeholders in nowadays complex project environment. Completing projects on time is an indicator of efficiency, but the construction process is subject to many variables and unpredictable factors, which result from many sources. These sources include the performance of parties, resources availability, environmental conditions, involvement of other parties, and contractual relations. However, it is rarely happen that a project is completed within the specified time. The construction industry is large, volatile, and requires tremendous capital outlays.

The construction industry is a very important sector for the development and economic growth of developing country (Haseeb et al., 2011). A construction project is commonly acknowledged as successful, when it is completed on time, within budget and in accordance with the specifications.
(Murat and Gunduz et al., 2013). Over many years, delay has been a popular topic in construction management research, and various delay studies have been carried out for different purposes (Abdullah, 2013). Infrastructure projects in Ethiopia are infamous for delays and cost overruns. Very few projects get delivered within time and within cost. The delays and cost overruns have become hallmark of infrastructure projects.

Project delays have a debilitating effect on all parties (owner, contractor, and consultant) to a contract in terms of a growth in adversarial relationships, distrust, litigation, arbitration, cash-flow problems, and a general feeling of apprehension towards each other (Majld and McCaffe, 2018). Several factors can contribute to delays on a project and analyzing the causes of delays is an essential task for ameliorating any potential conflicts or claims (Muhwezi and Otim, 2014).

Dire Dawa Administration (DDA) has owned large construction projects such as stadium expansion, Abattoir, Civic Center, and Dire Dawa Specialized Hospital. However, most of these construction projects in DDA didn”t still elapse. Dire Dawa Bureau of Finance and Economic Development (BoFED, 2019), revealed that the rate of time overruns were 88.33, 80, 108.6 and 150% for stadium expansion, Abattoir, Civic Center, and Dire Dawa Specialized Hospital, respectively. So, the purpose of this study was to investigate the determinants of large construction projects delays in DDA.
3. MATERIALS AND METHODS

3.1. Research Design

Both descriptive and explanatory (causal research) research designs were utilized for this study in order to satisfy the objective of the thesis. The descriptive research design enabled the researcher to describe extent of delays, perceived causes delays and challenges project scheduling among large construction projects in DDA. Moreover, explanatory research designs used to investigate determinants of construction projects delays in DDA. The study employed dominantly quantitative research approach since the contribution of each of the factors to overall delays was examined and the ranking of the attributes in terms of their criticality as perceived by the respondents were be done by use of Relative Importance Index (RII) which is computed using equation. To determine the ranking
of different factors from the viewpoint of owners, contractors and consultants, the Relative Importance Index (RII) was computed using RII Equation (Abdalla Odeh and Hussein Battaineh, 2002; Murat Gunduz et al., 2013).

The study used a survey design administered through structured questionnaire. This method is preferred because of its high-speed in data collection and its being economical. Survey method provides with standardized answers allow easy comparison and generalization; and also researcher’s control of the process and gives opportunity to increase the speed of data collection (Creswell, 2013). Moreover, the study utilized cross-sectional technique in the sense that all relevant data were collected at a single point in time due to the vast nature of the study. In addition to this, obtaining information from a cross-section of a population at a single point in time is a reasonable strategy for pursuing many researches.

3.2. Sources of Data
The study used both primary and secondary data. Primary data was collected from selected clients (owners), contractors, and consultants of large construction projects via the use of structured questionnaire. The secondary data was also collected from various sources by reviewing relevant related reports from public service organizations of DDA, GTP I and GTP II reports regarding construction projects, different Ethiopian government published and unpublished documents regarding construction projects along with reviewing published materials about the research topic.

3.3. Sampling Design: Sampling Technique and Determination Procedure
The study population refers to the total collection of elements which one would like to study or make inferences. The study population in this research was composed clients/government bureaus, contractors and consultants of large government owned construction projects in DDA. So, the target respondents of this study are clearly stipulated in Table 3.1.
Table 3.1: Target respondents of the study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Client/owner¹</th>
<th>Contractors and subcontractors²</th>
<th>Consultant</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dire Dawa Referral Hospital</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic Center</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stadium Expansion</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abattoir</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Own compilation, 2020)

Since the size of the target population was manageable and easy to administer, the researcher pursued census method of inquiry i.e. there is no need to take a sample rather all members of the target population was considered as respondents of this survey.

3.4. Data collection
The Instruments for data collection can involve different techniques as structured or semi-structured questionnaire, and secondary sources, among others (Bryman and Bell, 2011). Questionnaires were employed as the main tool of data collection for the study. Both primary and secondary data were used to address objectives of the study. In this research, the primary data was collected by utilizing a self-administered questionnaire. The questionnaire items were clearly simplified and structured in a manner void of any ambiguity. Secondary sources, in addition to the questionnaire, were obtained through consulting GTP I and GTP II reports, various bureaus/offices reports regarding construction projects performance, different published and unpublished source about the issue of interest.

For quantitative data collection, Likert rating scale was adapted to support producing the appropriate ratings. To determine the ranking of different factors/antecedents from the viewpoint of clients, contractors and consultants, the RII was computed using RII Equation (Abdalla Odeh and Hussein Battaineh, 2002; Murat Gunduz et al., 2013; Muhwezi and Otim, 2014). The Four-point scale ranged

¹ Project owners include head of the organizations and other government experts in charge of the project operation

² Contractors include project managers, site engineers, office engineers, site supervisors
from 1 (Not important) to 4 (Very important) was adopted and transformed to RII for each factor. Besides, the dependent variable, delay of construction projects, was measured through a five point scale ranged from 1 (Not delayed) to 5 (Extremely delayed)

The questionnaire was divided into two main parts. Part A includes the details of the respondents and organizations in order to get the information about the respondents’ details and organization as well. Part B includes three sub-sections, Section I includes the questionnaire of factors causing delay, Section II includes the questionnaire of effects of delay and section III includes the questionnaire of method of minimizing delay.

3.5. Data Analysis
In this study, before processing the responses, data preparation was carried out on the completed questionnaires through editing, coding, transcribing (entering), and cleaning the data. Descriptive statistical tools like frequency, percentage, mean and standard deviations were employed. RII technique was also used to determine the relative importance of the various determinants and effects of delays. The RII is computed according to the formula (Eq. 1) given in Kometa et al., (2008).

$$RII = \frac{\sum W}{(A \times N)}$$

Where, \(W\) is the weight given to each factor by the respondents and ranges from 1 to 5; \(A\) = the highest weight = 5; and \(N\) = the total number of respondents.

Moreover, to satisfy the second objective namely identifying the level of construction project delay as per the perception of owners, consultants and contractors, the researcher undertook frequency, percentage; mean standard deviations as descriptive statistical tools. One way ANOVA was also used to compare the perception of stakeholders towards the extent of project delay. To quench the third specific objectives, ordinal logistic regression model was applied to determine the relationship between the dependent and independent variables before settling on the most appropriate of these methods. Data analysis was executed using Statistical Package for Social Scientist (SPSS version 21). The study results were presented in the form of figures and tables.

3.6. Model Specification
The ordered Logit model is a regression model for an ordinal response variable. The model is based on the cumulative probabilities of the response variable: in particular, the logit of each cumulative
probability is assumed to be a linear function of the covariates with regression coefficients constant across response categories.

In this research, the relation between construction projects delays and the explanatory variables-organizational planning, project manager goal commitment, project team motivation, project scope and work definition, project managers” capability and control systems variables was assumed to be logistic over the course of the study and the model adequacy was made. Generally, the researcher expressed ordinal logistic model for k predictors with P-1 levels response variable as (Eq. 2):

\[
\left( \frac{X_{1i}}{1} \right) \quad (2)
\]

\[i = 1...k, \quad j = 1, 2, ..., p-1\]

Where, \(\alpha_j\) or \(\beta_0\) = Threshold; \(\beta_i\) = Parameter; and \(X_{1i}\) = Sets of factors or predictor

**Hypothesis 1:** Organizational planning effort has a significant association with construction projects delays in DDA

**Hypothesis 2:** Project manager goal commitment has a significant association with construction projects delays in DDA

**Hypothesis 3:** Project team motivation and goal orientation has a significant association with construction projects delays in DDA

**Hypothesis 4:** Clarity of Project scope and work definition has a significant association with construction projects delays in DDA

**Hypothesis 5:** Project managers” capability and experience has a significant association with construction projects delays in DDA

**Hypothesis 6:** The availability of proper control systems has a significant association with construction projects delays in DDA.

**4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

**4.1. Demographic Characteristics of Respondents**

The demography of the respondents is categorized based on their respective. From 102 respondents, the majority 87(85.3%) stakeholders were male and the remaining 15(14.7%) respondents were female. Moreover, as chi-square statistics (\(\chi^2 = 2.32\)) and the P-value (\(P = 0.51 > 0.05\)) revealed there
was no statistically different numbers of male and female stakeholders among different large construction projects in DDA (Table 4.2). This further showed those projects operation was dominated by male stakeholders. In addition, 65(63.7%) of respondents were contractors which include project managers, site engineers, office engineers, and site supervisors and the remaining 25 (24.5%) and 12 (11.8%) were project owners and consultants, respectively.

Table 4.1: Demographic characteristics of respondents (f = Frequency)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographic characteristics</th>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Referral Hospital</th>
<th>Civic Center</th>
<th>Stadium Expansion</th>
<th>Abattoir Project</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>( \chi^2 )</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>0.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>85.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>102</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultant</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6.59</td>
<td>0.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contractor</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>102</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BA/BSc</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>8.12</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>92.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA/MSc</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>102</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Survey, 2020)

Looking at educational profile of respondents, there is statistically significant (\( \chi^2 = 8.12 \) and \( P = 0.04 < 0.01 \)) difference among stakeholders education status in which 94(92.2%) were BA/BSc holders and 8 (7.8%) were MA/MSc holders. Furthermore, from this 7.8% MA/MSc holders 5 (4.9%) were from Referral hospital project and 3 (2.9%) were from Civic center project albeit there were no MA/MSc holders in Stadium expansion and Abattoir project. Managing large projects require adequate skill and educational background albeit large construction projects in DDA were operated by stakeholders who didn’t have adequate educational level.

Regarding age of respondents as Table 4.3 below revealed the mean age of stakeholders of these projects were 36.4 years with the standard deviation of 4.89 years and the \( F \)-statistics (0.925) and the
\(P\)-value (0.566) indicated there was no significant age difference among project owners, consultants and contractors; so large construction projects were maneuvered by young adults.

Similarly, the overall experiences of the respondents were a mean of 11.55 with the standard deviation of 5.96 and the F-statistics (1.028) and the p-value (0.44) indicated that there was no significant experience difference among stakeholders. The experience distribution was also reveal that large construction projects in DDA were operated by those who did have little experience.

Table 4.2: Age and Work experience of respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Stakeholder</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>(\sigma)</th>
<th>F-statistics</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>37.36</td>
<td>4.89</td>
<td>0.925</td>
<td>0.566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Consultant</td>
<td>37.41</td>
<td>6.03</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Contractor</td>
<td>35.87</td>
<td>6.36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>5.99</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>11.40</td>
<td>3.04</td>
<td>1.028</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Consultant</td>
<td>9.50</td>
<td>3.89</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Contractor</td>
<td>12.00</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>11.55</td>
<td>5.96</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Own survey, 2020)

**4.1.2 Descriptive and Inferential**

This study has three specific objectives; specifically, to identify the extent of construction projects delay in DDA, to assess the perceived causes of construction projects delays in DDA, and to investigate the effect of organizational planning, project manager goal commitment, project team motivation, project scope and work definition, project managers’ capability and control systems affects project delays in DDA. Therefore, the following findings were obtained from this research:

The majority (54.9\%) of respondents’ perceived construction projects delay was very high and the remaining 29.4 and 15.7\% rated the project delay as high and average respectively. However, there was a significant perception difference among stakeholders towards project delay in which the F-statistics and P-value (\(P = 0.03 < 0.01\)) revealed that at 1\% level of significance the mean perception of owners and consultants towards the project delay was significantly different from contractors’ perception.
From 28(27.5%) respondents, nearly all 27(26.5%) rated the delay of Referral Hospital was very high; from 28(27.5%) respondents, 11(10.8%), 10(9.8%) and 7(6.9%) rated the delay of Civic center project as high, very high, and average respectively; From 46(45%) of respondents, 19(18.6%), 14(13.7%) and13(12.7%) rated the delay of Stadium expansion and Abattoir projects as very high, average and high respectively. at 1% level of significance there were perception differences ($\chi^2 = 29.44, P = 0.00 < 0.01$) among stakeholders towards the delay of construction projects in DDA.

The mean RII revealed that change orders by owner during construction (RII = 0.73), delay in progress payments by owner (RII = 0.72), and late in revising and approving design documents by owner and Suspension of work by owner (RII = 0.69) were the top three ranked owner related causes of project delays. The overall RII of owner related factors were rated as 0.67 where respondents perceived 67% of construction projects delay was due to owner related factors.

Respondents rated Inadequate contractor’s work (RII = 0.78), Ineffective planning and scheduling of project by contractor (RII = 0.73), Poor site management and supervision by contractor (RII = 0.72) were the top three ranked contractor related causes of construction delay. The overall RII of contractor related factors were rated as 0.69 where respondents perceived 69% of construction projects delay was due to contractor related factors.

Delay in performing inspection and testing by consultant (RII = 0.66), delay in approving major changes in the scope of work and inflexibility of consultant (RII = 0.63) and inadequate experience of consultant (RII = 0.62) were mentioned as the top three consultant related factors that causes large construction project delay in DDA. The overall RII of consultant related factors were rated as 0.62 where respondents perceived 62% of construction projects delay was due to consultant related factors.

Delay in manufacturing of special building materials (RII = 0.81), changes in material types and specifications during construction (RII = 0.78), equipment shortage and breakdown (RII = 0.75) were the top three material and equipment related factors causing construction projects delay in DD. The overall RII of owner related factors were rated as 0.72 where respondents perceived 72% of construction projects delay was due to material and equipment related factors.

Effect of social and cultural factors (RII = 0.72), delay in providing services from utilities such as water, electricity (RII = 0.68) and delay in performing final inspection and certification by a third
party (RII = 0.67) were the top three external related factors causing construction projects delay in DDA. The overall RII of external related factors were rated as 0.56 where respondents perceived 56% of construction projects delay was due to material and equipment related factors.

Delays in producing design documents (RII = 0.8), misunderstanding of owner’’s requirements by design engineer (RII = 0.75), and insufficient data collection and survey before design (RII = 0.74) were considered as the top design related causes of project delay. The overall RII of design related factors were rated as 0.74 where respondents perceived 74% of construction projects delay was due to design related factors.

Delay in manufacturing special building materials (RII = 0.81), delays in producing design documents (RII = 0.8), low productivity level of labors (RII = 0.8), inadequate contractor’’s work (RII = 0.78), shortage of equipment (RII = 0.78), changes in material types and specifications during construction (RII = 0.75), equipment breakdowns (RII = 0.75), misunderstanding of owner’’s requirements by design engineer (RII = 0.75), mistakes and discrepancies in design documents RII = 0.74) and delay in material delivery (RII = 0.74) were the top five perceived causes of large construction projects in DDA.

A unit increase in clarity of the project’’s scope and work definition, there will be 1.941 decreases in the log odds of being higher level of project delays assuming other predictors remains constant; for one-unit increase in project team’’s motivation and goal orientation and work definition, there will be 0.741 decreases in the log odds of being higher level of project delays assuming other predictors remains constant; for one-unit increase in project manager’’s capabilities and experience, there will be 1.086 decreases in the log odds of being higher level of project delays Assuming other predictors remains constant; for one-unit increase in control systems, there will be -0.413 decreases in the log odds of being higher level of project delays assuming other predictors remains constant; for one-unit increase in project planning, there will be 0.901 decrease in the log odds of being higher level of project delays; and for one-unit increase in Project manager goal commitment, there will be 0.786 decreases in the log odds of being higher level of project delay.

Table 4.3: Parameter estimates (CI: Confidence interval; LB: Lower bound; and UB: Upper bound)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thr</th>
<th>Estimate</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>Wald</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>95% CI</th>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Level of Project Delay = 3.00</td>
<td>15.045</td>
<td>1.232</td>
<td>149.034</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.000</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

11
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Level of project delay</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Level of project delay</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17.615</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.379</td>
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<td></td>
<td>163.178</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.000</td>
<td></td>
<td>14.913</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20.318</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Project planning</td>
<td>- .901</td>
<td>Project manager goal commitment</td>
<td>- .786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.587</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.592</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>.03**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-2.051</td>
<td></td>
<td>.435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project team’s motivation and goal orientation</td>
<td>- .741</td>
<td>Clarity of the project’s scope and work definition</td>
<td>-1.941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.739</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.007</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>.000*</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-2.190</td>
<td></td>
<td>.707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project manager’s capabilities and experience</td>
<td>-1.086</td>
<td>Use of control systems</td>
<td>-.413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.332</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.713</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Own survey, 2020)

Table 4.5: Hypothesis testing results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hypothesis</th>
<th>Descriptions</th>
<th>estimates</th>
<th>Wald</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Organizational planning effort has a significant association with construction projects delays in DDA.</td>
<td>-0.901</td>
<td>2.359</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>Supported</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Project manager goal commitment has a significant association with construction projects delays in DDA.</td>
<td>-0.786</td>
<td>1.592</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td>Supported</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Project team motivation and goal orientation has a significant association with construction projects delays in DDA.</td>
<td>-0.741</td>
<td>1.007</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>Supported</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Project scope and work definition has a significant association with construction projects delays in DDA.</td>
<td>-1.941</td>
<td>11.012</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>Supported</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Project managers’ capability and experience has a significant association with construction projects delays in DDA.</td>
<td>-1.086</td>
<td>3.587</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>Supported</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The availability of proper control systems has a significant association with construction projects delays in DDA.</td>
<td>-0.413</td>
<td>0.928</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td>Supported</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Own survey, 2020)

5. CONCLUSIONS

About 59% project delay was due to poor project planning assuming other predictors remains constant; 54% project delay was due to insufficient Project manager goal commitment assuming other predictors remains constant; 85.6% project delay was due to unclear project’s scope and poor work breakdown structure assuming other predictors remains constant; 52.3% project delay was due
to lack of project team’s motivation and goal orientation assuming other predictors remains constant; 66.2% project delay was due to lack of Project manager’s capabilities and experience assuming other predictors remains constant; and 33.8% project delay was due to lack of control systems assuming other predictors remains constant.

The extent of large construction projects delay in DDA reached at its climax stage due to delay in manufacturing special building materials, delays in producing design documents, low productivity level of labors, inadequate contractor’s work, shortage of equipment, changes in material types and specifications during construction, equipment breakdowns, misunderstanding of owner’s requirements by design engineer, mistakes and discrepancies in design documents and delay in material delivery.

Based on the findings and conclusions of the study, the following recommendations are given as follows:

- Reconsideration is due on the designing and construction projects planning to find out why it is harming the likelihood of timely project completion in which stakeholders such as owners, consultants and contractors has clearly define the goal i.e. establishing the needs of the stakeholders by interviewing or having consolidated meetings, prioritizing stakeholders needs and create a set of goals that can be easily measured (they may use the SMART technique for this); Project deliverables should be thoroughly identified that is Create a list of things that need to be delivered to meet the defined goals specify when and how each item must be delivered and add deliverables to the project plan with an estimated delivery date along with creating a list of tasks that need to be carried out for each deliverable identified previously

- Project managers should evaluate their commitment and shall try to find out which part of their activity that they believe to make them committed but causing failure and work on personal development for improvement. Project managers should understand the budget, Schedule, Performance and the overall customer satisfaction. They should also build a cohesive team by being a motivator, coach, and peacemaker and conflict handler. Facilitating trainings for the project managers and uninterrupted updating project managers on improvements in the construction sector should get due attention

- Stakeholders should develop detail work breakdown structure and control system to evaluate the progress of the project.
• Proper grant levels should always be dogged at the planning stage of the project so that customary payment should be paid to contractors for work done. Therefore, clients should work closely with the financing bodies and institutions to release the payment on schedule
• While procuring the contractors, project owners have to make sure that the contractors are not selected based only on the lowest bid. The selected contractor must have adequate familiarity, technical competence, financial potential, and ample manpower to accomplish the project
• Appropriate Communication and Co-ordination among stakeholders should be established
• Site should be delivered as soon as possible after project is awarded
• All working drawings must be clearly drawn indicating all the dimensions and scale so as to avoid ambiguity during construction.
• Accurate site investigation should be done in order to avoid errors in design Development of good system for site management and proper supervision should be developed to facilitate project planning and scheduling. Contractors should make sure they have a sound financial backing.
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A Philosophical Inquiry into the Role of Universities in Building Democratic Society in Ethiopia

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Abstract

The Role of Universities in Building Democratic Society touches on the one hand issues of practical educational policy and on the other; fundamental issues at the heart of political philosophy. Nevertheless; how the educational policy, philosophy of education and philosophy of democracy can be related and fit together in the context of multinational Ethiopian societies were not logically considered. The aim of this study was to examine the role of University in building multinational democratic society in Ethiopia. In order to realize this aim the study had employed analytic method of philosophy and textual analysis. The findings of study identified some paradox like contradiction in the modes of representation and citizens’ status, identity struggle instead of class struggle and the contradictory politics of resentment that can affect the role of university from its very foundation. Also the findings were low exemplary role of the university as democratic institution; the role of curriculum and pedagogy in democratization were inadequate; education for democracy over emphasized liberal democracy that unfit with Ethiopian context; and the neglect of democracy by Universities” community service and technology transfer bureaus. Following these findings the study recommended an integrated universities” educational arrangement that fit with consociational democracy which is supportive and prerequisite to transform identity politics to cooperative politics.

Keywords: Philosophy, Education, Democracy, University, Multinational society
1. Introduction

Higher educational institutions are institutions to which society has entrusted the main responsibility for knowledge management. They are source of wisdom, technology and community services in transforming the fate the nations. Modern higher education in Ethiopia has a short history of a little over half century. It was introduced in 1950 with the establishment of the University College of Addis Ababa which later upgraded and renamed as Haile Silassie I University in 1960 (Bishaw and Melesse, 2017: 33). The imperial regime used moral and religious education to sustain the monarchical and feudal system of government. The educational policy from 1940-74 is about bringing modernization without democratization (Negash, 2006:13). However, student had begun movement and protest against the emperor with the remarkable motto „land to the tiller”(Adamu and Balsvik, 2018:265). At this time, there was very little access to higher education but those who got the opportunity had actively participated in various national affairs (ibid). After the downfall of imperial regime in 1974, military dictatorship (Dergue) took state power and soon the university was renamed Addis Ababa University (Wondimu, 2003). The Dergue was moved out of students” aspiration for better political progress and repressed the sporadic students” protests and movement for better political progress. It had employed university to teach students about socialist ideology and ordered students for national campaign (Bishaw and Melesse, 2017: 33).

In 1991, Dergue regime had overthrown by Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Fronts (EPRDF). In comparison with the imperial and military regime, EPRDF at least came with the discourse of revolutionary democracy, elections and democratic constitutions. Despite the EPRDF authoritarian nature, there had been many activities that undertaken to enhance democratization by various local and international actors. Universities had begun to teach ethics, democracy and human rights mainly under the course called civic and ethical education. Also sometimes there were students” movement and protest even though the division of students was along ethnic line. These give the impression that Higher education/University is the prophet/Messiah of democracy, as well as its priest and its philosopher (Harkavy, 2006: 2). In Ethiopia its prophecy mainly understood through the universities” priority areas namely education, research and community service, and technology transfer.

Some studies show that civic education is playing a crucial role for cultivating informed, reasonable and active citizens and the subsequent building of constitutional democracy in Ethiopia [though it has been one factor] (Yimer, 2017; and Semela et al, 2013). Teaching civic education alone is not a
complete representation of the role of universities in building democratic society. The content of civic education by itself, instructional and institutional setting, the role of research and community services for democratization and the role technological transfer for Electronic-democracy are the major variables that left aside. So this study provide holistic picture of the role of Universities in Ethiopian democratization. Nevertheless, the commitment to understand how the philosophy of education and philosophy of democracy can be related and fit together in the context of multinational Ethiopian societies were not pragmatically recognized. Moreover, there has been no philosophical analysis of the role of universities in building democratic societies in Ethiopia. This study provides logical evidence that highlights the paradoxes in universities” commitment in building democratic society in Ethiopian context and reflects on the how building democratic society reveals on the main priority area of universities. More specifically, this study finds answers to the following research questions.

a. What are the paradoxes of building democratic multinational society in Ethiopia?
b. How higher education institutions have been serving in Building Democratic Society in Ethiopia?

Addressing the above stated questions have several relevancies in building democratic society in Ethiopia. It will provide clear understanding of what to do by democratization actors in higher education. As policy implications, it provides the expected roles of each main sector of universities. Finally it serves as spring board and reference for other future research.

2. Method and Material

The mission of philosophy is to ask, and to answer in a rational and disciplined way, all those great questions about life in this world that people wonder about in their reflective moments. Philosophy is quintessential work of reason. The aim of the philosophical enterprise is to provide rational coherence to our thoughts and rational direction into our actions. In order to address the above stated questions, the study had employed analytic method of philosophy and textual analysis. Different materials like education policy, texts, curriculum, and journal articles were analyzed. As an empirical philosopher, the researcher relied on findings from other political science, educational psychology, and pedagogical practices, polity review etc. Among the philosophers Plato, Aristotle, John Dewey, Paulo Ferrie, John Stuart Mill, Asmarom Legesse, etc. were used.

3. Findings and Discussions

3.1. The Paradoxes of Building Democratic Multinational Society in Ethiopia

The word democracy has no universally agreed definition. Democracy is ubiquitous term which is...
difficult to define with precision because each and every society has its own understanding of democracy based on its contextual setting. Etymologically, the word democracy comes from two Greek words “demos” (which means people) and “kratos” (which means rule) (Crick 2002:1 and Ober Josiah 2008:1). Therefore, loosely translated democracy simply means rule by the people or government by the people. However, some philosopher likes Plato, detested democracy. To him it was the rule of doxa over philosophia, of opinion over knowledge (Crick 2002:1). That mean rule by unwise mob. On other hand, Aristotle assumed democracy as a rule of majority that mainly strives to secure private interest but not common good of the people (Cunningham Frank. 2002:7).

The question of whether and how, democracy can survive in divided societies has long been a source of controversy in political science. Some of the greatest political thinkers have argued that stable democracy is possible only in relatively homogeneous societies. According to Skalnik Leff (1999: 206), there is a “problematic interaction between democratization and the politics of national identity.” John Stuart Mill, for example, believed that democracy was incompatible with the structure of a multi-ethnic society, as ‘free institutions are next to impossible in a country made up of different nationalities’ (1958 [1861], 230). A classic example is the rational-actor arguments against the likelihood of stable democracy in divided societies due to political leader appeals to emotion and extremist rhetoric and policies greater than those of moderation (Rabushka and Shepsle 1972). When identity politics misappropriated, politics quickly come to be characterized by centrifugal forces than moderate political center or force cooperation (Sisk 1995, 23). Thus competitive election cannot function smoothly where extreme difference prevail.

In Ethiopia, there are various ethnic groups that founded their life on egalitarian collectivism as opposite to the western individualism. The western individualism developed on the Descartes’ view of „I think, therefore I am” while Most of African founded on the view „I am” because „we are” (Paulson, 2020). In contrast to, the individualism, to be human is to belong to the community, and to do so involves participating in the beliefs, ceremonies, rituals and festivals of that community. The community fulfilled an integrative function. For instance in the „Gada system“, after initiation of their son, fathers begin to behave toward them not as individuals but as members of larger social categories or a given Gadaa class. The relationship becomes de-individualized. The development of social distance between parents and children is an important function of the Gada cycle. It weakens individualized bond and allows the development of a sense of social responsibilities (Legesse,
1973:113). From the functional stand point they believe in collective duties of the Gada assembly than differentiation of job for each individual. The dichotomy of individualism and Collectivism has further implication for representative democracy which is the most common ways of exercising democracy. The principle of popular sovereignty dictated that the ultimate authority is vested in the hand of the people but who is the people, individual or group? Some demand individual representations while other demand collective or ethnic based representation. Various ethnic groups may aspires different competing and contradicting interest then it is logically impossible to represent two opposing interest at the same time. A given claim cannot be true and false at the same time.

The other problem is that, liberal democracy mainly requires civic identity or State identity because it is believed that it provide equal status for each citizen. All of the citizens of that country shared the same sense of identity. Accordingly citizenship is the relationship of individual person and the State. However, there is a debate that Ethiopia has no yet national/State identity. The existing State identity is a fake identity that connotes fake Ethiopian Nationalism advanced by the ruling class and unwillingly accepted and even propagated by innocent fellow travellers (Mekonnen, 1969, 4). Walelign said that, multinational identity is a true image of Ethiopia (ibid). Thus, heterogenous societies resort to derive their citizenship from their membership in an ethnic group or larger group of shared memory and experience. They claim for double citizenship (e.g. I am Oromo first and then I am also Ethiopian). Pro Civic Nationality say „Merely, I am Ethiopian” by precluding their ethnic origin. Mostly, those who says „Merely, I am Ethiopian” have no psychological makeup which is different from Amhara-Tigree culture (Jalata 2014:126). They inherited Amhara-Tigree identity due to past Amhara cultural domination in Ethiopia (ibid). On other hand, if there is a sense of double citizenship then the principle of equality by itself has two levels. It may create the second citizens status for those who live out of their region. This comes against democracy which requires equality without labeling.

The other critical issue is that, the western democracy depends on class politics between economically middle class and bourgeois class irrespective of their identities. However in African mainly in Ethiopia there is no class politics, hence it is easy for politician to appeal for their ethnic groups and become ethnic entrepreneur. Any elected representative begins to represent the interest of his/her ethnic group not economic class. This in turn causes an exclusion of other people. The contradictory Politics of resentment is also the main area of paradox because it might not be compromised by election or referendum. As important as material self-interest is, human beings are
motivated by other things as well, motives that better explain the disparate events of the present. For instance, the Oromo wanted to regain their central land (Addis Ababa), they wanted to regain their self-esteem and identity, and they wanted to regain their future based on the logic of native Oromo displacement from the area while the other sides neglect the ownership claim Oromo and claims for independent city administration (Geleta, 2014. 37-38). If Addis Ababa belongs to Oromo but the Oromo as residents are minority then it is challenging to sustain democratic self-rule of Addis Ababa city government and the vice versa.

Therefore, all the aforementioned paradoxes indicated that competitive election alone is not sufficient to transform Ethiopia to democracy rather consociational agreement is supportive and prerequisite to transform identity politics to cooperative politics. In the Ethiopian multinational setting, the defensible model is consociational democracy. Consociational democracy means government by elite cartel designed to turn a democracy with a fragmented political culture into a stable democracy (Lijphart 1977: 25-47). It includes various arrangements, containing models of grand coalition governments, in which all ethnic groups participate and are represented, segmental autonomy, an electoral system of proportionality, and minority or mutual veto right (ibid). One may object consociational democracy as a self-contradicting for Identity issues that are harder to reconcile by election because it is either recognizing or do not. Such kind of problem can be solved by making its secular or free from the sphere of political negotiation and finding solution through technical experts. Lijphart turns this challenge around by agreeing that „a moderate attitude and a willingness to compromise‘ are required for consociational arrangements and substantial participation give room for compromise‘ (1977: 30).

Despite the aforementioned paradoxes different stake holders have been struggling to bring democracy and striving to contribute the democratization of Ethiopia. Among various stakeholders, universities have some roles to play in creating a democratic culture because of the time they spend with the younger generations in their learning environments.

3.2. The Role of Universities in Building Democratic Society in Ethiopia

Education contributes to social change and relevant for a vibrant, well-functioning democracy. Higher education/University is a space of wisdom production and socio-political contestation. Universities play powerful roles in managing, producing and dominating knowledge for human development and progress. The knowledge democracy is important as the narratives of a knowledge
economy. Even though academicians are not politically neutral, it is believed that universities with impartial judgment condemns the spirit of corruption and make known the truth of living democracy. University is a place to debate about the past experience of democracy, the present trends and its possibilities in future. In Ethiopia, Universities envisioned teaching, research, community service and technology transfer and these entire main areas have to contribute some in building democratic system directly or indirectly. Before discussing how building democratic society revealed in the universities” priority areas, the democratic nature of institutional setting of universities should be settled because, democracy has to start at home institution.

3.2.1. Universities’ Institutional Setting: Institutional Autonomy and Academic Freedom
The first foremost issue is the autonomy of university from the ruling government political ambition. The balance of university autonomy and government has to be experienced and learned within a protected space where universities can explore and develop different sides of themselves to produce knowledge economy and a knowledge society. Institutional autonomy and academic freedom helps to be filled with the democratic spirit of serviceableness. The government sees university as part and parcel of its bureaucracy and makes fully accountable to the national goals and ideology and view it as a university of society. On the other hand, the academic community viewed university as an independent that accountable for knowledge production and social services without taking side of the government political position. Institutional independence does not mean that the entire academics are political neural, they are not. For instance, most of Addis Ababa university instructors were against the [ethnic] federalism adopted by EPRDF (Asgedom, 2005:79).

During the imperial regime institutional autonomy and academic freedom were not expected because Emperor himself was the chancellor of the university. So, the institutional setting is explicitly in favor of preserving monarchical system not democratic system. Concerning student movement, repression and harsh punishment, rather than dialogue, became the usual government response to student expression (Balsvik 1985, 2012). The successor of the imperial regime, Dergue found university as possible sources of dissent against its power and accused the university system for politically misleading the youth. Security surveillance, repression of dissent, mandated courses of Marxism–Leninism, prohibition of students” organization, appointment of senior university officers and control of academic promotion were prevailed (Bishaw and Melesse 2017: 33). The expansion of the government intervention in university affairs had created a tight room for institutional autonomy and academic freedom. In 1991, civil liberties were guaranteed by Transitional government and later
democratic rights enshrined in the 1995 FDRE constitution. Moreover, the great lip is that not only universities but high schools had been teaching democracy, human rights and good citizens in civic and ethical education classes. Despite these enormous changes, the EPRDF too intervenes in and closely controls its higher education system based on logic of ensuring the contribution of higher education development and strategy in other national development goals. On other hand, to control any possible students’ political movements the EPRDF political wings have their own informal offices in universities’ compound. Such a centralized system is commonly referred to, the state control model. This trend has been criticized for its shortcomings such as leaving minimum level of autonomy for the higher education institution and against innovation.

The tangled nature of state university relationship was more or less true across all regimes albeit with some differences in intensity and type of threat to academic free and institutional setting. Concerning university students’ political participation, the gradual division of students across ethnic line begun to deteriorate an opportunity to create unity and solidarity through frequent intergroup contact in residential campus. Instead they had been undertaking protest for the cause of their respective ethnic group. On other hand, institutional setting cannot be separated from the nature of teachers. Democratic-minded academics can powerfully help Ethiopian higher education in particular, and Ethiopian schooling in general. Undemocratic teachers cannot lead students toward democracy because it comes against the undemocratic will of the teachers, resists dialogue; treats students as objects of assistance; inhibits creativity and deny people their ontological and historical vocation of becoming more fully human (Freire, 1973/2005. P.84).

### 3.2.2 The Role of Universities’ Teaching and Learning Process in Democratization

Teaching and learning process mainly include pedagogy and curriculum. An inclusion of democratic ideals and democratic pedagogy in the curricula is relevant for a sustainable democratic culture. In Ethiopia students come from different background like ethnic groups hence learning to live and study within a diverse society require learning to face different truths and to apply democratic criteria in handling them. Even though there had been moral education and political education in various manners before EPRDF, introducing the youth to the values of democracy and human rights had never existed in the country's modern history. Civic and Ethical Education delivered by university has been developing and promoting civic skills, knowledge and disposition to affirm both changes in behavior and the attitude of learners (Endalcachew Bayeh 2016). Similarly, studies confirm that the subject is creating awareness in citizens of their rights and duties, as well as of the overall political
Gadaa is an indigenous socio-political system “that regulated political stability, economic development, social activities, cultural obligations, moral responsibility, and the philosophy of religious order of the society” (Asaffa Jalata, 2012). The political philosophy of Gadaa has “principles of checks and balances, terms of eight years, balanced opposition between parties, Peaceful transfer of power and power sharing” to prevent power from falling into the hands of dictators. Other principles of the system have included balanced representation of all clans, lineages, regions and confederacies (Legesse 1973). Tabor Wami (2007) stated that many writers confessed „ „Gadaa is the super system among the republican system””. In Democracy power is transferred through election. However, most of post-elections in Africa hold bloody violence. For this problem „Gadaa System” has implications to contribute in building democratic society in Ethiopia. In Gadaa system every eight years power is transferred in peaceful manner, with great care and celebration to the legitimate party (Legesse 1973). The other interesting is that leaders are elected based on merits and decisions are made based on wisdom and truth where all parties agreed upon rather by counting hand. The earliest version of this argument was put by Plato who advanced the idea of rule by the virtuous, government being carried out by a class of philosopherkings, the Guardians (Heywood Andrew 2004:231). There are three benefits from Gadaa System (1) there is no tendency of „ the tyranny of the majority; (2) minority rights cannot be crushed and (3) knowledge govern every things. Thus either reconsidering the content of civic and moral education curriculum is mandatory or providing Gadaa system in all universities.

In addition to democratic curriculum, democratic society needs pedagogy and learning culture which is built on democratic processes and experience. This requires having a philosophy of education that seeks democracy. Liberal education/Pragmatism philosophy of education believes in Democracy. It is a view that it is only through democracy that the individual develops his personality to a fullest extent because democracy gives emphasis on both individual and social development resulting in total national development. John Dewey said that education is the means of the-social continuity of life
Dewey pointed out that the primary inescapable facts of the birth and death of each one of the constituent members in a social group make education a necessity, for despite this biological inevitability the life of the group goes on (ibid). When students allowed freedom to explore their own world or inquiry by their own ways then it create the necessary preconditions for democratic development. Democratic teaching-learning processes require mainly student centered approach than the teacher centered approach.

The other major philosophy of education that appeal to democratic pedagogy is branded by Paolo Freire’s (nearly existentialist). In his well-known work, “Pedagogy of the oppressed” strongly opposed to a view of education which aims at depositing knowledge in students’ passive minds (banking education) (Freire, 2005:71). Instead he argued for a problem-posing education or system of education that conceives of learning as an act of liberation through empowerment. He underlines the political aspects of education and education professionals, and call for the democratization of society and consequently of education, accessible to everyone, and seeking to promote the development of free, critically thinking individuals capable of communication, collaboration, respect and tolerance. This is the essence of education for democratic citizenship. This implies that the pedagogy of higher education should have to emphasis democratic mission which allows free choices to students, not to impose our dreams on them, but to challenge them to have their own dreams, to define their choices, not just to uncritically assume them. So, student centered method of teaching helps educating students to be democratic, creative, caring, constructive citizens of a democratic society. If this is true then one can safely derive the role of pedagogy in democratization in Ethiopia is depend on the more development of student centered approach in the class and less use of teacher centered. Some studies indicated that teachers who used lecturing most often and always is relatively higher than the proportion of who used other methods of instruction (Tefera Tadesse et al, 2020: 209).

Liberal education/Pragmatism and Freire’s (nearly existentialist) philosophy of education geared toward ensuring individual autonomy because child is the center of an activity (Freire, 2005:71). However, it is fruitful also to take a societal perspective, where group preceded over individuals or support each other. It emerges that in multinational societies like, Ethiopia there are some groups that do not whole heartedly support individual precedence over society because development of autonomous individuals for such move can weaken group cohesion. This is to mean, for instance, no individual is beyond Oromo and education that might come against „Oromoness” (Orumumma) is no more desirable (Jalata, 2014:120). To be democrat is not the highest virtue but to be good man.
Hence, democratic pedagogy alone is not sufficient and should be aided by multicultural pedagogy where different methods of teachings might be employed. Our democracy should be founded on both individual and group because as social animals, individuals have no personal standard of good or bad apart from the society.

3.2.3. The Role of Universities’ Research and Community Services in Democratization

The local community is a real world site in which community members and academics can pragmatically determine whether the work is making a real difference, whether both the neighborhood and the institution are better as a result of common efforts. In Ethiopia Universities have been working with communities to improve the socio-economic condition. Indeed, the rise of interest in the role of higher education in our societies founded in its potential to creates „knowledge economy’ or the „knowledge society’ (Hall Budd et al, 2013:14). Knowledge and its creation and flow is linked to economic development, but is also invigorating knowledge democracy helps to building democratic society. The most recent world conference on Higher Education held at UNESCO headquarters in Paris called for priority to be given to the idea of social responsibility in higher education (UNESCO, 2009). It is in the university that the best opportunity is afforded to investigate the democracy movements of the past, present and future to present the facts and principles involved before the public. Communities and Universities have to work together in new forms of respectful co-creation of useful knowledge have an enormous potential to contribute to a growing knowledge democracy (Hall Budd et al, 2013:19).

John Dewey’s most significant propositions; „Democracy must begin at home, and its home is the neighborly community’ (1954 [1927]: 213). Democracy, Dewey emphasized, has to be built on face-to-face interactions in which human beings work together cooperatively to solve the ongoing problems of life. In effect, Jacoby and colleagues have updated Dewey and advocated this proposition: Democracy must begin at home, and its home is the engaged neighborly college or university and its local community partner (Harkavy, 2006:19).

If knowledge is power then logically it is relevant to empower community with knowledge democracy. This in turn helps to the community to exercise self-rule at a grass root level. Active, engaged citizens need to have a basis of democratic ideals, the knowledge of negotiation and debate and the experience of taking part in decision-making processes affecting their own situation. However, Higher education institution in Ethiopia failed to engage in community service concerning democracy mainly due to the Authoritarian EPRDF influence. As a result nothing activities
undertaken by higher education, concerning awareness creation on democratic ideals to local community, voter education, consultancy on election and democratization, facilitating community public panel on democratization and preparing workshop on election. The ministry’s directive identifies core areas of community service as training, consultancy and outreach or development service or projects, and other professional services. Of course democracy promotion engagement is not listed under the core areas of community services. The goals of higher education in Ethiopia are closely linked to national development and poverty reduction. Higher education institutions are accordingly expected to align their major activities with national needs and societal demands. The Ethiopian Higher Education Proclamation (2009) identifies the “design and provision of community and consultancy services that shall provide to the developmental needs of the country” as one of the objectives and a major responsibility of higher education institutions.

3.2.4 The Role of Universities’ Technology Transfer for Democratization

Human capital is a fundamental determinant of National innovation system and the ability to benefit from technology and technological learning. The Government seeks to strengthen university–industry linkages. The objective is to facilitate technology diffusion from learning institutions, particularly universities. Technology centers were established in selected universities and linkage officers were appointed to encourage University industry linkages and facilitate the diffusion of knowledge and technology. Technology and business incubation centers were also established in some universities, although to date their impact has been limited. Different guidelines on linkages were prepared jointly by relevant ministries, and annual conferences on university–industry linkage have been conducted since 2014. This indicated that the higher education restraint themselves to use technology for economy and poverty reduction alone. This is not sufficient to build knowledge society. The use of technology is not only limited economic growth alone but it also used for democracy promotion.

The potentials of ICTs to serve relevant democratic purpose are undeniable. ICTs stand for Information and Communication Technology. ICTs are defined-as a diverse set of technological tools and resources used to communicate and to create disseminate, store and manage information (UNDP, 2000). The role of technology in developing democracy for the information age is crucial. Genuine democracy requires reliable information that needs to be delivered to the community. To ensure this, citizens with all their collective actions and willingness to influence public affairs must be placed in the overall framework of e-transformation in politics (Woolpert 1998). Thus, higher education
enhances information technology and transfer some technology that can serve for e-democracy (Electronic democracy). For instance, in Ethiopia some universities have their own community Radio. Using community radio, Universities make awareness on democratic ideals and transmit positive research result on democratization. However, higher education in Ethiopia has yet not developed a framework for technology transfer for democratization

Conclusion

Education involves the cultivation of intellectual powers and functioning of change. It follows that education can make a contribution to the cultivation of democratic competencies and values to enable civic participation. As an integral part of state institutions universities have their own fair share in democratizing the country since they are entrusted with the role of producing intellectual power, community service and technology transfer. This leads us to the kinds of educational arrangements, community services and technology transfer required to fit the demanded democracy and to facilitate democratic transformation. Ethiopia is a home multinational society in which there are opposing demands over the substance of political representations, different competing and contradicting political and economic interest, the competing ethnic/national identity and State identity, identities politics instead of class politics, and the contradictory Politics of resentment. In addition to the authoritarian nature of the government of Ethiopia, these factors can cause instability in the process of building democratic society because of their tendency toward fragmentation than cooperation. Hence looking for the possible applicable model of democracy in diversified societies is the first work to be secured.

The exemplary role of the university measured to which degree institutional autonomy and academic freedom and culture of democratic governance exercised because democracies begin at home institution. Universities need to embody decision-making structures that facilitate and foster meaningful participation by all members of the school community, and which may lead to ongoing social reconstruction and change. However, the expansion of government intervention in the institutional autonomy and academic freedom had precluded the institutional democracy.

The democratization of education/Democratic Education has implication to the role of curriculum and pedagogy in democratization. Democratic education recognizes that young people also have an integral role to play in shaping democracy, and that democracy is an educational process and not something to educate toward. The curriculum is designed in favor addressing the national goal,
development and poverty reduction, hence it did not found on the student interests. Also the pedagogical relationship between teachers and students did not adequately democratized. The role of pedagogy for democratization was inadequate because in higher education lecture method has prevalence over the student method. The more student center activities are promoted in teaching method the more democratic practice in place.

The primary goal of education for democracy is the achievement of an educated citizenry competent to participate in democratic societies. It is displayed in the work of teaching civic and moral education. Despite some progress in their impacts on democratization, yet this course is inadequately designed to promote multinational democracy and balanced national identity and multicultural identity due to over emphasis to western democracy that unfit with Ethiopian context. While the emphasis is on developing democratically minded citizens, the character of the students is still that of the liberal character; an autonomous individual with the capacity to think rationally and to make choices but less emphasis social solidarity.

The contribution of universities” community service for democratization yet not well conceived because democracy promotion service is not listed under the core areas of community services. This is partly caused by government over emphasis of the economic development and poverty reduction. On other hand, the potentials of ICTs to serve relevant democratic purpose are undeniable. However, higher education in Ethiopia has yet not developed a framework for technology transfer like electronic democracy for democratization.

Following the above findings, the study recommended a consociational democracy as a supportive and prerequisite to transform identity politics to cooperative politics. Consociational democracy should be thought students in the class room and focusing on dialogue and collaborative activities can sow the seeds for democracy. Along this, higher education should aligning curriculum, pedagogy and assessment to produce a transformational environment that will inform our structures—a commitment to democratic education and not merely education for democracy. The higher education should tries to make the students decidedly creative and critical thinker, challenging them to understand that the democracy being promoted by Western is, indeed, a democracy being made by human being and for this reason, can be changed, transformed, and reinvented to suit it for our context. Also requires higher educations have to reconsider and aligning research, community service and technology transfer to produce a knowledge democracy and electronic democracy transformational environment.
in local communities.
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The Influence of Social Media on University Students’ Political Attitude

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to investigate the influence of social media on university students’ political attitude. Data was collected from 304 randomly selected Jimma university students. Political attitude scale, Facebook use for political activities and Facebook intensity scale was used in data collection. The findings of the study revealed that there is significant relationship between social media and political attitude, $r = 528^*$. The finding implies that university students are highly engaged in political behavior like political discussion with friends both online and offline, attentiveness of political issues, and interested in liking, sharing, and posting political message on their timeline frequently. Therefore, it was concluded that Facebook is the main agent of political attitude formation for university students. Regarding gender difference, there is statistically significant mean difference between male and female students with regard to political attitude, $t_{(302)} = 2.168$, $p<.05$. This implies that male students are more attentive in political issues; they are more interested in politics and discuss political issues more than females do.

Key words: social media, Gender, political attitude.
Introduction

The purpose of this study was to investigate the role of social media on university students' political attitude. Ethiopia is a country of multi-ethnic groups. A political issue with regards to the very system of the country's language based federalism is point of political debates for decades. Nowadays, it is becoming normal in public universities where students from different ethnic groups engaged in conflicts based on their ethnic differences which are actually political causes. Although attitude is developed from several agents, currently social media play significant role on youth’s attitude formation about politics. Before the discovery of social media, Graber (2001) reported that Television is a common place for citizens to get their political information. People can get knowledge or information about politics by watching televisions. However, Carpini and Keeter (2002) study on the internet and an informed citizenry, has focused on how online socialization affects political knowledge. The implication is that people acquire knowledge or experience about political attitudes from social media like Facebook.

As to Kaplan and Haenlein (2010), Social media can be understood as a collection of internet-based applications that expand the ideological and technological foundations that permit the creation and exchange of user-generated contents. Social media includes all the biggest social networks (Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn) and media sharing sites (Instagram, YouTube, Snapchat), along with maybe a handful of others like Pinterest, Google Plus and so on (Greenhow, Chapman, Marich, & Askari, 2017). Both Facebook and Twitter are currently the dominant social networks used by over a billion people all over the world while YouTube is the major media sharing sites. The expansion of social media access means more and more individuals have access to increased amount of information.

Robertsona, Vatrapub, and Medinaa (2010) noted that traditional media such as television, radio and newspapers were overshadowed by new media technologies and the Internet during 2008 United States presidential campaign. Hence social media significantly altered the political environment for both candidates and (potential) voters. Young people used social networking sites with the purpose of finding political information, particularly information that couldn’t be found in the mainstream media.
Nowadays, young people are busy with using social media such as Facebook, YouTube and Twitter through which they can express their political attitudes. Young people learn new information by using social media (Swigger, 2012). Not only social media and family interaction influence but also individual personality traits plays tremendous role in a person’s political attitude. The reaction of a person to media as well as family influence about political attitude cannot be free from a person’s predisposition. Moreover, Saldana, McGregor and Gil de Zuniga (2015) discussed that Social media are a source of political news and discussion for large segments of the public, and this computer-mediated engagement with political content contributes to civic participation. This is the reality observed in Ethiopia today. Whether the impact of mainstream media like radio and television is as influential as that of facebook in triggering political violence is not clearly known but the rate of political based violence and demonstration is highly increasing year after year in Ethiopia.

1.2 Statement of the problem

University is the place where both academic learning and social life experience is obtained. Individual’s behavior may be influenced by several factors of which some are direct and others indirect. As to Besar, Jali, Lyndon and Selvadurai (2015), in Malaysia students’ political behavior or attitude was influenced by their family background, campus environment, welfare, and racial composition, state of origin, mass media, and university leadership but familyfactor was the most influential one as students inherit political issues from family and neighbor community. Ethiopian case may also not different because much of attitude is formed at earlier age and students come to higher education with preoccupied attitude formed or inculcated in their minds by family, peer, school teachers and neighborhood community in general. Apart from family factors, the usage of social media may play great role in being attentive to current political issues, discussing on political topics both offline and online.

In Ethiopian context, studying political attitude is important as political related violence and aggression is widely spread in the country. Many studies reported that Social media plays great role in determining people’s political attitude. For instance, Tesfaye (2013) discussed that Facebook has offered Ethiopians the opportunity to exercise freedom of expression after the antiterrorism proclamation has constrained political discussions on the mainstream media. His study focused on Facebook as alternative political forum in that some people interested in
political activity using Facebook for expressing their opinion. However, the extent to which social media influence the habit of discussing political issues with family, friends and peers as well as political interest and attentiveness of youth is not adequately addressed in his study.

On the other hand, Ketema (2017) discussed that in Ethiopia political parties were dedicated in use of social media for election campaign in 2015. Three political parties such as EPRDF, The Blue and Ethiopian Democratic Party were highly engaged in social media use during national election campaign. As statistics shows, there were 6.70 million social media users in Ethiopia in January 2021, which accounted for 5.8% of the total populations (Simon, 2021).

However, so far, no research deeply investigated to what extent public university students have interest to take part in a given political behavior like discussion about politics using social media such as Facebook and YouTube. Therefore, it is believed that it is very crucial to study youths’ political attitude considering the influence of social media particularly Facebook and YouTube.

**Research questions**

What is the level of students’ political attitude and social media usage?
What is the relationship between social media usage and political attitude?
How is the difference of sex in social media use and political attitude?

**Conceptual framework**

Social media in the context of this study refers to the use of Facebook and YouTube for the purpose of political activities. For instance, sharing or posting political comments on Facebook, watching and listening on YouTube any politics related ideas including demonstration, protest, election, and so on. The idea is to identify the extent to which university students are involved on such media to get information about politics in general and the Ethiopian politics in particular.

The political attitude used as dependent variable in this study is generally conceptualized as the extent to which students are engaged in political discussions with family, peers or friends, anywhere any time. It is also about political attentiveness which means that being attentive to political news, debates, and watching TV or listening radio that broadcast politics related issues. It includes seeking information about current event in the country and generally being eager to hear or follow political issues. The other point is about political interests that include issues like
reading books about politics, government or current event, and participating in online political
discussions or visiting a politically oriented website.

**Review of Literature**

Nowadays, different social Media such as facebook, twitter, and YouTube are the major sources
of information about politics. For instance, in 2008 USA presidential election, facebook played
tremendous role in allowing users to share their political beliefs, support specific candidates, and
interact with others on political issues (Vitak, Zube, Smock, Carr, Ellison and Lampe, 2009).
According to Stieglitz, Brockmann and Xuan(2012), Social media enable individuals to share
knowledge, experiences, opinions, and ideas among each other so that their political
participation for democracy is encouraged. Social media use can create an access to information
about politics. According to Strandberg (2013), the use of Facebook and Twitter allowed
individuals to engage in politics even for those who lack interest in politics. Yang and Brown
(2013) indicated that Facebook is the leading social networking site among young people,
facilitates social connections among college students.

There are several political activities practiced on facebook. Study by Vitak et al. (2011)
mentioned several political activities such as posting status updates about politics; posting
political messages on friends” walls; writing and sharing political notes within their networks;
giving comments on their friend”s posts; sharing political opinions; joining political groups;
becoming a fan of candidates. The role of social media over other media is too great in modern
world. As reported by Swigger(2012), rather than being a media form like television, where
users passively absorb information, sites like Facebook and Youtube allow and encourage users
to generate content, share it with each other, and comment on what their fellow users produce.

There is strong link between frequency of using online social network site or social media and
political participation as well as interest. As Masiha, Habiba , Abbas , Saud and Ariadi (2018)
put it, use of Facebook is significant in promoting political participation by sharing their views
and posting comments on political issues on Facebook so that exchanging opinions and
information indicates the understanding of political issues and tendency of youth for political
participation.
Social media is considered as a major source of experience, opinion, suggestion and information regarding politics so that social media use predict different kinds of political participation. Hence, the relevance of social media based online communities for political communication is steadily increasing in recent years. Especially, young voters spend more time online in social networks such as Facebook or MySpace than watching television or reading newspapers (Beaufort and Seethaler, 2016; Stieglitz, Brockmann and Xuan, 2012). Similarly, Zhang, Seltzer and Bichard (2013) found that social media use such as Facebook and Twitter have significant effect to political participation, online and offline.

Social media use for political purpose depends on individual personal interest in politics or the vice versa. Several researchers reported that social media use increased the motivation to participate in politics as politically interested people spent much of their time engaging in activities related to political issues (Xenos & Moy, 2007; Lupia & Philpot, 2005; Verba, Scholzman, & Brady, 1995). In line with this, Young Bae (2014) suggested that social media function as a tool over which news and information flow, and that communicating in these online networks meaningfully relate to individuals’ involvement in politics by exposing users to a wide range of information, such as unverified political rumors, attitude-challenging opinions of others, or politically motivating ideas. Study on university students shows that political participation is explained most prominently by direct connection with public political actors, followed by exposure to shared political information on social media particularly Facebook (Tang & Lee, 2013).

The issue of sex differences in social media use for political activities is important point to be considered in this study. Several studies reported that males are more engaged in Facebook use as compared to females. For instance, male university students spent more of their time on Facebook as compared to female students (Aghazamani, 2010) describing that Facebook usage is part of their daily life. In line with this, Dhaha and Igale (2013) explained that the Facebook use of Somali youth are due to the need of virtual companionship escape, interpersonal habitual entertainment, self-description of own country, self-expression, information seeking, and passing time gratifications. Hence, the information seeking aspect of social media use helps in political information or other kinds of information helpful in day to day life.
A study by Verba, Nancy and Schlozman (1997) discussed that there is sex difference in aspects of political attitude; men discuss politics in person with others and engage with traditional forms of media for political information more than women. Men are significantly more likely to discuss politics frequently, enjoy discussing politics, watch politically related television and read national political stories in newspapers. Men also participate more in activities geared toward electoral politics, such as volunteering for a campaign. Men hold party membership, attend political meetings, contact elected officials and contact the media more than women do (Coffe and Bolzendahl, 2010).

According to Wang & Mark (2017) college students Facebook users reported that they use the platform as their primary news source by following friends, trending topics, mainstream media outlets, or popular media producers. They experience multiple benefits associated with Facebook news, such as the ability to access different viewpoints, engage in social sense making, or form a personal connection with the news. However, students are also concerned about their self-presentation around news and often choose to refrain from participation to avoid conflict, resulting in an imbalance between news consumption and news participation on Facebook. These results shed light on the debate about the role that social media plays on youth political participation and they also serve to extend the discussion of context collapse and self-presentation on social media.

**Materials and methods**

The design of this study was correctional as it was aimed to describe the relationship. Political attitude is measured using a set of items prepared in western countries but modified to be relevant with the Ethiopian context. The social media usage scale is adapted from study conducted abroad. The statistical analyses run in the study mostly examine the relationships or associations among variables. The coefficients of correlations were calculated to check the degree of the relationship among variables.

The population of this study was public university students. The researcher was interested in university students because currently political behavior is widespread among youth of Ethiopian people where these young people are found in different universities and colleges. It was assumed that nature of population of university students in Ethiopia is diverse in that
students come from different ethnic, religious, and geographic background found in all universities. Jimma University was selected purposefully because it is more accessible for the researcher and was more convenient to collect the data with the support expected from the staffs of the university. Then, respondents were selected at random particularly stratified random sampling was employed to include students from different colleges and sexes. A stratified sample guarantees that members from each group will be represented in the sample. From the total of 304 students who participated in the study, females were 160 and male were 144. The sample was drown from five colleges so that 60 students from social science (Geography), 86 from Natural science (Biology), 66 from Business and Economics (Economics), 27 students from Language Studies (English Language) and 65 students from Education and Behavioral studies (psychology).

Measures
Social media usage was measured by scales developed and used by Vitak, Zube, Smock, Carr, Ellison, & Lampe’s (2011) to assess facebook use for political activities and same items from facebook intensity scale were also included. Some of these items include: posting a status update about politics, giving a comment on their friend’s post about politics, posting or sharing a photo/video/link about politics. The Facebook Intensity Scale has eight questions designed to measure active engagement and emotional connection with Facebook. The reliability of the scale in Labrague (2014) was alpha=.83. Example questions are “Facebook is part of my everyday activity” and “I would be sorry if Facebook shut down.” In addition to Facebook, similar items regarding YouTube use is used. All of these social media use for political activities was measured by a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (Disagree strongly) to 5 (Agree strongly). A total of 18 items were used.

The political behavior measure validated by Pritzker (2008) is used for measuring political attitude. One of these items as example, in my day to day interaction with people I like to discuss political issues. The scale used 1-5 (strongly disagree –to- strongly agree). This scale of political attitude (interest and attentiveness had internal consistency reliability of .83 as checked by Grootel (2010).
Person correlation coefficient was computed for the relationship between social media usage and political attitude. The degree of the relationship describes the extent of the relationship. Independent sample t-test was computed just to check whether there is statistically significant sex difference with regard to the students’ social media usage and political attitude.

Results and Discussions

The level of Social media use and Political Attitude

In order to identify the frequency distribution and level of students political attitude, and social media usage, mean and median values are used to classify the sample into high, medium and low or strong, moderate or weak based on variables considered. The obtained results were presented in the following table.

Table 1: Level of Social Media Use and Political Attitude

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Median</th>
<th>Number of Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Media Usage</td>
<td>91.47</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Attitude</td>
<td>52.69</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: the number of cases implies the total number of respondents who scored above median point.

Table 1 reveals that the numbers of cases are categorized as high in variable being measured based on median values. With regard to social media usage, 150 (49.34%) of the respondents use social media highly. Regarding political attitude of the sample, 149 (49.01%) of the respondents are strongly interested, attentive and discuss about political issues.

The relationship between social media and political Attitude

In order to examine the relationship between social media and political attitude Pearson product moment correlation coefficient was computed. The obtained result of the relationship among Facebook, YouTube and political attitude were presented in the Table 2.
Table 2: Zero order correlations among Facebook, YouTube and political attitude

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Political attitude</th>
<th>YouTube</th>
<th>Facebook</th>
<th>Facebook and YouTube</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>political attitude</td>
<td></td>
<td>.423**</td>
<td>.525**</td>
<td>.528**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YouTube</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facebook</td>
<td></td>
<td>.723**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Facebook and YouTube is added together in calculating correlation coefficient of social media.

Table 2 shows that the correlation is significant at alpha 0.1. The relationship between political attitude with Facebook and YouTube was examined separately and jointly. When both YouTube and Facebook were added together their relationship with political attitude is $r=.528**$. But when Facebook alone is correlated with political attitude, the coefficient of correlation is $r=.525**$. YouTube alone was correlated with political attitude with coefficient of correlation $r=.423**$. In short, when the relationship between social media (Facebook and YouTube) and political attitude was examined, the correlations between them is significant as $r=.528**$ implies that high value of Facebook and YouTube usage is associated with strong political interest, attentiveness and discussion about political issues. Here, social media is considered as immediate sources of information or news about politics so that students frequently log in Facebook and watch YouTube to pay attention to what is going on in the country. Almost half of the respondents reported that they react to the posts made by different activists, politicians and political leaders in the country. Therefore, social media particularly Facebook become the most social media platform on which they got opportunity to breathe their emotion in form of criticizing the government or authorities as talking against government on the main stream media is directly or indirectly punishable.

What types of social media do students prefer? Students were asked to rank the order of the social media they frequently utilize for information, education, and entertainment and the result is presented in the following Figure 1.
As seen in Figure 1, about 146(48%) of the respondents responded they prefer Facebook. The next highest social media type frequently used by students was telegram as about 86(28%) of the respondents reported they use telegram for information, education and entertainment. The next one is YouTube 48(16%) and WhatsApp 24(8%) respectively.

Sex differences in Social media use and political Attitude

In order to identify sex differences in social media and political attitude, independentsample t-test was computed to detect the difference between male and female respondents.

Table 3:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>sig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political attitude</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>18.28</td>
<td>8.72</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>94.81</td>
<td>26.16</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Media usage</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>88.46</td>
<td>24.97</td>
<td>1.97</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>53.31</td>
<td>18.03</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>.56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 reveals the level of political attitude and social media use of male and female respondents. There is no statistically significant mean difference between male and female respondents with regard to social media usage. However, there is significant mean difference between male and female students with regard to political attitude, \( t_{(302)} = 2.168, p<.05 \). The mean score of male 94.81 is significantly greater than that of females’ mean of 88.46. This implies that male students are more attentive in political issues; they are more interested in politics and discuss political issues more than females do. Males were more interested in political
issues may be because gender stereotype that appreciate male member of the family as dominant, active and leader contributed on their political efficacy. Females on the other hand, are busy with domestic activities around home traditionally and this mentality underestimates their self-efficacy to engage in political related issues. Hence, female university students reported they were not as active as male students to discuss political issues with family members or friends so that their engagement in political related issues are inferior to that of males.

Conclusions and Implications
Social media usage affects students’ political behavior as the findings show that students with high rate of facebook use engaged in issues of political discussion, interest and attentiveness highly. Facebook is the most frequently used social media network for information, education and entertainments. There is significant gender difference in political attitude as females are less interested in politics as compared to male students.

Since the finding of the study revealed that social media use contributed a lot in political activities of university students, access to internet service for all interested in seeking information about local and international politics should be enhanced. As sex difference in political attitude was significant, women have to be encouraged to be competent with men in the country's political activities.
References


The Process and Challenges to Peace Building under the Realm of Gada System: the Case of Salgan Ilu

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Abstract

The concept of peace is a political condition that ensures social stability through formal and informal institutions. Peace building is an elastic concept that can be contextually defined and it is a range of activities meant to identify and support structures which could tend to strength and solidify peace in order to avoid deterioration in to conflict. The question of how to bring about lasting peace has been the concern of political philosophy for many centuries and recently some scholars” underline that the indigenous institutions and its system in Africa are genuinely provides a potential solution for some of political challenges of the African states faces today. Among these institutions, Gada system is a viable and multipurpose approach which could serve as an alternative foundation of peace building. Basically the objective of this study was to spotlight the feasible challenges and process to peace building under the realm of Gada system; the case of Salgan Ilu. Moreover, the methodology undertaken during this study was qualitative approach with descriptive research design that various stakeholders have been participated through interview and focus group discussion. This study found that, mostly the respective ruling regime considers the Salgan Ilu Gada elders and its institutions as competitive threats to its authority and government attempted to nominate them locally and also impose them to be mouthpiece for running political purpose. As a result, it does not empower them to the extent where they could autonomously deal with important issues like peace building process. This resulted in the detachment of traditional values and norms that Gada elders have use during peace building process. Thus based up on the study finding, this study recommended that the government should acknowledge and praise gadaa elders to their incredible contribution in peace building process.

Keywords: Gadaa system, Indigenous, Peace building, Salgan Ilu
1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the study

The role of indigenous systems of governance is become the vital in conflict management and peace building. In this vein, while it is very challenging to describe Gadaa system in a short paper as this one, a clear discussion of Salgan Ilu gadaa system’s contribution and its viable challenges in peace building at the country side is discussed in this paper. In this light, this paper attempted to briefly explores the role of Salgan Ilu Gadaa system and the challenges encountered during peace building process. Hitherto several scholars have studied the Gadaa system and have advanced useful conclusion that the system is essentially democratic and proposed the possible contribution of the system to the peace building and democratization process (Asmerom Legesse 1973, Baissa Lemu 1971, Dinsa Lepisaa Abba Jobir 1975). Thus, this paper is aimed to identify the challenges and roles of Salgan Ilu Gadaa system in peace building process at their respective areas as well as national level to some extent.

Before describing its roles and challenges, it is important to explain ground concepts for this paper like peace building and the role of indigenous mechanisms in peace building process. The concept of peace building was coined by John Galtung, Norwegian sociologist in 1970s through his promotion of systems that would create sustainable peace (Usang and Etang Eloma, 2014). He proposed a different concept of peace building as engaging from grass root (local actors) to international organizations in order to address sustainable peace. Accordingly, the notion of peace building helps to address the root causes of conflict and aims to support local potential for peace building as well as conflict resolution. As Gultang’s argument, peace building is a bottom-up approach in addressing socio-economic and political issues.

Essentially, peace is a political condition that ensures justice and social stability through formal and informal institutions, practices, and norms. This confirmed that, the concept of peace is the critical and preconditions for the survival of the community that informal institutions play a vital role in order to shape the socio-economic and political aspects of the communities. Thus, institutions like administrative institutions, civil societies, indigenous and religious institutions and tribal leaders have the pivotal role to flourish sustainable peace in a given country (Dube, 2013).

The Oromoo term “nagaa” which literally means peace shows the agreement of anything involved in certain relations to create a harmonious relation between the different parts of the
human and cosmic orders. The place and value of peace for the Oromo has been well described in the Oromoo Studies Association Newsletter in 2008 as it stated that: “Peace is central to Oromo ritual and ceremonial activities, to administrative and legal functions, to traditional religion, morality, and social life, and the conduct of politics. For the Oromoo, nagaa (peace) is an essential to an orderly universe and societal well-being that humans must pursue.” This signifies that, peace is a pervasive and sustained concern in moral life of the Oromo.

Basically, peace building is a range of activities meant to identify and support structures which will tend to strength and solidify peace in order to avoid deterioration in to conflict. It refers to policies, programs, and associated efforts to restore stability and the effectiveness of social, political, and economic institutions and structures in the time and post war (Dube, 2013). On other hand, the question of how to bring about lasting peace has been a concern of political philosophy for many centuries (Stefan, 2009).

However, regard for African indigenous egalitarian institutions and its continuous development has little or no space in academic discussion resulted in failure to overcome such problems. Despite the relevance of African Indigenous mechanism, considering the Western democracy as the only way for the rest of the world misses the broader human story of the struggle for and achievement of democracy(Ibid). In line with this, recently some scholars underline those indigenous institutions like gadaa system is genuinely provide potential solution for some of security challenges of the African states faces today (Tadesse, 2017).

Seemingly, African solutions for African problems aimed theoretically to change the life chances of African people based on the underlying concept of home-grown solutions for peace and security problems in the continent. Thus, one way of realizing the African Solution for African problems is to rely on African indigenous mechanisms that are practiced by African communities (Fituma, 2017).

The existence of such indigenous mechanisms shows the presence of shared values of Africans amongst themselves which in turn enhances their commitment and ownership to solve the problems they faced based on their own standards despite the varying ways of practice. Among these indigenous mechanisms, Gadaa system is a viable and multipurpose approach which could serve as an alternative foundation of peace building in the African political arena which in turn plays pertinent role to solve peace and security problems. Additionally, Gadaa System is an indigenous approach where all stakeholders in the system are participated to determine and exercise their ways of life
actively and plays important role in governance, Psych-social healing forms of peacemaking and reconciliation *inter alia* by which the Oromo’’s had ruled themselves before they were conquered by the Abyssinian emperors(Ibid).

Even there are varieties of indigenous systems in Ethiopia, a country in which many different ethnic groups live together, the occurrence of conflict is almost inevitable and much of this is due to the fact that each particular ethnic group has different interest and own particular way of approaching conflict - resolution(IIRR, 2009). This reveals that, Ethiopian society exists in a complex background formed by traditional values and relationships that governed by indigenous mechanisms where all of which play a significant role in the peace building process in their respective areas like Gadaa system.

Historically, Chali Shono was the leader of the Ilu clans (the Oromo of Ilu Abba Boor belongs to Macha tribe) by Gada System that formed from the accumulation of different Oromo community elders at the place called odaa Dogi in Yayo. When they made the legislation of Gada system, the assemblages of participants were; *Nonno, Ilu, Hurumu, Mattu, Dorani, Suphe, Cora, Guduru, and Bure* (Meu Annual Bulletin, 2005). However, it is no doubt that the nomenclature *Salgan Ilu* that the author used in case of this study is named after these *salgan* (nines) senior (*angafə*) clan of Oromoo living in Ilubaboor and part of Buno Bedelle Zones today. Laterally, based on their established legislation, Chali Shono (Abba Bor) was leading the areas using the designed system called gada system prior to their conquest by Abyssinian colonialism. Before the conquest, Oromo of the Ilu were independent and organized both culturally and politically using the *gadaa* system (Oromo democracy) to promote their wellbeing and to maintain their security and sovereignty (ibid).

Generally, Salgan Ilu is one of the Oromo clan living in evergreen land of Ilu Abbaa Boor and Bunoo Bedellee zones found in south western part of Ethiopia. The rationality behind researcher motivated to do this paper is that, the researcher frequently observed while Salgan Ilu gada elders were stabilizing the local protests and reconcile ethnic based violence simply by holding fresh grass instead of military bullet. This practice demonstrates that, respective community fear more fresh grass than coercive measures taken by government. Despite of undertaking lion share contribution in peace building process, Salgan Ilu Gadaa elders are facing tremendous challenges like lack of office, fund and poor cooperation from the part of the government, because the government visit them only during things went wrong to use them as reactive approaches to risk management.
Basically, to the best of the knowledge of the researcher, there is shortage of reviewed literature on the roles and challenges to Salgan Ilu gadaa system in peace building process. For instance the article entitled as decline and restoration of Salgan Ilu Gadaa system written by Dula and Wondacho, 2016 in Mettu University said nothing about the role of Salgan Ilu gadaa system in peace building. Hence, by taking in to consideration this gap the researcher attempted to analysis the process and challenges to peace building process under the realm of Gadaa system the case of Salgan Ilu.

On other hand, the main objectives of this paper were; to probe the role of Salgan Ilu gadaa system in peace building, to identify the challenges to Salgan Ilu Gadaa elders during peace building process, and to investigate the relationship between government and Salgan Ilu gadaa elders during peace building process.

2. Concepts and Approaches to Peace Building

Rebecca Spence (2001) provides a comprehensive definition of peace building and defines the concept as those activities and processes that focus on the root causes of the conflict, rather than just the effects, support the rebuilding and rehabilitation of all sectors of the war torn society; encourage and support interaction between all sectors of society in order to repair damaged relations and start the process of restoring dignity and trust; recognize the specifics of each post conflict situation, encourage and support the participation of indigenous resources in the design, implementation and sustainment of activities and processes; and promote processes that will endure after the initial emergency recovery phase has passed.

On other hand, in contemporary global situation, civil-war and counter against insurgency disturbs the socio-political situation across the world and the question of how to bring about lasting peace has been a concern of political philosophy for many centuries, thus Peace building evolved to a full-fledged concept of international engagement during the 1990s – i.e. in the face of civil wars and inter-ethnic violent conflict that could no longer be attributed to superpower rivalry (Stefan, 2009).

However, in order to respond the question of how to bring lasting peace, it is better to grasp approaches to peace building. Peace-building is grouped under dual approaches; the top-down and bottom-top approaches. These broad approaches are further associated with the European (western) paradigm and traditional peace-building respectively. The western approaches to peace building refer to the use of external bodies and foreign systems to transform countries recovering from civil war, violent conflict and natural disasters (Issifu, 2015).
Centric Colonial White Dominate Models of political, social and economic organization in war-shattered states in order to control civil conflict. The key principles of this approach inculcates, holding immediate democratic elections, promoting market liberalism, enhancing humanitarian assistance, encouraging litigation and promoting rule of law (Hoffmann, 1995). In addition, the approaches to peace-building, which is guided by external principles or bodies is very elitist, white male dominate, and oppressive in nature. Such western approach is the use of formal and external bodies which the structures seek to end a conflict and achieving a negative peace (Bukari, 2013).

On the contrary this, the indigenous approaches to peace building refers to the process of identifying the structural causes of conflict and using elements such as negotiation, culture, and pacification among others from African origin to promote a sustainable peace (Issifu, 2015). Supporting the same viewpoint, Okrah (2003) stated that, indigenous approaches resolved conflicts through cultural and internal social control mechanisms such as truth-saying, culture and belief systems. Indeed, the traditional approach to peace building seek to promote a win-win or non-zero sum game approach to a sustainable peace (Issifu, 2015). In Africa, the indigenous approach to peace building does not only focus on achieving a negative peace, but also seeks to ensure a positive peace through social solidarity. An essential part of the process of achieving a positive peace is the need to promote social solidarity (Murithi, 2006).

Arthur et al. (2015) conclude the indigenous approach to peace building is that it sought to focus on restoration rather than retribution; on restitution of friendship rather than fault-finding, truth telling rather than fact-finding, on dialogue rather than blame, an apology and forgiveness rather than zero sum game; on accommodating rather than avoiding; and on cooperativeness rather than assertiveness.

2.1. The Role of Indigenous institutions in peace building

Indigenous institutions refer to the home-grown socio-political arrangements whereby leaders with proven track records are appointed and installed in line with the provisions of their native laws and customs (Orji &Olali, 2010). The fundamental essence of the institutions is to preserve the customs and traditions of the people, to manage conflicts arising among or between members of the community by the instrumentality of laws and customs of the people and bind the society in a harmonious manner. They are the active agents of maintaining the social equilibrium and building peace of the respective societies (Nweke, 2012).
Therefore, indigenous institutions enjoy unconditional validity and acceptability within a specific social or community setting and also rooted by products of the broad social philosophy and cultural worldview of a specific community. The ontological paradigm of such communities consists of certain values and customs which they consider to be representative of their identity and useful to their social, political and ecological surroundings (Nel, 2005).

Basically, indigenous institutions have played the paramount role in peace building in respective communities and selection of the leaders of indigenous institutions varies from communities to communities. But in general, institutions worldwide seem to follow democratic methods to elect their dignitaries. Common consensus on the matters of seniority, expertise over social, political and economic issues, experiences over conflict management and sophisticated matters play the determining role in such process. Knowledge over the customs and their proper process of implementation are primary requisites of such officials (Naolekar, 2007).

The African indigenous institutions systems demonstrate tremendous success in conflict resolution and peace building in different African states and has utilizing the norms of customary laws, disputes such as land, chieftain succession, criminal and civil cases are resolved at the traditional levels (Asimeng, 2017). This reveals that, Africa indigenous methods of conflict resolution include traditional disputes resolution, peace-making, family or community gatherings, and traditional mediation benefited from indigenous knowledge systems. Therefore, traditional institutions constitute detrimental resources that have the potential to promote democratic governance as well as conflict resolution mechanisms through which peace is built among the societies.

2.2. Gadaa system In Peace Building
The Oromo people constitute the largest ethnic group in Ethiopia. Their original homeland, Oromia, included most of what is now Ethiopia and stretched into northern Kenya, where some Oromos still live. Ecologically and agriculturally, Oromia (Oromo country) is the richest region in the Horn of Africa. Livestock products, coffee, oil seeds, spices, mineral resources and wild life are all diverse and abundant in the region. Traditional Oromo religious belief centers around one God (Waaqa), who is responsible for everything that happens to human beings. Though Oromos adopted Islam or Christianity late, they still believe the concept of Waaqa and incorporated their beliefs into the new religions (Omura, 1994).
Oromo ethnic groups were pastorals and semi agriculturalist, and their social organization was based on an egalitarian socio-political and cultural institution called Gadaa system. Gadaa is a wide traditional institutional arrangement to regulate the social, political, economic and cultural life of the Oromos. It is “the totality of the Oromo civilization” and is built upon a complex sociocultural process. Gadaa has different interrelated meanings: it is the grade during which a class of people assumes politico-ritual leadership, a period of eight years during which elected officials take power from the previous ones, and the institution of Oromo society. Gadaa system is a system of an age-grade classes (Luba) that succeed each other every eight years in assuming military, economy, political and ritual responsibilities. Each Gadaa class remained in power during a specific term (Gadaa) which began and ended with a formal power transfer ceremony (Baissa, 1993).

Besides, Gadaa system is essentially a home-grown (indigenous) democratic socio-political organization of the Oromoo people. Historically, gadaa has been considered as a democratic and just system than other forms of governance in the region. A number of scholars who have studied Oromoo gadaa system positioned gadaa as an African democracy that could inform constitutional thinkers. Asmarom (2000), one of the scholars who have meticulously studied the gadaa system, described this uniquely democratic system of the Oromoo people as: One of those remarkable creations of the human mind that evolved into a full-fledged system of government. It contains genuinely African solution for some of the problems that democracies everywhere have had to face (Jalata, 2012).

Indeed, internal peace and stability among the Oromoo as well as with other has been a hallmark of the gadaa system. It has institutional mechanisms to integrate the non-Oromoo into the system. Those who integrate are guaranteed equal rights regardless of their ethnic and religious background. The humanitarian institutions of the gadaa system are wonderful integrative mechanisms that the Oromoo practice to accommodate other non-Oromoo peoples. The gadaa system is thus an inclusive, accommodating system that constantly and unfailingly attempts to ensure social cohesion. In addition, the practitioners of the gadaa system ensure that the differences and disagreements which arise among the Oromoo people as well as with others, particularly neighbouring peoples, are resolved pursuant to the negotiation rules of the gadaa system. In this regard, araara (conflict reconciliation) and gumaa (reparation) are important gadaa institutions. Moreover, the gadaa system
has parallel (to gadaa) siiqe/siinqeh and ateete institutions through which the rights of Oromoo woman are respected by checks-and-balance system (Mohammed, 1994).

According to Tena (2013), Gadaa is system of peace by itself where peace-making and or building is the central value of the system through its reputable institutions. The features of the Gadaa system serve as premises and conditions for the maintenance and promotion of peace. Especially, in the Gadaa system, supremacy of law and popular sovereignty are unconditionally guaranteed where both the governing and the governed are below the law. As a result, in the Oromo Gadaa system, almost all members of Oromo community participate actively in the promotion and maintenance of peace as the concept of nagaa (peace) in Oromo society shows that Oromo culture is predominantly a culture of peace and this nagaa is defended for all living things. “Alaa manni, sa”aa namni, maatiif waattiin hundi nagayaa?” is the Oromo demands of collective peace. This literally means peace to the home and neighbour”s, cows and humans, family and calves, and to all. The Oromo concept of peace is comprehensive in the sense that they belief without peace of mountains, rivers and forests, no peace to humans. This shows how far the Oromo”s are devoted to manage and transform conflicts to maintain lasting peace at different levels in their collective lives (Ibid).

2.3. The implication of ‘Salgee’ and ‘Salgan’ in Ilu Gadaa system

The term “Salgan” or nines indicate number and it has several interpretations in Salgan Ilu Gadaa system. In the context of Ilu Abbaa Boor the term Salgan (nines) stands for two major purposes; one it represents the eldest nine clans of Ilu Abbaaboor Gadaa system representative; Ilu, cooraa, noonnoo, Bunnoo, Hurumu, Mattu, Doranii, Suphe, Bure. Those nine clans were the first-born (seniour) who established Gadaa of Ilu Abbaaboob at Odaa Doggii; they are called „salgan Ilu. On other hand the number nines indicates the seat representation that each clan had its own seats (teesoo) from salgan Ilu Gadaa system. Accordingly Ilu have -nine, cora- eight, Nonno- six, Matufour, Hurumu-five, Bunnoo-seven, Doranii-three, suphee-two and Bure had one seat total of forty five seats (Wegari, 2017).

The next thought about number nine symbolize what they are called salgee. In this context Salgee are the nine son of Ilu. We have to understand that Ilu is one clan among the salgan Ilu and had nine seats. This was because Ilu had been gotten nine children; Hadhesso, Yaayyoo, lagoo, Bacoo, Baddeessoo, Gomboo, sapheeraa, Daarimu (waragoo) and Adamii that collectively known as as salgan ilmaan abbaa tokko (nine sons of one father). Accordingly, the Caffee assembly of the nine Ilu
was known as “Warra Sagalee Salganii mataa afurtamii shanii” (the nine votes” head of forty-five seats) (Dula&wondachew, 2017).

Qomoowwan Yaa'iii Saglan Iluu (The Assembly of Salgan Ilu clan)

A.Iluu = 9

1. Hadheessoo
2. Bachoo.
3. Birbirsoo
4. Sapheeraa
5. Lagoo
6. Igguu
7. Adaamii
8. Badii
9. Baabbuu

B.Cooraa=8

1. XuriiJiddaa
2. HuseeWaaccuu
3. Daallamee
4. Daallee
5. Aanaa
6. Wannii
7. Mutuluu
8. Aallee

C.Hurrumuu = 5

1. Igguu
2. Idooroo
3. Jirruu

D. Mattuu = 4

1. Dagaa
2. Boorana
3. Leeqaa
4. Dangajii

E.Buunnoo = 7

1. Diimaa
2. Haruu
3. Aabbuu
4. Dikkoo
5. Tiruu
6. Amuumaa
7. Imbiiroo

F.Noonnoo = 6

1. Hagaloo
2. Haleelu.

G.Doorrannii = 3

1. Ajiilaa
2. Barii
3. Hooliyuu

H.Suphee = 2

1. Waayyuu.
2. Butoo

I.Buree = 1

1. WarraQoraattii

Source: Ilu Ababor zone Culture and Tourism Office, 2020

The monarchical system of Ethiopia has contributed for the decline of Ilu Gadaa system for more than one hundred thirty five (135) years and the system resulted in disintegration of Salgan Ilu gadaa
system, culture and rituals since Menelik II conquest of the area (Salgan Ilu Gadaa Elders, 2019). Gradually, Salgan Ilu Gadaa system become revitalized and the below nine (salgan) huts have been rebuilt when Salgan Ilu Gadaa is recovered at the place called Odaa Doggii that found in Yayo districts of I/A/Boor zone.

Figure 1: The episode of Salgan Ilu centre revitalization at Odaa Doggii
Source: I/A/Boor Zone culture and Tourism Office (2019).
3. **Methods and Methodologies of the Study**

In order to explain the process and challenges encountered Salgan Ilu gadaa system during peace building process, this study used qualitative approach with descriptive research design. This is done because the subject of the study was conducted based on building a holistic picture formed with words, reporting detailed views of informants rather than numerical expression.

On other hand, the methods of data collection undertaken for this study were key informants interview and focus group discussion. Accordingly, open-ended interview questions has been prepared and presented to the research participants of Salgan Ilu gadaa elders who found in Ilu Abba Boor and Bunno Bedellee zones were selected through purposive sampling that their knowledge and proximity to the subject under the study was the basis for using purposive sampling. In addition, to meet the objective of this study the researcher was conducted interview with governmental institution that have relation with Salgan Ilu gadaa elders and related culture oriented institutions that may contribute they share to peace building indirectly. Accordingly, tourism and culture affairs offices of both Ilubaboor and Buno Bedelle zones have been interviewed. Furthermore, focus group discussion session has been conducted with respective informants with the aim of accessing a broad range of views about the topic under study. Accordingly, the Salgan Iluu gadaa assemblies (gumii gadaa Salgan Iluu) who were selected purposively were the participants of focus group discussion.

Finally, data collected via interview and FGD has been thematically analysed. Data analysis of this study was emphasised on identifying, coding and examining themes within data collected. Thus, the researcher have tried to employ this analysis along with pinpointing, describing and coding, since these techniques allow identifying ideas within the data implicitly and plainly.

4. **Results and Discussion**

The concept of peace is the core value of Gadaa system and the major activities of Gadaa council is peace building. According to Gadaa principle, peace is not only for human being, it is also nature matter. As a result Salgan ilu gada union has remarkable contribution in preserving peace of nature in their respective areas. For instance, Yayo forest found in Ilu Abbaa Boor zone is well known legacy that protected and registered in UNESCO by initiation of Salgan Iluu Gadaa elders. Salgan Ilu gadaa system is revitalized in 2000 E.C after 135 years. After its revitalization, Salgan Ilu Gada system has
begun *Irreecha* (thanks giving) ceremony for creator at Malka Sor in 2000 EC where Oromia gadaa council have took part on the ceremony (interview with Salgan Ilu gadaa elders, 2018).

Beyond Oromia regional state, Gada union has paramount contribution in national peace building through discussion with various stake holders and also in Gadaa system any problem is resolved through dialogue and the principle of “*Ilaaf Ilammee*” (dialogue). For instance, if there is any disputes within ethnic group, gada elders have been serving as a mediator by holding fresh grass rather than military bullet. In fact, Gadaa system has no prison center. If anyone is committed crime against other, it considered as violation of “*Safiut*” (Social norms), then the punishment is painting the dung of cows and its implication is dehumanizing and consider the crime actor as resemble with animal (Ibid). Hence Gadaa leaders and their colleagues including Salgan Ilu Gadaa system have been playing the paramount role in peace building and able to found political reforms to lead to meaningful transformation and peace even if several steps need to be taken to address core concerns and ensure consensus around inclusive nation-building and the consolidation of a democratic developmental state in our country.

Undoubtedly, Gadaa system use approaches which are not state-centric. This gives them credit and legitimacy over communities which they preside over. Communities respect more rules which they make rather than rules made by the state. Therefore, there is an element of community inclusion and participation found in traditional approaches. That way, all concerned parties involved in the conflict, are responsible for its solution. In most cases, solution to the conflict is reached by consensus. Both disputants’ factions have to recognize the reached resolution as a win-win outcome or the needs might meet satisfactorily. An important ingredient of indigenous approach is its focus on the psycho-social healing and the spiritual dimension after conflicts. Conflict transformation and peace building, is not only centred on negotiations, political agreements reached and reconstruction of infrastructure. It is also concerned about cleansing, reunion and psycho-social and spiritual healing (Mbwirire, 2017).

In the same vein, it is better to appraise that Gadaa elders have contributed in national stability. For instance, after deep reform undertaken in Ethiopian politics and Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed came to power, different opponent political parties and activists who were regarded as terrorist are pardoned to return to their home land from exile. But after homecoming Oromo Liberation Army (OLA) and
ruling regime are left to reach an agreement and resulted in frustration. Unfortunately, Parts of militants are obliged to live in jungle and become insurgency group that government locally called them “Shiftaa Shanee” (fives gangsters) who intended to counter-attack against each other with the ruling regime. The situation resulted in social and civilian insecurity especially in western and southern part of Oromia regional state. In order to settle this dispute, Gadaa council in general and Salgan Ilu Gadaa elders have been seriously engage in talks with both sides (Ibid).

According to report of FBC, Addis Ababa, January 22, 2019 (FBC) – The Council of Abba Gadaa (Oromo indegenous leaders) has called on all political parties to discharge their responsibilities in building peace in the country. The former chairperson of the Oromia gadaa Council, Abba Gadaa Beyene Senbeto made the remark at the reconciliation forum organized by the Council in Addis Ababa. The event brought together political parties operating in Oromia regional state, including the Oromo Democratic Party (ODP) laterally called prosperity party and the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF). The Gadaa council alleged that “It is not only the responsibility of political parties to maintain peace in the country. It is also our responsibility. We are all responsible for the peace of our country; we should give priority to peace. All political parties need to bring peace in the country. We don”t want war and also our people need peace.” (FBC, January 22, 2019)

Following this event, head of Oromo Democratic Party Central Committee Office, Dr Alemu Sime, called for an end to exile and killing each other due to politics. “We political parties need to live up to our promises,” he said, adding “We also want OLF to honor the agreement reached in Eritrea.” “ODP is ready to maintain peace and accept decision of Abba Gadaas.” Likewise, chairperson of the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), Daud Ibsa, for his part said “OLF also wants to uphold peace and is ready for this.” Activist Jawar Mohammed for his part urged both ODP and OLF to sit down and resolve their differences through dialogue. At the end of the forum, a committee of 71 people was formed to facilitate condition for the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of armed members of the Oromo Liberation Armies. The Committee is composed of 54 members from Abba Gadaa Council, 11 from academics, 3 from ODP, and 3 from OLF (FBC, 2019).

Among 54 Gada council 6 were from Salgan Ilu gadaa union including haadha Siqqee of Salgan Ilu. Accordingly, Salgan Ilu gadaa union had a mission to meet OLA at Darimu woreda of Ilu Abbaa Boor zone where Oromo Liberation Armies suspected to reside. As a result 83 militants have accepted
Salgan Ilu Gadaa council’s mission of reconciliation and among 83 militants, 10 were taken to Tolay training camp center. Even the endeavor of Gada elders were fact finding and attempted to obtain win-win situation between both parties, the intended mission is aborted because of mistrust between both sides (Interview with Buno Bedelle gadaa elders, 2019).

Besides, as part of a continued peace conference held on January 24, 2019 in Ambo town, 125 km west of Addis Abeba (Finfinnee), a peace agreement was officially signed between the government and leaders of OLF. Accordingly both parties have agreed for an immediate ceasefire, to be followed by demobilization and encampment of OLF armed members within 20 days following which Oromo Liberation Army members would undergo reintegration training programs (Addisstandard / January 24, 2019). Accordingly, the established technical committee of 71 from different background was formed at the Abbaa Gadaa council’s peace conference after Dawud Ibssa, chairman of OLF, promised to let the Abbaa Gadaas council take over & deal with OLF’s armed members & issues related to their possible disarmament (Ibid). Undoubtedly, Salgan Ilu gadaa elders have participated in national and local peace building activities in align with Oromia gadaa council and they had great contribution in reconciliation process of peace building.

Following Dawd’s pledge, a technical committee of 71 members drawn from the Abbaa Gadaas, ODP and OLF as well as academicians, women and other members of the Oromo community was formed to oversee the peace process. According to the agreement signed in Ambo town, the technical committee had begun monitoring the process, which was take place in three different phases: the first phase was to bring all members of Oromo Liberation Armies into nearby woreda towns. The second phase was to mobilize them into various camps prepared by the government; and the third part was to welcome them to the camps where they would take trainings afterward. It was also stated that the camps should be located far from areas where previous hostilities were seen between OLA and government forces (Ibid). A resolution issued at Ambo town meeting stated that the technical committee would not only be involved in monitoring the process but also visiting the training centres once the members of Oromo Liberation Armies are accommodated. It was also mentioned that during the transportation process, federal forces would accompany OLA members to make sure the process is held peacefully (Ibid).
On November, 17, 2019, by the contribution of Oromia Gadaa council including Salgan Ilu Gadaa elders and technical committee held to reconciliation, Oromo Liberation Armies who were peacefully called by Gadaa council joined Tolay camp were 827 in number and trained for six months (FBC, November, 17, 2019). But the intended mission to encampments of all Oromo Liberation Army’s members was not succeed at the moment due to different reasons like shortage of time given for technical committees, mistrust, suspicion and fear midst both parties (Ibid).

Finally, failure of both parties left to respect Gadaa council’s intention to consolidate national peace building resulted in harsh condition across country side. As a result government obliged to took different measures including declared state of emergency and internet service block in different parts of Oromia. Above all, innocent people who have no information about politics have been suffering on their home land and also Universities, government offices, private institutions and individuals were victims of the internet blocked/cut off. Regarding the security issues, the society lives under a state of anarchism in what is traditionally called “Where elephants fighting, only the grass suffers”. Insurgency and counter-insurgency have destabilized the region putting the civilians amidst despair, frustration, uncertainty and insecurity. Disappearance, killings, detention and destruction of properties have been used as mechanisms of intimidation, punishment and psychological torture. Food insecurity, economic crises foreseen under contexts of crises like this, it is no doubt to imagine how business and agricultural activities are affected.

Generally despite of having the prominent role in peace building, salgan Ilu gadaa system is toothless lion due to various challenges like poor sense of ownership from the side of community, western religion domination in the zones, weak biding force to implement activities that may consolidate the system, problem of peacefully transfer of power according to Gadaa principle, lack of cooperation due to low perception towards gadaaa system, lack of central office for Salgan Ilu Gadaa union, polarization and ideological disputes of Buno Bedelle gadaa elders with Salgan Ilu after demographic (political administration) separation of two zones that Buno Bedelle gadaa elders asserting that, we are independent of Salgan Ilu by having own thanks giving center for creator called Oda Rom’e in contradictory with salgan Ilu gadaa elders that believe in having common gadaa system and center for two zones Buno (Interview, Bedelle Gadaa elders, 2019).
5. Conclusion and Recommendation

5.1. Conclusion

In peace building process, indigenous institutions enjoy unconditional validity and acceptability within a specific community setting and also rooted by products of the broad social philosophy and cultural worldview of a specific community. The ontological paradigm of such communities consists of certain values and customs which they consider to be representative of their identity and useful to their social, political and ecological surroundings.

Seemingly, the Oromo people have a long-standing indigenous mechanism to transform conflicts and peace building. The Oromo indigenous conflict resolution mechanism has an important role in restoring peace that has been interrupted by conflict or violence within the communities. Among the indigenous mechanisms, Gadaa is familiar for a long period of years and it is a system of peace by itself where peacemaking and building is the central value of the system through its reputable institutions. The features of the Gadaa system serve as premises and conditions for the maintenance and promotion of peace.

Historically every aspect of Oromo life was guided by the laws of Gadaa system. In this regard it is necessary to note that Gadaa system is a socio-cultural and political institution that was developed by the Oromo nation. It is a unique egalitarian democratic governance system that governs the life of every individual in the society from birth to death. In contrary to its relevance, the system began to lose its significance since the conquest and territorial expansion of Ethiopian empire builders during Menilik II conquest. In the same way, the Saglan-Ilu Gadaa system has faced with the same challenges since the reign of Menilik II. The successive regimes of the Ethiopian empire have been contributed for the weakness of Gadaa system in general and among Saglan-Ilu Oromo in particular.

Basically, the Saglan-Ilu Gadaa system is aborted for more than a century and its practical operation was quashed as a result of different factors. In contrary to this, regardless of challenging factors an effort to revitalize the Gadaa system is made and currently it is restored again to some extent and working its paramount role in peace building process. Besides even the salgan Ilu gadaa system have prominent role in peace building there are numerous challenges including political and socio-economic pressures from different angles that contributed for the weakness of Salgan Ilu Gadaa system.
5.2. Recommendation

To bring comprehensive peace in Ethiopia, several steps need to be taken to address core concerns and ensure consensus around inclusive nation-building and the consolidation of inclusive security through engagement of indigenous institutions like gadaa system is compulsory. In this regard, this study forward core recommendations to all stakeholders like that of national and local government should cooperate Gadaa councils. Basically, Ethiopia needs a peace-building policy to improve coordination and effectiveness of its interventions in promoting peace and human security. The constitution, policy assertions, international conventions and policy frameworks which the country has ratified, contain bits and pieces of policy statements on the role of indigenous institution in peace-building that need to be modified. The articulation of values, principles, norms and policy actions on conflict prevention and management in the various policy instruments embody within them loose of a coordinated approach. Ongoing interventions on conflict prevention and management have mostly been ad-hoc so far to intervene in the area of insecurity. Moreover, attention given to sustainable resolution of long standing and deep rooted conflicts needs to be up-scaled. Also, the multi-dimensional nature of conflict prevention and peace building that many stakeholders (sub-national, national and international) might be required to engage in simultaneous and sometimes uncoordinated action that requires effective management. A peace-building policy should able to provide a framework and mechanism for coordinating actions and also facilitate effective synergies between local, national and regional efforts in conflict prevention and peace-building.

Specifically, the government at the local level of Iluu Abbaa Boor and Bunnoo Bedelle should create conducive environment like office of arbitration center, incentives and logistics service for Salgan Iluu Gadaa elders to make them permanent actors in peace building process instead of using them as Ad-hoc committee after things went wrong.
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The Role of Democracy in Attaining Sustainable Peace & Development: The case of Ethiopia

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Abstract

The successive ruling regimes of Ethiopian state despised the egalitarian democratic institutions of the country and bent on nation-building agenda by employing brute force. This top-down elitist creation of „same nation” through centralization and assimilation policy eventually led to civil wars that improvised the people of the land and tarnished the image of the country. The aim of this article was to analyze these contending issues by employing interpretivist approach. Both primary and secondary sources were used. Primary source involve observation and interviewing prominent scholars in the field; secondary sources include assessing the Constitutions of the Derg and 1995 EPRDF regimes, party programs, books, Journals, Magazines, Newspapers, websites, Social Media. The findings of the research revealed that, the semblance of democracy that were attempted under the Derg and Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) regimes in their early days were not genuine, rather cosmetic move deliberately orchestrated by the leadership of the two regimes to appease the external patrons, nonetheless, the people suffered under the medieval era autocratic political culture that contributed for the endless wars that involved generations, therefore, the research suggest genuine democracy as a solution as it empower the downtrodden majority so as to negotiate their differences and solve their problems in amicable manner, elect the leaders of their own choice and make them accountable for their actions.

Key words: Democracy, Political Culture, Sustainable Peace & Development
I. Introduction

1.1. Background

The term democracy was coined by the Greeks and exercised in the city states in B.C. However, due to the size of the state and huge population, direct democracy was currently replaced by representative democracy. Following these developments, the theory and practice of democracy also changed (Nwogu, 2015: 131).

Though the term democracy lack uniform definition, it is understood by many as the forms of government that decentralizes power and enables citizens to freely compete for public office, elect representatives and makes them accountable. Democracy helps citizens to prioritize their development needs and actively participate in the implementation process (Tilly, 2007:9; Johari, 2001: 499). Moreover, democracy is a platform where people debate on issues of national importance and resolves disagreements on amicable basis and learns the art of leadership.

Constitution is a key element in democracy that clearly shows the role and responsibilities of the government and the governed. It is a permanent document that could be amended to accommodate latest developments taking place at national and international level (Tilly, 2007:9; Nwogu, 2015: 131; Miller, 2005:56). Check and balance is among the key element in democracy put in place to avoid power abuse among government organs. The rule of law is another key component in democracy that assures no one is above the law.

In comparison to the other parts of the world, the Western industrialized democracies were able to attain relative peace and development mainly due to established democratic culture and institutions.

In the contemporary international system, many states have either started enjoying democratic culture or are in transition from authoritarian rule to democracy.

Ethiopia claim the history of three thousand years, the only African country that joined the of League of Nations and the founding member of United Nations (UNs), however, in these long statehood experiences is unable to embrace democracy.

The semblances of democracy that was attempted under the Derg and the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Force (EPRDF) regimes were reversed and the citizens of the country were destined to suffer under authoritarian rule. As a result, the public who were frustrated with the
action of the ruling regimes destroyed the infrastructures constructed by the two regimes to benefit the people in 1991 and 2018 respectively. Therefore, to avoid such tragedy in the future and attain sustainable peace and development in Ethiopia, the researcher argues the only plausible solution to solve the age old problem of the country is genuine democracy as it empowers the people at grass root and enable them elect their own representative in free and fair election and make them accountable.

**Statement of the problem**

Despite the long history and glorious past, the people of the Ethiopia were not privileged to enjoy the democratic culture of administering their affairs. As a result, leaders came to the state power by force and maintain it through the apparatus of coercion (Clapham, 1999: 8; Negussay, 1999:46).

Those who came to the state power through unconstitutional means use to pledge to the people to transform the country to democracy, nonetheless as it was observed in the long history of the country, instead of taking the country forward, they were preoccupied with blame game, discarding the old constitution, reshuffling bureaucracy, the army and police forces, imprison or kill their opponents (Bahru, 2007: 178). For instance, the Derg regime that toppled Emperor Haile Sellasie in 1974 started its first duty by defaming and darkening the legacies of the Emperor and consequently killed his cabinets and the emperor himself. They also nullified the old constitution, reshuffled bureaucracy, the army, police forces, substituted those vacated posts with their own loyal cadres and declared that they have received empty treasure.

The Derg regime have attempted to democratize the country in their initial days, nonetheless, when the people start to ask for their rights based on the given right, the regime labeled the decent voices as anti-revolution and anti-peace and dealt with them by military means. This autocratic move of the ruling regime forced opposition forces to look for armed struggle as an alternative strategy. As noted by Asefa, “The inability of the nation-state to solve the contradictions among competing nationalism facilitated the proliferation of nationalisms” (Asefa, 2001:9). The TPLF led EPRDF regime that played major role in overthrowing the Derg regime in 1991 also pledged to the international community and the Ethiopian people to democratize the country and took progress measures in their early days that departed from the past, but they switched to the suppression of decent and monopoly of power. Like their predecessor, they blamed the Derg regime for every
crime, discarded the Derg constitution, reshuffled bureaucracy, the police forces, the army and substituted those places with their own loyal cadres.

In general, the leadership of the two regimes has exhibited some important achievements under their respective regimes in their initial days; nonetheless both of them reversed the progressive stance and end up imposing their ideology on the people by brute force. To that end, they created the climate of fear and insecurity among the public and made the people not to question why the country with these long statehood experiences unable to attain durable peace and security. Moreover, the immersion of elite groups in partisan politics and polarized the political landscape of the country and complicated the problem of the country.

This article attempts to bridge such gap by provoking public discussion so as to engage elite groups from all sides and encourage them to contribute their part in salvaging this country from vicious conflict that impoverish the country and made tarnished the image of the country.

The following research questions were raised and attempts were made to address them.

1. Why do the ruling elite of the country failed to draw lessons from the failure of the past regimes?
2. Why do some progressive forces that have shown the semblance of democracy resort to tyranny?
3. How does democratic path serve as an alternative in overcoming the democratic deficit?

3. Objective

To critically analyze why the country that claims the history of three thousand years failed to embrace democratic values and suffer from absence of equality and justice.

3.1. Specific Objectives

1. To assess factors that hampered the ruling regimes of the country to draw lessons from the mistake of the past regimes?
2. To analyze why some political elite that took progressive measures during their early years resorted to tyranny.
3. To assess if adopting democracy helps the people of the land overcome democratic deficit?

3. Methodology

The research employed interpretivist view. Both primary and secondary sources were used. Primary source includes observation and interviewing prominent scholars in the field. The researcher is
Professionally the student of Political Science who was blessed to observe and record major political developments took place under the two regimes. Besides, prominent and neutral scholar were purposely selected and interviewed for this purpose through Skype. Secondary data were gathered from books, Journals, the Derg and EPRDF regimes Constitutions, party programs, manifestos, internet, and information aired on Radio and TV. Relevant literatures on the subject were also reviewed and used as framework to analyze and interpret the gathered data.

2. Conceptual definitions and Theoretical framework

2.1. Definition of Democracy

There are no universally agreed upon definitions of democracy. The dictionary of Political Science defines democracy as “The rule by the people, either directly (pure democracy) or through representatives (Republicanism)” (Nanda T.R, 2000:147). This definition attest that people are the ultimate sources of power who are mandated to administer their affairs by themselves or through their representatives. Indeed, pure or direct democracy was the experience of classical Athenian democracy that was conducted in small city states through the involvement of qualified citizens. However, due to the large size of the state and huge population, direct democracy is currently replaced by representative democracy (Nwogu, 2015:131).

A Merriam-Webster Dictionary (1980) defines democracy “as government of the people; especially rule of the majority; a government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through the system of representation usually involving periodic held free elections”. This comprehensive definition signifies the principle of the rule of majority and where the right of minority is respected. The former American President Abraham Lincoln articulated democracy as the “government of the people, by the people, and for the people” (Johari, 2001:500). This popular definition affirms that democracy belongs to the people and implemented by the people themselves or through either representatives so as to serves the interest of the people.

Kohak on the other hand defines democracy as “A vision of a voluntary cooperation of a world without masters and serfs, a world of equals living together in freedom, in responsibility and in mutual respect as citizens, not as subjects” (Kohak, 1996, 3). Kohak”s quotation requires democracy should be based on equality, consent of the people so that it allows the people to co-exist in amicable manner.
As one can observe from the above, definitions and meaning attached to democracy varies across time, space and culture. However, most agree that democracy is a broad concept that include value and culture that operate based on the principle of equality, rule of law, human rights, accountability, transparency, where majority rule and the right of minority are respected. Hence, the writer adopted this comprehensive definition as operational definition in this article.

2.2. Definition of Peace

Peace is an elusive concept. Some definite it as absence of war and others define it in a holistic manner.

Many see peace as converse of war; however, such assertion is viewed by some critical scholars as negative peace (Murithi, 2009:4). For them, the external appearance cannot justify the prevalence of peace, because it does not reveal the prevalence of inequality, discrimination, poverty and injustice that could explode anytime and disturb the peace (Webel, 2007:280). Hence, they suggest negative peace should be transformed to positive peace “that promote reconciliation and co-existence on the basis of human rights and Social, economic and political justice” (Murithi, 2009:5).

A Glossary of terms and concepts in Peace and Conflict Studies defined peace as “A political condition that ensures justice and social stability through formal and informal institutions, practices, and norms” (Miller, 2005:55).

Still some contemporary environmental activist insists the definition of peace should include environment. The proponents of this line of thinking argue that people should have equal access to nature and in preserving it. For them, addressing the environmental issue is part of defusing latent conflict and thereby enhances peace (Heywood, 1011:356).

According to Fisher, “Peace is a process: many sided, never ending struggle to transform violence “(Fisher, 2000:11). This definition considers peace as work in progress that always needs attention and care of all stakeholders. It is like a garden that always need to be cultivated, if not, could descend to conflict.

In general, peace is defined as the absence of war, fear, conflict, anxiety, suffering & violence, & about peaceful co-existence. Therefore, sustainable peace in this article is understood as the prevalence equality, justice, absence of war, respect, tolerance, inner peace, care for environment, and
the removal of the structure, institutions and attitude that perpetrates injustice (Miller, 2005:56; Murithi, 2009:5 ;Fisher, 2000:11).

2.3. Definition of Development

Development is the highly contested term. Most scholars define development based on their own ideology and partisan politics. As to Heywood, “development was associated with a series of innovations in technology and led to Industrial Revolution “(Heywood, 2011:354). This classical definition focuses on emphasizing on the contribution of ideas and technology in transforming the lives of humanity, but did not touch upon the ownership, how this serves individual and group interest.

The Dictionary of politics and government define “Development as the process of encouraging business activities in the country and helping its economy grow “( Collin , 2004:72).This definition focused on business, growing economy and did not show how it was shared among the populous, including geographic distribution of this growth.

On the other hand, Soubbotina defined development as “economic growth, by increasing wealth, enhancing its potential for reducing poverty and solving other social problem” (Soubbotina, 2004: 8). This definition also focuses on growth and did not sufficiently explain what development should include, ownership and how it is distributed among various stakeholders.

The above definitions almost focused on the materials growth and did not clearly show who own the growth, how it was shared among the people and its geographic distributions.

Still, some scholars” measures grown in terms of Gross National Product (GNP), Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and shy away from mentioning about equality, freedom and justice it involve (Heywood, 2011:355).

Some view „Development as fulfilling basic needs”, the advocate of this approach insist development should address minimum human basic needs such as food ,shelter and security and did not push further to involve other choices of human beings.

United Nations (UNs) has recently shifted its analysis from basic needs to „Human Development” measured by life expectancy, adult literacy, access to all three level of education, people”s average income, which is necessary condition of their freedom of choice” ( Soubbotina,2004 :7).
According to UN document, development is sustainable if it “meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generation to meet their own needs” (ibid). This motto of UN did not clearly show who gets what from this development endeavors and the capability of actors in impacting the environment. Nonetheless, some scholars who are not satisfied with these definitions came up inclusive definitions that include freedom of choice and environment as essential aspect in measuring development (Heywood, 2011:356).

Thus, development in this article is defined as not in terms of material gain, but in a holistic manner that involves equality, just, balanced and inclusive development that covers the free choices of the people as well.

2.4. Fundamental Principles and Values of Democracy

The principles & values of democracy are almost similar in different parts of the world, and these principles and values are enshrined in the constitution of many stable democracies. These principles and values include: Citizens Participation, Equality, Tolerance, Accountability, Transparency, Rule of Law, Regular, Free and Fair Elections, Economic Freedom, Control of the Abuse of Power, accepting the Results of Elections, among others (Nwogu, 2015:131; Munck, 2014:12; Tilly, 2007:8).

Political equality is one major component of democracy. It entails all citizens of the country are entitled to equal rights and obligations. People have the right to stand for election, voting in elections, becoming informed, debating issues, attending community or civic meetings, being members of private voluntary organizations, paying taxes, and even protesting against injustice (Tilly, 2007:8).

Tolerance is key element in democracy. It involves accommodation of interest and ensures that people should not be discriminated because of their culture, religion, ethnic groups and gender and other attributes. Thus, people and parties with different political ideology have to be accommodated and given chance to air out their interest without consequence.

Government officials who are elected by the people should be accountable to their constituencies. They have to periodically report to their constituencies what they have performed and update them on what is going in the country and need to get the their backing. If not, the constituencies can punish them by giving their voice to other opposition parties or individuals (Munck, 2014:12).
People are the ultimate source of power and individuals and entities have an obligation to inform the general public about what is going on in the country and their surroundings. A transparent government holds public meetings and allows citizens to attend. In a democracy, the press and the people are able to get information about what decisions are being made, by whom and why (Keane, 2004:1).

Democracy allows people to periodically elect their representatives within the fixed time frame. It requires that elections should be conducted in free, fair and transparent manner without intimidation, threats and election riggings (Raveloson, 2008:7).

Accepting election results is a norm in democratic countries. If elections are conducted in free, fair manner without any threat of force and related issues like intimidation, election riggings, the loser parties should accept the election results and must concede. Not accepting election results usually may result in violence and lack of confidence among voters.

Economic freedom and the right to private property are among the key principles of liberal democracies. In principle, government create enabling environment for private sector to flourish and do not intervene in economy unless unforeseeable things happen. Such favorable environment enabled the private sector in the Western industrialized nations to have strong economic muscle that checks the power abuse of governments (Nwogu, 2015:131). Moreover, the rule of law, check and balance system among government organs, the prevalence of vibrant civil society, Media, private sector and citizens can check the power abuse of governments and other powerful entities (Raveloson, 2008:9).

The above discussed principles and values of democracy are essential elements for the evolvement of plural actors that could play constructive role in shaping the political landscape of the country and in avoiding power abuse.

2.4.1. Relationships between Democracy & Peace

Peace is about being free from fear, anxiety, danger, etc and requires the removal of structures that perpetrates inequality and injustice. Democracy is the source of freedom, equality and justice. It decentralizes power and enables people to compete for public office, elected leaders and make them accountable. It is a platform for dialogue where various actors negotiates solves their differences on amicable basis. Check and balance among government organs and the prevalence of rule of law
assures that nobody is above the law. Among others, these features make democracy peaceful and stable.

As the practices of many nation have shown worldwide, peace and democracy complement each other in many ways, however democracy cover wide ranging issues that guarantee the prevalence of genuine peace. Therefore, sustainable peace and security mainly depends on the prevalence of democracy.

2.4.2. Relationships between Democracy & Development

Which should come first? Many scholars debated on this issue for decades and there is no readymade answer so far. For Liberals, development comes first and democracy second. Their argument is, if there is no check and balance among the government organs and if ordinary people are not able to check powerful actors; those development efforts will be misused by power groups and eventually could lead to conflict. For them, adopting democracy is the priority to assurance sustainable development.

To this end, the Bretton Woods Institutions and Western donors used aid as a precondition to influence Third World Countries to accept democracy. However, despite the good intention, democracy is a value and norm that goes with the development levels of the country and culture, hence, exporting Western liberal democracy like a commodity without taking into account the context has utterly failed in Iraq, Afghanistan and in Ethiopia.

Moreover, the Asian Tigers like South Korea, Taiwan, Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore, including China adopted developmental State Model, which is the blend of market economy and social democracy and able to disprove it (Sibuh, 2020:36). Contrary to the prescriptions of Western liberal democracy, the governments in these countries played the vanguard role in the industrialization process involving people at grass root and able to exhibit unprecedented development within less than seven decades.

The neo-Marxist view development from class perspective. They criticize liberals for focusing in political and civil right and shying away from addressing economic equality. They insist collective ownership of means of production and the empowerment of the working class as the only viable option (Burchil, 2005:131).
Despite self-aggrandizement and painting rosy pictures about themselves, the so-called developed Western liberal democracy tenets are not immune from the systemic discrimination and absence of equality; therefore, it cannot be taken an ideal model for the Third world countries to emulate. On the other hand, many agree that development and democracy complement each other and should not be seen as adversary.

In sum, aside from the controversies surrounding which should come first, the reality on the ground dictates that genuine democracy that involve equality, fair access to the available resources, sensitive to the environment could help many nations to negotiate among themselves and amicably solve their differences. Therefore, sustainable peace and development depends on the prevalence of genuine democracy. Accordingly, democracy is taken in this article as independent variable; peace and development as dependent variables.

III. The State Formation and the Nation-building Projects

3.1. Historical State Formation

Emperor Menelik who originated from Shawan highland was able to curve the present day Ethiopian political map in the late 19th century with the ambition of building a nation out of diverse ethnic groups through centralization and modernization (Cohen, 2006:168; Gada 1988:37). The centralization scheme involve neutralization of the subjects through assimilation policy, and modernization was planned to be realized through the European technology (Cohen, 2006:168; Merera, 2003: 94).

The expansion of Emperor Menelik to the South took place along the advent of European powers to the Horn of Africa (Shimelis, 2019:3). Many see him as a cunning politician who was able to understand the competing interest among these colonial powers and manage to solicit modern European weapon, and used it to subjugate the people in the South(Merera, 2003: 95; Asafa, 2001: 14).. After conquering the subjects, he imposed the values and culture of feudal mode of production on them through the instrumentality of ruling regime agents of political socialization such as Orthodox Church, Media, education system, bureaucracy and law enforcement institutions (Aalen, 2001: 3, Bahru, 2002:111). Emperor Haile Selassie also worked hard on the nation-building agenda of his predecessor. Moreover, as noted by Aalan, “The Derg regime continued the nation-building under the cover of Socialism” (Aalen, 2002: 5)
To materialize their nation-building project, the successive ruling regimes agents of political socialization were used to indoctrinate the young generations with autocratic medieval era ruling regime culture and values that culminated with the emergence of the so called mainstream ruling regime political culture (Leenco, 1999:4; Merera, 2003:8).

The proponents of this deep seated autocratic culture and value still adhere to the old adage of absolute victory and absolute defeat and did not concede to defeat or compromise. This zero-sum mind set and undemocratic values are imbedded in the subconscious of the past and present generations made the history of the country the history of wars.

3.2. Ethiopia under the Derg Regime

Emperor Haile Sellaise was unable to address the multifaceted problem of the country in early 1970s. The Americans advised him to reform, but the piece meal approach he had employed did not match with the swelling demands from peasantry, student and army. These were exacerbated by the drought in Wollo, the 1973 increase in oil price and led to the popular revolution that overthrow emperor Haile Selassie in 1974 (Waal, 2018:5; Bahru, 2007:232; Negussay, 1997:49). Hence, the absence of conscious and organized party created power vacuum and gave chance for the military that were better organized than others to snatch the state power and establish themselves as the Provisional Military Administration Council in the name of the oppressed people (Bahru, 2007:236).

After toppling the past regime and resuming the state power, the military discarded the old constitution, accused the emperor and his cabinet for the atrocities committed in the country and killed the emperor and his cabinet. Moreover, they took radical measures that paved the way for the equality of all people, religious equality, freedom of association, separation of state and religion. Furthermore, they have nationalized industries, urban land and house, redistributed land to the peasantry (Merera, 2003:82).

However, they lack statehood experience and clear ideology to follow. Hence, to overcome those challenges and able to lead the country, the Derg made a national call for intellectuals and opposition forces to come home and join the Revolution. Accordingly, with the exceptions of Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Party (EPRP) that oppose the military establishment, most leftist parties and progressive individuals joined the Derg regime, and as a result, appointed by the military at various responsibilities.
As to some scholars, the influence and manipulation of left oriented intellectuals and the distancing of United States of America (USA) made the Derg regime to incline towards adopting National Democratic Revolution (Bahru, 2007:245; Merera, 2003:81). As noted by Bahru, “By April 1976, the Derg came fully on board the leftist bandwagon with its declaration of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) program (Bahru, 2007: 246). NDR program was an ideology that created the alliance of the Working Class, Peasants and petty bourgeoisie against Feudalism, Bureaucratic capitalism and Imperialism.

To materialize the NDR program, the Derg regime established the Provisional Office of Mass Organizational Affairs (POMOA). Following this development, the Derg regime reshuffled the bureaucracy, police force, army and other government institutions and substituted it with its own loyal carders (Merera, 2003: 81). Besides, the POMOA has played crucial role in disseminating Marxist-Leninist ideology among the public at large and contributed much in organizing the people along Kebele to administer their affairs.

Further, to counter balance the weight of USA, the Derg allied with United Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR). As noted by Bahru, “In May 1997 Mengistu paid a state visit to Moscow, where he concluded with his new patron agreement for cooperation in the economic, cultural and military sphere (Baharu, 2007:254).

These radical measures taken by the Derg regime in favor of the marginalized groups provoked resistance both at home and from the neighboring countries. For instance, Siad Barre of Somalia who was waiting for opportune moment saw the internal turmoil within Ethiopia and the distancing of USA as the right moment to invade Ethiopia under the pretext of regaining the lost territories in 1977 (Spencer, 1977:4; Markakis,1998:131). However, the Derg regime used the external invasion as an opportunity to mobilize and rally millions under the Ethiopian nationalism.

The USSR initially attempted to reconcile Siad Barre and Mengistu Hailemariam to avoid war between the two left oriented countries, but the move was rejected by Siad Barre. This move persuaded USSR to turn her back on Somalia and engaged in training and equipping Ethiopian army to defend itself (Spencer.1977:4). Besides, Ethiopia was able to galvanize the backing of other Socialist countries to fight along Ethiopia based on the principle of proletarian internationalism, and as a result, able to defeat the invading army within short period of time.
The defeat of Siad Barre of Somalia boosted the capacity and popularity of Mengistu Haile Mariam at home and international scene. This historic victory enabled him to Shift his army from South to the Northern fronts and opt for military solution for every challenge. Accordingly, he started to assert himself both within the military and civilian. As noted by Merera, “Having liquidated the resistance at home and with decisive victory over Somalia, the military elite under complete control of Mengistu turned its attention to the project ,,nation-building ,, and Socialism ,, ( Merera, 2003:80).

In attempt to made to get the upper hand over this opponents, Mengistu used the allied Marxist Leninist groups in the country to defeat EPRP that challenged the legitimacy of the Derg regime, however after eliminating these leftist elites one after the other , able to establish his own brain child, the Ethiopian Workers Party (EWP) in 1984 (Aalen, 2002: 52).

The other major achievement of Mengistu was the establishment of Institute for Nations and nationalities in 1983. The institute was mandated to conduct to study about the history and settlement patterns of the people. Accordingly, they came up with the constitution that was ratified by the referendum in 1986. Based on the constitution of 1987 provisions, national election was conducted in which the WPE members competed among themselves and established National Assembly that was proclaimed the People”s Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE). By doing so, the Derg transfer itself to the civilian government (Baharu, 2007:256).

After transforming itself from military to civilian rule in the spirit of the 1987 constitution, the Derg regime have attempted to address the questions of nations and nationalities. As noted by Merera,” The regional autonomy programme was resurrected in the constitution of 1987, and based on the new constitution; the country”s administrative structure was subdivided into 29 regions. Only Eritrea, Tigray, Asab and Dire Dawa were accredited the autonomous status “( Merera, 2003:83).However, their mandate was limited and did not address the expectations of the people , as a result, the struggle for emancipation intensified in different parts of the country.

President Mengistu attempted to monopolize government institutions at all levels leveraging his party and government position. These monopolies involve assigning party loyalist in key bureaucratic office, military, academic institutions. The private sector was insignificant and treated with care, and those forces that attempt to challenge the monopoly of the government and the Ethiopian Workers Party (EWP) were labeled as anti-revolutionary and dealt with brute force.
There was no check and balance among government organs, the executive dominates all sectors and government leaders behave above the law. There was no transparency and accountability as these elite groups consider themselves that knows what was good for the people. The Derg created what they called Mass Organization such as Ethiopian Working Class Union, Peasantry, Women and Youth organization under the auspices of EWP from Kebele to the national level as the forces of Revolution against Imperialism Bureaucratic capitalism and Feudalism. Both print and electronic media was monopolized by the government and others media were outlawed by the decree.

Though Derg succeed in monopolization of government positions and silenced every sector in the center, unable to do the same in the military fronts along peripheries. The war in Eritrea, Tigray and other parts of the country killed hundred thousands, displaced millions, impoverished the people of the land and displaced millions. Besides, the war consumed significant portion of the GDP of the country and tarnished the image of the country. As a result, the century old investments made by the successive unionist regimes to create homogenous nation was changed to the nightmare with the collapse of Socialist black at the end of 1980s forcing President Mengistu to flee to Zimbabwe.

3.3. Ethiopia under EPRDF Regime

The down fall of the Derg regime and the ascendance of the Tigray People”s Liberation Ethiopian People”s Front (TPLF) led Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) in 1991 took place when the Socialist block was in disarray and when USA starts to assert herself as uncontested world power. At this historic juncture, the TPLF dominated EPRDF pledged to the Western powers and international Community to adopt democracy that include the introduction of multiparty system, liberalize the economy and able to exploit this golden opportunity for its own end results.

To this end, EPRDF played pivotal role in establishing coalition government with other NLMs that enabled EPRDF to take the upper hand in the formation of transitional government. As noted by Leenco, “The Transitional period was launched at the July 1991 Conference, attended by the delegate of more than twenty participating political organizations and other personalities “(Leenco, 1999:26).

This historic Conference managed to establish the post Derg government that put the political landscape of the country on the right course. The participants of this Conference embraced the Transitional Period Charter as supreme law of the land that allowed Eritrea to undertake referendum and enabled other ethnic groups to exercise self-determination (Vestal, 1999:6, Aalen, 2002: 40)
Accordingly, various regional states were curved along ethnic and cultural identity lines, and accordingly power and authority were decentralized to the regions so as to enable them enjoy self-rule and shared-rule.

To materialize its promises and assert itself, TPLF dominated EPRDF had conducted regional election in 1992. As noted by Leenco,” The First major step to put the Charter’s principles of plurality into practice was the district and regional elections of June 21, 1992. More than 60 parties competed” (Leenco, 1999: 26).

On the eve of this election, the Assistance Secretary of United State Herman J. Cohen warned, “US assistance to Ethiopia depends upon progress in democracy and human rights. We continue to closely monitor progress in these two areas and design our programs so as to promote democracy and privatization “ (Vestal,1999: 30). However, despite warning by US official and other donor nations, EPRDF employed tricky tactics such as intimidation and harassment that forced OLF and some parties to withdraw from the election (Aalen, 2002:157). In this historic election, EPRDF and its affiliates won 96.6 % of seats (Merera, 2003: 204).

The National Democratic Institute for International observers that participated in election observation, expressed their stance in the following way: “To the disappointment of many Ethiopians and their friends in the international community, the June 21 elections represented a sterile, surreal and wholly formalistic affairs “(Martz, 1992:6).

Despite the challenges they have faced at each level, the Transitional Government came up with the Federal constitution in December 1994, and used it as an instrument to lay foundation for the national election. Hence, regional elections were conducted on 5 January 1995 at end of the transition. EPRDF and its allies in this election won 471 of the 547 seats in the council, with other parties and independent taking the reaming 75 seats (Lyons, 1996: 134).

As observed by Leenco, “the convening of Ethiopia’s Federal Parliament on August 21, 1995, officially brought to an end the Transition period” (Leenco, 1999: 26) and heralded the birth of new government named as Federal Democratic of Ethiopia, and many viewed it as new era of elected government.

The second national election under the auspices of TPLF dominated EPRDF was conducted in 2000 G.C to get legitimacy from international community and at domestic level. Nonetheless, several
parties boycotted and only 17 parties participated and EPRDF won 481 seats, and independent 10 seats and other parties 6 seats (Wikipedia, 2021:2).

The third national election was conducted in 2005. In comparison to the previous elections, in this election, there were relative freedoms for political campaigning was fairly liberal that enabled opposition parties to rally millions behind their party program and won significant seats. Especially, the opposition won in the capital city with landslide victory sending shock wave to the EPRDF that use to portray itself as a single dominant party. EPRDF won 317 seats in this election and the opposition got significant number of seats. Nonetheless, due to the claims and counter-claims made by the government and opposition forces, the post-election era was marred with demonstrations that resulted in the killings of close to 200 people (Shimelis, 2019: 5). Consequently, EPRDF was forced to change course from liberal ideology to Developmental state that prescribes to Revolutionary Democracy and consequent narrowing down of democratic space for the opposition and civil society.

Using his party and government positions under the cover of state nationalism, EPRDF systematic suppressed decent voices and able to monopolize power. The executive dominates all sectors and there was no check and balance among government organs, hence, the government officials act above the law.

Though EPRDF was relatively better than the Derg regime in areas of freedom of press and freedom of assembly; however they start to systematically suppress and eliminate the free press and civil society that were considered by the regime as threat to the system under the cover of threat to national security. To bolster their position in all sectors in the country, EPRDF assigned party loyalist in key bureaucratic office, military, academic institutions. The private sector was by far better than that of the Derg regime; however, those that were viewed as threat to the system were treated with maximum care.

In its final years, the TPLF dominated EPRDF was able to succeed in monopolization of federal key positions and economic sectors, however, those moves provoked ethno-nationalism that led to relentless grass root peaceful resistance that forced TPLF to retire from the federal power monopoly in 2018.
4. Discussion

Ethiopian history is full of controversies and paradoxes. This section attempts to objectively analyze why the country that claim the history of thousand years remain align to democracy and unable to feed her own citizens and every year ask international community for food aid. To this end, the research objectives and the gathered evidences were contextualized and critically analyzed through the lens of relevant Social Science theories.

Why do the ruling elite of the country failed to draw lessons from the failure of the past regimes?

The question has no precise answer and involves claims and counter-claims, hence, to avoid such subjectivity judgment and objectively analyses the case, the researcher opted to trace back the pre-colonial history of the sub-region and the post-colonial developments to give clue for the people who are not familiar with the issue at hand to objectively analyses the impact on history on the present political landscape of the country.

Historically, the opening of Suez Cannel 1869 and the consequent arrival of European Colonial powers to the Horn of Africa brought about profound change that altered the traditional balance of power in the sub-region and left behind permanent scar that is pitting the ethnic groups of the sub-region against each other (Legume, 1979: 3). As noted by Mekuria, “--- the opening of the Suez Cannel in 1869, an abundant supply of industrially produced weapon, and growing competition between European, Arab, and Asia traders [ gave ample opportunities for powerful sub-regional actors to engage in large scale wars] (Mekuria Blucha, 2002: 61).

At this historical juncture, Emperor Menelik of Ethiopia who aspire to emerge as King of Kings able to manipulate the European colonial powers, solicit modern weapons and used it to annex the trade routes in the South. Moreover, the post Adawa victory boosted his moral and capacitated him to curve the present day Ethiopian territories (Baharu, 2002:60; Markakis, 1994: 221).

As noted by Bahru, “The first campaigners to incorporate Oromos that surrounded the Shawan state and Gurage were conducted around 1875-1876 “Bahru, 2002:61). After conquering and subjugating the people in the South, Emperor Menelik settled settlers from the center in the South along government coercive institutions to integrate peripheries to the center. Nonetheless, as noted by Leenco, “One outcome of the conquest by ---Northern Christian highland rules was the extension of their traditional autocratic style of government over the people they subjugate” (Leenco, 1999 :4).
To materialize their grand ambitions, the successive ruling elites of Ethiopia and their proponents labelled the subjects as inferior and coerced them to accept the „superior,” „civilized culture & values” of the ruling regime (Gebru, 1996:28).

As witnessed by Markakis, the language of Amhara and Christianity became the salient features of Ethiopian nationalism----integration was premised on assimilation into what was presented as superior culture of the ruling ethnic group. ----no other indigenous language was allowed to be printed, broadest or spoken in public functions, and attempts to study the culture and history of other groups were decidedly discouraged (Markakis, 1994:222).

To create homogeneous nation through centralization and assimilation policy, the successive Ethiopian ruling regimes reinforced their culture and value on the subjects through the instrumentality of agents of political socialization. As noted by Aalen, “As Haile Sellaise had done, Mengistu saw his regime as synonymous with the Ethiopian state & continue the pattern of extreme centralization and denial of regional opposition forces “(Aalen, 2002: 5). This unfair treatment provoked resistance from the subjects and gave birth to two contending narratives: the centripetal /Unionist and centrifugal/federalist forces.

Despite the rejection by the majority elites, the successive ruling regimes elites deliberately created institution that impose their culture and values on the subjects and perpetuate it. These institutions use to mystify and portray Ethiopia as an ancient, exceptional and invincible nation. The young generations who were shaped in this narrative consider Emperor Menelik as modernizer and unifying figure, and they view the past as sacrosanct. Besides, they view those who question the historical state formation and claim restorative justice as traitors and historic enemies. As noted by Merera, “The „nation-builders” thesis holds that creation of the modern empire-state of Ethiopia through force by the successive empire builders is a historical accomplishment “(Merera, 2003: 94). Further, they ethnic based federalism as a threat to the national integrity.

On the other hand, the elite groups in the South and the elite group from Tigray see Emperor Menelik as oppressor, expansionist who allied with colonial powers and conquered other parts of the county through the brute force. Hence, they aspire to administer themselves based on the principle of self-rule and shared rule in the framework of wider Ethiopia.
In sum, the nation builders perceive the lost lives and destruction since the late 19th century as sacrifices made to create modern powerful nation, for them, there is nothing wrong with nation building agenda as other part of the world follow the same footsteps to build the nation. Unfortunately, the rulers of the country are predominately from geographic North who were shaped under the autocratic feudal mode of production culture that worship the past and urge others to follow that footsteps, Thus, the reason why the successive ruling regimes fail to draw lesson from the past is, they do not consider it as wrong, rather they view it as the heyday of the country that need to be emulated. However, this state sponsored nation-building agenda was attempted for more than a century and failed. Hence, unless middle ground is sought these extreme views will put the survival of the country at stake.

Why do some progressive forces that have shown the semblance of democracy resort to tyranny?

As it was discussed above and elsewhere, the problem of Ethiopian political sickness started with the flawed state formation that took place in the late 19th century and the consequent imposition of medieval era culture on the subjects by disregarding the egalitarian democratic institutions.

Emperor Haile Sellasie introduced modern education in 1950s to create modern and loyal bureaucracy, however, the young educated elites rather than being loyal to the King and the Throne, inspired by the Vietnam and Cuban Revolutions and stood against the Feudal mode of production and Monarchial rule Sellassie (Merera, 2003:73; Bahru, 2002: 223).

These educated elites later on joining the Derg regime and the opposition forces and contributed their part in shaping the future of the country. For instance, most of the member of the military that toppled the King and call themselves as Derg were former university students. The military also known as Derg immediately after taking over the state power took radical measures that departed from Monarchial and Feudal mode of production, nonetheless, these radical measures put them at odds with the USA that use to support the King. The Derg regime that has no option was forced to ally with USSR to counter the weight of USA and West and consequently adopted Socialist orientation.

This ideological shift made the Derg regime to embrace anti Imperialist, anti-Feudalism and anti-Bureaucratic Capitalism stance. The Derg regime in their initial years allowed free press, the right to
organize themselves. Nonetheless, when people start demand for their right, the Derg opted for military solution. Likewise, the TPLF, most of them former university students who fought against the Derg regime allied with Western powers in the final hours and able to overthrow the Derg regime in 1991. As part of their promise, they have accommodated some liberal policies in the constitution. The new government also deconstructed the old unitary state and embraced ethnic based Federalism as a solution to solve the age old problem of the country. The adoption of new constitution allowed the people to enjoy the right to organize and express their interest. However, after consolidating their power based, TPLF led EPRDF opted for military solution to solve the problem of the country. As noted by Merera, “The legacy of the country’s autocratic culture and the absence of a strong civil society further affect the democratization drive in Ethiopia “ (Memrea,2023;8).

As a matter of fact, both the Derg and TPLF dominated EPRDF regimes took progressive measures in their early that created enabling environment for the flourishing of free press and civil society organizations. Nonetheless, when the people start to ask for their right based on the given rights, the rulers of the two regimes resorted to military solutions to undermine the legitimate demands of the people. Besides, they created surrogate civil society organizations that were loyal to their regimes to deceive international community. Besides, the party and government position were dominated by the ruling regime and there is no check and balance among government organs. Further, the civil society and press are weak and unable to check the power abuse. Hence, government leaders were above the low and do what they deem is important for the country.

As discussed above, the so called progressive forces of the Derg and EPRDF regimes were born and shaped under autocratic rule that was alien to democratic culture, hence, when their interest is at stake, they are unable to hide what was buried under their sub-conscious and start to rule by impulse. Moreover, there are no check and balance among government organs and credible independent organs that check their power abuse were no existent. Hence, one can safely conclude from the actions of the two regimes that the attempted made to democratize the country was not genuine, rather cosmetic move orchestrated to appease their external patrons. However, such undemocratic zero-sum politics of domination and marginalization made the country to remain the tail of the world. Therefore, the people of the land need to critically examine the outdated political culture and heal the problem that is eating up the country like a Caner.
Can democratic path be an alternative in overcoming the democratic deficit?

Yes, if there is good will among the political elite of the country to amicably negotiate and solve their difference, and if the downtrodden public are empowered to the forefront positions to actively play pivotal role. However, as the practice of the ruling elite have demonstrated over decades, it is unthinkable. This is mainly because of the deep rooted ruling regime medieval era autocratic political culture in the subconscious of the ruling elites and their adherence to the old adage of “absolute victory or absolute defeat, and the middle ground is unthinkable” that has no room for compromise

To materialize their objective of creating „same“ nation in the late 19th century, the Ethiopia state adopt centralization and assimilation polices and sideline the culture and identities of the subjects. As noted by Walle, “Despite the historical process of integration, --- the Ethiopian authoritarian system had been seen by its critics as having failed over the years to accommodate the needs and aspirations of its various nationalist groups who have claimed that they had been politically marginalized and economically peripheralized by those at the center of power” (193:34).

The strategy employed by the successive rulers of the country to create homogeneous by imposing medieval era culture on the subjects led to resistance and the proliferation of many National Liberation Fronts (NLFs) that consumed the lives of hundred thousands, displaced millions and impoverished the people of the land.

This unfair treatment of the subjects polarized the people of the land along the supporters of unitary and the opposing Federalist forces. The proponents of unitary opt for unity at all cost on one hand and federal forces want to administer their affairs based on the principle of self-rule and shared rules on the other. These contending narratives made the life of people miserable and put the survival the county in difficult position.

To overcome such stalemate and reconcile the nation requires adopting democratic culture that gives chance for the downtrodden majority to negotiate their difference and solve their problems on amicable manner. Hence, the plausible solution to solve the age old conflict of the country is the adoption genuine democracy that empowers the down trodden mass and enables them to negotiate their difference and solve it in amicable manner.
Conclusion

Emperor Menelik of Ethiopia got an opportunity to design his own strategy of creating an Empire with the advent of European Colonial powers in the 19th C. To this end, he came up with the agenda of nation-building through the instrumentality of centralization and modernization. He disregarded the egalitarian institutions in the South and imposed the medieval era highlanders’ values and culture on the subjects through the instrumentality of its agents of political socializations. This ideal was reinforced by the successive regimes in more aggressive manner. However, the inability of the successive nation builders to integrate peripheries to the center as intended opened an opportunity for the evolvement of two rival nationalism- centripetal and centrifugal in Ethiopian political history.

The proponents of the unitary system are born and shaped under the auspices of medieval era ruling regime institutions and consider the past as sacrosanct, view those who question the past political history of the country with malicious intent and associate them with historic enemies. As a result, people with good intent fear the consequence and either accept it as right or prefer not to talk about it.

On the other hand, those marginalized groups use to see Menelik and the successive Ethiopian rulers as oppressor who imposed their culture and value on the subject by brute force. This group that feels marginalized aspires to administer their affairs based on the principle of self-rule and shared rule within the wider Ethiopian, popularly known as federalist forces.

These contending views made the history of the country the history of wars and damaged the image of the country at home and at international fora.

As it was observed in the political history of the country, even the ruling regimes that departed from this medieval tradition attempted to democratize the country, they eventually resorted to zero-sum game when people start to demand for their right fearing that it could lead to defeat and humiliation.

Moreover, the fusion of government and party positions constrained check and balance among government organs both under both the Derg and TPLF led EPRDF regimes. Further, there were no independent and credible democratic institutions that use to check government power abuse; hence, they use everything at their disposal to crush decent voices. As a result, such realist zero-sum mindset hampered the path to dialogue, national reconciliation and darkens the fate of the country. Therefore, the only plausible option to salvage the country from further wars and destruction is to embrace genuine democracy and the democratization process that empowers the people at grass root to decide on their own fate.
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