

# State Building and Resilience Strategies against the contemporary public crises of Ethiopia: (A Critical Analysis)

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**Abstract:** This is surveillance, reports, working papers and literature based research paper for reviewing the current public crises of Ethiopia. Today's Public crises of Ethiopia area bottleneck against its socio-economic transformation and an increasing source of probable threats to state building and stability. As to the experience from the failed states, public crises are symptoms for weak (acute stress), fragile and then unstable state of collapse which could disunite the Government from the society. Besides, unless it manages through a careful investigation society from different ethnic group becomes enemy of one another. Thus, this paper tried to assess the root grounds of these crises and their public costs. For convenience, state building paradigms are analyzed in the context of Ethiopia and the two selected nations which are Sudan and Somalia from the states listed under states declared to be failed which ranked at 'Very High Alert'; based on social, economic and political indicators. This paper thus, argues that the current public crises of Ethiopia are highly intervening via the internal and external factors, which have a direct impact on the State building, resilience and socio-political renaissance.

**Keywords:** Public crises, state building, Ethnic diversity, NPM, Resilience, FSI, Ethiopia

## 1. Chorological Background

Ethiopia is Africa's oldest state in the Horn of Africa, bordered on the east by Somalia and Djibouti, on the west by Sudan, on the south by Kenya, and the northeast by Eritrea. Historically, Ethiopia was under traditional administration system in which local feudal lords and monarchs were the most influential leaders. As a result, feudal and local leaders were at war with each other and hence the Ethiopian administration could not have permanent place. After 1855, Ethiopia shifted from the "Era of Feudal Lords locally known as "Zemene Mesafint" in to Re-unification by

Emperor Tewodros who is considered as a figure in the making of the modern history of the state. Besides, the large scale drought, the Ethiopian governors were characterized with war and internal crises rather than transformation of political power through peaceful election. For example after the death of Emperor Tewodros, a struggle for power and succession took place between TekleGiorgis and Emperor Yohannes IV in 1872. In addition to the internal conflict for power, Ethiopia was threatened by Italians, Egyptians and Mahadists during the time of Yohannes IV (1872-1889).

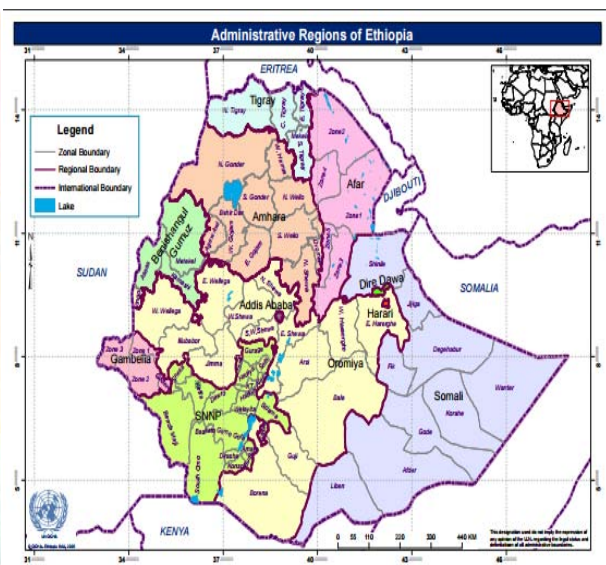


Figure 1: Ethiopia map from 1960 – 1974 Figure 2: Ethiopia map from 1991-now

Source: Figure 1: <http://www.Haile Sellasse.net/maps-of-ethiopia-across-time/>

Figure: 2 [file:///D:/Ongoing%20Researches/NPM/73A23617425494808525721200700710-ocha\\_REF\\_eth051031.pdf](file:///D:/Ongoing%20Researches/NPM/73A23617425494808525721200700710-ocha_REF_eth051031.pdf)

Later the modern public administration became the reason for the creation of modern Ethiopia during the reign of Emperor Menelik II (1889-1913) even though the expansion for unity was through war. During the time of Emperor Haile Selassie, Ethiopia was sub divided in to fourteen provinces including Eritrea until its secession in 1991. Almost 44 years after, Dergue (the military junta under Mengistu Hailemariam), overthrow His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie (1930-1974) and established a socialist state in 1974. Immediately after the military government came to power in September 1974, more than expected number of political fronts existed in every corner of the state especially in Tigray and Eritrean Provinces.

In comparison to the above figures, the current map is the result of federalist ideology although it is not accepted by everyone. In reference to the historical and traditional state divisions, identity questions and social conflicts for farming land have been happening through time. In case of Eritrea, when the opponent political parties of Ethiopia charge the ruling party EPRDF as to the national interest and unity, the ruling party refers article 39/1 of the constitution, which gives unconditional right of self-determination up to secession of nations, nationalities and peoples. Currently, the people are demanding self-determination at *Kebele*, *Woreda* and *Zonal* divisions in almost every National Regional states.

Peaceful power transfer between the governments of the time was not a culture throughout the history of Ethiopia. That is why it was through seventeen years military struggle when the current ruling political party overthrows the military junta in 1991. Since the EPRDF (OPDO+ANDM+SEPDF+TPLF) comes in to power, the current administrative structure Ethiopia is sub-divided in to 11 regions (9 National Regional states and two autonomous cities) with the concept of federalism (see figure 2). These regional states are demarcated based on the settlement prototype; language, identity, and consent of the people anxious and next divided in to 68 zonal, finally divided in 800 *Woredas*/districts and around 15,000 *kebeles* (according Ethiopian Government Portal). The federal government (with two Federal Houses article 53 of the constitution) and the member states have the legislative, executive and judicial power according to the constitution Article 50/2 of the state. For administrative convenience, the zonal and *Woredas* structural divisions includes especial zone and *Woredas* respectively. As to the population growth, the number of administrative divisions (*Zonal*, *Woreda* and *Kebele*) varies from time to time.

## 2. Research Rationale

As to the modern political thinking, Charles Tilly (1975) was dominant in popularizing the term 'state building' as equivalent for the evolutionary process by which states become known, and according to him "War made states and states made war" (...) "more war, more state" (Charles Tilly, 1990). It was due to that more states created and avoided from the list of states in the geopolitical history and map of the globe. The same is true in African experience; for the sake of independence, strong central government, internal and external sociopolitical stability, a number of bloody

wars and conflicts were happened. Although the causes of such instability are different from state to state, states generally that could not acquire strategic economic and political power for their peace, state building and resilience are at a much higher risk of instability. Even if there is no clear definition on the difference between state-building and peace building, public crises are a menace for sustainable peace of a given state in the New Public Management. Peace is the result of a successful cooperation process among key actors within the economic, social, and political formation. A Practice Paper of DFID entitled 'building peaceful states and societies' defined the phrase state building as follows:

*State-building is concerned with the state's capacity, institutions and legitimacy, and with the political and economic processes that underpin state-society relations. The effectiveness of the state and the quality of its linkages to society largely determine a country's prospects for peace and development* (DFID, 2010).

Politically, the term state building is felt to be stigmatizing by the countries concerned, which hinders acceptance of the concept. Various other terms are in use, like 'failing states', 'failed states' or 'collapsed states', indicating a scale of increasingly problematic situations. Verena F. and Alina R. (2007) also stated that State-building is a leading priority in fragile (and mostly post-conflict) settings, but ongoing state-building challenges persist in states in comparatively more 'normal' developing settings. By the OECD/DAC's own definition, "States are fragile when state structures lack political will and/or capacity to provide the basic functions needed for poverty reduction, development and to safeguard the security and human rights of their populations" (OECD/DAC, 2008).

Whatever the definition of state building, peace building is central to state capacity development. There are internal and external factors against state building. External actors (international relation) and global crises could affect the internal state building strategies. As Alina Rocha (2013) cited in Paris and Sisk (2008) "actions undertaken by national or international actors to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict". This is the same with what Martin Luther King, stated "*what happens anywhere affects us everywhere*".

As to the practical experience from different states, public crisis starts as a symptom of state fragility; thus, the relative strength or weakness of states ranges from weak to fragile and unless it rebuilds early it transfers to failed and collapsed state through time. once stable state like Ethiopia can be affected by public crises that are major factors for state fragility unless resilience strategies are recognized and practiced. In this case, according to Merriam Webster dictionary 'resilience' means the ability to become strong, healthy or successful again after something bad (public crises) happens and it is the ability of something to return to its original shape after it has been pulled, stretched, pressed, bent, etc.

It is known that Ethiopia is one of the recognized African states through the international institutions as the result of its

committed involvement in peace and stability in Africa. However, even if Ethiopia is supporting the sustainability and rebuilding of the weak neighbors Somalia and South Sudan with the military force under the goodwill of United Nations, it could not be internally a stable state. Since it is destructive, the Government should not use its military force to handle the current internal public crises, which is observed in Oromia, Amhara and Tigray Regional states.

Currently, the society from different corner of the state are looking for strategic solution for their question on identity, economic inequality, injustice, lack of good governance and rent seeking. With regard to these public crises, the ruling party (EPRDF), opposition political parties, civil society organizations and other internal and external actors of the event are not in the line of consensus to give a constructive solution. Instead, they are blaming one another. In this case, the public at large is badly suffering in public crises, which could gradually shift in to ethnic conflicts. Therefore, the main purpose of this study is to identify the root causes, possible public costs and to recommend state building and resilience strategies against the contemporary public crises.

Hence, the research questions augur on

- What are the roots causes for the violent protest demonstrations in Ethiopia?
- What are the possible public costs that resulted from the current public crises?
- What could the resilience strategies for state building against public crises could be?
- What anticipated alternative solutions could serve as an input for a stable state?

### 3. Research Objective

Forwarding state building and resilience strategies against the current violent demonstrations in Ethiopia is the general object of this paper, which sub-divided in to the following specific objectives.

- Identify the root grounds for the current public crises of Ethiopia,
- Comparing the State building paradigm practice in benchmark states and the Ethiopian context,

- Anticipating the public cost of the current public crises of Ethiopia, and
- Forwarding possible alternatives for national peace and stability of the state.

### 4. Methodology

A research methodology is the study of how research is done, and how knowledge is gained. Hence as to the nature of the research, this paper is an analytical review of literature, reports, previous researches and practical observation on Ethiopia. As a result, it is observation and literature based which survey important articles, research papers and other sources related to the research aimed to study the state building and resilience strategies. For more convenience, the current public crises of Ethiopia are reviewed in comparative to the Experience of Somalia and Finland in terms of the Failed States Index 2015 of Fund for Peace. Moreover, the practices of state building paradigms are analyzed in the current socio-political context of Ethiopia.

### 5. Conceptual Paradigms

This section is projected to analyze two leading paradigms that can guide the national struggle to promote peace and progress in conflict-afflicted fragile, namely peace building and state-building. These paradigms are analyzed as to the selected factors for state building and resilience strategies against public crises. In addition, as to the nature of this paper, the researcher developed the following conceptual framework within two paradigms peace and state building. The rationality behind is that it is obvious; with name of environmental stability any government can take any action to overcome public crises. On the other hand, central government can intervene on inside and outside the public crises and instability. Then the action and response of the government will either accept or rejected by the mass. This assumption is functions when the state is previously stable and secured. Currently, Ethiopia is also under these conditions because in relative to other African states, the Ethiopia was stable state since 1991 means after the EPRDF comes in to power.

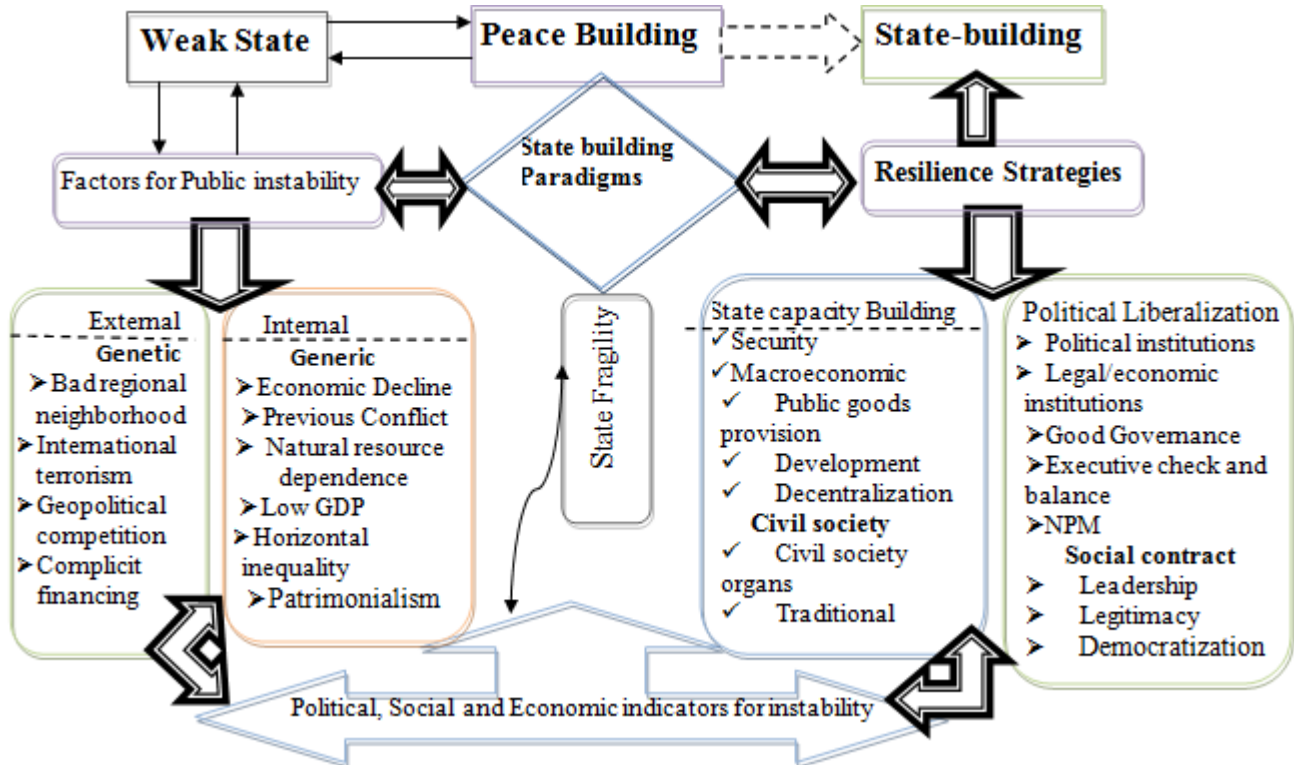


Figure 1: State paradigms: Source: author's compilation and Louise Anten (2014)




Practically the state vs. party and politics and public administration dichotomy is not well demarcated in the African States' history of public administration. Due to this, the political liberalization is not well considered. In this case JOSEPH S., (1998) stated that *Leaders who come to power through coups, fraudulent elections, or other illegitimate means rely on their narrow base of supporters to govern, typically utilizing patronage networks and ethnic, geographic, or ideological allegiances that necessarily include the security sector.*

As one can observe from the above figure, unless it is carefully studied and decided any social or government action to build states could damage the state peace and stability. Like what Charles Tilly believe (*War made states and states made war*), as the state struggle against of factors of public instability, possibly the state could be weak and unable to resist external and internal social, political and economic pleasures. If the state is fragile with a weak central

government, the stated resilience strategies could not be an alternative for state building. State fragility, as a developmental concept, is an essential failure of the state to carry out functions obligatory to meet citizens' basic needs and expectations. Patrimonialism (an internal factor) is a term often used in reference to African states – was first conceived by Max Weber as a system of patron-client rule in which elites exploit public resources and distribute them to political followers in return for loyalty. Neo-patrimonialism describes a situation in which patrimonial and formal bureaucratic rules co-exist (McLoughlin, 2012)

According to the data obtained from Fund For Peace (FFP), the Failed States Index(FSI) is methodologically based upon the CAST (Conflict Assessment System Tool) analytical platform. CAST is a methodology to assessing the vulnerability of states to collapse. Thus, the state building paradigms are summarizing as to the fragile states Index of FFP as follows.

Table 1: Indicators for Fragile States Index 2015 of FFP other comparative data

Indicators (Fff)	Selected Measures (Ff)	Somalia 	Ethiopia 	Sudan 
Social	Demographic Pressures, Refugees and IDPs, Group Grievance,	Social and Political conflicts	Public pleasure	Public pleasure and conflicts
Economic	Uneven Economic Development, Poverty & Economic Decline,	Economic crises	Significant market crises	Economic crises
Political and Military	State Legitimacy, Public Services, Human Rights & Rule of Law, External Intervention	Political instability and war	Rent seeking and lack of good governance	Political instability and war
Other comparative data	Total immigrants/emigrant (UNHCR, 2016)	492,046 (in Kenya) and 240,086 (in Ethiopia)	734, 931 Refugees from Eritrea, South Sudan & Somalia	247, 317 refugee from South Sudan (UNHCR, SRCS, WFP)
	FS Index rank (Fff)	Very High Alert	Alert	Very High Alert

Source: Author's compilation, UNHCR, WFP and [www.fundforpeace.org](http://www.fundforpeace.org)

The refugee crises

Although international organizations are funding refugees, the immigration crisis from the most instable states of Somalia, South Sudan, and Eritrea, puts significant pressure on Ethiopia's public management and affects the demographic pressures scores on FfP methodology. Besides, it is due to civil war and internal instability in neighboring state of South Sudan that has contribute a great role in Ethiopia the highest refugee in Africa. Summing up, this comparative critical analyses held in the next sections are built upon the basis of the conceptualizations of state building paradigms and state fragility index.

## 6. Comparative Analysis

### 6.1. Somalia

Somalia with the capital of Mogadishu, situated in the Horn of Africa, lies along the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. It is bounded by Djibouti in the northwest, Ethiopia in the west, and Kenya in the southwest (<http://www.infoplease.com/country/somalia.html>). As to different historical sources, Somalia's transformation into an independent state (1960s) was peaceful in its establishment but soon erupted into a brutal conflict, even though some observers believe that the reason Somali society reached to this level of collapse can be traced back to the colonial institutions and post-colonial state that happened after sovereignty. In 1969, Abdi Rashid Ali Shermarke, Somalia's second President, was assassinated and in the following days a military coup, led by Major General Muhammad Siad Barre, who gained control of the country. Immediately, The Somali National Movement (SNM), the United Somali Congress (USC), and the Ogadeni Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM) joined forces to fight against Siad Barre's government (1969-91).

According to the Mail and Guardian Africa data posted in 19 May 2015, Somalia has been divided into three regions each with a separate president - and each from a different clan. Clans are considered a source of both conflict and stability. They often form alliances for protection, access to water or political power. Though unstable, these alliances are considered of primary importance to many Somalis and can outweigh their allegiance to Somalia (William and Siân, 2016).

From 1991 to 2000, Somalia with Somali (majority), Bantu and Arabs Ethnic groups had no working government. A fragile parliamentary government was formed in 2000, but it expired in 2003 without establishing control of the country. Several neighboring countries (including Ethiopia) of Somalia have recognized Hassan Abshir's Transitional National Government, and the UN has given it de facto recognition since its participation in the General Assembly in September 2000. Even if the TNG established with the help of Somali Reconstruction and Restoration Council, it could not accepted with the remained opposition warlords from southern Somalia because they believe, it is through the external intervene like Ethiopia and US force. Especially the leader of Somali Restoration and Reconciliation Council feels that the TNG are an extremist group with ties to terrorists. Nevertheless, the state becomes center of terrorist

internally and major threat to the neighborhoods. In 2014, the Somali National Armed Forces and AMISOM launched a military operation to reduce Al-Shabaab control in rural areas. Notwithstanding its territorial losses, Al-Shabaab continues to present a threat to peace and security in Somalia and in neighboring countries (OCHA, 2014).

Somalia is considered a fragile state emerging from a protracted civil war that has witnessed the collapse of central government and devolution of power to administrative regions. Research has identified clannish grouping, poor governance, resource competition, militarization, regional disputes, colonialism and international involvement as key drivers of fragility and conflict as William A. and Siân H., (2016) cited in (Heinrich Böll Stiftung, 2008; Mbugua, 2013; World Bank, 2005).

The majority of Somalis today live in poverty and vulnerability: 2.3 million live on the margins of food insecurity and 1.1 million are internally displaced. Poverty is estimated at 73 percent and extreme poverty at 43 percent (World Bank, INTERIM STRATEGY NOTE (FY14 - FY16), 2013). In case of ethnic diversity, it has only three categories. These could be subdivided into sub-clans; but regardless of its regional allotment, all Somalis have matching language, follow the same religion practically all belong to the "Shafii Rite" of the Sunni faction of Islam and eat the same food with only minor deviations they could not come up with a common national consensus yet. Rather political miscommunication and tensions happened between Somaliland and Puntland. Continuing violence in Puntland and Somaliland illustrates that tensions persist between the central government and autonomous regions (William A. and Siân H., 2016). To sum up, as the civil war started in the late 1991, the major economic activities like agriculture trade and livestock were interrupted. The United Nations' intervention plan to stabilize the central Government became unsuccessful rather more than 400,000 and almost 50,000 people died due to starvation and during fighting respectively according to the international religious freedom report 2010 from the US Department of State.

## 7. Summary of findings

Historically, African states especially sub-Saharan states are characterized by poverty, instability and then military coups, as a result the central governments could not become politically strong. The same is true in the case of the Horn of Africa. Even though either of these African states could have best practices which could be shared by one another, the public stability impacts have been a treat of the other like what Martin Luther King, was stated as "*what happens anywhere affects us everywhere*". Relatively, Ethiopia was becoming stable since 1991. However, her state stability could not sustain due to different factors. What is common among Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan is both good and/or bad interregional and own social practice can affect one another. As the good experience of Ethiopian can be an input for them, their socio-political crises can affect back. The form of government and the political economy structure of the states should be as to the demand and will of their people. As a result, a trajectory from hostile to peaceful co-existence of the societies and the people-to-people relation will become cloth.

The basic administrative and development service of failed states could no longer perform. Hence, unless these inland political parties negotiate one another and share the risk and

leadership risk, the future social, political and economic stability of the nation become unpredictable.

**Table 2: Comparative States' Characteristics**

Characteristic	Ethiopia	Somalia	Sudan
Population (total)	102, 553, 669 ( <a href="http://countrymeters.info/en/Ethiopia">http://countrymeters.info/en/Ethiopia</a> )	11, 096, 667 ( <a href="http://countrymeters.info/en/Somalia">http://countrymeters.info/en/Somalia</a> )	41, 307, 179 ( <a href="http://countrymeters.info/en/Sudan">http://countrymeters.info/en/Sudan</a> )
No. of Ethnic groups	More than 80	3 (majority Somali)	Sudanese Arab (majority), Fur, Beja, Nuba, Fallat
No. of Language	More than 80	3 (maxaadtiri and Arabic common)	Arabic, English, Nubian, Ta Bedawie, Fur
No. of Religious	6 (majority Christians and Muslims)	Islam (majority)	3(majority Islam)
Previous Form of Government	Authoritarian-Dictator (Dergue)	No central Govt. (anarchy)	Military Government
Current Form of Government	Federal Republic (Revolutionary Democracy)	Semi presidential federal republic	Presidential federal republic
No. of Political Parties	75(at national and regional level)	23 (at national and regional level)	18 (at national and regional level)
Ruling political party	Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF)	Peace and Development Party (PDP)	National Congress Party (NCP)

As one can observe from the above table, the states are quite different as to their demographic characteristics. Relatively Ethiopia is the most stable although it has greatest ethnic diversity. What is common in these neighbor states is their bad previous form of governments. Thus, even if it is good national experience for accepting multi political party system, these political parties and ruling parties of the states are not in harmonious communication for national peace and stability. The same is true in the Ethiopian contest. Instead of having an open discussion on, the political organization are in two extremes in case of the contemporary public unrest.

## 8. Contemporary Circumstance of Ethiopia

As to the experience of Somalia, the basic state functions could no longer function as in any failed state. Thus, unless the current social crises of Ethiopia are timely overcome in collaboration with all stakeholders to peace and national building, nothing could be responsible for the state instability. According to the above research elements, in terms of their source and effects the factors for Public crises can be categorize either internal or external. In addition, these factors are critically analyzed as to the contemporary state social and political economic condition.

### 8.1. Internal challenges

#### 8.1.1. National Administrative Structure

There are three main reasons why Federalism was adopted in 1991 as state system for Ethiopia. It is thought to be the best way to correct the past administrative injustice. It is to bring about stability in Ethiopia, the Horn of Africa, the Red Sea and the north eastern part of the Indian Ocean. It is thought to create peace, security and stability to more than 80 ethnic groups together and save Ethiopia from disintegration (Negasso, 2015). Dr. Negaso G., (2015) in his article noted that before 1991 due to harsh social injustices, economic exploitation, political oppression, cultural and religious discriminations there were dissatisfactions and

revote in different parts of Ethiopia. After the state adopted Federalism as state system, the regional Governments are demarcated based on the settlement prototype; language, identity, and consent of the people concerned, they divided in to 68 zonal, and finally in divided in 800 *Woredas*/districts and around 15,000 *kebeles* (according Ethiopian Government Portal). In this regard, federalism became an alternative solution against the previous conflicts although there are some opponents for it. As Ghebrehiwet T. (2015) cited in (Elazar, 1987)...*while Regions in Belgium and the province of Quebec in Canada are demarcated on ethnic base for historical and political considerations. In Russia and to a large extent in India and Nigeria, identity interest is well applied.* This show that federalism system has being considered as a best solution for states with multi ethnic diversity like Ethiopia.

#### 8.1.2. The Political Economy

Historically, Ethiopia has no clear modern political economy. The societies have being suffering with 'hand to mouth' traditional way of life. After the socialist political economy of the Dergue was abandoned, Ethiopia announces itself as a market economy and eventually as a developmental state under a mixed economic system. Theoretically, the current economic system is playing the leading role in enhancing industrialization all over the state. As to the economic performance, the state is showing significant propriety in comparative to neighborhood states.

#### 8.1.3. Ethnic Diversity and the Public Demand

It was since the military government when the emerging of ethnic-based political and military movements was started. The creation of more front political organization with no strategic and common resistance strategy against the military Government was the primary reason why the Dergue stayed in power for long period. Whatever so, in seventeen year bloody civil war the military Junta downfall from its power. In comparative to Somalia, Sudan and other African States, more than 80 nation, nationality and people are living in peace in Ethiopia. In this case, federalism is one of best

alternative to manage ethnic based conflicts among the societies. For more convenience, the HoF and HPR allowed especial Zonal and *Woreda's* administrative divisions, which serve as a best solution against group conflicts on farming lands, border and others. With regard to the population, more than the previous fiscal years, the people are demanding self-determination at each administrative level of *Kebele, Woreda* and *Zonal* divisions in almost every National Regional states (see Table 3). These factors for instability are rooted from illegal ethnic and identity questions around Amhara and Oromia. It is constitutional that the people can demand welfare and good governance but the way the resistance is uprising is unconstitutional. Instead of adding an alternative value through alternative national policy, the so called Oromo, Amhara, Tigray or other ethnic based protests are affecting the peace and national building functions of the central Government.

#### 8.1.4. Response of the Government

More than the previous fiscal years Ethiopia is in danger in 2008/09 due manmade upheaval and natural catastrophe. Besides, to the worldwide threat of Ebola and Zika Virus the endemic transmission disease of food or waterborne diseases such as protozoa diarrhea, and typhoid fever are the internal human diseases, which become the cause of human death. Starting from the previous fiscal year the Government is investing more on feeding group of the society who are in food crises due to lack of rain caused by the so called El Nino. In this case the Government is committed on allocating own emergency capital and searching funds to save the life of the poor and it is actively overcoming even if the struggle is by group protests. All in all the researcher observed the following (table 3) major causes for the current public crises in Ethiopia

**Table 2: Major grievance areas of Ethiopia**

Major area of grievance	Category (public cost)	Target Place or People	Question rises in (local crises)	Year of Grievance	Responsible organ	Response of Government (public mass media)
<i>Wolkait</i>	Identity crises	Wolkait, Tigray RS	Gonder, AmharaRS (internal & external)	2008 E.C.	Tigray and Amhara RSs	Waiting for legal procedure
Addis Ababa master plan	Resettlement crises & low compensation for victims	AA & rounding especial zones	AA and around (internal)	2007/8 E.C.	Federal and AA City Gov.t	Plan cancelled/pending
<i>Gonder&amp; around Begemidir</i>	Resettlement crises	TigrayEthnic Group	Gonder, Amhara RS (internal&external)	2008/9 E.C	Amhara RS and Federal Gov.t	Under investigation and consensus
Nebelet& others	Self determination	<i>Kebeles, Woredas&amp; Zones</i>	TigrayRS, & other regions	Every time	Tigray RS & Federal Gov.t	Under investigation
<i>Humera</i>	Crises (More than 85 people kidnapped)	Humera, Tigray	External crises: Eritrean	2008 E.C.	Tigray RS Federal Gov.t	Under investigation
<i>Gambella</i>	Sovereignty crises	Agnuak tribe Gambella	External crises byMerle tribe, South Sudan	2008 E.C.	Gambella RS & Federal Gov.t	Under investigation And consensus
Ethio-Eritrea	Border conflict	Ethio-Eritrea border	Nation wide	Every time	Federal Gov.t	Unsolved yet
<i>Konso</i>	Self determination	<i>Woredas&amp; Zones</i>	SNNPRS	2008	SNNPRS& Gov.t	Under investigation
<i>Bisheftu&amp; other areas</i>	Internal crises (life and property lost)	Protest against the Government	Oromia RS	2009 and Every time	Oromia RS	Under investigation

In constitutional procedure, the issue of *Wolkait*segedeis not identity crises, otherwise the question could rise from those who are living in *Wolkait* and submitted to the Tigray Regional State. Like any other regional states, every border of Tigray-Amhara and Tigray-Afar are the results of federalism state system (see figure: 2), even if there are such silent complains from every area. Surprisingly, the so called public protest in Oromia and Amhara regional states are going out of the control of the regional and federal Government. Even if the government is outsourcing these public uprisings, they all are against TPLF of Tigray rather than to their regional leading political organization (OPDO or ANDM). This indicated that these ethnic based regional parties are not actively managing and negotiating their internal issues. As one can observe from the above table, as a political propaganda, the issue of *Wolkait* is one of the major issues, which is externally reported as ethnic, or identity crises. Nevertheless, practical it is not different issue as the state is restructured its administrative division based on the federalism state system. Some of the crises like an integrated master plan of Addis Ababa are the outcome of the top down policy making authority. Besides significant number of crises are initiating in every parts. As to the

population growth, near public service and good governance the mass is demanding self-determination at any state level.

#### 8.2. External challenges

In addition to the internal public demands more than the previous years, the State is badly suffering on sovereignty crises from South Sudan and Eritrea borders. As to the act of normalization and stabilizing the horn of Africa, under the leadership of IGAD and UN, Ethiopia is playing great role on military and diplomacy in Somalia and South Sudan. As a result, the state has acquired a good image on the international community. Although there is no nationally accepted evidence, the Government is reporting the interference of Egypt in the hydro politics issue and Eritrea in the border conflict and other international act of terrorists' acts on the internal national instability of the state.

Like what Martin Luther King, was stated as "*what happens anywhere affects us everywhere*", the environmental instability, refugees' crises and international economy have their own impact on the contemporary crises. One of the clear external challenges the researcher could agree with the reports of the public mass media is also the action of

military political groups from around Eritrea and the controversial hydro politics of Egypt on the Grand Ethiopian Dam in particular and Nile issue in general. As to their national interest, the Egyptian political organizations are continuously interfering on Ethiopian politics through its opponent group.

#### **Alternative Policy Implications**

Several researchers have conducted their research on the failed states and they have noted various forms strategies as a solution to the disintegrating state problem. In this regard, their most findings are either to support or to resist the existing government. This is happening in the contemporary Ethiopian public crises. As to the experience from Sudan and Somalia, Ethiopia is in the first phase for state fragility. Hence, Somalia and Sudan Government could learn from Ethiopia, The Ethiopian Government or the public at large should learn what is happening in these two nations in crisis. Unless the current public crises are overcome through consensus, the state could not assure the ongoing paradigm development and renaissance shift. These called political opponents and members of the ruling party are charging one another instead of an integrated investigation for the bad event is going over escalated. While many specific techniques exist for creating a successful state building strategy, three specific approaches would all fall under the endogenous school of thinking; good governance, new public management and decentralization, have been identified by 2010 UNRISD report. Besides to these strategies the researchers have proposed the following resilience strategies in the form of alternative solution which are recommended to be practice in every administrative structure of the state in collaboration with every stakeholder for state peace and stability before the peace Index or Fragile State index results become the worst.

#### **Alternatives 1: Negotiation and national consensus:**

This is an option when an open compromise is created between the state and the people. A national trusteeship among all stakeholders for national peace and national building should be established. This can happen when the leading government invites civil societies, political organizations, local elders and academicians for discussions.

#### **Alternatives 2: Inter-regional transparency:**

According to the paradigm of this paper, peace building capacity enhances nation building capacity. It can also be practical if an only if an inter-regional transparency among regional states is assured. This transparency should positively affect the ruling parties of each regions. Due to the blind politics-administration dichotomy of the state, the ambiguity between political parties is influencing the life ethnic groups.

#### **Alternatives 3: Technocratic approach:**

This is a system when government structure is managed based on meritocracy. When scientists and academicians have a strong standing and the role of practitioners on social, economic and political aspects recognized, the central government could be have better capacity to solve root causes of public crises to promote national development.

#### **Alternatives 4: Political Liberalization:**

This is an in-depth discussion among all members of the governing party is mandatory in this case. The national social, political and economic policies should more comfortable to the people. This could practical through the legitimate leadership system under each national administrative hierarchy. Otherwise, the current political system could escalate the internal and external factors for state building paradigms.

#### **Alternatives 5: New Public Management:**

This is a new approach in order to modernize the local and regional public sector and policies on a under the national law of civil service. Through NPM, neo-patrimonialism culture, which is the source of corrupt bureaucracy and rent seeking, could be avoided through time. If this approach is well practiced under the cloth supervision of ministry of Civil Service, the public managers could be more efficient and effective. Under NPM reform, all civil servants could loyal to their customers (service seekers).

#### **Alternatives 6: Amending policy on vulnerability areas:**

This could focus on either domestic or foreign policy. Vulnerability is an area, which could let the state under uncertainty due to lack of adequate national protection. As to the domestic affairs, the policy should be bottom-up to give special attention on the local public issues such as internal migration, questions of self-determination, local governance, infrastructure coverage and equity in resource allocation. As to the foreign affairs, the policy should carefully review national interests and stability. The major areas for vulnerabilities are the foreign policy towards Egypt, Eritrea, Somalia, Sudan and South Sudan that have internal crises that might need diplomatic and martial preparedness in the policy document

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