



SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

PROTECTION OF MINORITY RIGHTS UNDER ETHIOPIAN FEDERAL
ARRANGEMENT:ASSESSMENT ON THE PROTECTION SCHEME OF
ADAMI TULU AND JIDO KOMBOLCHA WOREDA IN EAST SHOA ZONE,
OROMIYA REGINAL STATE, ETHIOPIA.

POLITICAL SCIENCE THESIS

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Protection of Minority Rights under Ethiopian Federal Arrangement: Assessment on the Protection Scheme of Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda East Shoa Zone, Oromiya Regional State, Ethiopia.

A Thesis Submitted to School of Graduate Studies, in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master in Political Science.

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LIST OF ABRIVIATIONS

ESDP	Ethiopian Social Democratic Party
EPRDF	Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
NNPRS	Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HoF	House of Federation
HRC	Human Right Commission
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
MoE	Ministry of Education
SNNPRS	Southern Nation, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State
TTC	Teachers Training College
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Right
UN	United Nation
EHRC	Ethiopia Human Rights Commission
MRGI	Minority Rights Group International
OLA	Oromo Liberation Army/Shane
ACHPR	African Charter on Human and peoples Rights

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ABSTRACT

Only eight of Ethiopia's more than 76 ethnic groups, including their subgroups, have been granted their own regions by the federal government. The territorial autonomy afforded to ethno-national communities emphasizes the Ethiopian federal system's distinct division of territories, despite the diversity among its individual constituents. Within the autonomous area designated for each group, the related ethno-national community possesses full territorial authority and governance. Based on the 2007 census, nearly all ethnic groups are dispersed throughout the region, yet their unique identities have not been acknowledged in the Oromiya constitution. The research primarily aimed to explore the Ethiopian federations and the issue of minority rights within the Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda. This study specifically aimed to identify the prevailing political practices surrounding minority representation, the obstacles minorities encounter in asserting their rights, and to propose strategies for safeguarding those rights. The data was analyzed using a qualitative interpretive approach. To gain perspectives from the target community, the researcher conducted interviews with 32 heads of households, selected through purposive sampling; among these, 11 belonged to the Amhara group, 8 were from Mareko, 7 represented Gurage, and 6 were from the Silte minority groups. Moreover, 3 local experts were interviewed by the researcher. In total, 35 individuals participated in the interviews. For the focus group discussion (FGD), the researcher purposefully selected 10 participants, which included 6 heads of offices from the woreda government and 4 notable members of minority groups. Consequently, a total of 45 individuals participated in the study. The findings indicate that language barriers and discrimination constituted the main challenges faced by the Amhara, Mareko, Gurage, and Silte minorities within the studied region.

Key words: *Federalism, Federation, Minority groups, Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda.*

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The rights of minority groups are attracting more attention nowadays from government representatives, international organizations, and researchers (Malloy, 2015; Wolff et al., 2008). In addition to their individual rights, members of specific minority communities possess extra rights referred to as minority rights. As part of a particular community, minority ethnic groups have specific collective rights that can be exercised either individually or as a collective. Important aspects of these rights encompass autonomy (the right to self-rule), the preservation and enhancement of cultural identity, and political representation (Kymlicka, 1995; Selassie, 2003). As a result, realizing the ultimate objectives of these rights becomes complicated without the support of the law and politics from the state or the involvement of various ethnic groups, particularly in a diverse society (Addisu, 2020). By forming component divisions grounded in the main ethnolinguistic groupings within a federal system, a multinational federation serves the needs of different ethnic and linguistic communities. To link an ethnolinguistic group to its relevant units, the boundaries of these units are established. However, under the pretext of self-governance, this system permits the dominant ethnocultural group to manage the constituent unit to preserve and promote their uniqueness (McGarry, John, 2005).

Establishing a constituent unit that has a completely homogenous ethno-linguistic population is challenging, even when multinational federations attempt to organize their constituent units according to ethno-linguistic divisions to manage the diversity of their populations. It is deemed "chimerical" to create a uniform regional state within any federation (Cairns, 1995). The outcome of this lack of homogeneity results in groups that belong to the predominant ethnic group but lack sufficient numbers to form their own constituent units. Within a certain autonomous component unit, these minority groups—often dispersed and politically insignificant—are forced to coexist with the majority ethnic groups. Internal minorities confront an existential threat and are marginalized from the political structures of self-governed entities because the dominant group perceives the constituent unit as their "ethno-national homeland" (Fiseha, 2017).

The practical inability to create ethnically homogenous constituent units necessitates federations to adopt various strategies to accommodate internal minorities (Fessha & Beken, 2013). Western multiethnic federations have historically struggled with the inadequate treatment of internal minorities at various times. This suggests that “paying attention to the interests and rights of internal minorities is particularly crucial for a multiethnic federation” (Fessha & Beken, 2013). In multiethnic federations, internal minorities are prevalent features, with examples including Spanish speakers in Catalonia, English speakers in Quebec, and French speakers in Flanders (Fessha & Beken, 2013). In Africa, although infrequent, the 1990s served as a catalyst to include its ethnic diversity within its constitution or legal framework (Selassie, 2003). For instance, the South African constitution takes a measured approach as it acknowledges the rights of ethnic groups to their languages and cultures and bolsters these rights through a highly decentralized system (Selassie, 2003).

Federalism is increasingly being advocated and utilized as a constitutional mechanism to promote ethnic diversity (Beken, 2013). In contemporary times, the structure of states tends to embrace diversity more effectively than the model of the nation-state, which has historically enforced cultural uniformity and assimilation. This trend has become particularly prominent following the end of the Cold War. In some countries, decentralized multinational or ethnic federal systems are replacing centralized unitary forms of governance (Firew, 2012). The formation of a state involves two primary phases. The first phase is a response to the escalating demands from national minorities seeking autonomy and self-rule in multiethnic nations. The second phase highlights the difficulties of centrally managing a nation's political, social, and economic matters due to the concentration of decision-making power at the national level, leading to delays in addressing the populace's needs (Assefa, 2006).

A deeper investigation would show that the suppression of minority rights concerning the customs, languages, and beliefs of one or a few ethnic groups under the pretense of nation-building has resulted in the loss of property and lives, hindering economic progress. In a scenario where the oppressor of the past transforms into the oppressed of today, various ethnic groups have been engaged in conflicts to preserve their identity, political representation, and right to self-determination. The majority of African republics display significant variations in social, economic, ethnic, and religious aspects as a consequence of colonial policies and designs (Beken, 2007).

Ethiopia's decentralization and federal political framework, which have been incorporated into the state-building framework, exhibit unique characteristics. Before 1991, an alternative approach to nation-building was unattainable due to the internal expansion that resulted in the formation of the Ethiopian state. Similar to the leaders of post-colonial African republics, Ethiopian power holders largely ignored ethnic diversity throughout much of the 20th century in their quest to construct a cohesive nation within their state. This strategy persisted until the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) overthrew the Derge regime in May 1991 and instituted an ethnic federal structure primarily based on linguistic and cultural dimensions (Walker, 1972).

Geographically defined ethnic groups now have sovereign power and the right to self-determination, as indicated in Article 46/2 of the FDRE constitution (1995). The Oromiya Regional State, named after the predominant ethnic group residing there, is one of the national states. While no region is entirely homogeneous due to the presence of scattered ethnic minorities in each area, regional constitutions, particularly those of Gembella, Benshan-Gulgumuz, and Oromiya, have given relatively little attention to these minorities.

Despite the findings of the 2007 population census, which shows that the Oromiya region is home to numerous ethnic groups, the preamble of the Oromiya Constitution asserts that only the Oromo people have the authority to draft the constitution (CSA, 2007). This demonstrates dissatisfaction with the federal constitution and a lack of recognition for minority rights. Further evidence is found in Article 8 of the same constitution, which states, "The Oromo people possess sovereign power in the regions" (Oromiya Regional State Revised Constitution, 2001). Consequently, the primary aim of this study was to explore the factors that lead marginalized minorities to experience economic disadvantages, political disempowerment, arbitrary killings, and discouragement from living in or moving to Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha woreda. The investigation also identified barriers to political representation for minority groups.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

According to Article 47 of the FDRE Constitution, Ethiopia is structured as a federal system composed of twelve national regional states, primarily defined by ethnic identities. In addition, the constitution outlines two city administrations: Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa as stipulated in the charter. Within these ethnically defined regional administrations, numerous minority groups exist. The Oromo represent about 88% of the population in the designated regional state, indicating a substantial majority. The remaining 12% consists of internal minorities, with the Amhara comprising 72% of this group, while the other ethnic groups together make up 48%, although none exceed 1% of the total population in the region (Central Statistical Agency, 2007). Most of these internal minorities have historically lived in and continue to reside in various areas of Oromia due to their historical freedom of movement (Fessha and Beken, 2013; Záhóřík, 2014). Conversely, the preamble of the Oromiya Constitution asserts that only the Oromo people are accountable for its establishment (Oromiya Regional State Revised Constitution 2001).

Nonetheless, the Oromia regional state constitution fails to acknowledge the presence or unique characteristics of the internal minority groups. Furthermore; the regional state administration is obligated to address the political, social, and economic challenges faced by diverse minority populations. This research centered on examining the practical protection of minority rights in the Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda, situated in the East Shewa Zone of the Oromiya region. The study also sought to assess the interactions between majority and minority groups. The researcher developed a strong dedication to minority rights due to the ongoing concerns raised by minority groups in the study area, concentrating on issues such as identity recognition, political representation, self-governance, and the promotion and safeguarding of their linguistic, economic, and cultural rights.

There are notable differences between the constitutions of the Amhara and Oromia regions of Ethiopia regarding the acknowledgment and protection of internal minorities, particularly concerning sovereignty and self-determination. The Amhara region showcases relatively diverse political dynamics due to the presence of ethnic minorities, including the Oromo (special zone), Agew, Kimant, and Argoba. Although the Amhara are the largest ethnic group in the Amhara region, the Oromo remain the most prominent among the various ethnic groups despite the Amhara's predominance. Interestingly, this diversity is recognized in the Amhara regional constitution, which refers to the "peoples of the Amhara National Regional State" in its

preamble. Moreover, Article 8 states, "The ultimate authority of the national regional state is vested in the peoples of the Amhara region." This constitutional recognition of ethnic diversity is of great importance. The Amhara regional constitution acknowledges minorities by providing them with special representation in the regional parliament through a quota (Article 45(3) of the Amhara constitution). Muluze (2018) also noted that the Oromos, comprised of 2.2% of the total population in the Amhara region (CSA, 2009), are recognized and granted self-government status, which includes the right to use and promote their own language and culture.

Numerous investigations have been carried out in different areas regarding the safeguarding of rights for ethnic minorities. For example, Ato Amare Kebede undertook a study in the Dara Woreda of the North Shewa Zone within the Oromia National Regional State, while Ato Shimelis Kasaye concentrated on the Grar Larso Woreda in the same Zone. Both researchers explored the rights protections for Amhara minority communities residing in various parts of the Oromiya National State during a time when the Ethiopian Federation comprised nine members. Their work has primarily focused on ensuring the democratic rights of minority groups, utilizing a random sampling technique to select individuals for interviews during the data collection phase. The participants were restricted to an individual ethnic group. Attention to the protection of human rights for individuals from minority communities has been limited and predominantly addressed through reports and studies from human rights organizations.

Consequently, the researcher has filled this gap by selecting participants from all minority groups living in the study area. The researcher adopted a pre-screening strategy and established quotas for participants from various minority ethnic groups to guarantee adequate data collection. The research has investigated the protection of human rights for members of minority groups, particularly emphasizing the right to physical safety, the freedom to reside and move in their preferred locations, and the constitutional safeguards against psychological pressure and fear in Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda. This study is conducted during a period when Ethiopia's federal structure has been implemented in twelve regions based on the identity and consent of the people.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General Objective

The primary goal of this research is to investigate the practical protection of minorities' rights in Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

Specific objectives of the study are:

- To determine the practical political representation of minorities in the Woreda councils of Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha.
- To evaluate the degree to which minorities' rights—including those related to self-government, language, culture, economy, employment, and representation—are upheld in the study area.
- To evaluate the obstacles minorities encounter in exercising their human rights (freedom of movement and residence, security, and psychological) within the study area.

1.4. Research Questions

The following research questions are addressed in this study.

- ✓ Are minorities politically represented in the Woreda council of the study area?
- ✓ How have minority rights (self-government, linguistic, cultural, economic, employment, and representation) been safeguarded in Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda?
- ✓ What are the challenges that minorities in the study area face when trying to exercise their human rights (freedom of movement and residence, security, and psychological)?

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study is significant for local government because it identifies minorities' rights and obligations, the obstacles to exercising those rights, and potential solutions. The study also looked for reasons why minorities' rights are not recognized and how to exercise the rights provided by the Federal Constitution, particularly Article 39. In order for the relevant federal and regional agencies to take the necessary steps before the violation of minority rights gets worse, it can also highlight the issues and offer solutions. Lastly, it may motivate other academics to carry out more thorough research on minority rights.

1.6. Scope of the Study

Language, identity, settlement patterns, and the consent of the relevant communities shape the twelve regional nation-states that constitute Ethiopian ethnic federalism (Article 46). This study is primarily focused on the Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda located in the East Shewa Zone of the Oromiya region, specifically examining the Ethiopian federal framework and minority rights at the regional state level. The research was prompted by ongoing grievances from minority groups regarding the local government's inadequate safeguarding of their rights in Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda. The study primarily investigates the political representation of internal minorities in the Woreda councils, the protections available to them, and the challenges they encounter in the area.

1.7 Organization of the Thesis

The thesis is organized into five chapters. The first chapter includes the problem statement, research questions, background information, and the study's significance, scope, and limitations. The thesis's second chapter is devoted exclusively to reviewing the literature on minorities and federalism. Thus, topics covered include the concept of a minority, the various kinds of minorities, minority protection, federalism, minority integration in the federal system, and minority rights. Among the research methodologies employed in this study were research design, sampling technique, sampling method, and data collection instruments; the third chapter covered data presentation and analysis. The thesis's fourth chapter discusses the perceptions of minorities in the Oromiya region, their local recognition, and their representation in the woreda council. Here is a review of the findings and discussion. As a result, data and information about minority groups Adami Tulu and in Jido Kombolcha woreda were examined. The data came from focus groups, interviews, and other sources. The fifth chapter of the thesis covered the study's findings and recommendations. In this chapter, the researcher outlines the marginalized minority groups in Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha woredas, using the regional state constitutions of Oromiya as a guide. The researcher also suggested potential changes and steps that should be taken in this regard to guarantee Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha's successful recognition as minorities.

1.8 DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

The following definitions and usage of key terms are provided to ensure that the research is understood:

Federation: the institutional composition of the federal nation. a nation composed of several separate states, each with autonomy over its own affairs but subject to national policy decisions made by the central government (Burgess, 2006).

Federalism: a system of governance in which the national government and its various regions share power. Therefore, a constitutional way to stop the concentration of power is through federalism. It blends shared rule at the center with self-rule by territorial subunits, where subunits share power within the central government and govern themselves (Elazar, 1993, 192).

Minorities: A group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a State, in a non-dominant position, whose individuals – being nationals of the State – possess ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics contrasting from those of the rest of the population and appear, if as it were verifiably, a sense of solidarity, coordinated towards preserving their culture, conventions, religion or language (Capotorti, 1997).

CHAPTER TWO

2. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURES

2.1 Conceptual and Theoretical Framework of Minorities

Definitions of pertinent terms are crucial to scientific research because they make the concepts being studied easier to understand. Thus, this section will define terms such as federalism, federation, and minority rights, among other things. To help the reader fully comprehend this research, the following definitions have been developed.

2.2. Who are Minorities?

Minority issues have been discussed internationally for a long time. Like many other legal concepts and terms, the term "minority" lack a widely accepted definition. Its definition has been attempted to be helpful and provisional by a number of experts and academics. The League of Nations did not treat the minority system well on a global scale (Lijphart, 2002). Following the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia, the fall of the Soviet Union, and the exasperating ethnic conflicts at the end of the 20th century, minority rights have gained international recognition (Sullivan, 2004).

Promoting minorities' unique identities and preserving diversity are important factors in the "political and social stability of states in which they live globally." According to Abera (2000), preserving minorities' unique identities also reduces the likelihood of inter ethnic conflict that could jeopardize global peace. Because of an article published in the International Covenant in 1966. The 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights declared that "persons belong to ethnic, religious, or linguistic minorities," which heightened the urgency of the ongoing debate over what constitutes a "minority" under international law (Burgess, 2006).

Article 27 of the ICCPR provides protection for members of linguistic, religious, and ethnic minorities. In states where there are ethnic, religious, or linguistic minorities, Article 27 of the ICCPR explicitly states that "persons belonging to those minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of the group, to enjoy their own cultures, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language." The subject of minority group accommodations in national systems has gained prominence in international law during the last 60 years. Through coercive assimilation, some minorities were compelled to adopt the majority's language, culture, and religion.

More than 175 of the 192 officially recognized UN member states in the world are multiethnic, which means that the majority and minority coexist and engage on a variety of issues (Lijphart, 2002). This leads to the claim that in order to ensure de jure and de facto protection for such a racially isolated group of people, a robust minority regime is necessary. This is for peace and stability as well as the pursuit of universal morality and human values. Furthermore, for justice to prevail in the global order, equality between the majority and the minority is necessary (Lijphart, 2002).

But academics such as Kymlicka (1995) contend that the mere guarantee of universal human rights for minorities is insufficient to account for cultural diversity in a heterogeneous society. As a result, they contend that in addition to group-specific rights, ethnic minorities ought to receive special constitutional recognition. There are a few reasons why i.e. the equality principle is one of the main justifications for the necessity of group-specific rights for minorities. A state can successfully declare its divorce from religion in any multiethnic society, but strict separation of state and ethnicity is challenging (Sullivan, 2004).

The most widely used working definition of a minority is thus that provided by Francesco Capotorti, who defined it as follows:

"A group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a state, in a non-dominant positions, whose members being nationals of the state- possess ethnic, religious, or linguistic characteristics differing from those of the rest of the population and show, if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their cultures, traditions, religions, or language" (Capotorti, 1997).

His definition states that a group must meet five requirements in order to qualify as a minority. In a state where they are a minority, they should first be a group of people whose differences are based on linguistic, ethnic, or religious backgrounds. Second, there should be no dominance within the group. Thirdly, they ought to make up a smaller percentage of a state's total population. Fourthly, rather than being non-nationals like immigrants and refugees, they ought to be citizens of a state. Finally, the group as a whole needs to stand together to maintain its uniqueness (Capotorti, 1997).

Ethiopia's notable official acknowledgement of minority groups dates back to the Transitional Government of Ethiopia's 1991 Charter. In light of this clause, Proc. No. 7/1992 in addition to Proc. No. 11/1992 defines a minority as a "nationality or people which, because of their smaller population, cannot establish its own woreda self-government" (FDRE Constitution, 1991).

2.3 Who Are Minorities in Oromiya?

According to the Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia (2007), the Oromiya region is home to individuals from almost every ethnic group in the country. Since the Oromiya boundary crosses practically every part of Ethiopia except Tigray, there are non-Oromo ethnic groups in the Oromiya region. In the Oromiya region, non-Oromo ethnic groups such as the Amhara, Somalie, Tigray, Guragie, Sidama, Wolaita, Hadiya, and Afar have established themselves (Asenake, 2009). According to Hernard's (2002) definition, every ethnic group in the Oromiya region—aside from the Oromo—is essentially a minority group and is therefore entitled to minority protection.

According to Art.46/2, in order to be recognized as a Nation, Nationality, and People's and to be granted the right to self-rule, one must reside in a recognizable, largely contiguous territory. Dispersed minorities are correctly excluded from asserting group-specific rights that territorially concentrated groups are entitled to under section 39(5) of the FDRE Constitution. Therefore, neither the Oromiya nor the FDRE constitutions recognize dispersed minority groups (Asnake, 2009). Because scattered minorities are underrepresented in Oromiya regional councils, the researcher agrees with this assessment. For example, the Oromiya Regional State's Adami tulu and Jido Kombolcha woredas is home to sizable populations of Amhara, Gurage, Mareko, and Silte minorities (CSA, 20).

2.4 Types of Minorities

Article 27 of the ICCPR lists minorities by ethnicity, language, religion, culture, and original form (Walker, 1972).

2. 4. 1 Ethnic Minority

The term "ethnic minority" encompasses a wide range of marginalized communities. A minority ethnic group may wish to preserve its distinctive characteristics, which may be inherited, shared, historical, or cultural. Among these differentiators is language. Ethnicity and "race" are sometimes used interchangeably. For a group of people to be classified as an ethnic minority, they must display both the objective and subjective indicators. Article 27 of the ICCPR, however, protects ethnic minorities rather than racial minorities (Walker, 1972).

2. 4. 2 Linguistic Minorities

Although there is disagreement over what constitutes a linguistic minority, this group has always needed special treatment from the state or international community. Human society is defined by language, which is fundamental to humanity not only as a means of communication but also as a

source of identity, pride, and self-worth (Aberra, 2008). In addition, it provides access to resources, jobs, public representation, and a way to protect one's feelings and convictions (Aberra, 2008).

2.4.3 Religious Minority

In nations with low levels of religious tolerance, people who practice a religion other than the official religion or the dominant religion but are not opposed to it are referred to as religious minorities and work to preserve their distinct religious identities (Hernard, 2002). When a religious group's beliefs deviate from either the dominant religion or the state religion, it is deemed a minority. The freedom to practice religion has restrictions, just like any other right, and can only be used if it doesn't jeopardize the religious convictions of others.

2. 4. 4. Cultural Minorities

Different societies have different cultures in different places. One important aspect of ethnicity is culture. Despite the lack of a universally recognized definition, culture is the way of life of a specific society. Individuals' cultural lives are protected by the 1966 International Covenant on Social, Economic, and Cultural Rights. However, the individual components of culture are directly affected by the protection (Hernard, 2002).

2.4.5. Indigenous Minority

Indigenous peoples may have experienced economic, social, and political oppression as a result of internal conquest or colonization (Hernaed, 2002). A working definition of indigenous communities, peoples, and nations has been proposed by the United Nations study on indigenous populations, highlighting their historical permanence before invasion and colonization. These societies have established their domains, regard themselves as separate from other facets of society, and still live in those domains or portions of them. The Amhara, Gurage, Mareko, and Silte are regarded as ethnic minorities in the study area, within the context of other minority groups. The term "minority" is mainly based on language and refers to ethnic minority for the purposes of this study.

2.5. Rights of Minorities

2.5.1 Cultural and Linguistic Rights

Since minorities play a vital role in maintaining and safeguarding their identity, it is true that their cultural and linguistic rights are crucial for the groups (Walker, 1972). Article 27 of the ICCPR guarantees members of cultural and linguistic minorities the freedom to use and enjoy

their own language and culture. What are fascinating about cultural rights are their extent and content as well as the nature of states' obligations. Because the definition of the phrase "enjoy their own culture" in article 27 of the ICCPR is unclear. Is it possible to determine when a state can be held liable for violating the rights of cultural minorities as defined by article 27 of the ICCPR? Does the right to culture as guaranteed by the ICESCR help to clarify the aforementioned issue? Does the obligation enshrined under article 27 of the covenant include both "positive" and "negative" obligations on state parties?

In respect to the above issue, there is a contention that the international instruments are not with problem in determining the scope of application of the rights to culture but a difficulty in defining culture. It has been submitted that cultural rights can include the rights delineated in article, 13, 14, and 15, of ICESCR which will have similar application for article 27 of ICCPR. The argument is that the rights of education (art. 13 and 14 of ICESCR), which directed to the full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity, is part of the right to culture of minority along with article 15 of the same covenant that declares the right of every one to 'take part in cultural life' and 'to enjoy the benefits of scientific progress and its application.' The incorporation of right to education under cultural rights should hardly be a controversial issue since the role of education in preserving and promoting any culture (Young, 2011).

Ronald (2008) has remarkably portrayed that 'schools are a central vehicle of cultural transmission, perhaps the most important vehicle next to the family. It has been further indicated that beyond socialization within the home, schools play a critical role in initiating children in to the norms, beliefs and rights of the larger group, forming and deepening their cultural identities in the process. Article 27 of ICCPR sounds negative obligation ('shall not be denied'), the human rights committee in its general comment on article 27 has concluded that positive measures by states may also be necessary to protect the identity of a minority. But the committee has made no indication as to what is specifically expected from the state to fulfill its positive obligation in relation to article 27 of ICCPR (Ronald, 2008).

According to Ronald (2008)'s interpretation of Article 27, minorities' linguistic rights encompass the freedom to speak their native tongue in public and private settings, in business dealings, before courts and other government agencies, in public information media, on public holidays, and in educational institutions at all levels. In addition to ensuring non discrimination, Article 27 of the ICCPR guarantees positive rights, such as the right to minority language instruction and other rights that support the preservation and advancement of linguistic identities. In the end, this satisfies the minority's desire for equality under the law and in practice. According to the FDRE constitution, its citizens will be impacted by any international agreements that the nation accepts. Despite this, minorities residing in the area have not even been granted recognition under the Oromiya Regional State Constitution. Minorities' cultural rights are therefore impractical.

2.5.2 Political Participation and Representation Rights

In the contemporary world, one of the mechanisms where the right of peoples to self-determination is realized is through representative government. The argument is that members of the government, including its elected members, should reflect the national, ethnic, cultural, religious, and linguistic diversity of the population. Many people observe the electoral and legislative process of the western democracies as unrepresentative, in the sense that they failed to reflect the diversity of the population including national /ethnic minorities (Ronald, 2008).

In the same vein, minorities may participate in the process of government formation availing article 25 of ICCPR through democratic election. Nevertheless; this by itself could not necessarily be a guarantee for minorities' effective representation in the government as it highly depends on the state's electoral system. As a result the burden rests on shoulder of the government to make the political environment accessible for those groups. The UN human rights committee avowed this in its general comment on article 27 of ICCPR (Ronald, 2008).

In general, states have many options at their disposal to resolve the problem of representation of minorities in the legislative organ of the states and to enhance the political participation of these groups of people. Minorities effective involvement in the decision making process may depend on the political situation, on the nature of the structural cleavages of the polity, possible trade-offs with other political values, and the institutional context for representation (Young, 2011). But the context of Oromiya Regional State reveals that minorities have no political

representation due to the constitution's failure to recognize the existence of minorities (Oromiya Regional State Constitution, 2001).

2.6 Protection of Minority by the UN Organs

After the collapse of the league system, the United Nation system was reluctant and unenthusiastic towards recognition of minority rights since it focuses only on individual rights. It has been suggested that such systems were inadequate in preserving the culture, linguistic and religious identities of minority groups (Thornberry, 2010).

When the United Nations was founded after the Second World War, the prevailing view was that special provisions for the rights of minorities were not needed if individual human rights were properly protected (Lijphart, 2002). The Charter of the United Nations shows no evidence of a consideration for minority rights. It did not recognize minority rights as a problem of international concern (Lijphart, 2002). It refers only, in Article 1(3), to the development of co-operation "in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion".

The Commission on Human Rights (CHR), established in 1946, was given the task of making recommendations on various human rights, including the protection of minorities (McKean, 1983). The task of the Commission is to "undertake studies, particularly in light of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights concerning the prevention of discrimination of any kind relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms and the protection of racial, national, and linguistic minorities." The introduction of article 27 of ICCPR has brought to the forefront the issue of minority rights explicitly to the realm of international human rights system.

In general, the contemporary international human rights law has encompassed individual and group/collective rights. As it is known, individual human rights such as freedom of expression, freedom of religion, the right to vote, the rights to culture are bestowed up on every single human being personally. Collective human rights, on the other hand, are afforded to human beings communally, that is to say, as a group, a people or a minority. Dinstien (2014) has implied that collective human rights retain their character as direct human rights which shall be exercised jointly rather than separately. As a result the rights of minorities, as individual and as a

group are exercised individually. Therefore, rights of minority have individual and group dimension. The right to equality and non-discrimination may be considered as right of minority. Other rights such as special representation are types of minority rights in which the enjoyment of which seeks group existence (Dinstien, 2014). For this study it should be noted that the discussion on rights of minority will be limited on ethnic minorities as the principal issue of the research focus on such groups of minorities.

2.7 Legal Protection of Minorities' in Ethiopia

In Ethiopia, many authors define minority in two kinds of ethnic groups: indigenous and non-indigenous groups. Indigenous minorities are those ethnic groups that have traditionally lived in the territory of a region. Non-indigenous minorities are ethnic groups that have migrated to the region in the recent past and are indigenous in another region (Beken, 2013).

For instance it is possible to see the case of minorities in Harari region. Article 5 of the Harari Region Constitution provides that the Harari People is the owner of sovereign power in the Region. This stipulation of the Constitution recognizes the Harari ethnic community, which represents a mere 8.65% of the regional population (CSA, 2007), as the sole holder of sovereign power. Although article 6 of the Regional Constitution provides that Oromiffa shall serve as an official language of the Region along with the Harari language, there is no other provision in the Regional Constitution which recognizes the right of the Oromo community that constitutes 56.41% of the Region's population (CSA, 2007).

2.7.1. The Legal Protection of Indigenous Minorities

In FDRE constitution every ethnic group is given the right to self-government, which includes an important component of the right to territorial self-rule and has the right to be represented in the regional and federal governments. Even article 39 grants every ethnic group the right to secede from the federation. With the view to recognize indigenous minorities, several regional constitutions have amended their constitutions to provide for the establishment of ethnically defined Zones, which are hierarchically situated just below the regional government. Several regional states have also established Special Woredas in order to accommodate indigenous minorities where their population size, cannot allow establishing their own Zone within a regional state (Argoba of Amhara Regional State, Argoba of Afar Regional State in Gacheni, Tembaro, Mareko and kebena of Central Ethiopia Regional State. It was formed from northern

part of the then Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Region (SNNPR) on 19 August 2023). The government structure requires the 'equitable representation' of the diverse ethnic groups' in territorial governments (Article 39/3 of the FDRE constitution). In case inner minorities are as well little to control a discretionary voting public, they are treated as minority nationalities (Beken, 2013).

2.7.2. The Legal Protection of Non-Indigenous Minorities

There are non-indigenous groups that are broadly scattered all through the nation. The FDRE constitution gives a tremendous collection of person rights. Critically, article 25 of the structure announces the right to correspondence and forbids separation on grounds of race, dialect, religion and other status. In common, individuals of non-indigenous inner minorities have the right not to be segregated (Article 25 of FDRE constitution). Article 38 of the FDRE constitution, announces the right of each Ethiopian national to take portion in the conduct of open undertakings, counting to vote and to be chosen at intermittent races, without any separation based on country, nationality, dialect, religion or other status (Beken, 2013).

2.8 Tools for Minority Right Protection

2.8.1 Equality and Non-discrimination

The two pillars upon which the entire structure of contemporary international human rights law is built are equality and non-discrimination (Markakis, 1994). In response to past discriminatory practices based on sex, race, religion, nationality, and color, among other factors, non-discrimination and equality have been incorporated into the international human rights discourse. One way to illustrate human dignity is through the rights to equality and nondiscrimination. According to Markakis (1994), the only way to progress toward a typical, civil society that upholds human dignity is to safeguard minorities and uphold substantial equality. Since equality and nondiscrimination are frequently upheld in human rights documents like the Universal Declaration for Human Rights (UDHR), these rights can be referred to as an inherent component of the majority of international human rights instruments. According to the Human Rights Convention's Articles 1(4) and 2(2), it is argued that the convention's provisions reinforce the idea that the principles of equality and nondiscrimination would apply fully if they were tainted by special temporary affirmative action measures (Markakis, 1994).

2.8.2 Self-government

The term autonomy and self-government may be used interchangeably for autonomy is generally taken to mean self-government or self-rule. It has also been indicated that sovereign power and self-government are identified as synonyms. The argument is that self-government for minorities in general, can be used to take control over their own affairs effectively without interference from the center and to preserve their cultural identity, custom and tradition and, their institution on the way they like. Hence, the autonomy granted to minorities is restricted to internal self-determination which contributes to the protection of minority identity and cultural values (Markakis, 1994).

2. 8.3 Federalism

Now a day it is conceived that federalism is that the highest form of accommodating and managing diversity. However it is worth nothing that there is a distinction national federation and multinational/ethnic federation in recognizing and accommodating ethnic diversities where the former does not make its aim like the latter. From the beginning, it has to be made clear that an automatic association between federalism and the accommodation of ethnic diversity should not be assumed (Beken, 2013).

National federations are federations where the federal structure accommodates other needs than the accommodation of ethnic diversity. The creation of a national federation can be stimulated by the ambition to offer better protection against external threats(e.g. the USA) by the ambition to facilitate access to the administration in very large areas (e.g. USA, Australia and brazil) or by the aspiration to protect democracy as in Germany. In national federation autonomy as a tool to accommodate diversities is often rejected with arguments that it prepares the way to secession, leads to disintegration, undermines solidarity with in the state and creates important inequalities. Consequently, it is often regarded as an important to integration and instead systems of multi-ethnicity based on individual human rights are advocated in the belief that minorities will be to foster their special identities within the melting-point or multi-ethnic system (Majead, 2008).

To realize the concept of multinational federation it is worth nothing the following points, as elaborated by Van Der Beken in contrary to national federations, multinational federations aim from the beginning to recognize and protect diversities in to erase it. For this purpose the CUs are organized territorially so that the concerned groups exercise their self-rule comprehensively

and with strong autonomy. In general in multinational federations both the unity and diversity is maintained at the same time at least in principle (Beken, 2013).

Federalism is one of the political mechanisms that endeavor to answer the claims of minority group for sovereign power. Basically, federalism is a philosophical view where power is divided between the central government and constituent units (regions). Many states with multi-national diversity prefers the federal state structure since it is a form of government which enables to accommodate the diversified interest of different ethnic groups and serve as a means of resolving inter- ethnic conflicts. To cite some of the states, which prefer federal state structure as a means to accommodate minorities are USA, Nigeria, Canada, India and Ethiopia. In many states, the devolution of power between the central and regional governments is delineated in a constitution (i.e. Ethiopia, United States of America, and South Africa). What is implied is that the constituent units have constitutional recognition in the sense that the source of sovereign power is not the will of the enteral government but the minority veto mainly in Burundi, and Holland (Young, 2011).

Paradoxically, in the absence of federal arrangement, regional governments may be granted sovereign power by the ordinary act of parliament where it would be subjected to expand, amend, override or revoke by simple majority vote (for example, the United Kingdom, Italy, France). Federalism is a process of governance that can be considered an important technique for the protection of ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious minority groups at national (central governments) and regional (subunit) level. In this case the boundary of the federal government is demarcated based on ethnic identity, to accord extensive self-government for ethnic/national minorities and secure an ability to make decisions in certain areas without being out voted by the larger society. This intern would facilitate the development of their culture (Young, 2011).

Unless states are committed to undertake an action for the effective political participation of minorities through special representation and other political mechanisms, such group of people will remain disadvantaged and marginalized in the political process. Special minority representation would enable representatives from minority groups to bring issues of minorities to the political environment, to rectify factual errors and to ensure that their interests and preferences are, at least recognized. Modifying the electoral system to comply with minority

situation, states can provide opportunities for minority representation by rectifying some representation barriers such as laws (Markakis, 1994).

2.8.4 Consociationalism

In his book "Democracy in Plural Societies," Arend Lijphart suggests that leaders in societies with different groups should use consociational democracy to strengthen democratic institutions (Lijphart, 2002). Many writings on this topic consider South Africa's shift from Apartheid to democracy using consociational democracy as a success (Traniello, 2008). Burundi's move from civil war to ethnic power sharing through consociational democracy also has the potential to succeed (Traniello, 2008).

In consociational democracies, states remain stable even with deep divisions in society because leaders from all important groups work together in a broad coalition, rather than competing for a majority (Lijphart, 2002). When the stakes of politics are high and different groups are potentially hostile, simple majority rule can risk violence, especially if one group is large enough to win a majority democratically. Lijphart's model of consociational democracy suggests that to ensure cooperation among elites in divided societies, four key mechanisms must be part of the political system: a grand coalition, proportional representation, segmental autonomy, and a minority veto (Lijphart, 2002).

2.8.4.1. Grand Coalition

A grand coalition unites all the major segmental elites in an effort to share political power equitably among conflicting groups. It is designed to permit an aggregate of interests to be articulated and also to create a forum in which such interests can be politically accommodated. It allows all segments to participate in a dispensation which diffuses the decision-making process among various groups and widespread legitimacy be cultivated in a deeply divided society (Traniello, 2008).

2.8.4.2. Proportional Representation

The major consequence of proportional representation in a consociation democracy is the reduction of conflict over contentious issues of governing. Proportionality can be applied in two different ways on the state apparatus. First it is the principle of proportionality within the state service sector where finances are allocated proportionally to respective segment. Secondly it applies on the decision-making process in the way that all significant segments should be

represented proportionally The proportionality rule is proposed because it allows all segments, regardless of their size, to be represented in the decision making process (Traniello, 2008)..

2.8.4.3. Segmental Autonomy

Segmental autonomy refers granting the minority the right to rule itself in the area of the minority's exclusive concern. In effect, it involves the decentralization and devolution of powers to the segment in order to alleviate demands for group autonomy. It benefits the consociation by minimizing the policy load of government and consequently reduces the chances of conflict by (Lijphart, 2002).

2.8.4.4. Minority Veto

A fourth mechanism necessary for a consociation democracy is the right of every segment to veto a policy directly affecting its interests. Such a veto can be formal as a part of the constitution for example prescribing certain majorities for certain decisions. The mutual veto, or negative minority rule, is parallel with the notion of 'concurrent majority', which dictates that all interested parties must generally agree before a decision is made (Lijphart, 2002).

2.9 Federalism

Federalism comes from the Latin word "foedus," meaning "covenant" (Elazar D., 1987). This means federalism is an agreement for unity among political groups, while also letting them keep their independence. It's a system where power is shared between the central government and its parts (Elazar, 1987). Federalism aims to stop tyranny by sharing political power. It supports "unity in diversity" and "shared rule and self-rule" (Ibid).

Federal system is taken as one of the mechanism by which forces of territorial autonomy and national unity are balanced. There are three types of federation based on the paths through which federations have been formed. These are: coming together, holding together and putting together (Yonas, 2013). Coming-together involve independent states voluntarily joining to form a larger unit. By combining their sovereignty while keeping their identities, they aim to increase their security. These federations result from agreements between independent states seeking a more stable and effective union. Typically, in this type of federation, all member states have equal power and are strong compared to the federal government (Yonas, 2013). This has been the case of the United States when the thirteen colonies got together to achieve a more perfect union as an

independent state. The history of Australia fits the same pattern, as does even multicultural Switzerland.

The second category is where a large country decides to divide its power between the constituent states and the national government. This kind of federalism is known as ‘holding together’ federations. The holding together federations are established from the attempts to keep together an already existing state through democratic bargaining of the central government with individual regions on the degree of their autonomy. In this case the central government tends to be more powerful vis-à-vis the states. Very often different constituent units of the federation have unequal powers. Some units are granted special powers (Yonas, 2013). This has been the origin of the long process of the transition in Belgium since independence in the 1830's (transition from what was supposed to be a unitary nation-state to a new federal state). A similar process occurred in Spain in the 1970s.

The third category is established through a heavily coercive effort by a non-democratic centralizing power to put together a multinational state, some of the components of which had previously been independent states. This kind of federalism is a putting together federalism (Yonas, 2013). The USSR was an example of this type of federalism. The basic difference between holding together and putting together federalism is the imposition of coercive force to seize together the states in case of putting together and free will of the states is the prerequisite for holding together and coming together federalism (Yonas, 2013). Besides, holding together federalism provides special power for some units in the federation which is not common in case of putting together and coming together federations. This special power provided for certain ethnic groups disadvantaged others in their political power shearing which expose different treatment between minorities and majorities (Yonas, 2013).

2. 9. 1 Features of Federalism

According to Watts, there are roughly six common characteristics of federalism: independent levels of government; constitutional power distribution; representation of constituent units at the levels of government; a supreme written constitution; an independent institution for constitutional interpretation and process; and institutions that promote intergovernmental cooperation (Watts, 2008). Regarding the aforementioned characteristics, Beken's argument suggests that the self-rule component of federalism is the most important one since it allows the

constituent units to adopt their own constitutions, guarantee human rights, and preserve their unique identities while also being autonomous within their respective spheres of jurisdiction, all of which are guaranteed by the constitution. Accordingly, some contend that federalism is superior to unitary and confederal systems because it strikes a balance between shared rule and self-rule. This is because, in a unitary system, the constituent units lack autonomy in their respective jurisdictions, whereas in a confederal system, the federal government is reliant on the constituent units (Beken, 2013). The second is the shared rule feature, which states that, in contrast to unitary and confederal systems, the federal system guarantees the participation and representation of the relevant component groups in the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government, as well as other higher levels, especially through second chambers. Because the constituent units are integrated into the federal and regional polities and foster a sense of solidarity and belonging, this guarantees both unity and diversity (Ibid).

2. 9. 2 Arguments on Federalism

There are a variety of arguments for and against federalism. Beken (2013) outlines two primary justifications for the former argument, using the Ethiopian and African examples as examples. The first reason is that federalism, and specifically the implementation of ethnic federal structures, does not lead to state stability; rather, it exacerbates tensions, creates instability, and eventually causes the state to fall apart. As a result, ethnic terms are being used more and more to describe a societal issue, which makes reaching a national consensus challenging. Increasing contradictions have the potential to cause instability and the state's collapse. Since the federation's ethnic groups already control their own territory, government, and parliament, ethnic federalism is thought to increase the likelihood of secession. The breakup of multiethnic federations like the USSR, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia appears to support these critical remarks (Beken, 2013).

The second critique put forth by federalism's detractors is that it fails to establish homogeneous social structures and constituent units. Therefore, they contend that dispersed minorities and individuals face security threats and are excluded from the political, economic, and sociocultural discourse due to the flawed mechanism of federalism (Beken, 2013). However, it is clear that the argument in favor of federalism is essentially a counter argument to the former, so this is how their main point is realized: Ethnic federalism proponents do not dispute that the establishment of

federal structures based on ethnicity can increase ethnic consciousness and widen the divide between the various ethnic communities. Nonetheless, they contend that the opponent's cause-and-effect arguments ought to be reversed. Ethnic federalism opponents seem to contend that the federal structure has led to contradictions and ethnic consciousness. On the other hand, supporters point out that the desire to address the escalating ethnic contradictions is what prompted the establishment of federal structures. To ensure the state's continuous existence, the federal structure must channelize the current ethnic demands and conflicts. It is impossible to deny that this concurrently fosters a greater sense of ethnic identity. However, failure to implement federalism would lead to unmanageable disputes.

2.10 Federation

The institutional composition of the federal nation is referred to as Federation (Burgess, 2006). It embodies ideas like regional autonomy, equality of the central and regional governments, written constitutions, and regional representation at the center, and the division of powers. Accordingly, federation is the application of federalist principles to strike a balance between diversity and unity (Yonatan, 2012).

Federalism scholars divide federations into two groups according to how well they acknowledge ethnolinguistic diversity (Burgess, 2006). Federations that guarantee territorial power sharing and do not acknowledge linguistic and ethnic divisions fall under the first category. This group includes many western federations, including the US, Australia, and Germany. Most of these federations resulted from the coming together of their units. Their main purpose was to unit people living in different political units (J MC Gary, 2001).

In addition to acknowledging linguistic and ethnic diversity, the second group also reflects it in its structures and ideology. These federations are referred to as ethnic or multinational federations. The two are not easily distinguished from one another. Although ethnic federations are rarely used in Western contexts, they have become a common term for Ethiopian federalism, which is another name for the nation's multinational federal system (Asnake, 2009). The Transitional Period Charter, which was adopted in July 1991 and served as a precursor to the creation of a federal state, which was subsequently introduced under Article 46 of the 1995 constitution, marked the beginning of the Ethiopian federation's formation.

2.11 Federation Types

2.11.1. Symmetrical Federations

The most well-known and extensively researched forms of federalism are symmetrical federations, according to Requejo (2005), as cited in Yonatan (2012). According to Yonatan (2012), symmetrical federations are generally acknowledged to exhibit five traits when viewed through a comparative lens. First, a two-tiered government exists, with each tier having the authority to enact laws, carry out executive orders, and decides cases pertaining to their respective areas of expertise. Additionally, the federated units have fiscal autonomy to exercise these powers. Second, there are systems in place that facilitate the federated units' involvement in federal decision-making. There is typically a second chamber, whose representatives are chosen based on territorial criteria, though the nature of participation differs from nation to nation. Third, there is always a chance of conflict because of competences because of the two-tiered government structure. The resolution of these disputes is one of the functions of the institutional arbiter that federations have, which is typically a supreme court or a constitutional court. Fourth, unilateral reform of the federation's foundational agreement is not possible. To put it another way, the federation and the majority of the federated units must agree to any constitutional amendment. The presence of mech is the fifth and final trait exhibited by a federation.

The high degree of uniformity in the relationships between the federated units—and most importantly, between the federal government and the federated units—is what gives these federations their name. The US federation, which was established in 1787 to replace an earlier confederate structure, is the quintessential illustration of a symmetrical federation. The US federation is now a highly influential model for the territorial organization of many nations worldwide due to the success of this transformation. However, this type of symmetrical relationship is not present in all federal agreements (Yonatan, 2012).

2.11.2 Asymmetrical Federal Agreements

In terms of their institutional structure, symmetrical and asymmetrical federations are not all that dissimilar (Yonatan, 2012). There are differences in the relationships that the federated units have with one another and, most importantly, with the federal government. While these relationships are relatively heterogeneous in asymmetrical federations, they are remarkably uniform in symmetrical federations (Yonatan, 2012). Adopting these de jure or constitutional

asymmetries can be motivated by a variety of factors, but they are always predicated on the de facto disparities that exist within the federation's society. Only since the middle of the 1980s has the idea of asymmetry—which was first introduced by Charles in 1965—attracted renewed attention from academics. It is not surprising that this has happened in democratic nations with national differences in population composition, such as Canada, India, Belgium, and Spain (Yonatan, 2012). It is frequently stated that establishing legal and constitutional recognition of the de facto differences that exist in multi-national societies may benefit from the inclusion of asymmetrical elements in a state's territorial organization (Yonatan, 2012). It is customary to differentiate between political and constitutional asymmetry prior to discussing particular asymmetrical agreements (Yonatan, 2012). The federated units within each federation exhibit variations in terms of population, territory, natural resources, and economic resources. Because they could impact a federated unit's weight within the federation, these differences could have political ramifications. Comparative studies have demonstrated that significant differences in a federation's political asymmetries typically result in even more instability. This can be seen, for instance, in a federation where over half of the population lives in one of the federated regions. Conversely, constitutional asymmetries—which relate to the variations in self-government for each federated part—do not exist in all federations. It entails implementing the division of powers principle in a way that is different for each subunit. The Canadian federation, where the province of Quebec has authority over immigration policy, is a particular illustration of constitutional asymmetry (Yonatan, 2012). The Belgian federation after the 1993 reform is another example that permits the state to be described as an asymmetrical federation (Yonatan, 2012).

The difference between constitutional asymmetry and asymmetry resulting from the exercise of self-government is the second consideration when discussing asymmetry, according to Yonatan (2012). One potential source of diversity among the federated subunits is the federal guarantee of a certain degree of self-government. However, it is important to distinguish this from constitutional asymmetry, which refers to the variety created within the gateway mechanisms, i.e., the various outcomes generated by the exercise of self-government. All federations, whether or not they are asymmetrical, have differences in how they exercise self-government. For example, some federated sub-units may prioritize building bike lanes in order to reduce urban traffic levels; others may encourage the use of public transportation, and still others may choose

to take no action at all. The practical exercise of political self-government by the various federation subunits results in this type of diversity, which is inherent to the liberal operation of the federal system (Yonatan, 2012).

2.12 Federalism and Minority Accommodation in the Federal System

Federalism is predicated on the alleged merit and worth of fusing diversity and unity, i.e. within a broader political union, of allowing, maintaining, and advancing unique identities (Watts, 2008). National minorities may be able to exercise some degree of self-government within the current states thanks to federalism. The existence of constituent units cannot make the system federal if all fundamental decisions are made by the central political entity; rather, it is merely a decentralized form of government in which the units are subjects of the central political entity (Watts, 2008).

Ensuring the integrity of multi-cultural federations, such as Ethiopia, requires true accommodation of variability. For instance, 20 seats in the House of Representatives were set aside for minority nationalities under Article 54(3) of the FDRE constitution. In practice, Oromiya regional state faces systematic discrimination and exclusion despite Ethiopia's constitution's accommodation of diverse groups and declaration that regional constitutions must not conflict with it (Oromiya regional Constitution, 2001).

More than 80 ethnic groups make up the nation; the majorities are minorities, but for example, the Oromiya regional constitution makes no mention of them. This suggests a blatant violation of the FDRE constitution since the region's minorities' political, economic, and social rights are being denied. Minorities in the area are therefore currently living without the right to political representation, which prevents them from having a say in decisions that influence or improve their lives. The borders of the federated entities in ethnic federations are established based on the territory of ethnic groups (Beken, 2007). The ideal way to balance the possibly incompatible goals of ensuring state stability and embracing ethnic diversity is thus through ethnic federalism. Ethnic groups have the right to self-rule within their own territory in ethnic federations (Mcgarry and Lary, 1993). This gives ethnic groups the ability to independently address matters that impact their particular interests (like language, education, and culture) and, as a result, create regional policies that are tailored to meet their requirements. According to Beken (2007), Canada was among the first nations to use federalism as a tool to accommodate ethnic diversity. In the

nineteenth century, Canada's federal structure was developed to accommodate Quebec's French-speaking population (Kymlicka, 1995). Republican conceptions of democracy achieve majority rule at the expense of minority groups, so minority groups continue to be perpetual losers. Given its benefits in diverse states, Ethiopia, Canada, and India have embraced federalism by giving the federating units more authority (Beken, 2007).

2.13. Minority Right in the FDRE Constitution

2.13.1 Political Representation

Article 61 of the FDRE constitution explicitly states that minorities must have special political representation in both the house of federation and the house of people's representatives. According to the constitution, minorities must hold at least 20 seats in the House of Representatives. Furthermore, every Ethiopian nation, nationality, and people have the right to speak, write, and develop their own language in order to express, develop, and promote their culture and preserve their history, according to Article 39(2) of the FDRE Constitution, the right of nations, nationalities, and peoples.

2.13.2 Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

In terms of economic, social and cultural rights article 41 sub article1-4 of FDRE constitution shows the following:

A. Economic Right

Every Ethiopian has the freedom to freely engage in economic activity and to follow his preferred means of subsistence anywhere on the country's territory, according to Article 41, Subarticle 1. This right extends to all minorities, including the Amhara, Mareko, Gurage, and Silt minorities in Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda. Furthermore, every Ethiopian has the freedom to select their own means of subsistence, occupation, and profession, according to article 41 subarticle 2. In other words, minorities residing in Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda are entitled to education and graduation in a field of their choice. For those who wish to pursue careers in the field, Oromia State University Teachers Training College does not currently have a department dedicated to Amharic and other minority languages.

B. Social Right

According to Article 41, sub-article 3 of the FDRE constitution, all Ethiopians are entitled to equal access to social services that are financed by the government. Furthermore, subarticle 4 demonstrates the state's duty to provide public health, education, and other social services with ever-increasing resources. This implies that the regional state has a duty to uphold these rights for minorities in the area as a member of the federation. This can stop the majority's economic, social, and cultural practices from violating the rights of minorities.

C. Cultural Right

Article 41 sub-articles 9 of the FDRE constitution stated that the state is responsible for safeguarding and preserving the historical and cultural heritage in order to support the arts and nationalities. This demonstrated that, without discrimination based on factors like ethnicity, language, religion, or other characteristics, cultural festivals organized by the state to promote the culture of its citizens should give equal weight to the cultures of minorities and the majority.

2.13.3. Right to Equality

In its provision about the right to equality, Article 25 of FDRE constitution also indicates that every person is equal before the law and have equal legal protection regardless of his/her ethnicity, race i.e. including minority race and other grounds implying that Amhara, Mareko Gurage and Silte minorities in the study area should not be unequally treated due to their minority nature for the study area (FDRE Constitution, Article 25). Thus the regional government in general and Adami tulu and Jido kombolcha Woreda in particular have to be in line with this provision of the FDRE Constitution.

CHAPTER THREE

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREA

3.1.1 LOCATION

The research took place in Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda, located in Ethiopia's Oromia Region. This woreda encompasses part of the East Shewa Zone, which is situated in the stunning Crack Valley. To the south, Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha are bordered by the West Arsi Zone, allowing access to the banks of Lakes Abijatta and Langano; to the west, they are bordered by Mareko Special woreda, East Gurage, and Silte Zones within the Central Ethiopia People Regional State; to the north lies Dugda Bora; to the northeast, there is Hora-Dambal; and the Arsi Zone can be found to the east. The woreda consists of 38 rural kebeles and four towns. The largest town is Adami Tulu, situated 168 km from Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia. Other towns include Abosa, Bulbulla, and Jido. The research was carried out in three rural kebeles (Rasa-Gabiba, Galiyi-Migira, and Qamo-Hirape) and one urban kebele (Tulu-01) within the Adami Tulu and JidoKombolcha woreda, located in the central fracture valley of Ethiopia, 168 km away from Addis Ababa (the capital of Ethiopia).

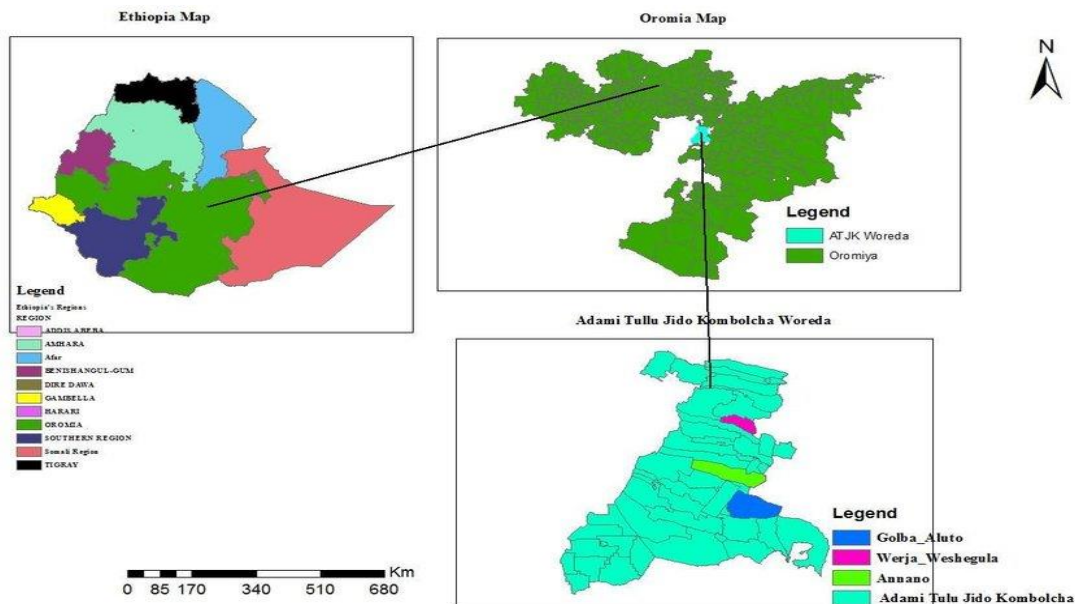
3.1.2 DEMOGRAPHY

In Adami Tulu and Jidokombolcha Woreda, there are 141,405 people. 71,167 are men and 70,238 are women. 20,923 or 14.8%, of the people live in urban areas. Most people in this area were Muslim, with about 83% following that religion. About 12% were Ethiopian Orthodox Christians, and 5% were Protestant (CSA, 2007). The five biggest ethnic Groupes detailed in Adami Tulu and Jido kombolcha Woreda were the Oromo (78.69%), the Amhara (8.53%), the Mareko (5.91%), the Gurage (4.06%), the Silt'e (2.81%), and all other ethnic Groupes made up 0.25% of the populace. Oromiffa was talked as a to begin with dialect by 76.05%, 16.09% talked Amharic, and 2.2% talked Silte; the remaining 5.91% talked all other essential dialects detailed (CSA, 1994).

3.1.3 TOPOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

The district is located at 7.58° N and 38.43° E longitudes east. The area is mostly dry but some parts are a bit wetter. Most of it is low land and a small part has higher elevation, between 1500 and 2000 meters above sea level. The average yearly rainfall is between 750-1000mm and it varies a lot from year to year. The average yearly temperature can be between 22 and 28 degrees Celsius. The farming in the district has both crops and animals (ATARC, 1998).

Figure 1 Map of the study area



3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

Because of the nature of the study, the research design is a descriptive case study. The study used the descriptive research method to interpret the data in a variety of ways. The researcher gathered data through focused group discussions, interviews, and field observations.

3.3 RESEARCH APPROACH

The study used a qualitative research methodology. The researcher used a qualitative approach to collect data in a variety of ways. The researcher uses the qualitative research method to understand the unique experiences of minority groups in the areas he studies. Qualitative research also helps the researcher look at specific examples.

3.4 Data Sources

The study were employed both primary and secondary data sources.

3.4.1 Primary data sources

This study used focus group discussions, direct observation, and in-depth interviews to get information about how organizations protect the rights of minorities. The researcher joined a group discussion with 10 people. 6 were government office heads and 4 were well-known in their community. They all gave good information for the study. Also, they talked about how they tried to fight against unfair treatment of minority groups and what they did to keep minority rights safe. For three weeks, the researcher spent five hours per day at three different government institutions in the study area, observing how they protect the rights of minorities. He used his lifetime experience to do this. For the weeks, he studied how each organization protects the rights of minorities. He recorded data on the procedures he use in the field. He looked at the woreda primary school, woreda court, and woreda office for peace and security. The Researcher chose these Organizations because they are important and can give the needed information about protecting the rights of minority groups. The information he gathered was analyzed by comparing it with the information he got from interviews and group discussions.

The researcher talked to household's leaders from Amhara, Mareko, Gurage, and Silte minority groups, as well as experts from AdamiTulu and Jido kombolcha woreda separately. They wanted to learn about how well minority rights are being protected in AdamiTulu and Jido kombolcha, and how people feel about political representation and efforts to protect minority rights. In order to do this, the researcher talked to 32 household's heads of minority groups and 3 local experts. Also, he talked about bigger problems that minorities face in areas like economic, social,

cultural, legal, psychological, and security. He spoke with important people about these issues. He chose these people to talk to because it was easy and convenient. The interviews were done with people who were chosen because the researcher thought they could give helpful information for the study. These tools are easier to use for getting the information he need from people.

3.4.2 Secondary Data Sources

In addition to the main sources mentioned, the researcher also used other sources like the constitution of Ethiopia from 1995, the revised constitution of Oromiya Regional State from 2001, laws, international human rights agreements, reports from Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Administration Office, journals, internet sources, and other books, both published and unpublished, to help with the study.

3.5 Data Collection Instruments

This study's success was based on using the right tools to collect data. As mentioned earlier, the researcher used qualitative ways to collect data. So, the tools the researcher needed to gather important information were interviews, observation, and focus group discussions. Other ways of collecting information include looking at documents such as books, articles, reports, and legal papers.

3.6 Determining Sample Size

This research was carried out in the Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda, which comprises 42 kebeles. Among these kebeles, four are located in urban areas while 38 are situated in rural regions. The researcher employed non-probability (purposive) sampling, selecting three rural kebeles (Rasa-Gabiba, Galiyi-Migira, & Qamo-Rape) and one urban kebele (Tulu-01) from the pool of 38 rural and 4 urban kebeles. The selection of these four kebeles—Rasa-Gabiba, Galiyi-Migira, Qamo-Rape, and Tulu-01—was made by the researcher because they are representative of kebeles with significant populations of members from the Mareko, Gurage, Silte, and Amhara minority groups.

After categorizing the minority groups by their ethnic origins, the researcher intentionally selected 32 participants for interviews. Among these household heads, eleven identify as Amhara, eight as Mareko, seven as Gurage, and six as Silte. In addition to these participants, three local experts were chosen by the researcher. A total of 35 interviewees living in the four kebeles (three rural and one urban) were carefully selected through targeted and expert sampling methods. Key informants were recruited through a multistage purposeful sampling strategy,

allowing members from minority groups to provide essential data for the study. Glaser and Strauss (1991) argue that purposeful sampling is a valuable approach for qualitative research because it offers options to researchers.

The researcher specifically chose ten individuals for the focus group discussion. Four notable representatives—one from each minority group—and six leaders from various woreda offices—the administration office, the peace and security office, the public service & human resource development office, the culture & tourism office, the education office, and the Tulu town municipality—were invited to participate in the group discussion due to their regular engagement with the communities and their possession of relevant information. Morgan (1997) notes that maintaining a focus group discussion can become challenging with fewer than six participants. Conversely, if there are more than twelve participants, it may become difficult for the group leader to guide the conversation. Focus groups should have a sufficient number of participants to capture a variety of perspectives without overwhelming the discussion, as suggested by Kruger (2000).

As per Morse (1994), qualitative researchers often observe between 100 and 200 units during ethnographic studies. The researcher utilized his extensive experience to observe the protection of minority rights at three specifically chosen governmental institutions in the study area for one hundred and five hours. He monitored how these organizations advocate for minority rights over three weeks, dedicating five hours each day to his observations. He assessed the woreda's court, primary school, and the office responsible for security and peace. These institutions were selected by the researcher due to their significance in providing crucial information about the safeguarding of minority rights. He analyzed the data collected by comparing it with information obtained from interviews and group discussions.

3.7 Sampling Techniques

The study employs a non-probability sampling technique based on primary data gathered from informants and aligned with the study's objectives. These sampling methods are chosen following a review of existing literature and current circumstances. Purposive sampling is utilized to identify household heads from Amhara, Mareko, Gurage, and Silte, who are located in four kebeles for interviews. Likewise, government officials and recognized individuals were deliberately chosen for focus group discussions. Additionally, purposive sampling was

implemented to select government organizations for the researcher to conduct direct field observations. Moreover, local experts were selected by the researcher for interviews.

3.8 Sampling Procedure

The sampling method used in this research involved selecting respondents who are the household heads of minority groups from four kebeles, including one urban and three rural, located in Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda. The researcher gathered data directly from community leaders of the minorities by sharing meals with them and encouraging them to understand their constitutional rights related to political representation at various levels of government, recognition, and freedom from isolation. This approach also allowed the researcher to obtain insights from participants through focus group discussions and to conduct personal observations, which were then compared with the data collected from interviews.

3.9 Method of Data Analysis

Before manually modifying the data for analysis and interpretation, the necessary steps of editing, coding, and tabulating had to be completed. It was manually examined by closely interpreting its meanings and contents. Following data analysis and interpretation, a range of data presentation methods, including tables and maps were used to illustrate the research findings, including the demographic composition and study area location. On the other side, manual tallying has been used to display the research findings from observation, FGD, and interviews.

3.10. Data Quality Assurance

The researcher was undertaking various tasks to ensure data quality: Guided the participants prior to the interview and discussion. This made respondents aware of the significance of delivering accurate data and the necessity of being accountable when giving crucial responses. Conducted a thorough and unbiased evaluation of the data collected from the participants, prioritizing the information over personal biases. The researcher understands the detrimental effects of misinformation and inadequate data analysis. Furthermore, the researcher handled all the data, starting from the orientation phase, through the interviews, and ending with analysis and interpretation to enhance the precision and reliability of the information.

3.11. Unit of Analysis

The Amhara, Mareko, Gurage, and Silte ethnic groups are analyzed in this research through the involvement of government representatives and community leaders. During interviews, inquiries are directed to the heads of families in Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda. In this research, the households of the minority groups were collectively assessed.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATIONS OF DATA PRESENTATIONS

4.1. Respondents' Demographic Profile

The following table displays the demographic makeup and personal data of the respondents in the sampled kebeles of Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda.

Table-1 Respondents Demographic Profile

Profile	Category	Frequency	Percentages
Sex	Male	36	80
	Female	9	20
	Total	45	100
Means of livelihood	Government employ	9	20
	Trade	15	33
	Agriculture	21	47
	Total	45	100
Education level	Masters and Above	3	7
	First degree	11	24
	Diploma	18	40
	Grade 12 and below	13	29
	Total	45	100

Source: Researcher's data collection, 2025.

Table 4.1 demonstrates that, out of the 45 participants in the study, approximately 80% were male while the remaining 20% were female. These participants were spread across the four kebeles of Adami Tulu JidoKombolcha Woreda, which include the rural kebeles of Rasa-Gabiba, Galiyi-Migirra, and Qamo Rape, as well as the urban kebele of Tulu 01. The sample comprised individuals from the Amhara, Mareko, Gurage, and Silte Minorities, with 11, 8, 7, and 6 respondents from each group, respectively. In addition, the researcher selected three local experts for interviews. Furthermore, six heads of offices and four respected community members were chosen as participants for the focus group discussion (FGD). The educational attainment of the sample was as follows: among the 45 respondents, 7% held a master's degree or higher, 24% possessed a bachelor's degree, 40% had a diploma, and roughly 29% had only completed grade 12 or lower. A significant portion of respondents (71%) possess a diploma or higher, suggesting that most of them were capable of understanding the study's subject and associated challenges.

4.2. ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

4.2.1 Political Involvement of Minorities in public Affairs

4.2.1.1 Institutional System to Engage Minorities in Appointment

Many people may, at some point, find themselves excluded, intimidated or treated differently from others without justification, simply because of their biological, physiological or personal characteristics, their origin or language, their abilities, and their manifestations of beliefs or preferences. However, this right does not apply on land. Therefore, these conditions show that there is a constitutional and institutional gap in the protection of non-indigenous regional minorities (Mekoro, 2018).

Minority participation in the appointment of political leaders at all levels, is one of the aspect of democracy, requires the creation of a system that allows minorities to vote and the relevant council to implement the right of minority participation on request (Assefa. 2006). Accordingly, when asked if Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha woreda have a system that permits internal minorities to participate in the appointment of government officials, the respondents gave a response "no".

The FGD participants were asked how minorities participate in the appointment of officials, but they responded that the woreda does not have a system in place to do so; the participation in appointments is reserved only for the Oromo people. This implies that the woreda must create a system that addresses its gap in this sense as this contradicts the constitution of the FDRE that allows considering the rights of the minority (Ashekanu Gelato, FGD, 2025).

Therefore, the Governments have obligations to develop legislation, policies and support services to remove barriers in the community that hinder internal minorities access to participate in aspects of the countries and they also should be struggle for their rights.

4.2.1.2 Lack of political will to be recognized

It is known that Ethnic minorities did not get political power through election. Accordingly in order to compensate this, the Ethiopian government tries to add “special” right under Article 54 sub article 3 of the 1995 constitution as follows:

“...Members of the House, on the basis of population and special representation of minority Nationalities and Peoples, shall not exceed 550; of these, minority Nationalities and Peoples shall have at least 20 seats. Particulars shall be determined by law.”

Although the FDRE constitution attempted to address the rights of the dominant minority by granting 20 seats (article 54:3) in political representation, it could be argued that the Oromiya regional state constitution would not be able to support, recognize, represent, and grant self-determination to the minority in general and each minority group in particular. Since the constitutions were adopted, the Amhara, Mareko, Gurage, and Silte minorities have worked to claim their rights to self-government and recognition as kebele. However, the local governments' lack of support hampered these efforts. Propaganda from the local governments claims that those minorities can coexist with Oromo farmers, have low social status, and lack distinguishing traits from other groups. Nothing was done about the history and culture of those minorities by the regional media, which are crucial in promoting their cultures.

Ato Leulsegad Asheno, a legal expert, states that there are no legal or institutional frameworks for minority representation at any level. However, if the party that represents the predominant society in the region believes an individual can fulfill the interests of the Oromo (the dominant group), irrespective of their ethnic background, they can be appointed as members of the woreda or Kebele council. As a result, there is no opportunity for minority representation in any local administrative structures.

As far as the researcher is aware, these minority groups have not made significant contributions or provided support to the ruling party. These ethnic groups are underserved and marginalized within the Kebeles and Woreda of Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha. Based on the researcher's observations, kebele leaders from Rasa-Gabiba, Galiyi-Migira, Qamo-Rape, and Tulu 01 pointed out that these minorities have distinct differences from both the majority group and from one another. Most of them live in residential facilities known as pikullar houses, which exhibit unique cultural features that distinguish them from the dominant housing styles. Therefore, like all groups, they will continue to reflect on "how can we promote their acknowledgment of autonomy and shared governance" (Researcher Observation, 2025).

The data collected from focus groups and interviews indicated that there exists a positive and harmonious social relationship between the majority group and the internal minority. Regardless of differences in ethnicity, religion, or other factors, participants further emphasized that these affirmative relationships arise from Ethiopians' tradition of peaceful coexistence. Therefore, the strong relations between the administrations of Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda reflect a broader image of Ethiopians living together harmoniously. However, Ato Ashekanu Gelato,

Ato Alemu Morkate, Ato Gechano Kochocha, and Ato Gelato, who took part in the focus group discussion, voiced their concerns about a recent increase in mistrust that has undermined the previously harmonious coexistence among various communities. They attributed this growing mistrust largely to government institutions and the influence of adolescents who have been ethnically indoctrinated, particularly affecting the titular ethnic groups. Some public institutions in the area are now showing signs of distrust and misuse, stemming from the negative effects of ethnic-based politics (FGD, 20 January 2025).

4.2.2.1 Role of Woreda Council

In response to inquiries regarding how the councils in Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha woredas aid internal minorities in the exercise of their cultural, political, economic, and social rights, all interview participants indicated that the councils played no role in this area. According to those involved in the focus group discussions, the functioning council does not fulfill its responsibilities in accordance with the equality principles specified in the constitution.

FGD participants suggested that the woreda council's inability to sufficiently safeguard the rights of minorities stems from the fact that all of its members are Oromo, who constitute the majority, resulting in a lack of motivation to address issues affecting these minorities. They further explained that the council should reflect the actual conditions of the residents within the woreda it governs; however, in Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha woreda, this representation is difficult to find since all council members are Oromo (Ato Alemu Morkate, FGD, 2025).

Given that the region possesses the authority to govern its inhabitants independently, the Ethiopian Social Democratic Party (ESDP) office was unable to intervene in regional matters, and its presence alone did not encourage councilor Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha to advocate for the rights of internal minorities.

4.2.2.2 Self Autonomy

The Constitution of the National Regional State of Oromia fails to recognize the specific rights of the minority ethnic group living within the region, despite the prevailing circumstances. Focus group participants Ato Ashekanu Gelato, Ato Gelato Watiro, Ato Alemu Morkate, and Ato Geda noted that internal minorities have established a committee to express their concerns regarding the region, citing excessive power abuse and discrimination, among other serious issues. The federal government intends to dissolve the Oromia Regional State in 1994 and integrate the former Gurage Zone (including Mareko Woreda and Soddo Woreda), which consists of Mareko

Special Woreda and (South Soddo Woreda, Eastern Gurage Zone), as well as the Silte Zone. Nevertheless, the Committee has received no acknowledgment from any government bodies, apart from the lengthy prison terms imposed on its members. Furthermore, this sentencing is considered undemocratic, as the constitution allows nations, nationalities, and peoples to deliberate on issues related to self-governance. Consequently, minorities are consistently marginalized and barred from accessing important sources of wealth and power in numerous countries, as indicated by Burgess (2006).

The participants interviewed (Ato Meserat Siyume, Ato Cuchu Tefari, Ato Hayatu Hamid, and W/ro Zenaba) indicated that the political, social, and economic frameworks are still structured in a manner that systematically marginalizes minority groups. Likewise, the Constitution of the Oromiya Regional State asserts that the sovereign authority within the region belongs to the Oromo nation and that this sovereignty is enacted through elected representatives and direct democratic participation, disregarding the presence of non-Oromo ethnic groups, which make up 4.9% and 21.3% of the regional population, respectively, as noted by the CSA in 2007.

Because the Oromia Constitution lacks provisions that ensure the protection and meaningful political representation of non-Oromo residents in the region, there is an evident denial of the existence of the 3,312,091 (12.2%) non-Oromo Ethiopians residing in the Oromiya region. The situation in Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha exemplifies this trend. This reality has enabled states to develop their own approaches to managing national minorities within their regions, which in some instances have led to the infringement of fundamental rights for nations, nationalities, and peoples, including the right to self-governance and equal representation within the regional government, as guaranteed by Article 39(3) of the FDRE Constitution. Such circumstances jeopardize the practical commitments of the Federal Constitution to adequately safeguard nations, nationalities, and peoples, leaving them vulnerable to the control of the states they inhabit. Therefore, the responsible federal authorities should fulfill their responsibilities in revising the regional constitution to ensure it accommodates minorities and protects the rights of non-Oromo ethnic groups residing in the region.

4.2.2.3 Receive government services in mother tongue

Article 26 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which asserts that education is a fundamental right, is one of the international treaties endorsed by Ethiopia (UN, 1948). This means that the government is responsible for guaranteeing that every child has an unimpeded right to education. The objective of the country's education and training policy established in 1994 is to ensure that all school-age children, particularly those from rural areas and especially girls, receive access to quality primary education. To achieve this, the government abolished tuition fees for primary education (grades 1–10) in 1994. This policy recognizes that inequitable access to education has long been a challenge within the country's educational framework (MoH, 2002).

One of the key aims of implementing free primary education is to enroll school-age children who would otherwise be unable to attend school due to financial limitations. Many heads of families from the minority groups in Rasa gabiba, Galiyi migirra, Qamo rape, and Tulu 01 kebele shared in interviews that they had been neglected for many years until 1997 A.D., and were unable to recover in any meaningful way (Interviewee persons, 2025).

Some elders from these minorities, such as Ato Asefaw Lire, Ato Abdela Yesuf, Ato Andarge Worku, and W/ro Baredu, talked during an interview about education, pointing out that while their situation has remained stagnant, there have been improvements for others. They noted that Oromo farmers have experienced positive changes and are now sending their children to school because it is nearby and the government is paying attention to their needs. In contrast, they expressed that despite the efforts made for them, they remain unchanged after centuries. Moreover, they highlighted that their children have been unable to attend secondary school in the area since all 1423 teachers in the woreda are Oromo. Additionally, they indicated that the educated children from their communities have migrated to Addis Ababa in search of job opportunities, leaving the region.

The second inquiry revolved around the language and methods employed by these minorities to lodge complaints and receive judgments within the woreda's judicial framework. Given that Oromiffa is the official language of the woreda, respondents stressed the importance of utilizing it during court processes. Ato Musema Arimo, Ato Chuchu Tefari, Ato Temesgen Kassaye, along with other interviewees, explained that when members of these minority groups face legal issues, they are compelled to hire a translator at their own expense. The researcher posed an

additional question regarding the importance of having a translator in legal matters. Consequently, participants pointed out that some of the main challenges facing minorities within the court system of Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda include financial burden, difficulties in articulating their cases, delays in obtaining justice, and signing documents without comprehending the content of the charges and outcomes.

Moreover, participants in focus groups and through the researcher's observations, which take place weekly for two hours at the woreda court in the city of Batu, confirmed these challenges. This indicates that by having the right to seek justice in their native language, minorities can alleviate some of their economic hardships and other grievances against the local government.

According to Article 9(4) of the FDRE Constitution, the rights specified in Article 54(27) of the Human Rights Commission (HRC) and Article 15(1) (a) of the Commission of Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (CESCR) represent international laws that Ethiopia has ratified and thus incorporate into its legal framework. These legal provisions clearly state that States Parties to the Covenant must ensure the fundamental human right of parties involved in a dispute to present their case in a language they understand. This right is particularly vital for defendants in criminal cases, as their ability to adequately defend themselves hinges significantly on their understanding of the working language.

Ultimately, the study participants were queried regarding the impact that the Woreda (Oromiffa) court's working language has on minority litigants who do not hear or speak Oromiffa. According to Ato Cuchu Tefari, Ato Mulunah Nini, W/ro Chaltu Bariso, and other respondents, minorities faced disadvantages during court proceedings due to the Woreda court's use of Oromiffa as its working language. They noted that one particular disadvantage for minority litigants—which is a straightforward matter for the Oromo—is their inability to convey their emotions directly to the judge. Interviewees also indicated that the language barrier prevents the minority litigant from fully grasping the judge's sentiments, which ultimately benefits the Oromo litigant (interviewees, January 2025).

The Court of Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha have recently begun to confront the language challenges faced by minority litigants during court sessions by employing an interpreter. Previously, the parties involved in the proceedings were required to cover the cost of hiring an interpreter themselves, as the court lacked one. Participants in the study were asked whether the court's initiative to utilize an interpreter to assist minority parties was adequate. A majority of the

respondents felt that this measure was insufficient to resolve the issue. These participants recommended that the court employ additional interpreters—ideally one for each courtroom—because the current interpreters in Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha are inadequate for the task. When only one interpreter is present to translate, the personal experiences of these participants reveal that they were compelled to testify in Oromiffa, a language they do not completely understand, without the help of an interpreter. Ato Kuffa Tolla, the president of the Woreda Court of Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha, acknowledges that having a single interpreter is inadequate given the number of courtrooms. He states that the court encounters significant challenges in its operations due to the insufficient number of interpreters. The president of the Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda Court, Ato Kuffa Tolla, concurs that one interpreter is not enough to meet the demands of the courts and litigants.

According to Ato Kuffa Tolla, the lack of sufficient interpreters severely undermines the court's ability to deliver justice to the internal minorities of Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha. This issue results in delays in justice, as one interpreter must wait for a previous assignment to be completed before moving on to another. In a democratic society, it is essential to respect minorities' rights to political participation and expression, and to take their interests into account when decisions affect them. This concern is echoed by W/ro Yanenash Areda, the interpreter and photocopier at the Adami Tulu Court, who struggles to fulfill her interpreting responsibilities effectively due to the court's large seating capacity and the added burden of photocopying. She argues that this situation obstructs ethnic minority litigants' access to justice and negatively impacts their cases.

A democratic system should respect the rights of expression and political engagement of minority groups and consider their interests when making decisions that impact them. In this context, W/ro Yanenash Areda, who works as an Interpreter and Photocopier at the Adami Tulu Court and Jido Kombolcha Woreda, expresses concern that she is unable to effectively perform her interpretation duties due to the limited number of seats in court and her additional responsibilities related to photocopying. She argues that this situation creates challenges for minority communities, particularly Amhara litigants, in their pursuit of justice.

Another inquiry addressed to the respondents asked them to assess the academic performance of elementary school pupils from minority backgrounds. To answer this question, the respondents emphasized the following assessment criteria: Even though Amharic is the official language,

numerous children do not have the chance to learn in their native tongue, struggle with reading and writing, achieve limited academic success, view education as a difficult pursuit, and lack role models from their ethnic group. The participants also noted that the inability to provide education in their mother tongue was the chief reason for these challenges.

According to the focus group discussion participants, while some educational institutions in the country began offering instruction in Amharic after the 1997 Electoral Commission elections, the quality of education remains poor due to most teachers being trained in Oromiffa. Furthermore, despite Oromia State University in Batu hosting teacher training programs on its main campus, those who wish to study Amharic cannot access the relevant department. This indicates that the Adami Tulu Jido Kombolcha Woreda government fails to adequately safeguard minority rights; consequently, internal minorities should be granted the right to self-determination. Although a veto cannot guarantee complete autonomy, it can prevent certain decisions from being enacted, as noted by Kymlicka (1995).

Participants confirmed that there is a deficiency in the implementation of mother tongue rights within the educational system. Additionally, the experts interviewed indicated that internal minorities experience systemic obstacles related to education in their mother tongue: they face obstacles in accessing educational opportunities for minority school teachers, struggle to keep up with educational programs, suffer from significant deficiencies in school infrastructure, experience high dropout rates, and have students who migrate to other areas, forcing them to attend schools dominated by the majority group.

4.2.2.4 Preservation of one's own culture

The question of which favorable situation is available for the exercise of cultural rights was one of the questions addressed to the interview participants. As a result, the respondents (Ato Wondimu Antanahi, Ato Wabela Kedir, Ato Dejene Nina and W/ro Asnekach) stated that, there is no suitable environment for internal minorities to exercise their cultural rights. The respondents added that the office of culture and tourism did not even pay attention to the promotion of the culture of these minorities in question (interviewees, January 2025).

During the researcher's observation, it was also found that the name of all government sectors is written only in Oromiffa, which shows that the local government in general does not have the will to create an environment that allows the internal minority to exercise their cultural rights (researcher Observations, 2025).

This may indicate that the attitude of local government officials should be formed by training. From this perspective, Article 9(4) of the FDRE Constitution reflects that international laws ratified by Ethiopia, such as the rights established in Article 27 of the Human Rights Commission(HRC) and Article 15 (1)(a) of the Covenant on economic, social and cultural rights (ICESCR), are an integral part of the country's law. These laws clearly state that, the States Parties to the Covenant have the obligation to take positive measures to allow minorities to develop and promote their culture.

In addition, Ethiopia has been the museum of many cultural groups. In all regional states, there are many ethnic groups that have their own distinct culture. Among them, the Amhara, Mareko, Gurage and Silte minorities who lived in the Oromiya regional states of Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda are some of them. These minorities, like the dominant society in which they lived, are culturally organized for serious social and political purposes, such as marriage and leadership. But their culture has no chance to be promoted in the Woreda. In this sense, a report prepared by the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission showed that the constitutions of the regional states pay particular attention to the promotion and advancement of the cultures of the dominant ethnic group only, that is to say that the cultures of minority groups and inter ethnic cultures. Values have not received the recognition they deserve and an enabling environment has not been provided for their advancement and preservation (Ethiopian Human Rights Commission, 2016).

But minority cultures need positive support because of the unequal circumstances that determine their relationship with dominant cultures. The internal minorities of Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda as minorities need such positive measures from the Woreda Administration in general and the Woreda Culture and Tourism Office in particular, to promote their culture because the cultures of internal minorities are weak in front of the decisions of the majority around them. The internal minorities of Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda have their own distinct culture that sets them apart from the majority Oromo. The internal minorities have a variety of cultural practices celebrated in different circumstances and in different seasons. Among these cultural practices, some include traditional music in workplaces, funeral ceremonies and others. The Amhara, Mareko, Gurage and Silte people need their culture and others to be respected, preserved and passed on to their children. This requires non-interference

from the state and other parties. In some cases, populations may also need positive measures cfrfrom the state to be able to effectively develop and express their cultures.

During the interview, the participants of the study were asked if there was an interference with their right to express their culture. However, Ato Korma Antale, Ato Hayatu Hamid, Ato Temesgen Kassaye and W/ro Zenaba Jemal answered the same question. As the participants said, the intervention can be classified into two categories. They can be direct or indirect. The direct interference comes from the administrators of Kebele disrupting and banning the celebration of some cultures of the internal minorities of Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda saying that it is the "bad culture" in the Afan Oromo (People interviewed, January 2025).

Do minorities receive priority attention during cultural festivals organized in woredas? This was one of the questions asked by the interview participants. Respondents answered "no" to this question. They said that because of the preliminary attention, these minorities do not even get a chance to show their culture even for a minute during the cultural festivals held in the woredas. The FGD participants also confirmed that minority culture is practically respected during religious holidays and wedding ceremonies of ethnic groups, otherwise cultural festivals organized by the office of culture and tourism have never tried to include their culture. This shows that the equal treatment of all ethnic groups in Oreda is essential. But the constitution of the FDRE provides that the regional states have an obligation to work to promote the culture of the nations, nationalities and peoples who live in the regional states.

Korma Antale and three other interviewees were also asked about the existence of positive measures and supports from the Woreda government in general and the Woreda Office of Culture and Tourism in particular, aimed at promoting the development and expression of the culture of the internal minority of Adam Tulu and jido Kombolcha Woreda, All participants answered no. They also added that they live far from the Woreda administration, not only because of the distance but also because of the lack of interest in supporting them as minority ethnic groups. This claim was also made by W/ro Bontu Tolla, the head of the Office of Culture and Tourism in Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda, who said that her office had done nothing to develop and promote the culture of these internal minorities.

According to W/ro Bontu, the lack of positive measures and opportunities for the development and promotion of minority cultures by the Office of Culture and Tourism is seen by internal

minorities as a lack of respect for their culture. As for solutions to the problems related to the direct interference in the cultural practices of people belonging to internal minorities, the participants suggested the involvement of the Zonal government in the teaching and monitoring of the Woreda government and the Kebele governors so as not to disturb the cultural celebrations of these communities. According to the participants, the Zonal government should take measures to prevent the threats presented by the Woreda and Kebele leaders and create a favorable atmosphere for the celebration of their cultural practices carried out outside and in mass.

In addition to the need to ensure non-interference in the exercise of the culture of the internal minorities of Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha woredas, the participants of the study believe that the woreda government, especially the office of culture and the tourism of the woreda, must take positive measures to target, in the development and promotion of its culture. According to those present, these measures include the organization of useful opportunities for the development and promotion of the culture of internal minorities at a formal level and the participation and registration of their cultural rituals.

4.2.2.5 Membership on the Woreda Council

The Woreda Council is the highest body of state authority within the Woreda. The Council has a number of powers. Its powers include examining and approving the draft economic development, social services, along with administrative working plans and programs of the Woreda concerned, creating a suitable condition in which the resident public is especially inspired and mobilized to engage in development efforts. It also considers and approves its own budget, utilizes any source of revenue of the Woreda concerned, issuing and implementing specific guidelines enabling to ensure peace and security relating the Woreda concerned and calling the Woreda's officials including the chief administrator for questioning and thereby asks into the workings of the executive body (check and balance) (The oromia Constitution article 79:2). The members of the Woreda Council are elected directly by the inhabitants of the Kebeles embraced in the territorial area in which the Woreda has been organized (article 78:1 of oromia Constitution). They are accountable to the people electing them (article 78:2 of oromia Constitution).

As noted by Selassie (2003), ethnic groups may seek power sharing and representation in different institutions. A person who does not speak or hear the working language of the region, (i.e. Affan Oromo) is prevented from running for office" (Fessha and Beken, 2013). Therefore,

this is contrary to the principle of the federal constitution as the federal constitution requires the equal representation of different ethnic groups in the regional governments (Constitution, 1995), and article 33 of the regional constitution (Revised Constitution of Oromia, 2001).

The Council of Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda have 88 members. They are represented from the different Kebeles of the Woreda. The number of the representatives from each Kebele depends on the area of the Kebele concerned. The members of the Woreda Council are directly elected from among the inhabitants of the Kebele concerned. As a result; a Kebele which has large area will have more representatives than the smaller one and vice versa. Depending on this arrangement, 38 Kebeles of the Woreda have each 2 representatives while the remaining 4 Kebeles have each 3 representatives. The internal minorities in Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda do not have a representation in the Woreda Council. They are not represented based on the above criteria of representation. According to W/ro Sifan Bayisa, Speaker of Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda, there is no special consideration of the minority as all in Oromia and for the internal minorities of the Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda in particular. They have not their own kebele rather sparsely settled with majority. This is also other factor for lack of representations. They are hardly considered as a distinct ethnic group in the territory they share with the rest of the population (W/ro Sifan Bayisa, interview, 17, January 2025).

According to the interview with the Woreda Administrator, the Administrative Council of Adami Tulu Jido Kombolcha Woreda is largely dominated by Oromo ethnic groups i.e. the non-dominant minorities living in rural areas also have no other positions or benefits, neither legally or practically (Ato Aleka Simbiro, interview, 17, January 2025). Therefore the regional council has to introduce non-territorial approach, for representation if the reason for absence of minority's representation in the woreda council is the dispersed nature of their settlement i.e. the formation of community council should be allowed for minorities to get their rights respected and protected (FGD with people at kebele, 20, January 2025).

4.2.2.6 Participation in the Woreda Executive

The Constitution of the Oromia Regional National State does not say anything about the representation of these national minorities in the executive. The constitution states that the Oromia regional constitution does not provide for representation in executive bodies at all levels

of government (Beken, 2007). In this regard, literature studies shows that, minorities in a democratic government, are given fair representation in the political sphere, to create a system and properly exercise the social, cultural, economic and political rights of minorities (Ronald, 2008). A person who does not speak and hear the working language of the region (i.e. Affan Oromo) is banned from competing for elections (Fessha & Beken, 2013). This survey result is contrary to the principle of the federal constitution since the federal constitution requires the equitable representation of the different ethnic groups in regional governments (Constitution, 1995) and Article 33 of the region's constitution (Revised Constitution of Oromia, 2001).

Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda Administrative Council is the highest executive body of the Woreda and consist of the heads of the various sectoral offices, including the Woreda Head. The Woreda Administrative Council is responsible to the Woreda Chief Administrator, the Woreda Council and the Regional State Council (Article 84:1 of the Revised Constitution of Oromia, 2001). The Woreda Administrative Council has the power to implement policies, laws, regulations, directives, plans and programs initiated and formulated by the federal and regional states throughout the Woreda. They also collect rural land use fees, agricultural income tax and other revenues, prepare the Woreda's annual budget, etc. (ibid: article 85:1).

The Woreda Chief Administrator with Woreda Prosperity Party (Special Executive Committee) has the authority to appoint members of the Woreda Administrative Council, including the Deputy Administrator, and to obtain the approval of their appointment by the Woreda Council and the administration of the area. The Chief Administrator of Adami Tulu Jido Kombolcha Woreda, when appointing the members of the administrative council of the Woreda, takes into account the political competence of the individual in the party and his level of education. Other factors, such as the ethnicity of the individual, are not considered in the nomination. As a result, there is no guaranteed representation of ethnic minorities in the administrative council of Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda. Concerning this, the researcher has interviewed legal expert and stated as follows:-

“...I have never heard and see any person who belong minority groups hold any Woreda office not only as leader but also as expert service of the woreda. This is I think due to ethnic back ground and language people who fitted the requirement position for any work of the woreda administration services” (Ato Denbalo Gemachu, interview, 17 January, 2025).

Regarding the ethnic composition of the Woreda Administrative Council, all members (100%) of the Woreda Executive Council are Oromo. Thus, it is clear that the non-Oromo ethnic groups, especially the minor Amhara, Mareko, Gurage and Silte of Adami Tulu Woreda and Jido Kombolcha in particular, do not have the opportunity to be heard by the council, to resolve their economic, social, cultural problems and political issues. Therefore, the county council should introduce a non-territorial approach to representation if the reason for the lack of minority representation in the Woreda council is the dispersed nature of its establishment i.e. the formation of community councils should be authorized to allow minorities to enforce and protect their rights (FGD with kebele residents, January 20, 2025).

The Woreda Administrative Council of Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha consist of 23 key sector heads and the chief administrator of the Woreda. These sectors include education, health, agriculture and rural development, administration, peace and security, children's and women's affairs, youth and sports, protection of environment and land administration, government communication, financial and economic cooperation, justice, civil service and human resources development, and cultural and tourism offices(ATJK Administration office Report 2025).

4.2.2.7 Woreda Judiciary Representation

Even though Oromia does not practice discrimination in hiring or appointment, the Oromian constitution does not contain any clause guaranteeing representation in the judiciary. There are undoubtedly a wide variety of non-Oromo judges, including high and Woreda presidents, but the court does not have any information on the ethnic backgrounds of judges because they are not considered during the hiring process.

However, anyone who satisfies the requirements set by the judicial branch in terms of age, competence, ethical background, and educational status may be nominated and appointed. Since ethnic minority groups lack the right to territorial self-administration, the hiring of judges is centralized at the regional level. Since the Woreda and Zonal levels were only created for administrative convenience, they are not ethnically based territorial entities. Therefore, there is no assurance of representation in any level of the judiciary.

4.2.2.8 Constitutional Interpretation Commission

The regional Constitutional Interpretation Commission, which is made up of representative nominees from each District Council, has the authority to interpret the constitution in accordance with Article 67(1) of the Oromia National Regional State. It differs greatly from ordinary courts due to its political makeup, member composition, and decision-making processes. Because its members are not selected from various countries or ethnic groups, the Oromia Constitutional Interpretation Commission is not like the constitutional interpretation commissions of other member states. Since the Oromia National Regional State is regarded as a homogeneous entity, as previously mentioned, no other ethnic group is represented on the constitutional interpretation commission aside from the Oromia people. However, if the district council appoints a non-Oromo person, he or she may also be nominated as an individual. Furthermore, there is no diversity in the Council of Constitutional Inquiry, which was created by the constitution to support the Regional Constitutional Interpretation Commission.

The administrative hierarchy in Oromia is made up of Kebeles, Zones, Districts, and Regional Government, as was previously mentioned. There is no collective representation of non-Oromos in any of the region's administrative tiers. They are chosen as representatives of Oromos, not the minorities, even if they are elected. There is no room for special representation in the constitution.

4.2.2.9 Access for economic opportunities

Regarding economic opportunities, the researcher asked interview participants, among these internal minorities, whether or not there was discrimination due to economic opportunities. Therefore, the respondents answered "yes" to the question and the respondents said that the utilization of the work fund allocated by the federal government is not equally distributed among the domestic minority and Oromo companies, for example. But economic opportunities must be equally accessible to all citizens of a country or locality without discrimination based on race, language, religion, etc. Moreover, the creation of equal economic opportunities requires special attention in a state where different ethnic groups live together and are ruled by the majority, since minorities have received little or no attention.

During the FGD, the mayor of the city of Tulu, Ato Geda Balcha, also indicated that not all companies involved in the construction of urban infrastructure are from these internal minorities, which is far from the truth in land. Similarly, other FGD participants confirmed that the distribution of rural land in villages has also been the subject of frequent complaints from internal minorities. This may mean that these minorities are disadvantaged in the job opportunities created by the local government, which is contrary to the constitutional rights of citizens and the protection of minority rights. This lack of job opportunities has led to the migration of many young people from internal minorities to Arab countries, even illegally, and to other neighboring regions.

On the other hand, W/ro Asnekach Saifu pointed out that women in rural areas, for example, produce drinks to meet their needs. Mixing, transporting and processing the inputs to the finishing stage is mainly done by women, while men are responsible for cutting the trees to get the fuel needed to cook the products. Agriculture is also a male activity. The livelihood of minority farmers mainly depends on trade and agriculture, which are generally practiced because agricultural land is scarce for them. Also, to support themselves, women collect herbs in agricultural areas and sometimes help men harvest agricultural products. Men and women share the task of bringing agricultural produce and butter to the market, such as wheat, corn, thorns, groundnuts, matches used for cooking, cow dung, etc.

The different products are exchanged either in cash or in kind, both in the place of production and in the local markets. The exchange in kind is mainly done in the place of production, while

the exchange of the local market is mainly for money. Generally, women carry their products to the market, carrying them on their backs. However, the spouses also help transport the produce to local markets. By doing all these tasks, the local government does not help the local minorities to connect with the markets to sell their products at a fair price. Furthermore, local government duties to create jobs in rural areas do not benefit local minority groups.

Regarding the development of road infrastructure and bridges in Rasa Gabiba and Qamo Rape kebeles, interviewed heads of minority families, Ato Mulunah Nina, Ato Musema Arimo, Ato Abdela yesuf and w/ro Kalkidan Nurelign told me that there was a road construction Project in Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha was used to connect neighboring regions through Grated kebeles. The project was handed over to a contractor named Husen Megiso, an Oromo contractor engaged in road construction on October 21, 2011 AD. But for unknown reasons, the contractor has not built the road so far and so the residents of Rasa Gabiba and Qamo Rape Kebeles have been left without a seasonal road. For this reason, getting the transport service, even for the ambulance to help pregnant women give birth in health centers and bring agricultural products to the market, has been difficult for many years.

The Woreda Administrator, Ato Aleka simbiro also said in interview that “yes, a gravel road project has been awarded to the contractor mentioned by the residents. But since it is a road project to connect the Oromia region with the Central Ethiopia region, it was administered by the federal government. He added that the project was based on the federal budget, but the project agreement was terminated after 48 kilometers of clearing and excavation work six years ago on June 20, 2011. The reason was mainly due to a question of change raised by the contract that requested an additional budget of 128 million birr”. This implies that after the end of the project agreement, Wereda made no attempt to give it to another contractor. Therefore, the Ethiopian road authority must allocate the necessary budget for the project to solve the problem of the residents in the area.

Similarly, the results of the focus group revealed that domestic minorities are marginalized and ignored in various ways, such as participation in political elections, obtaining Kebele identity cards, Kebele houses, urban housing, land offers and public meetings. On this topic, the participants in the group discussion said that the municipal administration usually calls them on fundraising issues, demonstrations and public meetings on behalf of the interests of the dominant

group. Even the reluctance and denial of dominant groups and public officials have been observed in various meetings to use Amharic as meeting instructions, because they are too degraded to participate in public decision-making. If they do not attend the meeting, they make criticisms such as "Nefitegna" and "anti-Oromo", "settlers" and "anti-development". Also, when many problems are raised in meeting rooms or public institutions, the dominant group dismisses the problem because of our ethnicity (FGD, 20 January, 2025).

Likewise, the results of interviews with key informants and some sector officials showed that, there are no exceptions cases based on ethnicity. However, the ripple effects of political ethics that cause mistrust and assign of mistreatment can be present there and in some public institutions in the study area. Thus, it is possible to conclude that there is a gap in the creation of a safe and inclusive system of political participation. (Bieber, 2001) rightly said that minority rights cannot be fully realized without the ability to have control over their affairs and be free from the dominance of the dominant group. On the contrary, the results of the investigation are incompatible with the federal constitutional provision, which states the right of every individual to participate in the conduct of public affairs, including voting and to be elected without discrimination based on his ethnic group and another status (Fessha and Beken, 2013).

The internal minority have their own language basically associated with themselves. Among others Amharic is a language primarily associated with the Amhara ethnic group; but it is spoken by other internal minorities and dominant groups in the study area and widely spoken by the Ethiopian people as a whole.

4.2.10. Issues with government employment

Focus group participants Ashekanu Gelato, Ato Alemu Morkate, and Ato Gelato brought up the subject of government employment, stating that it is a problem that is regularly seen because all recruitments exclude internal minorities because of the Oromiffa language requirement. The respondent claims that due to job and money issues, even internal minorities' desire to send their kids to school is occasionally declining in the woreda.

As per Article 8 of the Oromia Constitution, every Ethiopian citizen has the right to work in any sector of the economy as long as they can communicate in the regional working language. The majority of parents did not want their children to prioritise their education, according to the

interview with Ato Nuri Mohamed. Another head of family, Ato Wabela Kedir, asserts that "financial help would not alleviate our economic problems because that would not be enough to solve our children's employment problem." This could mean that minorities have had a difficult time getting hired in woreda government agencies, which calls for an immediate fix. However, the regional Constitution stated that it is illegal to discriminate against people based on their sex, language, race, religion, political affiliation, property, or any other factor (Art. 38 (1)).

As the focus group discussion participants put it, "Our descent is a matter, even if we can hear and speak Afan Oromo." For example, public officials practically and methodically use descent as a criterion to be employed when a vacancy arises in any area. In other words, they ask for your name up to your grandfather's. Assume that your lineage lacks an Oromo affinity name. If so, you are not employed by any organisation, unless you have family members who hold positions of authority at the federal or regional levels (FGD, 20, January 2025).

In a similar vein, the survey's findings stipulate that a large number of young people who have completed various universities or colleges migrate from their home country to other regional states, primarily the capital city, in order to seek employment, primarily due to systematic racial segregation by the dominant group. The results also showed that the majority of public sector experts and government officials have a negative attitude towards internal minorities, particularly the Amhara ethnic group, who are often labelled as "Nefitegna" (literally, "shooter") or mentioned in the context of the historically dominant group. In order to validate the issue, Abbink (2006) draws the following conclusions about the circumstances: aspirant regional elites have exploited the new regime, with its rights to ethnic claim-making, for their personal gain and power struggles, and the staffing of local administration has taken on a divisive dynamic of its own. Thus, in reality, an "ethnic" policy was frequently implemented, which has given rise to fresh perspectives on inequality and elite control at lower echelons of the political hierarchy (p. 393).

4.2.3. Current Challenges of the Minorities

The protection of minority rights is the subject of numerous international documents. Ethnic persecution, violence, conflict, and grave human rights violations can occur in many parts of the world where minority groups live. They find it challenging to carry on with their lives in this regard. International minimum standards for states to uphold, defend, advance, and comply with human rights are established by regional and global laws and human rights. The rights to life, freedom, and especially the freedom from arbitrary detention and arbitration, as well as the right to a sufficient standard of living, which includes the right to decent housing and the absence of forced expulsion, are among the rights safeguarded by international human rights laws. It is essential for the parties to numerous international human rights conventions, who have also ratified the alliance, to guarantee the rights of every individual within their jurisdiction.

However, members of the minority population residing in Adami Tulu and Jiddo Kombolcha woreda, Oromiya regional state of Ethiopia, currently face various obstacles in exercising their internationally and nationally recognized rights, despite the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) constitution's Articles 14 to 18 guaranteeing the rights to life, security of person, liberty, and prohibition against inhuman treatment. Respondents were asked to enumerate the primary issues they had encountered in this regard. Thus, they came up with the following list: the main issues are security issues, lack of freedom of movement and residence, and psychological fear. These issues are primarily linked to social benefits and security issues.

4.2.3.1 Lack of residence and mobility freedom

Article 13 of the international document known as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights affirms the right to freedom of movement and residence. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights also acknowledges and defends the freedom of residence and movement in Article 12. The FDRE constitution's Article 32(1) acknowledged that every state citizen has the right to freedom of movement and the freedom to live where they choose. The researcher inquired about the degree of freedom of movement and residence in the study area from the interviewees. However the informants Ato Muluneh Nina, Ato Hayatu Hamid, and W/ro Yanenesh expressed their dissatisfaction with the exercise of their constitutionally guaranteed rights, which are both legally and practically unprotected. Consequently, they frequently have no option but to escape. The Oromo Liberation Army (OLA), also known as "Shene," has used

terror and committed multiple human rights violations while occupying entire kebeles or even districts in some places (EHRC, December 8, 2022).

The researcher also asked the participants if they knew of any court cases involving minorities' issues. However, the majority of the informants stated that they lack confidence in the court's judges, which is why they do not wish to take their cases to court. One of the participants who were interviewed stated as:

"... I think of myself as a second-class citizen. Because of the violence occurring across the nation for a variety of reasons, I want to go back to where I first identified. I mistrusted the government-run security services and worried about my safety. I am hesitant to perform my duties effectively because I don't trust them and think their judgment will be biased."

The concept above illustrates how someone can obtain second citizenship. Ethnic minorities are currently the subject of concern despite the nation's numerous conflicts, problems, and difficulties. This issue stems from the nature of the federal constitution. The regions created in Ethiopia based on ethnicity are the main source of this unrest.

To this effect, the researcher tries to look in to court if there is any case that related with problem of minorities at there, and no registered case that link with minorities at court. Accordingly, from the beginning when they face difficulties because of fear, don't covet to bring their case to court or any other legal bodies (researcher observation, 20 January 2025).

Additionally, the interviewees were informed by the researcher that this right is legally recognized. Some study participants believe that they are aware that the freedom of movement and residence are legally recognized rights. Some informants are unaware that this is a legally protected right. On the other hand, some informants contended that this idea should be exercised by everyone as a natural right rather than just being acknowledged legally. Both the FDRE constitution and various international agreements guarantee the right to freedom of movement and residence. Therefore, the constitution provides legal protection for this right.

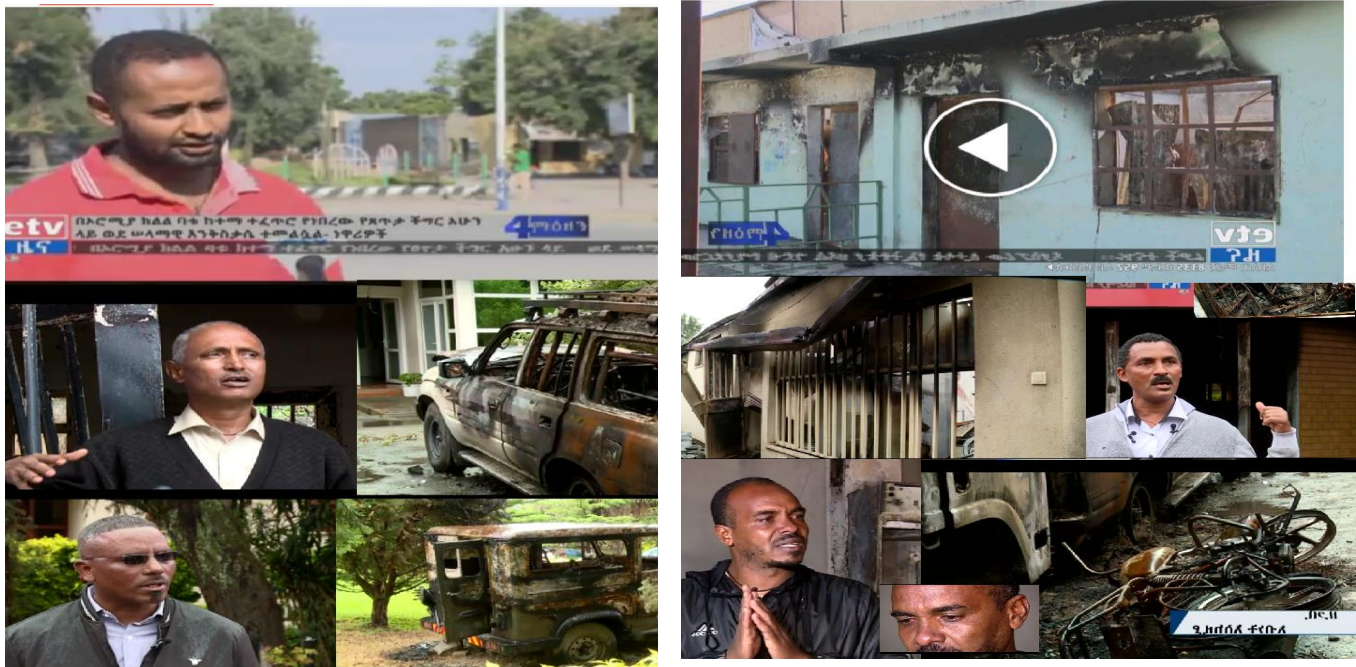
4.2.3.2 Security Challenges

Every individual has the unalienable and unalienable right to life and physical security as a human being, according to Article 14 of the Federal Constitution. In addition to being protected by Article 6 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which Ethiopia ratified on September 11, 1993, the right to life in Ethiopia is guaranteed by Article 15 of the FDRE Constitution. Ethiopia has also ratified the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which guarantees the rights to life, liberty, and security in Articles 2 and 3. According to Article 16 of the constitution, everyone has the right to physical safety, which includes protection from harm. A sizable and well-organized group of mostly Oromo youths set fire to hotels, schools, shopping malls, and residential homes belonging to the Amhara and Gurage ethnic minorities in the area following the untimely death of well-known Oromo singer and activist Hachalu Hundessa (MRGR, 2020).

One of the topics of discussion during the interview was whether or not minorities' security rights are protected. As a result, the interviewees (Ato Birhanu Zabena, Ato Abdela Yesuf, Ato Andarge Werku, and W/ro Chaltu) stated that no effort is being made to protect the security rights of minorities in the study area. They added that OLA armed groups and young people had killed numerous people and damaged numerous homes with bullets. The Oromo Liberation Army (OLA), also known as "Shene," is the primary combatant in the Oromia, East Shewa Zone, Adami Tulu, and Jido Kombolcha Woreda. In recent days, numerous individuals have been killed in attacks that target specific ethnic groups (EHRC, December 8, 2022).

Regarding the unsettling strategies used by the attackers, the researcher has also brought up additional concerns. Because the attackers had a list of names of people and households to target, all of the participants claimed that the attacks were premeditated. Ethnic minorities, who comprise an estimated 21% of the woreda's population, were the target of the groups' home-to-home identity card checks (Researcher interview, January, 2025).

Figure 2-Source of data (from EBC news)



The researcher also questioned the interviewees about the motivations behind the attacks on minority members in the district by armed groups. The majority of interviewees (Ato Birhanu Zabena, Ato Abdela Yesuf, Ato Andarge Werku, and W/ro Chaltu) responded to this by stating that the OLA requested weapons from the ethnic minorities residing in the district, asked those without weapons to give them a large sum of money, and then abducted and killed those who did not provide them as well as those who supported the government (Researcher interview, January 20, 2025).

The researcher questioned local governments' role in safeguarding the security rights of minorities in the study area during the focus group discussion. As a result, knowledgeable participants Ashekanu Gelato, Ato Gechano Kochocha, Ato Gelato Watiro, and Ato Alemu claimed that local and federal government representatives ignored the situation because they were unwilling to send out security forces in a timely manner to protect minorities. In relation to this, the informed participants conveyed to the researcher the following:

"... We are subjected to atrocious killings, arson, and theft of property by armed groups whenever national crises arise. We request that the security services engage with us whenever Shene militants and youth driven by narrow nationalism create disturbances in our area. However, they responded that they do not have the power to intervene. Instead, when we try to protect ourselves, the police in the Oromia

region, who are supposed to ensure security under the government's directive, neglect their responsibilities and assault us, demanding significant sums of money to serve their own interests. They question our nationality, disregard our inability to communicate in Oromo, and create a clear impression based solely on our identity" (FGD with people, 20, January 2025).

The provided concept demonstrates that the Peace and Security Offices of Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha woreda conduct their public responsibilities and security tasks based on their ethnic affiliations and individual interests. Therefore, in line with the constitutional mandates, the leadership of Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha woreda, along with the Oromia regional government, must ensure the protection of ethnic minority groups.

4.2.3.3 Fear of the mind

Article 17 of the FDRE Constitution and Article 9 of the ICCPR condemn arbitrary arrests and detentions, while Article 18 of the FDRE Constitution and Article 7 of the ICCPR prohibit the use of torture. According to Article 24 of the FDRE Constitution, every individual has the right to have their dignity, honor, and reputation respected. The FDRE Constitution guarantees the accused the right to a prompt trial by an independent judiciary, as stated in Article 20(1), along with Articles 9(3) and (4) of the ICCPR; however, this right is frequently violated.

During the interviews, the researcher asked the participants about the fairness of the woreda government. Participants Ato Hayatu Hamid, Ato Abdela Yesuf, Ato Asefaw Lire, and Ato Andarge indicated that government officials perform their duties and provide services based on ethnic considerations. They also mentioned that the government forces and the Oromo Liberation Army (Shane) instill psychological fear through acts of torture and mistreatment, resulting in a sense of instability in life.

The knowledgeable participants from the focus group discussion revealed that the OLA had severely beaten and harmed members of minority groups during interrogations. They assured the participants of their unwavering support for the government. When asked about the government's tax collection practices, the respondents shared that they were forced to stand for several hours during the investigation. They believed they were being punished for weapons they did not possess, suffering physical violence through beatings with sticks and harsh slaps. The investigations took place in a poorly lit area within the forest. There are ongoing mass killings of civilians and other serious human rights violations occurring throughout the Oromia region. Shane armed groups have conducted multiple attacks over several months, culminating in the

brutal deaths of hundreds of civilians and an unknown number of severely injured individuals. Insurgent groups have perpetrated widespread devastation, including extrajudicial executions and large-scale civilian killings, with the latest attack resulting in the deaths of hundreds (EHRC, December 8, 2022).

The participants were then asked to identify actions that should be taken to tackle the challenges faced by internal minorities in the study area. The respondents outlined the following measures:

- Efforts should be made to stay in the woreda and learn the local language.
- To eliminate ethnic discrimination, the constitution should acknowledge the presence of ethnic minorities in the district.
- Ethnic minorities living in the district need to have equal access to and fair distribution of social services.
- Minorities were encouraged to collaborate with neighboring major districts and seek their own geographical autonomy or self-governance within regional states, special zones, and special woredas, which pertains to the administrative levels of both regional and local governance. The matter of minority rights as a reflection of ethnic group rights, alongside the rights of various collective groups (such as women, children, and individuals with disabilities), signifies a collective right to influence decisions regarding communal matters. This relates to the concepts of compounded discrimination and intersectionality (Malloy, 2010).

4.2.4 Discussion of Findings

The purpose of this study was to examine the federal structure of Ethiopia and the challenges associated with the protection of minority rights in the Oromia Region, specifically focusing on the Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda as a case study. In particular, the research explores the rights of minority groups such as the Amhara, Mareko, Gurage, and Silte in the area, covering aspects like their societal relationships with the dominant majority, their political participation and representation within the Woreda Council, the promotion and development of their cultural practices, their right to receive a trial in their native language, their right to equitable treatment in the workplace, and the various challenges faced by these internal minority groups in exercising their human rights.

Though society continues to emphasize coexistence, the politicization of ethnicity—largely instigated by politicians and governmental entities—has heightened suspicion and division between dominant and minority groups. This observation aligns with Gebremichael (2011), who

posits that elite members of the dominant ethnic group exploit ethnic identities to maintain control over state resources that are managed patronage-style.

While opportunities for representation in local government are available, non-Oromos encounter considerably limited prospects due to region-specific constitutional regulations and declarations. The political engagement of minority groups certainly creates multiple possibilities for improved self-organization, securing adequate representation, and realizing political and policy objectives (Dessalegn, 2013). In terms of representation, the "first past the post" electoral system, as noted by Abbink (2011) and Dessalegn (2013), ensures the dominant group in a region consistently wins electoral contests, thereby reinforcing its power. This results in reduced political involvement from internal minorities (Dessalegn, 2013). Fessha and Beken (2013) remarked that constitutions in many regions either overtly or subtly favor the dominant groups. Additionally, this corresponds with the idea that the political authority in a specific area may often perceive that area as their ethnonational "homeland," resulting in internal minorities being viewed as "second-class citizens" (Fessha & Beken, 2013; Fessha, 2017).

Likewise, the findings of the study indicate that non-Oromo representatives sometimes hold positions in executive councils. However, instead of representing the collective identity of internal minorities, these individuals are typically compelled to prioritize the interests of the dominant groups. Having representatives from minority groups in the legislature is insufficient (Addisu, 2020; Dessalegn, 2016). For example, "the representation and participation of minorities in the decision-making process is one of the main pillars of minority rights." Ensuring the success and achievement of minority participation is crucial, especially regarding issues important to them (Chokole, 2012). Yet, if the governance system is managed by one or more dominant groups without fair inclusion of minorities, the democratic process is compromised (Dessalegn, 2016). Consequently, internal minorities possess significant symbolic power through their parliamentary representation (Moser, 2008). Verstichel (2010) stated that when minorities are involved in decision-making processes, they should exert influence over the outcomes of those decisions. In simple terms, this inadequate representation amounts to mere window dressing (Dessalegn, 2016). True minority representation involves more than ensuring that representatives of minority groups are not consistently outvoted, especially regarding issues affecting their needs. To mitigate majoritarian oppression, they should also be granted certain veto powers (Verstichel, 2010).

Minority students attend institutions operated by the local government. In a comparable context, Cohen (2006) and Daba (2010) confirmed that children in the examined area receive education in their native languages, Amharic and Oromifa. Nonetheless, all schools in the Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha woreda are integrated with students from the dominant group, and children from internal minorities encounter systemic challenges regarding mother tongue education. For instance, they are not afforded the chance to learn from minority educators, the curriculum is often delayed, there is a significant shortage of school facilities, the dropout rate is elevated, students relocate to other regions, and children are compelled to attend schools managed by the dominant group. Children from internal minorities who enroll in dominant schools find it difficult to receive instruction and ultimately may drop out (Mowbray, 2012). Fessha and Beken (2013) highlight this issue and argue that language policy and education often struggle to properly address the rights of internal minorities.

The findings regarding the last variable indicate that there is no specific organization in the region dedicated to advocating for and protecting the rights of internal minorities. The situation in South Africa, for example, provides valuable insights in this regard. According to Tesfaye (2008), who discussed South Africa's example, "the constitution offers non-territorial protection of languages and culture by facilitating the creation of a Commission for the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Cultural, Religious, and Linguistic Communities, alongside a judicially enforceable Bill of Rights." As highlighted by its objective, this commission is intended to promote peaceful coexistence and a unified identity, which is crucial for the preservation of dispersed minorities (Tefaye, 2008). The commission's responsibilities are further elaborated in Section 185(2) of the Republic of South Africa (1996), which grants it the authority to monitor, research, educate, advocate, advise, and report on issues related to the rights of linguistic, cultural, and religious communities. Likewise, Fessha and Beken (2013) argue that non-territorial autonomy is an effective means of protecting internal minorities.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Conclusions

As mentioned earlier, the main objective of this study was to examine the Ethiopian federal system and the challenges related to the protection of minority rights in the Oromiya Region, specifically focusing on Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda as a particular case study. Consequently, the central findings in this section align with the relevant theoretical concepts currently being applied. To accomplish this, an analysis was conducted on the constitutional and other legal frameworks, participation in political and public affairs, effective and fair representation, inclusion in public institutions, educational rights, specific institutional challenges, and the social dynamics between the Oromo and non-Oromo communities.

Protection of Minority Right

In the national regional government of Oromia, districts with a large number of ethnic minorities are not being treated with equal attention districts districts having a high concentration of Oromo people. Locally spoken ethnic languages are taught in teacher training colleges for kindergarten and primary education, for example in Ethiopia's Education and Training Policy. Therefore, the Oromia National Regional Government is required to do this in order to ensure that the schools located in the Kebeles of the Amhara, Mareko, Gurage and Silte communities in Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha district have qualified native language teachers, especially if Amharic is the working language of the federal government, if it can be taught in schools. However, the region's teacher training colleges do not prepare enough teachers to teach Amharic and other local language, so in Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha districts most of the hired teachers trained Afan Oromo in schools to teach Amharic to children of Amhara and other communities.

The practice of offering free translation services for accused parties in Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda courts is deemed inadequate when considering the minority groups' right to have their cases heard in a language that is comprehensible to them. The lack of a translator at the court is the cause of this. Consequently, minorities who require the assistance of an interpreter in a civil dispute or who are accused of being minorities may not receive it and may even be forced to testify in a language that they are not able to understand or speak (Oromiffa).

The Amhara, Mareko, Gurage, and Silte minorities' cultures are not well promoted by the woreda culture and tourist office, nor is there an environment that would allow them to do so on their own. Acts that interferes with and prohibits the traditional customs of the Amhara minorities in Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda is against the obligation to respect and the freedom of cultural expression. Additionally, by virtue of Article 9(4) of the FDRE Constitution, the Woreda administration and its council are in violation of their obligation to enforce FDRE Constitution Article 13(1) and international covenants, which become a part of the national law upon ratification. since all state organs of the Federal and State governments at all levels are required by the Constitutions of the FDRE and the Oromiya National Regional State to respect and uphold the fundamental freedoms and rights of individuals and groups, of which the right to express, develop, and promote those Minorities' culture is one part.

Challenges Faced by Internal Minorities in Exercising Their Rights

In their attempts to exercise their rights as minorities, Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda have encountered numerous obstacles. These include inadequate democratic institutions for appeal, the requirement to present any case in Affan Oromo, injustice (having to pay for a translator in court), denial of the right to self-government, discrimination in the workplace based on their ethnic origin, and, most importantly, a general lack of good governance (not wanting to answer their questions). Regarding this, the treaty bodies of the international instruments that Ethiopia has ratified, such as the ICESCR and the Human Rights Commission of the ICCPR, stipulate that the State parties to the Covenants are required to refrain from interfering with the right of minorities to express their culture, to take advantage of economic opportunities, and to be considered and judged in their own language. In addition, State parties to the Covenants must ensure that these rights are not abused—that is, that third parties do not interfere with an individual's attempts to exercise their rights. Failing to do so would be a breach of the Covenants and the FDRE constitution's commitment to preserve and defend these minorities' rights. Unfair treatments or discrimination, security problem, psychological fear, prejudices that happen in work place, are the challenges that they encountering. Consequently, the current events in Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda might be considered as unfavourable action taken by the Oromiya National Regional State to safeguard the ethnic minorities residing in the area. One example of this is the Amhara, Mareko, Gurage, and Silte ethnic groups, which include in Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda.

5.2 Recommendations

Following are some potential recommendations that could be helpful to the woreda in enhancing minority rights protection initiatives that maintain equality and peace, based on the study's findings and the conclusions drawn above.

Re-Territoriazation

The kebeles of Rasa Gabiba, Galiye Migira, and Qemo Rape are home to the majority of the Mareko, Gurage, and Silte ethnic groups. All three kebeles share geographical connections with the nearby kebeles of the Mareko Special Woreda, East Gurage Zone, and Silte Zone, despite the fact that they are currently under the jurisdiction of Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha woreda of the East Showa Zone of the Oromia region. In order for them to exercise their constitutional right to self-governance and join the administrative state of their country, demarcation work should be completed.

Consociational democracy

Consociationalism is an alternative to the winner-take-all scenario of majoritarian rule. Instead of promoting combative politics, it promotes collaboration. By applying pressure to members of the majority, consensus democracy helps keep the majority from influencing political, economic, and social issues. In order to create a consensus-based democracy in the woreda, which is renowned for its inclusivity and participation, it is therefore preferable for the pertinent government stakeholders to develop a community counseling policy and endeavor to involve everyone. Since only Oromo ethnic group do have a majority vote in a legal, political, or administrative matters decided in the woreda and the region, it is therefore preferable for the minority groups residing in Adami Tulu and jido Kombolcha woredas to participate equally and fairly with them. Consociationalism has two components: the social side, or pillarization, which refers to different social segments like religious and ethnic groups, and the political side, which refers to political elites. The concepts of proportionality, mutual veto, segmental authority, and grand coalitions are also the foundation of consociationalism.

Non-Territorial Approach

Since most of the Amhara ethnic members live in the district in a scattered situation, it is important to follow non-territorial approach to get fair representation. The regional government must invite Amhara minorities to establish community councils, which is a non-territorial approach to federalism that respects the rights of Amhara minorities residing in the region, when they live in a dispersed condition or style that is not geographically connected and difficult to allow the establishment of special woreda.

Respecting the FDRE Constitution

As stipulated in Article 39(3) of the FDRE Constitution, the right to self-government of a nation, nationality, and people encompasses the establishment of governmental institutions within their territory and the provision of equitable political representation. Accordingly, Adami tulu and Jido Kombolcha woreda, in particular, as well as the Oromiya regional state, must grant the Amhara people the right to establish governmental institutions within the Kebeles they inhabit, as well as equitable representation in the Woreda Council of Adami tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda, as this aids in granting them an effective voice in Woreda affairs and the ability to determine their own destiny.

Rewriting the internal working method of the woreda council members is necessary to ensure that the specific interests of the woreda's Amhara minorities are taken into consideration. Setting agendas and making decisions on matters that are especially significant to Amhara minorities shouldn't be left to the customary majority vote method of decision-making. The right to equal opportunity in economic domains, such as employment prospects, can also be guaranteed by doing this.

The practice in the regional state of Oromiya indicates the existence of internal ethnic minorities, so it would be better to recognise and take special measures. The measures can be granting minorities veto powers in matters of special concern to them, but they need to have a constitutional basis. Both the federal and the regional government should support ethnic minorities in their efforts to use their right of self-determination as enshrined in article 39.

Through the promotion of national unity and the use of various tools including the mass media, educational institutions, and other strategies, the government must endeavour to eradicate ethnic awareness from society. The majority of ethnic prejudice in a variety of areas is caused by it.

Human rights organisations should have a robust presence and establish branches in many regions. The reason for this is that human rights abuses take place across the nation and these organisations aid in their appeal.

Recruitment of Multilingual Person

A few proactive steps must be taken by Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda Culture and Tourism Office in order to facilitate the practice of culture among internal minorities. For example, it would be preferable if the office employed a bilingual individual who is familiar with the languages and cultures of the minority groups. This is due to the fact that an individual in this profession will play a significant part in the preservation and promotion of the cultures of the minority groups and will be able to interact with the communities with ease to aid in the growth of their cultures.

It is a fundamental human right for disputing parties to have a trial and a judgement rendered in a language they can comprehend. This right is a minimal guarantee guaranteed by Article 14(3)(f) of the ICCPR and should not be compromised in any way. Thus, in every court where Oromiffa is the language of instruction, Amhara minorities ought to hire a minimum of one translator and provide their services for free. This is due to the principle that an accused person should not be unfairly affected by his or her incapacity to use the language used by the court (Oromiffa).

Change in Attitude

The regional government in general, and Adami Tulu Jido Kombolcha Woreda in particular, must take action by assigning teachers, speaking minority groups, and providing teacher training colleges with the necessary training in the languages of the minority groups in order to improve the interest and performance of primary school students. Additionally, it is essential to prepare and disseminate a sufficient number of books in the languages of the minority groups. But to do these the attitude of regional and local government officials need to be changed towards serving all ethnic groups equally.

Amendment to the Constitution

The Oromiya National Regional State needs to amend its constitution in order to ensure accountability, political representation of minorities living in its territory, and the protection of minority rights. Additionally, we can infer that religious affairs in Ethiopia are structured and administered primarily (if not entirely) on the basis of non-territorial federalism, but this issue

will not be discussed. Therefore, I would like to suggest that the non-territorial federalism be constitutionally adopted and protected.

Respecting the rule of law

The Ethiopian government should: Be transparent about the steps it is taking to investigate and bring charges against armed non-state actors for murders, looting, property destruction, and other abuses. As quickly as possible, provide Amhara and other communities affected by the violence on June 18 and later violent episodes in Oromia with food, shelter, medical care, and humanitarian aid. Analyze how local and regional authorities, security forces, and other organizations may have fallen short in their responsibility to protect civilians. Make sure that reports of abuses by security forces, including extrajudicial executions and arbitrary arrests of minority communities in Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda, East Shewa Zone, Oromia region, are investigated independently, impartially, and credibly. All illegal attacks on civilians and civilian property should be stopped by the OLA and other armed groups that are active in eastern Oromia.

Finding a balance between collective rights—which are acquired as members of a specific nation, nationality, and people as a group—and individual rights—which are protected by the FDRE Constitution and international human rights instruments—is, finally, the most challenging issue. The Ethiopian context and federation require a clear discussion of this balance in scholarly literature. In addition, the federal system should be protected from the misuse of ethnicity, which appears to lead society to ethnic consciousness and ethnic division and ultimately results in violations of the right to freedom of movement and residence. This can be achieved by having the constitution create a mechanism that discourages political parties from organising themselves based on ethnic lines and declares ethnic manipulation for election purposes unconstitutional.

Lastly, because the focus of this study was on the legal and practical protection of minority rights under the Ethiopian Federal Arrangement, as well as an evaluation of the protection scheme of Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda in the East Shoa Zone of the Oromiya Regional State, I would like to encourage other researchers to undertake in-depth, extensive research on this topic at a larger scale.

A. List of interview participants

Names of participants	Position/occupations	Place of interview	Date of interview	Remark
Ato Daselagn Bariso	Agriculture	Rasa Gabiba Kebele	12 January, 2025	
Ato Asefaw Lire	Trade	Rasa Gabiba Kebele	12 January, 2025	
Ato Musema Arimo	Agriculture	Rasa Gabiba Kebele	12 January, 2025	
W/ro Chaltu Bariso	Agriculture	Rasa Gabiba Kebele	12 January, 2025	
Ato Mulunahi Nina	Trade	Rasa Gabiba Kebele	12 January, 2025	
Ato Korma Antale	Agriculture	Rasa Gabiba Kebele	12 January, 2025	
Ato Dejene Nina	Agriculture	Rasa Gabiba Kebele	12 January, 2025	
W/ro Asnekach Saifu	Agriculture	Galiye Migira Kebele	13 January, 2025	
Ato Chuchu Tefari	Trade	Galiye Migira Kebele	13 January, 2025	
Ato Meserat Siume	Trade	Galiye Migira Kebele	13 January, 2025	
Ato Hayatu Hamid	Agriculture	Galiye Migira Kebele	13 January, 2025	
Ato Birhanu Zebana	Agriculture	Galiye Migira Kebele	13 January, 2025	
W/ro Baredu Dalasie	Agriculture	Galiye Migira Kebele	13 January, 2025	
Ato Wabela Kedir	Agriculture	Qamo Rape Kebele	11 January, 2025	
Ato Nuri Mohammed	Agriculture	Qamo Rape Kebele	11 January, 2025	
Ato Abdela yesuf	Trade	Qamo Rape Kebele	11 January, 2025	
W/ro Zenaba Jemal	Trade	Qamo Rape Kebele	11 January, 2025	
Ato Nuri Tahir	Agriculture	Qamo Rape Kebele	11 January, 2025	
Ato Getachew Temesgan	Trade	Tulu Town 01 Kebele	16 January, 2025	
Ato Andarge Worku	Trade	Tulu Town 01 Kebele	16 January, 2025	
Ato Wondmu Antanahi	Trade	Tulu Town 01 Kebele	16 January, 2025	
W/ro Yanenesh Sahile	Agriculture	Tulu Town 01 Kebele	16 January, 2025	
Ato Zinabu Tagenu	Agriculture	Tulu Town 01 Kebele	16 January, 2025	
W/ro Alemnesh Asrate	Trade	Tulu Town 01 Kebele	16 January, 2025	
Ato Zerihun Adamu	Trade	Tulu Town 01 Kebele	16 January, 2025	
W/ro Abonesh Demeke	Agriculture	Tulu Town 01 Kebele	16 January, 2025	
Ato Gabayehu Worku	Trade	Tulu Town 01 Kebele	16 January, 2025	
Ato Teklu Adungna	Agriculture	Tulu Town 01 Kebele	16 January, 2025	
Ato Fikru Gizawu	Trade	Tulu Town 01 kebele	16 January, 2025	
Ato Tolla kuffa	President of ATJ court	Administration Office	16 January, 2025	
Ato Denbalo Gemachu	Lawyer	Administration Office	17 January, 2025	
Ato Aleka Simbiro	Woreda Administrator	Administration Office	17 January, 2025	
W/ro Sifan Bayisa	Speaker of Council	Administration Office	17 January, 2025	
Ato Leulsegad Asheno	Lawyer	Administration Office	17 January, 2025	
W/ro Yanenash Areda	Government employ	Administration Office	17 January, 2025	

Source: Researcher's data collection, 2025

B. List of Focus Group Discussion Participants

Name of interviewed	Responsibility
Ato Challa Woyuma	Head of Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda Administration office
Ato Jellan Burkaa	Head of Woreda Peace & Security Office
Ato Amensis Waqtola	Head of public service & human resource development office
W/ro Bontu Tolla	Head of Woreda Culture & Tourism Office
Ato Boru Gemada	Head of Woreda Education office
Ato Geda Balcha	Leader of Tulu Town Municipality
Ato Gechano Kochocha	Well known arbiter in Tulu Town
Ato Gelato Watiro	Leader of Qammo Rappe Kebele
Ato Ashekanu Gelato	Leader of Rassa Gabibba Kebele
Ato Alemu Morkate	Leadr of Galliyyi Miggirra Kebele

Source: Researcher's data collection, 20 January, 2025

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Appendix

Wolkite University

School of Post- Graduate Studies

Department of Governance and Development Studies

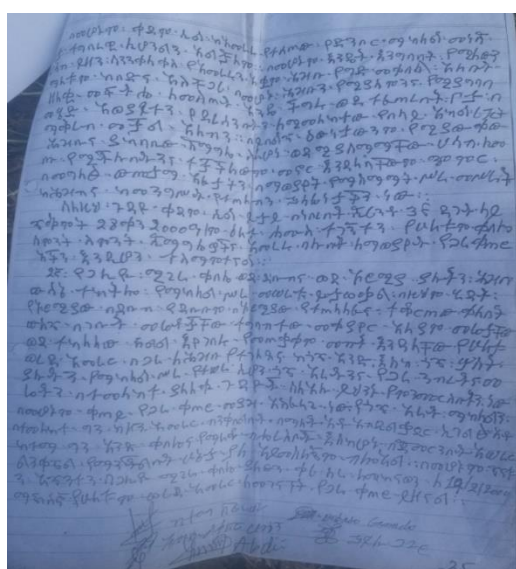
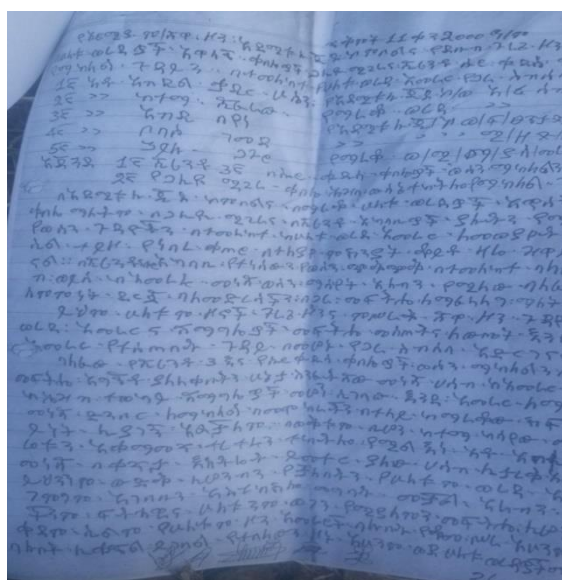
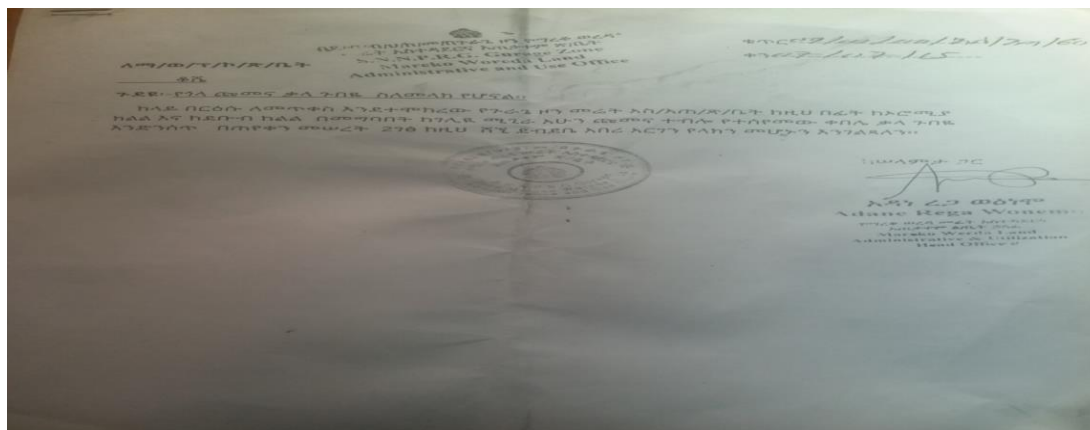
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Appendix I Focus Group Discussion and Interview Guide

Dear respondents, I am a Second Year Student of a post- Graduate Program of Wolkite Univvrsity Department of governance and development studies. By now, I am doing my Thesis on the Title “The Protection of Minority Rights under Ethiopian Federal arrangement: Assessment on the protection scheme of Adami Tulu and Jido KombolchaWoreda in EAST Shoa Zone, Oromiya Regional State.” The purpose of this Interview and FGD is to collect data intended to serve as an input to the research on the above named title. Therefore, I kindly request you to provide your proper answers by providing your detail responses to those open ended questions at the case may be.

Thank you!

Appendix II Question to self-government



Appendix III Interview Questions for Household Heads

1. Do you think that the Amhara, Mareko, Gurage and Silte minorities have been discriminated against? _

If so, how would you describe the forms and extent of discrimination

2. Is there any mechanism in place to enable the internal minorities participates as the minorities in the woreda during the appointment of government officials?

3. How would you describe the enabling environment for the exercise of your cultural rights as a minority community in the woreda?

4. What is the role of the woreda council in helping the Amhara, Mareko, Gurage and Silte minorities exercise their minority rights in various aspects (cultural, political, social and economic) ?

5. Is there discrimination in the area of economic opportunity? _____ If so, what are the areas of discrimination and how would you describe the level and intensity of discriminatory practices_____

6. Is priority given to the Amhara, Mareko, Gurage and Silte minority cultures during festivals organized in woredas? _____ If so, please explain how

7. How do you assess the academic performance of your children in primary school?

_____ Do you think that not using the mother tongue at primary level constitutes one of the disadvantages for their results? _____

Why_____

8. In what language do you ask the court your questions? _____

How? _____ Please, indicate the effects _____

9. Do you think that the individual and collective rights of these minorities were protected in the districts of Adamitulu and Jido Kombolcha?

10. Do you think the security of the Amhara, Mareko, Gurage and Silte minorities was protected in the study area? _____ if not, what disturbing tactics were used in these attacks that show signs of ethnic cleansing

11. The role of woreda governments in protecting the security of these minorities in Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woredas?

12. What should be done to solve the problems of minority groups in the study area?

Annex IV Focus Group for Government Officials

1. What is the reason for the absence of representatives of the Amhara, Mareko, Gurage and Silte minorities in the woreda council? (I will ask this question after gathering the facts from the assembly council and when I understand the absence of any representatives of these communities)

2. Does the Office of Culture and Tourism pay particular attention to and promote the culture of the Amhara, Mareko, Gurage and Silte minorities?

3. What role has the Office of Education played in facilitating the teaching of the Amhara, Mareko, Gurage and Silte languages in schools? _____

How effective is it in promoting the language? _____

4. What are the demands of the Amhara, Mareko, Gurage and Silte minorities in the woredas?

5. Are the Amhara, Mareko, Gurage and Silte minorities fighting to exercise their rights? _____ What is the context of this struggle (is it just language or are other cultural and economic factors taken into account?)

6. How are the individual and collective rights of these minorities protected in Adami tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda?

7. Does the peace and security office pay due attention to the protection of the security rights of the Amhara, Mareko, Gurage and Silte minorities? _____ If not, what is the reason for the failures in the promotion and protection of the rights to peace and security of these minorities in the study area?

Annex V Observation Checklist

The observation will be made:

1. With regard to the education office, the number of primary schools providing education in the mother tongue of the Amhara, Mareko, Gurage and Silte communities _____

2. on courts, language used during procedure _____

3. The language used by the Amhara, Mareko, Gurage and Silte minorities in the market of the study area _____

4. In the Woreda Council (Is there sufficient representation of the Amhara, Mareko, Gurage and Silte minorities in Adami Tulu and Jido Kombolcha Woreda Councils?) _____ How many are there? _____

How many seats are reserved for the Amhara, Mareko, Gurage and Silte minorities in the Woreda council _____

5. In primary schools, compare and contrast the results of children from the Oromo community and the Amhara, Mareko, Gurage and Silte communities in primary schools and selected classes in areas where they live mixed and where there is no primary education in their native language for children from these communities

6. On the emergence of various government institutions in writing (mainly in the language used to write their name) _____

ወልቂጤ ዩኒቨርሲቲ

አባሪዎች

አባሪ ☐ በኢትዮጵያ ፌዴራላዊ አደረጃጀት በኦሮሚያ ክልል በምስራቅ ሸዋ ዞን አዳሚ ቱሉ እና ጁዶ ኮምቦልቻ ወረዳ ውስጥ የሚኖሩ የአናሳ ብሔረሰቦች የሙብት አጠባበቅ በሚል ርዕስ በተዘጋጀው የምርምር ጥናት ላይ እርስዎ እንዲሳተፉ ተጋብዘዋል። ጥናቱ በወልቂጤ ዩኒቨርሲቲ በፖለቲካ ሳይንስ የድህረ ምረቃ መርሃ ግብር በአስተዳደርና ልማት ጥናት ት/ት ክፍል ተማሪ ጀማል ዋኖሮ ቡንጣሼ እየተካሄደ ያለ ነው።

የዚህ የምርምር ርጥናት ዓላማ በአዳሚ ቱሉ እና ጁዶ ኮምቦልቻ ወረዳ ውስጥ የሚኖሩ የአናሳ ብሔረሰቦች የሙብት አጠባበቅ ተግባራዊነት ለመፈተሽ ነው። በጥናቱ ውስጥ ያለዎት ተሳትፎ በጥናቱ አካባቢ የአናሳ ብሔረሰቦች ሙብት ተግባራዊ አጠባበቅ ላይ የተሻለ ግንዛቤ እንዲኖር አስተዋጽኦ ያደርጋል። በጥናቱ ላይ ለመወያየት በ 09 13 06 29 21 / 09 36 50 63 08 ስልክ ቁጥር ደውለው መርማሪውን ማግኘት ይችላሉ። ቃለ መጠይቁ ላይ ለመሳተፍ ዕድሜ ቢያንስ 18 ዓመት ሊሆን ይገባል። ቃለ መጠይቁ ላይ ለመሳተፍ ከተስማሙ፡-

ቃለ መጠይቁ የሚፈጀው ጊዜ በግምት 2 ሰዓት ይሆናል። በዚህም በጥናቱ አካባቢ ለሚኖሩ የአናሳ ብሔረሰቦችን ተግባራዊ የሙብት አጠባበቅ እንቅስቃሴን በሚመለከት የተሳትፎ ስራዎችን ያጠናቅቃል።

በዚህ ጥናት ውስጥ ያለዎት ተሳትፎ በፈቃደኝነት የተመሠረተ ነው። ማንኛውንም ጥያቄ ላለመመለስ ከፈለጉ እምቢ ማለት ይችላሉ። በማንኛውም ጊዜ ከተሳታፊነት የመውጣት መብት አልዎት። በማንኛውም ሁኔታ ከጥናቱ ተሳታፊነት መውጣት ከመርማሪው ጋር ያለዎትን ግንኙነት አይጎዳውም። በጥናቱ መሳተፍ ካልፈለጉ በቀላሉ መሳተፍዎን ማቆም ይችላሉ። እባክዎትን ከዚህ በታች ያሉትን ጥያቄዎች ያንብቡና በጥናቱ ለመሳተፍ ፈቃደኛ መሆንዎትን ወይም አለመሆንዎትን ይግለጹ።

ከላይ የተገለጸውን መጠይቅ በመሙላት በጥናቱ ለመሳተፍ ተስማምተዋል? አዎ ☐ አይ ☐

በመጠይቅዎ መልሶች መሰረት ቃለ መጠይቅ እንዲደረግልዎት እና ቃለ ምልልሱ በድምጽ እንዲቀረጽ ተስማምተዋል? አዎ ☐ አይ ☐

አባሪ II የግልመረጃ

1. ስም _____ 2. ዕድሜ _____ 3. ጾታ _____

4. ሥራ

4.1 የግል

4.2 የመንግስት ሰራተኛ

4.3 ገበሬ

4.4 ተማሪ

4.5 ስራ አጥ

4.6 ሌላ _____

5. የትምህርት ደረጃ

5.1 ማንበብና መጻፍ

53 ሁለተኛ ደረጃ ትምህርት ቤት

5.2 አንደኛ ደረጃ ትምህርት ቤት

5.4 የባችለር ዲግሪ

5.5 የማስተርስ ዲግሪ እና ከዚያ በላይ

6. ወረዳ _____ 7. ቀበሌ _____ 8. ብሄር/ሽ _____.

አባሪ III ለቤተሰብ ራሶች (አባዎራ ወይም እማዎራ) የሚቀርቡ የቃለ መጠይቅ ጥያቄዎች

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

7. የልጆቻችሁን የመጀመሪያ ደረጃ ትምህርት ቤቶች የትምህርት ክንዋኔ እንዴት ይገመግማሉ?

8. የይገባኛል (የመብት) ጥያቄዎን በፍርድ ቤት ለማቅረብ በየትኛው ቋንቋ ነዉ የሚጠቀሙት?
 እንዴት

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2. የወረዳው ባህልና ቱሪዝም ጽ/ቤት ለአናሳ የአማራ፣ የጉራጌ፣ የማረቆ፣ የስልጤ ብሄረሰቦች ባህል ተገቢውን ትኩረት ሰጥቶ ባህላቸውን ያስተዋውቃልን? ☐

3. በወረዳው ውስጥ በሚገኙ ትምህርት ቤቶች በአማረኛ፣ በማረቅኛ፣ በጉራጌኛ እና በስልጤኛ ቋንቋ መመሪያ እንዲሰጥ ትምህርት ጽ/ቤት ምን ሚና ተጫውቷል? ☐

ቋንቋን ለማስተዋወቅ ምን ያህል ውጤታማ ነው? ☐

4. በወረዳው ውስጥ በሚገኙ የአማራ፣ የማረቆ፣ የጉራጌ እና የስልጤ አናሳ ብሄረሰቦች ምን ጥያቄዎች ተነስተዋል? ☐

☐ የአካባቢ መንግስት የአናሳ ብሄረሰቦች መብቶችን እንዲጠብቅ የሚረዱ መንገዶች ምንድን ናቸው? ☐

5. በወረዳችሁ ውስጥ በሚገኙ አናሳ ብሄረሰቦች መብታቸውን ለማስከበር የሚደረግ ትግል አለ ወይ? ☐ የትግሉ አውድ ምንድን ነው (ቋንቋ ብቻ ነው ወይንስ ሌሎች ባህላዊ እና ኢኮኖሚያዊ ሁኔታዎችን ግምት ውስጥ ይገባል)? ☐

6. በአዳሚ ቱሉ እና ጅዶ ኮምቦልቻ ወረዳ የአናሳ ብሔረሰቦች የግለሰብ እና የቡድን መብት አጠባበቅ ምን ይመስላል? ☐

7. በጥናቱ አካባቢ የአናሳ ብሔረሰቦች የደህንነት መብቶችን ለማስጠበቅ አለመቻል ምክንያቱ ምንድን ነው? ☐

8. የአማራ፣ የማረቆ፣ የጉራጌ እና የስልጤ ብሔረሰቦች የጸጥታ (ደህንነት) መብት ለማስከበር የወረዳው ሰላምና ጸጥታ ጽ/ቤት ተገቢውን ትኩረት ሰጥቶ ሰላማቸውን ያስጠብቃልን? ☐

አባሪ V የምልከታ ማረጋገጫ ዝርዝር ሲሆን ምልከታ የሚደረግባቸው ተቋማት፡-

1. በትምህርት ጽ/ቤት የአማራ፣ የማረቆ፣ የጉራጌ፣ የስልጤ ማህበረሰብ አፍ መፍቻ ቋንቋ በመጠቀም ትምህርት የሚሰጡ የመጀመሪያ ደረጃ ትምህርት ቤቶች ቁጥር _____

2. በፍርድ ቤቶች ውስጥ በዳኝነት ሂደት ላይ የሚነገሩ ቋንቋዎች _____

3. በጥናቱ አካባቢ በገበያ ቦታ አናሳ አማራዎች፣ ማረቆዎች፣ ጉራጌዎች እና ስልጢዎች የሚጠቀሙበት ቋንቋ _____

4. በአዳሚቱ እናጅዶ ኮምቦልቻ ወረዳም ክርቤት ውስጥ የአማራ፣ የጉራጌ፣ የማረቆ፣ እና የስልጤ ብሄረሰቦች በቂ ውክልና አለ ወይ? _____ ስንት ናቸው? _____

በወረዳው ምክር ቤት ለአናሳ የአማራ፣ የማረቆ፣ የጉራጌ፣ የስልጤ ብሄረሰቦች ምን ያህል መቀመጫ ተይዟል _____

5. በአንደኛ ደረጃ ትምህርት ቤቶች ከኦሮሞ ማህበረሰብ እና ከአማራ፣ ከማረቆ፣ ከጉራጌ እና ከስልጤ ብሄረሰብ ከተመረጡት የመጀመሪያ ደረጃ ትምህርት ቤቶች እና ክፍሎች የተገኙትን ውጤቶች በማነፃፀር በአፍ መፍቻ ቋንቋቸው የመጀመሪያ ደረጃ ትምህርት በሌለበት አካባቢ ያሉ የአማራ፣ የማረቆ፣ የጉራጌ እና የስልጤ ማህበረሰብ ልጆችን በማነፃፀር ላይ የአማራ፣ የማረቆ፣ የጉራጌ፣ የስልጤ ማህበረሰብ ልጆች _____

6. በጥናቱ አካባቢ የሚገኙ የተለያዩ የመንግስት ተቋማት ውጪ ዊገጽታ (በተለይ ስማቸውን ለመፃፍ የሚጠቀሙት ቋንቋ) _____