

Asymmetrical Patterns of Ethnic and National Attachment in Ethiopia: Description of Causes and Patterns**Yechale Degu¹ and Merera Gudina²**

Jig Jiga University Department of Political Science and International Relations

Addis Ababa University, Department of Political Science and International Relations

ABSTRACT

Ethnic attachment is powerful motivators of political behavior in Ethiopia. There are evidences which display dramatic changes in identification in favor of ethnicity in Ethiopia. However, the source of their salience in political and social affairs remains debated. This article aims to describe the causes of asymmetric patterns of ethnic and national attachment in Ethiopia's four ethnic groups that comprises more than 80% of its population. The article used a synthesis of primary and secondary datum to describe the causes of attachment asymmetry. It found that there are distinctive far historical and near contemporary conditions that influence the politics of group attachment in Ethiopia. Among Tigres, Oromos and Somalis attachment to own identity is not strongly influenced by the current political development which is the major reason for Amharas' growing attachment to their own sub-identity.

Key Words: Asymmetric Attachment, Ethnic Attachment, National Attachment, Nation Building

INTRODUCTION

Following the end of World War II there has been a striking increase in the formation of new states across Africa, Asia and Easter Europe. In Africa new states were formed first through liberations from colonial rule then through internal political process. As part of this internal political process, several states appeared on the map of the world through breaking of multiethnic states and replacement with more ethnically homogeneous nations (Sidanius, et al. 1997). It looks stable in more advanced parts of the globe but in Africa the claims and attempts to form a new ethnically homogeneous state are never exhausted. Some ethnically heterogeneous states in Africa such as Ethiopia, Nigeria and Mali are affected by lacking balance between ethnic group and national attachment. It manifested in more positive affective response to own ethnic in-group in comparison to the ethnic out-group/s and the degree of subjects' willingness to engage in political activity on behalf of their own ethnic group than nationalized political movements.

Ethnic groups in multi ethnic states can be minimized in to two different categories. The first is those plays the national role and attached to the state and the others are those alienated themselves from the national role and take the ethnic line. DeLamater et al. (1969) postulated that an ethnic group that alienated itself from the state never embrace any roles pertaining to the country. These groups provide no or less emotional or material attachment to national identification, and they are often willing to maintain attachment to sub-national categories. Groups who unwilling to attach themselves to the nation will often express or display affiliations with non-national entities such as religious or ethnic movements (Davis 1999). Yechale (2022) claims that ethnic background of an individual and the attachment proxy variables such as ideological positions/support for ethnic politics, the flag preference and preferences over ethnic claims are statistically significant at 0.01 levels of significance

Attachment in Ethiopia can be subdivided into three types. The first is a powerful and found to be obstructive for national integration, attachment to ethnic particularities. It has been manifested both in political party programs and political mobilization of the mass. Almost all, more than 90%, of the political parties registered at the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia are meant to be for a single ethnic group. The people, too, mobilize so easily in support of pan ethnic political groupings. The second is the one suggested as essential for nation building, pan state attachment. The third is, dominant in Ethiopia's history and some want it to reappear again to counter the destructive forces of ethnic attachment is an attachment to geography i.e. provincialism in Tigray, Amhara and Oromia or clanism in Somali.

Despite the availability these three types of attachment in Ethiopia, the attachments that widely detected and contradicted with one another are ethnic and national attachments. From these overall picture ethno-national attachments become constantly important for the last half century in Ethiopia. In Ethiopia's diverse political environment, attachments are not established and activated due to one similar factor. It is found that the pattern of the group's attachment among the four ethnic groups depends on the particular contexts. There are myriad of contexts in which attachment to ethnic particularities among groups can be enhanced or diminished. This article aimed to describe causes for asymmetrical patterns of ethnic and national attachment of four ethnic groups in Ethiopia.

METHODS AND METHODOLOGIES**Sampling and Analysis Technique**

The article is based on sample survey and employed a variety of sampling approaches. It used a three stage sampling procedure. Sampling units such as the state, Ethiopia, the first stage and ethnic groups, the second stage selected purposively but not without reasons and in the third stage individuals to whom the questionnaire distributed are randomly determined.

Ethnic identification influences political behavior in multiethnic polities (Junn and Masuoka 2008). These polities throughout the world are engulfed by political problems influenced by ethnic identifications and attachments. This article is not based on census, nor analyzes all multiethnic states; rather, Ethiopia offers an important case study because of its demographic strength and location, Horn of Africa.

The article did not analyze all available ethnic groups in Ethiopia with pan ethnic political agenda and resort towards census. Nor it analyzed random samples from the ethnic pool. Four ethnic groups such as Tigre, Amhara, Oromo and Somali are selected based on the political significance they have due to their numerical strength, history and location. Ethiopia is multi ethnic polity with an estimated more than 80 ethnic groups; however, it is these four ethnic groups that shape the country's politics. Viewed from a comparative perspective Tigres, Oromos and Somalis have long established pan-ethnic attachments. In Amhara earlier way of seeing and articulating was based on geography and the common assertion is that Amharas are pan state. However, more recently the wave of ethnic movements in post-1991 in the country has led to another way of articulating and seeing the political life in Amhara towards ethnic orientations. However, in Ethiopia its degree of salience has never been established. Therefore, the article used survey data, the questionnaire structure that guides an interview and comparative approach to uncover the causes of attachment among four selected ethnic groups.

The last stage in the sampling procedure is individuals/households for whom the questionnaires distributed. The article is greatly relied on individuals' response to understand the causes of attachment and compare it with other ethnic groups. These individuals are randomly determined and proportionately allocated to the respective districts of sampled ethnic group regions.

Sample Size Determination

The sample size determination technique used in this dissertation adopted based on the purpose of the study and sampling design used. The sampling technique to select the respondents to whom the questionnaire is distributed is determined randomly. For these reasons, this study applies a formula, the one developed by Cochran (1963), which usually used for dichotomous response categories and random sampling techniques. The researcher calculated the necessary sample size for a combination of levels of precision/e, confidence/z, and variability/p & q through the equation found below.

$$n_0 = Z^2 pq / e^2 \text{ or } p(100-p)z^2 / e^2$$

Where n_0 is the sample size, Z is the abscissa of the normal curve that cuts off an area α at the tails ($1 - \alpha$ equals the desired confidence level, e.g., 95%), e is the desired level of precision, p is the estimated proportion of an attribute that is present in the population, and q is $1-p$. The value for Z is found in statistical tables which contain the area under the normal curve.

The researcher stratifies the population into natural homogeneous units i.e. Tigray, Amahara, Oromo and Somali and used same levels of precision/ $\pm 5\%$ and confidence/95% for all sub-groups to calculate the sample size. In the social science research a 5% margin of error and 95% confidence level is acceptable. Proportionate stratified sample were drawn from the four ethnic groups. The sample size is determined based on same level of variability/difference in attachment/ i.e. $p=50\%$ and $q=50\%$ for each sub- groups in Tigray, Amahara, Oromia and Somali. The following table shows the sample size for each ethnic group at a given level of precision, confidence and variability.

Table 1. Sample Size

| No | Ethnic Group | Confidence/Z | Precision/e | Variability | | Sample Size $n_0 = Z^2 pq / e^2$ |
|----|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-----|-------------------------------------|
| | | | | p | q | |
| 1 | Tigrai | 95% | 5% | 50% | 50% | 384 |
| 2 | Amhara | 95% | 5% | 50% | 50% | 384 |
| 3 | Oromo | 95% | 5% | 50% | 50% | 384 |
| 4 | Somali | 95% | 5% | 50% | 50% | 384 |
| | Total | | | | | 1536 |

Survey of Theoretical and Empirical Literatures

In this part the researcher attempts to present theoretical and empirical issues that are related with the topic of the study. Theoretical reflections promote a better and deeper understanding of the phenomena but depend on some form of empirical support. It is necessary to introduce theoretical and empirical points regarding typology of attachment and its causes. The researcher introduces a set of theoretical and empirical imperatives to better understand asymmetric patterns of attachment to the state/nation and particular ethnic identities. The purpose of it is to build a conceptual framework that could be used to interpret the causes asymmetrical patterns of attachment and show its implication in Ethiopia. This conceptual framework production, moreover, is essential to provide an approach to examine the attachment of sampled ethnic groups to their ethnic particularities and the whole nation in a systematic and scientific manner. The researcher introduced both theoretical and empirical issues not separately rather side-by-side.

Asymmetrical Attachment: What is it?

Attachment is a feeling of membership, inclusion, and commitment to a certain group of people (Davis 1999). It is a pattern of interaction by which individuals orient themselves in the social world. It refers to the affinity that people have to particular communities, ways of life, sets of beliefs, or practices that play a central role in their self-conception or self-understanding (Eisenberg 2009). It is something that strengthens one's identity and sense of belonging (Druckman 1994). Personal sacrifice on behalf of the nation or ethnic particularities used as a component of attachment (Eisenberg 2009).

But attachment is too variable, changing, hybrid and different across groups (Eisenberg 2009). In some circumstances the attachment advanced by some groups might be stronger than the attachments advanced by other groups. Usually an asymmetric pattern of attachment or group asymmetry obviously expected in a society where there is more than one identity. In other words if attachments across groups weighed and compared to each other, they are always unbalanced in divided and heterogeneous societies. The strength of an attachment assessed on the basis of some criteria shows asymmetry.

Attachment is based on inter subjectivity or the knowledge that one has in mind. The interface between ethnic and national attachment can take either of the following two patterns. First, the

degree of attachment to the nation will be equally beneficial from all ethnic groups. Nonetheless, this is unlikely scenario in heterogeneous societies like Ethiopia. Second, one's attachment to the whole nation will be negatively associated with one's ethnic loyalty. Therefore, when the interface between ethnic and national identity prove to be negative, regardless of which ethnic subgroup one is a member of, the greater the loyalty one feels to his/her sub-group, the less loyalty one should feels to the nation as a whole (Sidanius, et al. 1997) and vice versa. This is what the researcher named as asymmetrical patterns of attachment between ethnic particularism and the whole nation. Attachment either to the nation or ethnic particularity becomes asymmetrical when an ethnic group within the state has more or superior affinity to the identities in question/marker-asymmetry than the other ethnic group/group-asymmetry, resulting in an imbalance of attachment.

Types of Attachment

Everyone needs a sense of home, being a member of a particular kind of community. The need to belong to a group or some community is as basic a need as the need for food and protection. But this means an attachment to local identities, state or ethnic groups, not just to humanity in general. A person needs to know who he is and how his identity connects him with particular others. He must find something outside himself which he did not create, and to which something inside him corresponds (Nielsen 1993).

Ethnic groups are similar to one's natural community, whereas the nation was the executive committee of the elite (Alarcon 1995). Attachment applies both to the wider state/nation/executive committee of the elite and particular ethnic identities/one's natural community. It is sometimes used to indicate sameness across the state as a unified nation and sometimes to point to the individual's sense of selfhood as a particular ethnic group. Attachment is used not only to refer to the development of cross-ethnic self-understanding (national attachment), but also to refer to the fragmented self-patched togetherness based on shared language and culture (ethnic attachment) (Eisenberg 2009). There is a distinction between attachment to the wider state and particular ethno-linguistic groups. Therefore, it is necessary to distinguish between the ethnic and national attachment.

Individuals are constantly reinventing and reconfirming old and new aspects of their multiple selves (McBobbie, 1996 as cited in Walle 1993). There is no one self instead a multiplicity of selves that reflects the subjects' multiple involvements and affiliations. It flows from this that there are multiple ways of being in the world. We live in a world of multiple belongings and intense competition for commitment (Balibar 1995). Citizens of every state are at least members of two types of communities one is the political community or states or nations and the other is cultural communities or ethnic groups. Due to this at least two patterns of attachment are recognized in every multi ethnic state: ethnic attachment and attachment to the nation.

Causes for the Atypical Patterns of Attachment

Abstraction from the meaning of ethno nationalism taught us that common language, territory, cultural cohesion and psychological make-up are not sufficient for the emergence of ethno-national attachment. Ethno nationalism attribute political significance to the above elements, but asymmetrical patterns of attachment is born out of a moral basis of common historical experience, including discrimination, oppression and struggle (Moyo and Yeros 2011). Attachment to a group identity is a reason bound than the mere fact of having something in common with the group. Ayalon, Ben-Rafael & Sharot (1986) concluded that the differences among ethnic groups to ethnicity are not a primordial reality rather it is a rational and calculated response to certain contingencies.

Literatures and scholars are diverse about the question of "what drives members of an ethnic group towards particular identities and pan ethnic political objectives". There are several reasons standout in the literatures for the development of asymmetrical pattern of attachment. Factors other than commons such as economic, political and cultural grievances are needed for the development of ethnic attachment.

Role of Elite

Primordialists hold that ethnic attachments are salient because it reflects traditional loyalty to kin (Kertzer 1992). By this view their salience follows directly from the link to people natural makeup. The primordialists must be credited for demonstrating ethnicity as a powerful and enduring social force. It would be foolhardy for any political scientist to ignore the fact that many

individuals strongly believe ethnic allegiances are part of their core identity. However, it is hard to believe any notion that ethnic attachments are biologically programmed or divinely sanctioned. Put differently, ethnic consciousness is not transmitted through blood-ties nor is it supported by a sacred purpose. As a mass movement, ethno nationalism depended for its success on the elite of the educated class (Mamdani, 2011).

Elites formulate the nationalist agenda, articulate its ideology, and provide the leadership for the ethno nationalist movement (Merera 2000). Chachra (2011) commented that political struggle usually led by the bourgeoisie, landowners and professionally educated, while the foot-soldiers are the peasants and working classes. Ethnic groups never speak as a conscious, active and monolithic champion in favour of anything, including political independence without a sect of a group dedicated for leadership. As a rule, this role is played by ethnic elites which claim to express the interests of the whole group (Merera 2004).

Attachment to an ethnic group is not a choice determined by the masses and does not constitute a route for popular development in Ethiopia. The current more intensive phase of ethno nationalism is a not a choice. It was made in a state where ethno nationalist ideology was captured by the elites and subsumed to their class interests (Chachra, 2011). Particularly the negative role was played by a number of university instructors of the 1960s/70s. They engaged in the indoctrination of young university students about the ethnic question and unmaking/breaking up of the country. In turn this university off springs during their vacation inspired peasant masses in the rural areas and high school students in the cities about the same question. Mass ethno national political mobilization has been achieved in Ethiopia by the dedicated political work of elites who were reside at Addis Ababa University and their graduates.

Political Competition

Ethnicity and ethnic attachment is salient because it is functional. The world is a competitive place where ethnicity serves as a useful tool for mobilizing people (Eifert 2010). Because voting patterns or the distribution of patronage appears to follow ethnic lines, ethnicity is a salient motivating factor in people's political behavior. It is intrinsically bound up in political competition. After studying the implications of diversity of ethnic groups on the society's politics

Alesina, Raza, and William (1999) identified two potential relationships between political competition and ethnic identification. The first emphasizes the mobilizing actions of politicians who “play the ethnic card” or the role of political elites. By this account, politicians find it advantageous to “play the ethnic card” as a means of mobilizing supporters to acquire or retain political power (Bates, 1983). Stronger ethnic attachments during periods preceding and following competitive national elections than at other times thereby show the role that political elites and ethnic attachment play during political elections.

An alternative explanation for the link between political competition and ethnic identification focuses not on elites but on ordinary citizens specifically focusing on their beliefs that jobs, favors, and public goods will be channeled disproportionately to co-ethnics of the person who is in a position to allocate them (Posner, 2005). Since elections determine people who will control the allocation of resources are chosen, they are occasions when people should be most mindful of their ethnic identities and the match between their own identity groups and that of other candidates vying for power (Eifert 2010). Without having to be told so by politicians, the people themselves know that the allocation of resources tends to follow ethnic lines and this make them pro ethnic and enforce them to attach towards their ethnic group. The result is an equilibrium in which expectations of ethnic favoritism by voters generate ethnic appeals by politicians which, in turn, reinforce voters' expectations for ethnic favoritism. The introduction of multiparty elections in Africa in the 1990s, widely celebrated as a positive development, may have a conflict-inducing downside and reinforced citizen's attachment to political candidates and party organization dominated by their co-ethnos.

Cultural or Ethnic Marginalization

Ethnicity is a pragmatic response of people to changing social realities, especially as a human shelter against domination and alienation by others (Roosens 1989). It come about through both self-motivated allegiance and forced identity due to prejudice and discrimination (Keefe, 1992). Perception of cultural and linguistic prejudice and discrimination against ethnic group is regarded as the major reason for the proliferation of ethno national movements against the state (Meadwell, 1993). Experiencing marginalization and discrimination based on ethnic identity enhances an ethnic attachment and detachment from the nationalism that the state works for.

Either real or imagined ethnic marginalization is behind or at the forefront for the development of the asymmetrical patterns of ethnic and national attachment. Each ethnic group in Ethiopia presents the allegations of marginalization against the dominant ethnic groups. Tigrayan and Oromo ethno nationalists talk off political marginalisation and economic dispossession at the hands of an Amhara ruling class as the base for their movement. Recent Amhara ethno nationalists aggrieved over ideological basis, national oppression, is inherently against Amhara interests and meant to cleanse and marginalize it with the ideological leadership of Tigre and Oromo ethno nationalists (Yusuf, 2020).

DISCUSSION

The Continuing Importance of Ethno-National Attachment in Ethiopia

Most historians agree that the beginning of ethno nationalism in Ethiopia traced back to the mid of the twentieth century. Before these periods Ethiopian identity has been satisfying individual demand for attachment. The ideological trope that has appeared during mid-twentieth century had tremendously influenced the current generations' pattern of attachments. The former generation of Ethiopian elite found their model for political action in the movements for national liberation in the former Soviet Union member states and countries under European colonialism.

It is outdated and become unimportant in many ethno-nationalist struggles throughout the world such as Basque, Quebec and Scottish ethno nationalist movements. However, it is found that this model is still important, the prime factor today for association and there is rampant mass public support for it in Ethiopia. It is manifested in street political demonstrations, election results and the quantitative survey by Yechale (2022) shows the declining attachment from the state and growing allegiance to sub-state elements. But this growing detachment from the state and attachment to own ethnic group had an ethnic pattern. Ethnic groups vary in terms of the birth, claim and nature of their ethnic consciousness.

The pro Oromo movements that had laid the foundation for the OLF led struggle for self-determination had started during the 1960s by the Bale peasants and Macha-Tulama Self-Help Association (Asafa 2004). The rebellion from Bale and movement by Mecha-Tulema had foiled through military and political means respectively. However, these two movements were replaced

by more radical and militant ethno national movement in the next decade. Assafa (2004) said the birth of the OLF in the early 1970s was a result of accumulated political processes happened to Bale peasants and the association. Ethno-national attachment and movement for political targets in Oromia had a pre- Derg pedigree. Likewise the ethno national movements in Tigray and Somali had an old pedigree as the one in Oromia with revolutionary claims of statehood. The Tigres, Oromos and Somalis become ethno nationalists almost in a same period with the introduction of an ideology itself. The Amharas are going down towards ethno centric orientations but it's a very recent origin.

The Amhara elite, the creators and masters of the Ethiopian state until losing power to the TPLF in 1991, were the major forces in denouncing the TPLF federal policy as the one leading the state towards disintegration are now become pan ethnic and asking for the autonomy of the Amhara people (Lencho 2004). However, unlike to the ethno national movements in Tigray, Oromia and Somali mobilization along ethnic line and attachment to it in Amhara had started during early 1990s and increased in form and content since 2016. Therefore, in terms of birth the Amhara-ethno nationalism is young and the recent one. Despite these differences they have similar structural trend. Grossly they are passing through nearly similar morphological stages.

Structurally the ethnic movements in Tigray, Amhara, Oromia and Somali, due to different reasons, had moved in to three partially similar stages that are mobilization, demobilization and remobilization. The cause of self-determination in Tigray, Oromia and Somali, as a component of the broader ethno nationalist agenda, is tied in part to the armed separatist movement such as TPLF, OLF and ONLF. These movements have been active during the 1960s, 70s and in the next two decades. But attitudes toward self-determination have cooled in these ethnic groups due to different reasons. The capture of state power at Addis Ababa, the disintegration of Republic of Somalia and the transition to democracy through regional autonomy had stabilized the quest for independent statehood in Tigray, Somali and Oromia respectively.

According to informants the pan ethnic mobilization in Somali is greatly attached to the political situation in neighboring Republic of Somalia. The ethno national struggle in Ethiopia's Somali had been cooled following the failure of neighboring Republic of Somalia as a state. The political

situation in this neighboring state will be responsible for the remobilization of ethno- national struggle. After fighting for 17 years, the ethno national movement from Tigray was able to assume the central state position abandoning or covering up the making of Independent Tigray Republic (Assafa 2004). They de-emphasised their goal of independence when they join the transitional government of Ethiopia during 1990s. In Tigray an outlook towards the Ethiopian state had been improved following the leading ethno national movement assumed the national power at Addis Ababa on 1991. Likewise in Amhara and Oromia unavailability of broad popular and intellectual support and the provision of regional autonomy respectively had forced the ethno national movement towards demobilization. However, these have been changed recently almost in all ethnic groups.

The Tigrayan ethno nationalists have been able to use their provincial state to weaken the central government. The Tigrayans with the headmanship of TPLF be able to mobilize around 2.3 million (according to leaked documents) invaders in an attempt to advance their ethnic interest. The Amharas in response to expansive ethno nationalist movements in Tigray are giving a political and military training for young adults. As one informant notes “there is an active ethnic mobilization in Amhara to preserve the Ethiopian state from disintegration and save Amhara from extinction”. One ethnic groups stands at the worry of the other ethnic group. The Amharas are taking a military training to contain the Tigrayan invaders and this had created fear and anxiety in Oromia, according to informants. Therefore, after the decades of somewhat demobilization along ethnicity, it is observed an active remobilization along the same line in the current periods. The ethno national movement from Oromo and Tigray under OLF and TPLF had resumed guerrilla-armed struggle.

Table 2. Stages of Ethnic Mobilization

| Ethnic Group | Stages of Mobilization | | |
|--------------|----------------------------|----------------|--|
| | Mobilization | Demobilization | Remobilization |
| Tigre | From birth of TPLF to 1991 | 1991-2018 | 2018- and onwards |
| Amhara | 1991-2002 | 2002-2016 | 2016- and onwards |
| Oromo | 1970s-1992 | 1992-2018 | 2018- and onwards |
| Somali | 1984-1995 | 1995- onwards | Depend on the political situation in Republic of Somalia |

Description of Causes for Asymmetrical Patterns of Attachment

Different constellations of factors bring about ethno national attachments in Ethiopia. The sample survey found that a discernable cause common to all sampled ethnic groups ethno national attachments does not exist. Combination of factors that extended from the era of state building to recent political metamorphosis are responsible for growing asymmetric pattern of attachment in Ethiopia.

Attachment as a Legacy of the Process of Ethiopian State Formation

State building is the complex process of integrating a country by improving relations among different ethnic entities and uniting them under a shared political system. Historically most states are created not by arguments, majority votes and a generous application of liberty (Schwarz 1995). Despite the stark differences of its origins from those of most African states, Ethiopia shares a number of state-building processes with states of the rest of world. The creation of the modern Ethiopian state involved expansion of the political and territorial domains of the traditional Abyssinian polity (that constitutes the central and northern core of Ethiopia) polities in the south, southwest and southeast of Ethiopia (Kidane 1997). This had created an impression by different ethnic groups of the country especially those who are in historic south Ethiopia as superimposed state on the earlier quasi-state organizations. For this reason, the history of state formation in Ethiopia is a source of profound and bitter contention among the peoples. For some of ethnic groups in the south, the essence of the meaning of being Ethiopian unaccepted.

Though the process of state building has been ended and the alleged independent and quasi independent polities are now in the same political roof, the effects of this historic venture on the current pattern of attachment have not ended. Therefore, it is plausible to suggest that the process of state formation was instrumental in cementing the foundation for the ethnic attachment that came to dominate Ethiopian politics. As a result of contradiction among peoples of the same state over the process of state building, Ethiopia did not succeed in its grand ambitions to promote symmetric pattern of attachment from its people. It is found that the nature of attachment that exhibit in states can be a reflection or legacy of the history of state formation in that state.

The enormous variation among different ethnic groups in Ethiopia about attachment would be seen as the divergent histories they had during the era of state formation. The method that used by the empire builders regarded as a profound sources of detachment of some of ethnic groups from affiliation to the state. The asymmetric pattern of ethnic and national attachment in Ethiopia is partly attributed to the nature of the state formation.

The way Ethiopia is centralized or formed had created contestation and divergent memories behind the minds of the peoples of different ethnic origins. On this regard Alemseged (2004) commented that the state's policy on the past ended up nourishing centrifugal inclinations on the part of ethno- regional political entrepreneurs. The process of state building is cited as a pretext for the dissidence from the state and attachment to different local identities. It promoted a favourable environment for ethno-regional movements with a different political goal to proliferate. According to informants the general crisis that happened during the process of state formation has prevented Oromo's and Somali's from being attached with the state. And it is also widely realized that the same process of state formation has created the sense of ownership of the state among Amhara ethnic groups. It seems fair to say that in both cases we can discern a group or groups that identify with their creation and derive their collective identity from it and not. It results the development of two different patterns of attachment between the makers and the challengers of state formation. Those who claim descendants of the state builders saw themselves as Ethiopian and had a pro-Ethiopian attachment, but those groups who suffered the burdens of state building, Oromos and Somalis, are continues to be pro-ethnic. Therefore, the process of Ethiopian state formation had nurtured two wings of the nationalist movement in the country and created asymmetric pattern of attachment among groups of different ethnic background.

The process how the Ethiopian state builds had greatly influenced the current attachment patterns of different Ethnic groups. Therefore, asymmetric pattern of attachment that challenging the states' vision of being represented as a unified political entity had an old pedigree to the process of state building in Ethiopia. The anti-state ideologies and detachment from the state in Ethiopia among some of the ethnic groups of the country may be partly explained by the method of state formation. This had created the wide- spread view that the state is generally self-serving and

cannot be expected to promote social interest and fomented an attitude of disfavor towards the state.

Institutional Ethnic Experiment

Identification is a willful internal act by people to identify oneself with a certain quality or aspect. But identification is also an external act in that others attribute certain identities or categories to people. Even if there is a form of self-identification by which people can choose to identify themselves, the state can also engage in the categorization. It formulates categories for people in order to be able to govern them, relate to them and control them. Social identity theory suggests that the ethnic experiment by the state/institution encourages people to feel a sense of commonality with one's in-group (Junn and Masuoka 2008). The existence of the people in the broader political culture and governance that increasingly had pro-ethnic orientation likely provided support for specific groups feelings of attachment. Ethnicity and attachment to it is not usually a freely exercised option. The state plays a crucial role in the process of ethnic labeling and the construction of new ethnicities (Nagel, 1994). In other words, how you identify yourself is to a large extent defined by how the dominant culture identifies you. In this way, all ethnicities or attachments to in-group are not voluntary.

Asymmetrical pattern of attachment owes its revival in the last two decades in Ethiopia to the federal rearrangement of the country following the triumph of pan ethnic political organizations such as TPLF. Respondents, not all, claim that one of the causes for the asymmetrical patterns of attachment is the political management of pan ethnic movements and struggles through ethnic federalism. The effects of federalism do not all run in one direction, the federalism implemented for the purposes of accommodation quickly turned to more radical ends of arranging a favorable condition for distancing from the state. It provided institutional capacity for mobilization within the group and for bargaining with the central state. Moreover, open and flagrant policy of playing one ethnic group against another has created conducive environment to retreat from the state. In this regard Merera (2004) commented that TPLF ethnic policy allows competing ethnic nationalisms to grow and calculated to turn the Oromo elite against the Amhara elite and the Southern elite turn against the Amhara and Oromo elites. It easily encourages splintering where

group identity and consciousness militates against national integrity. Pan state arguments advanced for creating one a unified nation-state have fallen on deaf ears as a result.

The over-determinacy of ethnicity on the individual life chances makes ethnic group attachment a salient and persistent mechanism for peoples' political worldviews. The prime example here is the case in Amhara. In history intellectuals and political leaders of Amhara origin envisioned linking their people with the state and the pan-Ethiopian attitude of the Amhara people is the result of the effort of them in "Ethiopianization of Amhara". Amharas feel less close to their own in-group historically but this has been changed recently. The recent effort championed with the pride in Amhara and the attempt to mobilize along ethnic line is the result of EPRDF legacy of institutional ethnic experiment. With the arrival TPLF in the post Derg era that focus more on ethnicity and less on integrity as an organizing principle turned increasingly attack on advocates of state wide nationalism where the Amharas greatly stationed.

The evolution of Amhara ethno nationalism and in-group attachment looks as follows: They had initially associated with their country. Later, when they realized that other ethno nationalist would not return to their country as a manifestation of politics, they become pro-ethnics. It is not the result of internal ethnic consciousness as like as the Tigres, Oromos and Somalis. It is rather explained as the products of social closure by groups pursuing sectional interests against the alleged oppressor, Amhara, and colonizing state, Ethiopia. The significance of 'ethnicity' among them is powerfully influenced by ethno- national movements of other ethnic groups that designated them as an oppressor.

Amharas were subject to specific ethnicized tropes that influence their collective political life regardless of their long held attachment to the state. Ethnic tropes that were in place in political platforms have implications for the incentives and costs people face when identifying with ethnic group (Junn and Masuoka 2008). The most dominant trope is the "oppressor and chauvinist that frames Amhara as the beneficiary in past regimes and encourage other ethnic groups to develop unfavorable attitude against them. As long as they are classified as Amhara, the prevalent ethnicized tropes of the time applied to them and treatment as ethnic other encourage them to maintain a sense of ethnic group identity. Supports of evident discrimination against the people

because of their “imperial” ethnicity were one of the factors that lead Amharas towards the narrower political objectives and pro ethnic attachment. The ethno national movement in Amhara is gearing the heat up due to the legacy of the EPRDF rule and other political turmoil that targeted the member of Amhara that led to a perception that their ethnic communities are threatened. According to informants pro Amhara movements are taken as a very rational response to a danger of losing identity.

The structural factors of ethnic categorization, constitutional discrimination and ethnicized tropes (that paint Amhara as oppressor) help to construct Amhara group identity based on a shared ethnic status. However, rather than the clearly politicized ethnic identity of Tigres, Oromos and Somalis, the contours of Amharas group consciousness take shape as latent solidarity. The recent shift towards attachment to in-group in Amhara is found to be not a choice of them; rather it is the result of institutional ethnic experiment of the post 1991 Ethiopia’s government.

Given the role of Amhara’s in the making of the country it is less likely they to perceive ethnicity as a “master status” negatively affecting their social and economic standing than other ethnic groups claim to be. The persistence of ethno nationalism in Amhara or identification as Amhara demonstrates that the processes of ethnic categorization influences the group identities of Amhara who do not share the same history of subjugation and degree of discrimination that is key to explaining Tigre, Oromo and Somali group identity. It is found that Amhara’s ethnic consciousness much more susceptible to the surrounding context than that demonstrated by other ethnic groups.

Economic Reasons

There is a multidimensional link between the condition in the economy and ethnic or national attachment. Certain aspects of the development process restructure political competition in ways that emphasize linguistic, religious, and cultural differences among populations and encourage mobilization on the basis of ethnicity. The persistent economic inequalities between ethnic groups in the center and periphery produce ethnic mobilization and attachment. Ethno nationalism is often expressed as a feeling of injustice in the distribution of economic resources. The more dissimilar two ethnic groups are in economic development, the more overt conflict they have with

each other (Magstadt 2009). The perception of economic extraction and exclusion by a certain group provide a recipe for the emergence of ethnic attachment. In this regard internal colonialism and cultural division of labor models portray ethnic mobilization as an outgrowth of persistent economic segregation that is most likely when class and ethnic boundaries overlap (Hechter 1975).

The worsening of the economic situation has contributed to increased ethno-national attachment among some groups in Ethiopia. The economic disparities that have been affecting more the Somali region than Tigres, Oromos and Amharas influenced the Somali respondents' evaluation of the Ethiopian state and attachment to it. Every ethnic groups wants at least some of its wishes to be met, the government's difficulty in achieving this lead to an attachment other than the central government want to pursue. Bjornskov (2008) argues that changes in citizens' sensitivity towards ethnic diversity changes over the course of development in a country. Respondents from Tigre, Oromo and Amhara ethnic background that are not too much affected economically not cite economic reasons for their detachment from the state and attachment to in-group.

Nonetheless, the advent of ethnic mobilization and attachment in better served regions such as Tigray in Ethiopia requires a different explanation. Evidence suggests that the transformation of economies toward expanded industrial productive and service sectors sometimes promotes ethnic mobilization. The breaking down of cultural division of labor opens the way to intergroup competition that ethnic mobilization is most likely to occur. A reduction of inequalities can produce ethnic mobilization among groups that benefit from the reduction. If groups believe they have greater economic opportunities and hold higher economic status than others in society, there may have reason to engage in group solidarity to maintain economic ends. When there are clear competitive advantages attached to an ethnic (as opposed to class, occupation, or some other) identity ethnic identification is created or maintained as a basis for collective action. The evidence from Tigray suggests that increment in regional wealth generates attachment to in-group and ethnic mobilization.

Therefore, on a different circumstances both the injustice and advantage over the distribution of economic resources unities the people along the ethnic line. So the empirical finding about the

relation between the condition in the economy and attachment are diverse. But, we have to be certain that the economic; its fair or unfair, distribution may trigger ethnic mobilization. It is not strange to observe both those who are advantageous in the economy and the disadvantaged one to mobilize in ethnic line to maintain and change the status quo respectively.

Ethnicization of the State

It is usually the case that mono-ethnic states are associated with only one ethnic group. In these states the state's name, dominant culture, or even some of its symbols are associated with one ethnic group. Likewise there are many multi-ethnic states that provide a national home to the dominant ethnic group only and are defined as ethnic states. For instance Israel, whose citizens are both Arabs and Jews, is a multiethnic state and an example of ethnic state (Rouhana 1998). The researcher argues that such a state system is a major factor for asymmetrical pattern of attachment because, in an ethnic state, access to power, government, resources and state identity is limited not to the state's citizens, but to members of one ethnic group. This is an obstacle for citizens to develop a common national consciousness, one of the causes for the development of asymmetrical pattern of ethnic and national attachment that favors to the former to develop.

The vast majority of sovereign states are ethnically heterogeneous. They can be either civil or ethnic. In civil states citizenship is the single constitutional criterion for national belonging, but in ethnic state, it is ethnic affiliation. There is no constitutional discrimination against citizens of the state based on ethnic affiliation in a civil state. They are dedicated and committed to the interests of all citizens, a state congruent with the democratic system. In such a state, it is citizenship, not belonging to an ethnic group, which largely defines membership in the nation. However, in an ethnic state, discrimination and exclusion are anchored in the state's administrative, legal and judicial systems. Official privileges and preferences are given not to all the members of the state but to members of one ethnic group exclusively in ethnic state (Rouhana 1998). The identity of the state is determined by ethnic affiliation and restricted to the dominant ethnic group. There is citizen and national dichotomy in state defined as "ethnic states".

Truly speaking Ethiopia is a civil state where there is no an ethnic criteria for national belonging to the state. Against this truth there is an ethnicization of the state by the political actors as if

belongs to one ethnic group. This has prevented some of ethnic groups to attach them to the state and opt otherwise. Due to the outcome of historic traditions the Amharas cultural manifestations are so visible than other ethnic groups in the country. But in Ethiopia there is no constitutional discrimination against specific ethnic group that deny his/her nationality or citizenship. However, Ethiopia is victim of categorization as is an Amhara state. This has prevented some of the deceived ethnic groups from attaching themselves towards the nation/state.

Moreover, the pattern of attachment in Ethiopia is affected by the nature of the settlement of an ethnic group. Attachment is different for the group that concentrated in a single location and dispersed in multiple locations. Amhara is the most dispersed ethnic group in Ethiopia where the significant portion of this ethnic group lives outside the region of their own. The attachment of this ethnic group expected to be more to the state than to its ethno linguistic identity as a result. Therefore, according to informants in addition to historical role of the people the settlement pattern of this ethnic group made them to orient to national attachment.

CONCLUSION

It is plausible that disparities in social capital, different historical backgrounds of different ethnic groups, settlement patterns, and interethnic tension are manifested in divergent attachment. The central values of cultural and shared experience of domination provide the basis for unity of action. The complex interaction of factors such as the legacy of the state formation, policies of the state, stereotypes, generational factors, political economy, static view on culture, continuous ethnicization of an Ethiopian state and nature of the national Ethiopian culture provides incentives for people either adopt or turn away from a group-based political identity. Generally, it is memories of past injustices together with present forms oppression are underpinning ethnic nationalism and political conflicts in the country.

Although we speculate that descriptive causal representation with ethnic group attachment, we do not know the causal direction between the two. One is distinct from that found from the other. The formation of ethnic group's attachment is contingent on the context.

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