2017

Perceptions of Ethnic Federalism and the Ethiopian Diaspora Community in the US

Kassaw Tafere Merie
Walden University

Walden University

College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

This is to certify that the doctoral dissertation by

Kassaw Tafere Merie

has been found to be complete and satisfactory in all respects,
and that any and all revisions required by
the review committee have been made.

Review Committee
Dr. Anne Hacker, Committee Chairperson,
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

Dr. Christopher Jones, Committee Member,
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

Dr. Kristie Roberts, University Reviewer,
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

Chief Academic Officer
Eric Riedel, Ph.D.

Walden University
2017

Abstract

Perceptions of Ethnic Federalism and the Ethiopian Diaspora Community in the US

by

Kassaw Tafere Merie

MSW, Arizona State University, 2015

MBL, University of South Africa, 2011

BA, Addis Ababa University, 1994

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy and Administration

Walden University

November 2017

Abstract

Diaspora communities are becoming an essential part of socioeconomic and political developments of their homeland countries. The problem addressed by this study is that after ethnic federalism was implemented in Ethiopia, the Ethiopian diaspora in the US is divided along ethnic lines, causing human resource management and law enforcement challenges within the communities in the host country. The purpose of this study was to describe the impacts of Ethiopia's ethnic-based federalism on its diaspora residing in a US metropolitan area. The theoretical framework was based on Teshome and Záhořík's theory of ethnic federalism and Safran's theory of diaspora. The key research question examined how ethnic-based federalism in Ethiopia affects perceptions of members of the Ethiopian diaspora in the US. This qualitative ethnographic study included interviews with 15 members of the Ethiopian diaspora community residing in the Washington, DC metro area. The data were thematically coded and analyzed with the help of qualitative data analysis software. Findings revealed that the Ethiopian diaspora in the US is constantly involving in its homeland affairs, although in a fragmented and dis-unified manner. Ethnic-based federalism is not only divisive but also serving as the main source for ethnic bias among the Ethiopian diaspora. Ethnic resentment has surfaced and created a *we versus them* mentality in every aspect of diaspora's life activities. Recommendations include the Ethiopian government establishing a Truth and Reconciliation Commission and identifying a better form of federalism for the country. The implications for positive social change include integrating voices of the Ethiopian diaspora community in the policy making processes of the home and host governments.

Perceptions of Ethnic Federalism and the Ethiopian Diaspora Community in the US

by

Kassaw Tafere Merie

MSW, Arizona State University, 2015

MBL, University of South Africa, 2011

BA, Addis Ababa University, 1994

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy and Administration

Walden University

November 2017

Dedication

I am dedicating this paper to my beloved wife Rahel Demilew and our precious children: Milcah Kassaw, Bemihret Kassaw, and Christian Kassaw. Rahel, I do not know what would have happened to me without you. Milcah, Bemihret, and Christian: You are the blessings of my life, and my reason to live and survive against all odds. The long project has come to an end and I am all yours now. I love you all.

Acknowledgments

I am highly grateful to my committee chairperson Dr. Anne Hacker who has been in contact with me on Saturday mornings every two weeks. Dr. Hacker, thank you for your great guidance and all the kindness you showed to me throughout this difficult journey. I am also grateful to my committee member Dr. Christopher Jones, who has been always there in providing the support I needed throughout my dissertation process. Further appreciation is extended to Dr. Kristie Roberts, my University Research Reviewer. Thank you so much for your tremendous help, everyone.

I am highly indebted to Dr. Judy Krysik who invested her precious time in editing my dissertation. My heartfelt thank you is extended to many friends and family members who prayed for and supported me as I handled this elephant task also known as a dissertation. My special gratitude is forwarded to those who participated in this study. Thank you for the trust you placed in me.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Introduction

Ethiopia is important to the international community as it continues to play key and unique roles in Africa and in the global market. The country claims to be the cradle of mankind and has more than 3,000 years of recorded statehood that makes it one of the oldest nations in the world (Embassy of Ethiopia in South Africa, 2013; Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2011). It is one of the few nations in the world with its own unique alphabet that supports over 80 estimated languages. Ethiopia is also the only country in Africa that has averted colonialism as its people successfully fought against better armed Italian colonial powers in 1896 (African American Registry, 2013). Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia, is also viewed by all African countries as a key diplomatic city in Africa, mainly because the headquarters for the African Union (AU) is located there (Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2011). Such historical and geopolitical factors put Ethiopia in the global spotlight.

The people of Ethiopia have not currently achieved a full-fledged democratic system of governance as much as they may have wanted. For this reason, the people of Ethiopia have been affected by poverty, civil war, and mass migration. Looking back over the past 40 years, the lack of democratic governance has pushed most Ethiopians out of their country and scattered them across the world (Abbink, 2011; Habtu, 2003). Such developments contributed to the increase in Ethiopian diaspora communities in the US and other parts of the world.

After its military victory over the socialist military regime in 1991, the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF), an ethnically-based political party from the north of the country, did not waste time in announcing its intention to establish ethnic-based federalism in Ethiopia. As a result, a unique form of ethnic federalism that allows ethnically organized states to exercise self-determination, up to and including secession, is now the law of the land. Several researchers have concluded that this form of ethnic federalism is risky, as the mix of political belief and ethnicity is a recipe to destroy the common values of citizens and love of their common nation (Balcha, 2009). It may also open the door to ethnic favoritism and nurture intolerance among ethnic groups.

Since the establishment of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia in 1991, several studies have been conducted either supporting it (see Frank, 2009; Tewfik, 2010), or criticizing it (see Abbink, 2009; International Crisis Group, 2009; Mehretu, 2012). However, no study has addressed the impact on the Ethiopian diaspora communities abroad, which is considered to be an integral part of the economic, social, and political life of the homeland. There is a need to understand the extent of social fragmentation that may have occurred as a result of ethnic federalism within Ethiopian diaspora communities in the US.

A closer examination of the history of modern Ethiopia reveals that the country was ruled by a more centralized system of governance during the Imperial regime from 1930 to 1974 and the military socialist regime from 1974 to 1991. In May 1991, a rebel group composed of ethnic Tigrians with a mixed socialist and capitalist ideology fought its way to the National Palace and stayed in power until the preparation of this study

under the banner of ethnic-based federalism. It is not known when the next regime change will happen in Ethiopia. The official name of the current regime is the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), and is referred by many as dictatorial, totalitarian, authoritarian, and ethnocentric (see Aalen, 2006; Abbink & Hagmann, 2011; Gudina, 2011; Lyons, 2011; Mehretu, 2012; Terfa, 2012). Such a political landscape continues to be an obstacle for the social, political, and economic welfare of its citizens residing inside and outside the country.

Regardless of the form and nature of successive Ethiopian governments, the United States of America, United Kingdom, and the European Union consider Ethiopia to be a strategic partner in the supervision of the troubled Middle East region, as well as a strategic location to fight terrorism and end poverty (see Abbink & Hagmann, 2011; Hailegebriel, 2012; Lyons, 2011; Manners, 2014). The US has remained friendly with Ethiopian administrations with the exception of the socialist military regime between 1975 and 1991, which was openly hostile to US policies. As the US maintained good relations with Ethiopia, some Ethiopians, especially the middle class, continued to explore their own means to migrate to the US. The Ethiopian people have also maintained a positive perception of the US and its people throughout history. A recent study that conducted to measure attitudes of 39 countries towards the US ranked Ethiopia 3rd, next to the Philippines and Ghana (Kiersz, 2015; Pew Research Center, 2015). According to this study, Ethiopians have a more favorable attitude to the US than Israelis. In other words, Ethiopians are very favorable toward the US and its people.

Similar to others, the three major legal avenues for Ethiopians to enter to the US and become permanent residents are refugee resettlement, asylum, and the diversity visa lottery (United States Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2015). Thus, the Ethiopian diaspora in the US is composed of individuals who entered from those three categories. The last two decades (1995 to 2015), have been marked by a larger influx of Ethiopian immigrants than in previous decades. This has formed one of the largest diasporas in the US. Many believe that the main reasons Ethiopians have left their country have been political oppression, poverty, ethnic domination, and discrimination (see De Regt, 2010; Hassan & Negash, 2013; Human Rights Watch, 2015; Terrazas, 2007). Such causes are considered to be the outcomes of the current ethnic-based federalism that has been exercised for the past 25 years. Chapter 2 will examine further the causes of increased Ethiopian migration to the US.

Background of Problem

Ethiopia is an ancient country located in the eastern part of Africa. The people of Ethiopia claim that their country has more than 3,000 years of recorded history (Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2011). The current estimate of Ethiopia's population is 97 million which makes it the second most populous nation in Africa after Nigeria (World Bank, 2015). The population of Ethiopia is highly diverse with 84 ethnic groups, each with their own language. However, there is one common language called Amharic, which serves as the working language of the central government and is understood by most ethnic groups, especially those residing in towns and cities.

Ethnic composition in Ethiopia takes different shapes and sizes. Habtu (2003) documented that the two largest ethnic groups constitute 62% of the population, the three largest constitute about 70%, the seven largest represent 84.5%, and the 12 largest ethnic groups constitute almost 92% percent of the population. Based on this analysis, the remaining 8% of the population is composed of 74 ethnic groups. Thus, although there are 84 ethnic groups in the country, the majority of the populations come from only a few ethnic groups. It is also estimated that as the population of the country increases, the ethnic composition stays more or less the same.

Since the birth of the nation, Ethiopia has been ruled by emperors. This was the political structure until the last monarch, Haile Selassie I, was overthrown by a military junta in 1974. This long tradition of governance was characterized by a centralized administration in which the emperor had absolute power over any major political decision and regional kings governed their respective provinces under the watch of the Emperor. Although the military junta brought a fundamental change in the overall governance of the country, the administrative system remained centralized. In 1991, the military junta was overthrown by the TPLF, a separatist group that had been at war with the ruling regime for 17 years. The original motive of TPLF was to separate Tigray province from Ethiopia; however, it adjusted its motive after making sure that all of the political and economic power of the country was under its monopoly. TPLF created a new umbrella organization called the Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). It formally introduced a new constitution in 1995 which became the basis to divide the

country into nine ethnically-based regions or states (Habtu, 2003). This laid the foundation for ethnic federalism in Ethiopia.

Looking back over the past century alone, one can observe that Ethiopia has passed through three forms of governance. Habtu (2003) summarized this extensive period of time into three forms of ethnic social engineering and detailed them as follows: the first form of social engineering, which was designed by Emperor Menelik (1889-1913) and further expanded by Emperor Haile Selassie (1930 -1974), the second by the military regime (1974-91) that attempted to maintain a unitary state by implementing a socialist system of governance in the country, and the third and last, which was orchestrated by TPLF/EPRDF (1991– present) that attempted to sustain the Ethiopian state on the basis of ethnic federalism. According to Habtu (2003), the first attempts at social engineering helped to create a unitary state on the basis of cultural assimilation, using Amharic as the sole language of instruction and public discourse and Orthodox Christian culture as the core culture of Ethiopian national identity. The second was an attempt to continue the unitary state by addressing the interests of various ethnic groups within the framework of Marxism-Leninism. In sharp contrast to the previous two, the third period of ethnic social engineering was contrary to the outlook of Pan-Ethiopian nationalism and attempted to maintain the Ethiopian state on the basis of ethnic federalism as well as cultural, language, and political autonomy throughout the nation. The third period of ethnic social engineering is the one this study is investigating in relation to the Ethiopian diaspora in the US.

Ethnic conflict has the potential to delay democratization and federalism as a system of governance to the disadvantage of some groups. More specifically, Abbink (2009) explained how the system of governance is deteriorating in Ethiopia mainly due to ethnic favoritism. Some supporters of ethnic-based federalism have argued that it can help countries such as Ethiopia to stay together by addressing ethnic interests, but still strongly advise that ethnic federalism could be a disaster if it promotes ethnocentrism rather than democratic representation and equitable resource allocation (Erk & Anderson, 2009; Frank, 2009). Conversely, Mehretu (2012) argued that ethnic-based federalism is neither the request nor endorsement of the Ethiopian people, but the imposition of policy by the ruling party that has been in power for more than two decades.

In view of the above, ethnic-based federalism has become a source of disagreement for Ethiopians. Although there were occasional ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia before 1991, the situation has become worse ever since ethnic-based federalism was implemented. As a result, the people of Ethiopia are experiencing the pain of social fragmentation at home and abroad (Balcha, 2007; Meheretu, 2012). Thus, the Ethiopian diaspora in the US is also a victim of ethnic-based federalism. Some indications of this are the division along ethnic lines of Ethiopian diaspora institutions such as churches, community organizations, and political parties. It is not uncommon to see Ethiopian diaspora community gatherings or events turn violent and attract the attention of US law enforcement personnel. For example, US law enforcement personnel intervened when a shooting sparked protest outside the Ethiopian embassy in Washington, DC (Dockins, 2014). With such incidents, several members of the Ethiopian diaspora in the US are

airing their frustrations and concerns with regard to the social health of their communities.

Diaspora communities are becoming an integral part of the economic, social, and political development of their homeland countries. According to Lyons (2009), globalization and modern communication have resulted in transnational politics as exiled groups and communities are making critical contributions to the respective countries of origin. Although it is not united, the Ethiopian diaspora attempts to make such contributions in a protracted manner (Lyons, 2009). Cognizant of diaspora communities' potential, the government of Ethiopia has been busy formulating engagement strategies (Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2011). However, the more the government of Ethiopia wants to engage the diaspora communities, the more the relationship between the two has become hostile. Such development has been witnessed during the government's effort to mobilize the Ethiopian diaspora towards the building of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam, Africa's largest dam on the Nile River that started construction in 2011. Beyene (2014) reported that as part of the fundraising effort for the Nile dam construction project, government representatives traveled all the way from Ethiopia to gather Ethiopian diaspora community members across US cities, but almost all of the meetings were disrupted by strong opposition coming from members of the diaspora. Such situations indicate a serious conflict between the Ethiopian government and its diaspora communities in the US.

There is an ongoing conflict between the Ethiopian government and its diaspora communities in the US. The Ethiopian government claims that it is improving the

country's economy, but members of the diaspora argue national unity, human rights, and rule of law should come first (Lyons, 2009). With the current ethnic-based federalism system of governance in place, Ethiopia has become one of the world's largest sources of immigrants to the US (Monger & Yankay, 2013). As a result, the Ethiopian diaspora in the US is growing in numbers and activities (Hailegebriel, 2012). Such growth warrants closer study using the theory of diaspora as a lens. The theory of diaspora attempts to explain issues such as ethnic representation, migration, and connection to the country of origin, as well as new concepts such as global diaspora and unitary homeland, cultural identities, emotional places, and local community spaces (Harutyunyan, 2012). More detailed explanations of the theories of ethnic federalism as well as diaspora will be presented later in this chapter under the theoretical framework section, and also in Chapter 2.

Statement of Problem

Ever since ethnic federalism was installed in Ethiopia, members of the diaspora have struggled when it comes to working together. The Ethiopian diaspora in the US is subject to social fracturing (Lyons, 2009) that may lead to the absence of meaningful and focused contributions towards the benefit of the homeland country (Hailegebriel, 2012). It is therefore important that a qualitative study utilizing an ethnographic approach be conducted in order to assess the perceptions of the Ethiopian diaspora in the US on the impact of ethnic federalism on social fragmentation within their community. The problem is that Ethiopian immigrants are bringing their ethnic prejudices to the US, thereby

creating challenges within diaspora communities and for human resource management and law enforcement.

Research Question

This study focused on the following central research question: What are the perceptions regarding social, political, and economic development within the Ethiopian diaspora community in the Washington DC metro area as a result of ethnic-based federalism in Ethiopia?

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative study was to describe the perceptions of the Ethiopian diaspora community in the US towards ethnic-based federalism in Ethiopia. Qualitative research is the best approach to use for this study as it supports advocacy and a participatory worldview that is committed to promoting public good (Creswell, 2009). Prior studies on Ethiopia's ethnic federalism have not analyzed its impact on the Ethiopian diaspora in the US. The focus of previous studies has been geared towards the advantages and disadvantages of ethnic-based federalism for Ethiopia. Perceptions of the diaspora community towards ethnic federalism have not been assessed which presents a gap in the research. In view of this, research has yet to explain how Ethiopian diaspora community members in the US perceive ethnic federalism. Therefore, this study addresses this research gap by documenting the perceptions of some members of the Ethiopian diaspora community towards the effect of ethnic-based federalism residing in an eastern city of the US.

Another aspect this study sought to explore was the socioeconomic and political situation experienced by community members of the Ethiopian diaspora who arrived to the US before and after the implementation of ethnic-based federalism in Ethiopia since 1991. The study gathered information directly from members of the Ethiopian diaspora related to their perceptions of economic, social, and political developments that followed the implementation of ethnic-based federalism in their country of origin. The study provided a deeper understanding of Ethiopian diasporas in the US in terms of their perceptions towards ethnic-based federalism.

Existing literature enlightened the nature of Ethiopia's ethnic-based federalism. Its impact on the members of the Ethiopian diaspora in the US is explored qualitatively through a face-to-face-interview approach. The use of interviews as a methodology enhances the originality of the research through a primary means of data collection (Creswell, 2009). Chapter 3 detailed the methodology and outlined the interview questions.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study was formed by two theories: the theory of ethnic federalism (see Balcha, 2009; Mehretu, 2012; Teshome & Záhořík, 2008; Turton, 2006), and the theory of diaspora (see Harutyunyan, 2012; Safran, 1991). The theory of ethnic federalism holds that ethnicity is the fundamental organizing principle of a federal system of government for countries where citizens are composed of different ethnic groups (Turton, 2006). Turton (2006) argued that ethnic federalism should be applied if the country is multiethnic and there is no alternative to some other form of

federal system for that country. Ethnic-based federalism was the basis for the

organization of the former Soviet Union and was also associated with the Leninist model

of federalism (Teshome & Záhořík, 2008). The formation of ethnic federal states in

Ethiopia is considered as an experiment in the application of the theory of ethnic

federalism (Turton, 2006) and has become the main point of debate between supporters

and opponents of ethnic-based federalism from 1991 until the time of this proposal.

The theory of diaspora also formed part of the theoretical framework of this study.

The features of this theory include involvement of diaspora community members in

different affairs of the country of origin, interest in returning to the home country, the

presence of networking among ethnic groups or members of communities, and

sentimentality toward the homeland (Harutyunyan, 2012; Safran, 1991). This study is

therefore enlightened by Safran's classical theory of diaspora and Harutyunyan's more

recent framework. The key diaspora features outlined by the theory of diaspora are

reflected within the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the US. Therefore, the use of this

theory will enhance the exploration of the socioeconomic and political situation of the

Ethiopian diaspora in the US in relation to the practice of ethnic-based federalism in

Ethiopia. Diaspora communities play a critical role in the economic, social, and political

developments of their respective homeland countries (Abate & Alamirew, 2013). As the

diaspora continually interacts with its homeland, there is a possibility of being impacted

by the political system of the homeland country.

The link between the theory of ethnic federalism and the theory of diaspora

helped to create the overall conceptual framework for the study of Ethiopia's ethnic-

based federalism in reference to its diaspora in the US. The conceptualization of the two theories is further discussed in Chapter 2. In addition to the two theories, several studies about federalism with greater emphasis on ethnic-based federalism were utilized. Federalism is a system of government with an organized self-rule system that shares authority between the states and central governments (Balcha, 2009; Cameron & Falleti, 2005). Regardless of its shapes and forms, the ideal focus of federalism is self-rule and shared rule with the presence of distinctive elements like regional representation, a minimum of two tiers of government, and the federal government and member state governments participating in decision making (Balcha, 2007).

Operational Definitions

Asylee: An alien in the United States or at a port of entry who is found to be unable or unwilling to return to his or her country of nationality, or to seek the protection of that country because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution (United States Immigration and Citizenship Services, 2015).

Diaspora: Community that lives outside of country of origin and maintains a connection with the homeland through various activities such as politics, economics, and social (Pasura, 2011).

Ethiopian Diaspora: American citizens of Ethiopian origin and Ethiopian citizens legally residing in the US.

Diversity Visa Lottery: A program administered by the US Department of State that allows individuals to enter the United States and live permanently after winning a lottery (United States Immigration and Citizenship Services, 2015).

Ethnic Federalism: A form of federalism that establishes tribal states in a country based on their ethnic affiliations and the languages they speak (Mehretu, 2012).

Federalism: A system of government that focuses on self-rule and shared rule with the presence of distinctive elements like regional representation, a minimum of two tiers of government, and the federal government and member state governments participating in decision making (Elazar, 1987).

Refugee: Someone who "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country" (United Nations Higher Commission for Refugees, 2015, para. 3).

Nature of the Study

The nature of this study was a qualitative ethnography; interviews will be used to collect data. A qualitative method of research is helpful as well as essential to explore a complex problem statement that needs detailed understanding and cannot be best defined by quantitative data. Moreover, the qualitative approach gives the researcher the benefit of grasping the contextual setting of the research participants and provides flexibility in writing and presenting the research results (Creswell, 2013). Qualitative research generally starts with assumptions, world views, and meanings associated with human challenges. For this reason, qualitative research is categorized as a participatory worldview, advocacy, and constructivist (Creswell, 2009; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 2002). Such qualitative research promotes the well-being of the public,

participants, and researchers themselves (Creswell, 2013). In line with the participatory

worldview, the agenda of this research may promote the unity and social welfare of the

Ethiopian community in the US that is considered to be socially fractured due to ethnic-

based federalism in Ethiopia.

The ethnographic qualitative approach focuses on an entire cultural group. The

group can be small or large. It is a qualitative design in which the researcher describes

and interprets the shared and learned patterns of values, beliefs, and language of a

culture-sharing group (Creswell, 2013). Creswell (2013) added that ethnography helps to

study the meaning of behavior, the language, and the interaction among members of the

culture-sharing group. In doing so, an ethnographic study helped to better understand the

behavior and reactions of the Ethiopian diaspora community in the Washington, DC

metro area with regards to ethnic-based federalism that is being implemented in their

homeland**.**

Interviews are the most appropriate data collection method for qualitative

research, as noted by several researchers. For example, Janesick (2011) argued that the

interview is the most satisfying and no other method can compare with it in the case of

qualitative research. One reason for such a claim is that the interview gives added benefit

to researchers as it serves as a tool to increase their skills and knowledge. Such benefits

can be attributed to the open-ended nature of interview questions in qualitative research

where the interviewer can make adjustments based on the knowledge or skill level of the

interviewees.

For this study, I used face-to-face interviews as a means for primary data collection. The effort of identifying factors that contribute to the fragmentation of Ethiopian diaspora and the extent of fragmentation required an in-depth investigation which can be best addressed through open-ended interview questions in a face-to-face setting. Furthermore, face-to-face interviews provided the opportunity to observe social cues, read body language, and be flexible in interacting with interview participants who have different levels of education and life experience.

Assumptions

Assumptions not only establish the stage for research, but also play a critical role in guiding the research process. Simon (2011) stated that assumptions in a study are out of the researcher's control, but without assumptions, no study would make sense or become relevant. Simon argued that simply stating the assumptions is not enough, but one has to justify the probability of the assumption as it helps to move the research progress forward. There are three main assumptions made in this research. The first assumption was that the Ethiopian diaspora in America is fragmented and disunited as its members brought their tradition of separation along ethnic lines from their home country to the host country. Obsession to own ethnic identity creates a fertile ground for intragroup racism that may destroy national unity in the long run. The second assumption was that the Ethiopian diaspora in the US is constantly involving itself in the economic, social, and political situation of Ethiopia, the home country. The last assumption was that ethnic federalism has exacerbated fragmentation in the diaspora community.

Scope and Delimitations

Delimitations or the scope of a research study are specifications or boundaries given by the researcher in order to conduct the research in a controlled manner. Simon (2011) explained that delimitations are features that limit the scope and define the boundaries of a study and are always within the control of the researcher. Therefore, the research objectives, research questions, theoretical perspective, and the population of the research are all determined by the researcher. The criteria for selecting research participants and geographical location to conduct the study are key concepts in scope and delimitations of a research study.

Ethnic-based federalism in Ethiopia may have various impacts on economic, social, political, international, and domestic affairs. In other words, the research was very specific to the Ethiopian diaspora and the research results are limited to the Ethiopian diaspora in the US. The study covered only Ethiopians who are permanent residents of the US. Ethiopians residing in the US temporarily are not considered to be members of the diaspora in this study. Members of diplomatic missions or Ethiopians who are employees of the Ethiopian Embassy in Washington DC as well as the Ethiopian consulate in Los Angeles and New York City did not participate in the study as they are believed to be direct representatives of the home country. Ethiopian diasporas in Canada and other continents such as Europe, Australia, Asia, and Africa are not within the scope of this study.

Limitations

In qualitative research, data collection is a huge and complex task. The quality of data collected determines the quality of the research results. It is therefore important to understand and identify limitations that may arise in the research process in general and data collection in particular. Limitations are possible weaknesses in any study and like assumptions, they are out of the control of the researcher (Simon, 2011). Simon argued the time period during which the research is conducted and the possibility of non-generalizability of the research results are examples of limitations of research. In view of this, my research will have some limitations and such limitations should be described for the purpose of framing the scope of research.

The first limitation is that the study will not cover members of the Ethiopian diaspora residing in all US states. Although the Ethiopian diaspora is dispersed across various regions of the US, participants will come from the Washington DC metropolitan area where the majority of the Ethiopian diaspora resides. The Washington DC metropolitan area is home to more than half of the Ethiopian diaspora that also participates actively in their home country affairs. Thus, the generalizability of the research should be viewed from the perspective of this limitation.

The second limitation is personal bias. As I am a member of the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the US, there is a possibility for me to reflect my own views during and after the interview. However, I am aware of the potential influence of personal bias and will attempt to reduce or avoid its effect on the study. As there are polarized views among the members of the Ethiopian diaspora that mainly resulted from political party

affiliations, recruiting participants from opposing views may be difficult to accomplish. In order to alleviate this, the researcher will seek the help of respective community leaders and coordinate with their networks. Some mechanisms to be used for the control of such bias are discussed in Chapter 3.

Significance of the Study

The implications for social change as a result of this study are many. The results of this research may create a greater understanding about the Ethiopian diaspora community in the US. First, the recommendations made by the study may help the Ethiopian diaspora in the US to understand how to better work together towards a common goal of community development in America as well as in Ethiopia. Such a move made by the reconciled Ethiopian diaspora could facilitate social change within the social fabric of the Ethiopian people wherever they reside. Second, a unified diaspora could influence the undemocratic and totalitarian nature of the Ethiopian government so that democracy can flourish and the current social inequalities and human rights abuses can be minimized or avoided. Furthermore, a unified diaspora in America can better inform US foreign policy towards the country of Ethiopia, a strategic partner. Third, the results of this study could be helpful in key public service areas such as diversity training and law enforcement.

Summary of Chapter One

The people of Ethiopia are experiencing the pain of social fragmentation at home and abroad. This situation was exacerbated after the installation of ethnic-based federalism in 1991. At the same time, a larger influx of Ethiopian immigrants arrived in the US, forming one of the largest diaspora communities in the country. As churches, community organizations, and political parties of Ethiopian origin witness splits due to ethnic conflicts, many believe that the Ethiopian diaspora is also a victim of ethnic-based federalism that has been exercised by the current regime back home for the past two decades. The proposed study explored perceptions of the Ethiopian diaspora community members in the US on ethnic-based federalism. In so doing, the study attempted to investigate the extent of social fragmentation among the Ethiopian diaspora and outlined the causes. This chapter presented the introduction of the study and in Chapter 2, I analyze related literature. Description of the research methodology, the outline of interview questions, details of participants, and other relevant procedures are presented in Chapter 3.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explore the perceived impact of ethnic federalism on the Ethiopian diaspora in the US. In this chapter, I will review literature related to the concepts of ethnic federalism and diaspora, specifically focused on Ethiopia and its communities in the US. Diaspora communities play a critical role in the economic, social, and political developments of their respective homeland countries (Abate & Alamirew, 2013). They are becoming increasingly influential in the developments of their home countries and it is inevitable for such communities to be impacted by the governance systems in their country of origin. Lyons (2009) stated that increased globalization and modern communication has resulted in transnational politics as exiled groups and diaspora are making critical contributions to their respective countries of origin. Thus, the study of the Ethiopian ethnic federalism in relation to its growing diaspora in the US is relevant.

Chapter 2 of this proposal starts by explaining the two theories that provide the theoretical foundation for the research: The theory of ethnic federalism (Elazar, 1987; Herther-Spiro, 2007) and the theory of diaspora as presented by Safran (1991). In connection to this, a discussion of countries exercising ethnic federalism and their experiences followed by the overview of Ethiopia's ethnic federalism will be presented. This chapter will present a profile of the Ethiopian diaspora and provide information on the formation and development of the Ethiopian diaspora in the US. The relationship between the Ethiopian diaspora and its home country and how ethnic-based federalism

has affected it in terms of various intragroup interactions will be discussed. The political and social structures that emerged after the adoption of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia will be explored in the literature. More specifically, the major actors in the Ethiopian diaspora will be identified and their positions explained. The remaining sections of the chapter will present key reasons for social fragmentation within the Ethiopian diaspora in the US. In addition to the reasons for diaspora fragmentation, some events associated with deep and sensitive conflicts will be highlighted.

Literature Search Strategy

Several sources and strategies were used to locate relevant literature related to the topic. The Walden University online library databases were used as the main sources of literature for this chapter. The policy, administration, and security databases, as well as Academic Search Complete and ProQuest Central, were among the most used databases. Walden's e-book database, Google Scholar, and governmental and international organization web sites were also utilized.

The following key word search terms were used: *federalism*, *ethnic federalism*, *Ethiopian ethnic federalism*, *diaspora*, *diaspora communities*, *Ethiopian diaspora*, *Ethiopian Communities*, *Ethiopian community in the US*, *Ethiopian immigrants*, and *intragroup conflicts*. Most of the searches were conducted through title searches using the keywords. However, combinations of keywords that included long phrases were utilized occasionally. For example, Ethiopian ethnic federalism and its diaspora in the US, Ethiopian Immigrants in the US and their relationship, and the contribution of diaspora communities to their homeland countries were some of the phrases used. Such a strategy

greatly helped in filtering the search results. In general, the literature search strategy employed for this research has resulted in producing relevant articles that guided the overall study.

Theoretical Foundation

The theoretical framework for this research is grounded in two theories: the theory of ethnic federalism and the theory of diaspora. These two theories were used as lenses to guide the overall research. The origin of ethnic-based federalism is believed to be in Leninism that was used in establishing the former Soviet Union (Teshome & Záhořík, 2008). Conversely, the origin of diaspora theory has been associated with the dispersed Jewish people and was framed as a theory at the beginning of the 1990s (Safran, 1991). Although the theory of ethnic federalism helps detail the historical and current situation of Ethiopia and its people who reside inside and outside of the country, the theory of diaspora provides a global understanding of the Ethiopian diaspora in the US.

Although several studies have been conducted using the theoretical lenses of ethnic federalism (see Elazar, 1987; Herther-Spiro, 2007) and diaspora (see Harutyunyan, 2012; Safran, 1991) independently, this is the first to my knowledge that brings these two theories together to explore the relationship between diaspora communities and political theories exercised in Ethiopia. Such an approach will yield a deeper understanding of ethnic-based federalism and diaspora communities, and potentially creates a better engagement platform for the diaspora communities and their home countries.

In the 21st century, international relations that are economic, political, social, and cultural in nature can be better explained by conceptualizing two or more theories. In view of this, a comprehensive and practical explanation of how Ethiopian ethnic-based federalism relates to its diaspora in the US can be achieved by bringing the two theories together. Thus, the use of these two theories is critically important in order to answer the main research question of this study.

Theory of Ethnic Federalism

Before discussing the theory of federalism, it is helpful to explain federalism and how it is operationalized around the world. Researchers have defined federalism in many ways, for example: As a national division of power between regions and the central government (Watts, 1998), a form of government created by agreement (Odion, 2011), a political arrangement that brings different entities together under one system of governance (Elazar, 1987), a system of self-rule and shared rule where the territorial states and the central government participate in decision making through the electoral system (Balcha, 2007), and a constitutional political system that creates separate executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government at the subnational level (Cameron & Falleti, 2005). As reflected in these definitions, the existence of federalism as a political system demands member states with defined boundaries along geographical or ethnic lines, decentralized power, a mechanism that enables member states to influence the decision-making process at the central government, and separation of powers.

Federalism, as a form of governance, has become very popular. According to Cameron and Falleti (2005), federalism has become a social doctrine or a global outlook

since the mid-19th century. Today, 40% of the world's population lives in countries that are considered to be under a federal system. However, Schapiro (2007) claimed that depending upon the definition attached to it, somewhere between 40 and 80% of the world's population lives in the federal system. For example, federalism and the separation of powers are political philosophies used in the United States' government since its foundation and serve as the pillars of American democracy. For this reason, the special link between federalism and separation of powers is widely known to be a US model of governance (Cameron & Falleti, 2005). Furthermore, Synel (2008) argued that these two philosophies have proven essential to the US government primarily because they have kept the stability that the US government has enjoyed.

Several scholars have advocated for federalism. Synel (2008) asserted that federalism similar to that in the US reinforces regime stability and the rule of law. In addition, Cameron and Falleti (2005) concluded that federalism creates equality among peoples of a country on the foundation of unity and maintains diversity by bringing different political constituencies to a fair playing field. Thus, with the right amount of autonomy, federalism can promote democratic concepts throughout member states and encourage self-rule and shared rule but prohibits the central government to interfere in the affairs of member states. In connection to this, Rubin and Feeley (1994) indicated that leaders of member states are elected by local residents and retain a legally protected base which can help them to voice their opposition or support to the central government. In view of this, state authorities are not nominated or assigned by the party that is in charge of the central government.

From the explanations given above, it is understandable that federalism is a decentralized system of governance. Unlike a centralized system of governance, federalism promotes social capital, trust, and national networks that can improve the efficiency of society (Mazzone, 2001). Such promotion is made possible as the national government and state bodies coordinate various actions towards a common goal. Similarly, separation of powers helps governments by promoting social justice and avoiding corruption, inequality, and dictatorship. Synel (2008) argued that several democratic nations have slipped to dictatorship due to a lack of separation of powers. Therefore, federalism and the separation of powers can improve contemporary governance by encouraging liberty, freedom, equity, and human rights. These practices can lead to an improved democracy over time. In addition, federalism and the separation of powers can provide a check and balance on many aspects of democratic government. In general, the presence of the two systems increases the quality of governance through the realization of economic growth and better distributive justice.

The theory of ethnic federalism is, therefore, a theory that has federalism or a federal system of governance as its foundation, but which requires states to form their boundaries following the ethnic lines of their population. Delwiks (2010) argued that the main identifier for federal governance to be called either ethnic federalism or non-ethnic federalism is to evaluate how administrative borders in that country are designed. According to Delwiks (2010), if state boundaries are designed in line with ethnic groups and the languages they speak, that country is then governed based on the theory of ethnic-based federalism. This implies that the main feature of ethnic federalism is a formation of

federal states in a country based on their ethnicities and languages. Thus, the theory of

ethnic federalism dictates that nations should divide the territory of their administrative

states along ethnic and language lines.

Ethnic federalism as a theory is not a new concept. According to Herther-Spiro

(2007), the theory of ethnic federalism has its roots in international law and theories of

ethnic conflict. Several scholars have indicated that the theory of ethnic federalism was

influenced by the Leninist model of governance and had been widely practiced in Eastern

European countries such as Russia and Yugoslavia (Teshome & Záhořík, 2008; Turton,

2006). Although the model did not work, it seemed that followers of Leninism in eastern

European countries had tried to bring about international justice and equality through the

application of ethnic-based federalism. It is interesting to witness that those eastern

European countries and the former Soviet Union ended up disintegrated and were divided

into several nations some decades ago. Regardless of its history of disintegration,

Herther-Spiro (2007) still described the theory of ethnic federalism as a tool for the

prevention of ethnic conflict in multi-ethnic countries. Herther-Spiro argued that theory

of ethnic federalism is founded on a simple assumption that ethnic identity cannot be

avoided in the political arena.

The theory of ethnic federalism in African countries is rooted in the era of

colonialism. It is directly linked to the infamous "divide and rule" policy of British

colonialism. Before British colonialists arrived in Africa, people of various ethnic groups

lived in harmony under one nation. Once they arrived in Africa and in other colonies

around the world, the colonialists quickly realized that unless they dismantled the then

existing unified administration system, their colony would not survive. For this reason, they purposely created a federal type of policy that separates regions based on their ethnicity aiming to promote political disintegration (Burgess, 2012; Fiseha, 2007). Such governance was last seen in the Apartheid era of South Africa that ended in 1990.

Although colonialism has ended, its legacy has remained intact and has made it problematic for people to regroup under one cohesive government system and regain their trust with one another. Some post-colonial African leaders have tried to force their people to submit to a unitary system of governance which has led to prolonged wars and further destruction. At this point, political and social scientists started recommending an ethnic type of federalism hoping to achieve political integration in line with the principle of shared rule and self-rule (Elazar, 1987; Herther-Spiro, 2007). Those authors agreed that ethnic-based federalism in a postcolonial context attempts to resolve one of the problems that the colonizers created by promoting ethnic disintegration, but it has been suppressed by modern state formation in the name of national unity.

For countries that attempted to reinstall ethnic federalism, although the theory worked more or less the same during colonialism and after colonialism, the main difference lies in the motives of the implementers and their relations to the people of that individual nation. This is to say that colonizers were strangers from Europe who wanted to maximize their own benefit in the name of ethnic federalism, whereas post-colonial governors are raised from their own people and are trying to resolve conflicts and bring national consensus for common development. As stated by Herther-Spiro (2007), a country implementing ethnic-based federalism system gives ethnic groups of their

country a privilege of self-governance to become autonomous regions as per the rule of federalism. Erk and Anderson (2009) indicated that the practice of ethnic-based federalism can help countries to stay together by addressing issues of various ethnic interests. Similarly, Mirta (2001) argued that ethnic federalism helped ethnic minority leaders to advance to leadership posts of their country and strategically position themselves to advocate for their own ethnic groups as well as protect assimilation. Thus, ethnic federalism is a methodology that some countries try to balance differences and address ethnic conflicts within their own people towards the final goal of avoiding violence and session threats.

As stated above, the theory of ethnic federalism has many supporters. However, the theory has also entertained valid opposition from several scholars (Aalen, 2006; Abbink, 2009; Balcha, 2007; De Villiers, 2012; Dewiks, 2010; Frank, 2009; Mehretu, 2012; Mirta, 2001). Although better known as a supporter of the theory of ethnic federalism, Herther-Spiro (2007) warned that unless there is a fair sharing of power between the central government and ethnic-federal states, it is not possible for ethnic federalism to succeed. For this reason, Aalen (2006) argued that democracy rather than ethnic federalism is the crucial tool in managing ethnic conflicts. Alaen (2006) underlined that the presence of democratic government in a country is essential in order to stabilize the federal system of governance. In other words, democracy is a prerequisite for a successful ethnic federal system as any form of federalism cannot be genuine if it is played in the undemocratic political environment. The logic is as simple as this: a lack of democracy leads to oppression and oppression undermines self-rule and shared rule,

which are the basic values of federalism. The failure of ethnic-based federalism in the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia are examples for such an assertion.

Ethnic federalism as a theory has produced several arguments. Several scholars have argued that the theory of ethnic federalism destroys the common values of citizenship and is more likely to promote a secessionist agenda (Balcha, 2007; De Villiers, 2012; Mehretu, 2012). Generally speaking, the success of ethnic-based federalism can be challenged from two vantage points. First, the central government may resist releasing enough power to ethnic-federal states. Second, excessive regional autonomy may paralyze national unity leaving the central government powerless. Experience has shown that ethnic federalism alone cannot guarantee the peace and unity of a country, as has been the case in the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Both countries tried to apply the theory of ethnic federalism but ended up disintegrating into several independent countries.

In contemporary politics, Herther–Spiro (2007) pointed out Ethiopia and Iraq as the latest examples of countries that are exercising the theory of ethnic federalism. Herther–Spiro claimed that these two countries have tried to answer the question of power sharing by distributing political rights in their federal structures that have been established based on ethnicity. Ethnic federalism in Ethiopia is a little bit different from that of Iraq, as religious sects and ethnicity are aligned in the case of Iraq whereas religion in Ethiopia is a non-issue as it has crossed ethnic boundaries. Interestingly, the current image of these two countries in the eyes of the international community is tainted by civil war, sectoral violence, ethnic conflicts, mass killings, and the violation of human

rights (Herther-Spiro, 2007). As a result, the two countries are among the top 10 feeders

of immigrants to developed nations such as United States of America, Canada, Europe,

and Australia (United Nations Higher Commission for Refugees, 2015). Thus, whether

ethnic federalism will bring lasting solutions or not is yet to be seen.

Theory of Diaspora

The theory of diaspora provides a significant framework for understanding the

dynamics of immigrant populations around the world. Investigating the origin of the term

diaspora, before discussing the theory of diaspora, is essential for a better understanding

of the conceptual framework of this study. Prior to the 1960s, the term diaspora had been

in use to express the Jewish experience of dispersion around the world (Turner & Kleist,

2013). Linking the diaspora concept to expulsion, suffering, and trauma seems very

meaningful as ancient Jews and millions of refugees in the modern world have passed

through an arduous journey of resettlement from their homelands to countries of

resettlement.

It was not until the 1990s, that the concept of diaspora changed being linked to

expulsion, suffering, and trauma. Since that time, the term diaspora has been used in

several different ways as skilled migration and family reunifications have become major

contributors to immigrant communities around the world. Several researchers have

attempted to categorize the concept of diaspora either in reference to historical periods or

to the nature of the diasporas themselves. Pasura (2012) presented the following three

phases of the diaspora in relation to historical periods: classical diasporas that originated

during the middle ages, modern diasporas that were established since the seventeenth

century, and emerging diasporas that are still in the making. A more advanced

explanation of those phases of diaspora is reflected in the work of Reis (2004). He

discussed that although the classical diaspora and modern diaspora are primarily

associated with the ancient period and the era of slavery respectively, the emerging or

contemporary diaspora period started right after the end of World War II.

In a more pragmatic manner, Cohen (1997) has identified five types of diasporas

as victim, labor, trade, imperial, and cultural. Such a classification seems very easy to

understand as it is informative of the reason diasporas left their homeland. For example,

the contemporary diaspora is affected by the globalization and technology era, whereas

the causes of diaspora formations may include civil war, political persecution, economic

problems, a search for better opportunity, and other similar causes. Thus, the reasons for

leaving a home country for a contemporary diaspora are very different from that of the

classical and modern phases of diaspora. As the conceptualization of diasporas in phases

the historical periods, and type makes the concept more inclusive and clearly departs

from specific explanations such as the Jewish dispersion and slavery. Turner and Kleist

(2013) saw such development as a proper move towards the creation of solid diaspora

theory that will help to explain the contemporary migration around the world in a more

inclusive and understandable manner.

Many scholars have analyzed and developed diaspora as a global concept.

However, it was Safran (1991) who successfully established a classical theory of

diaspora. In this groundbreaking theory, Safran (1991) outlined that for groups to be

recognized as a diaspora community, they must share some specific characteristics. The

characteristics that need to be shared are: they have been physically removed from their original homeland and scattered to another foreign land; they preserve a collective memory and myth about their original homeland; they feel alienated in their host country and not fully accepted by the host society; they regard their original homeland as their true and ultimate home where they would want to return one day in the future; they feel collective responsibility and commitment to the restoration of their original homeland; and they continue to relate individually and collectively to their homeland (Safran, 1991).

Two decades after the creation of Safran's (1991) classical theory of diaspora, Harutyunyan (2012) introduced additional concepts to the theory with more emphasis on ethnicity, unitary homeland, and global diaspora. This has created a conceptual framework which helps to better understand cultural identities as well as local communities in relation to diasporas. In this era of global interconnectedness, diaspora theory is not only limited to the historical periods or characteristics of diaspora communities. Apart from analyzing complex relationships among diasporas, their homelands, and their host countries, the theory of diaspora has become popular in conceptualizing international migration, transnationalism, political conflicts, international diplomacy, policy making, economic development, and foreign currency remittance (African Union, 2005; Turner & Kleist, 2013; World Bank, 2011).

Diasporas have become active players in many aspects of their homeland affairs. Davies (2012) argued that diasporas have brought changes in the cultural, social, and economic settings of their respective homelands but success differs from one region to another. Davies stated that diasporas are not effective development agents in African

settings as compared to other regions. Although its effectiveness varies from one region to another region, it is safe to conclude that diasporas have simply become the development agents of their homeland countries. What makes diasporas assume this important role of development agent for their respective homeland is explained by the theory of diaspora. It is true that diasporas live far away from their homeland but this separation seems physical rather than emotional. In view of this, the diaspora are continuously interacting with their homeland and affecting economic, political, social, and cultural aspects.

Diasporas are playing a significant role in policy making. A recent study showed that diasporas have become dominant actors in development policy making throughout the world (World Bank, 2011). The study underlined that the prominence of diasporas towards policy making in key areas such as political economy, global security, human rights, and democracy dramatically increased after the end of the Cold War as well as in the aftermath of 9/11. Since most diaspora communities are relatively stronger in the western countries, their role as promoters of liberalism cannot be underestimated. As a result, it is not uncommon to see that some diasporas are in conflict with their homeland countries that do not welcome the values of liberalism. Thus, it is such friction that ultimately brings social change in many countries around the world.

Globalization and conflict resolution are being shaped by diaspora movements. Lyons (2006) explained how globalization through decreased cost in travel and communication is helping diasporas to develop and maintain effective relationships with their homeland while making new lives in their host countries. Lyons (2006) stated that

some diasporas residing in western countries were created as a result of conflict. This is

particularly true for most African and Asian diasporas residing in Europe and North

America as the main reason for their dispersion was civil war. As the theory of diaspora

explains, these groups of the diaspora aspire to return home in the future when the

conflict has ended. For this reason, they can be taken as important stakeholders in the

process of conflict resolution in their respective homelands. However, Lyons (2006)

indicated that due to their past history of involvement in conflicts in their homeland,

diasporas might be more confrontational and unable to easily compromise. Therefore,

considering such dynamics in any attempts at conflict resolution between diasporas and

their respective homelands might be helpful.

Positive or negative, the role of diasporas in relation to the conflict in their

homeland is gaining international recognition. Roth (2015) argued that diasporas provide

a new perspective towards ending civil war and therefore should be viewed as a separate

player with their own associated motives. As an example, Roth (2015) mentioned how

the Irish, Kurdish, and Somali diasporas have contributed to a new approach to handling

conflict that is international in nature. It appears that as the Irish and Kurdish diasporas

have affected European and Middle Eastern conflicts respectively, the Somali diaspora is

doing the same on the African continent. Thus, no one should undermine the critical role

of diasporas which is becoming international and progressive in nature.

The role of diasporas in African countries is bringing long-term effects on the

continent, but this is not happening in a smooth manner. The experiences of Zimbabwe

and Ethiopia provide examples. Displaced Zimbabweans' efforts to bringing peace and

development to their homeland have them sandwiched between the politics of their host and homeland countries (McGregor & Primorac, 2010). Zimbabwean diasporas have struggled with many difficulties adjusting their new lives in their host countries while trying to initiate social change in their homeland. Some of these changes and difficulties are ongoing political crises in the homeland and a challenge to form a strong union in the host country.

Members of the Ethiopian diaspora have had similar experiences once leaving their homeland. Lyons (2006) studied how the Ethiopian diasporas in North America are interacting with their homeland and outlined some of the ways they are doing so. According to Lyons, the current relationship between the Ethiopian diaspora and its homeland is mostly characterized by supporting individual families through remittance and involvement in political conflicts with the government that has been in power for decades.

Regardless of the rough relationship between some African countries and their respective diasporas, the Office of African Union has been trying to reframe diaspora through a unique form of diplomacy. In view of this, the African Union has recognized African diasporas as the sixth region in Africa by adding it on top of the existing five regions of the continent (African Union, 2005). The African Union which is formed by 54 independent African nations has also constructed its own definition of diaspora that views diasporas as people of African origin residing outside the continent with the willingness to support ongoing development efforts of their homeland. Following this reframing of the African Union, several governmental and non-governmental institutions

have been formed by various member states and the African Union itself, targeting the African diasporas around the world.

For diaspora communities that are generated by forms of migration other than war and conflict, the leadership of the home country plays a critical role in framing the role and involvement of diasporas. In view of this, the government of Mexico has been mentioned as a good example in the literature. In a speech on November 3, 2011, the then President of Mexico, Vicente Fox, referred to the Mexican diaspora in the US as "23 million beloved Mexican heroes, 23 million Mexicans living and working in the US" (Kunz, 2012). Such friendly tone has paved the way for Mexican emigrants to become developmental agents and business entrepreneurs as well as to be branded as part of the solution rather than the problem in their homeland as well as the host country (Kunz, 2012). The approaches taken by the African Union (African Union, 2015), as well as the Mexican government (Kunz, 2012), have become instrumental in mobilizing diasporas not only for remittance and investment but also an idea and knowledge transfer in relation to democratic governance. There is no doubt that such an approach will change the governance style of many countries around the world as the international prominence of diaspora increases over time.

The concept and theory of diaspora have become so versatile that its usage and application is gaining acceptance across disciplines. For this reason, Turner and Kleist (2013) commented that in addition to its theoretical application, the emergence of diaspora as an independent category has helped policymakers in the following bodies: international organizations, financial institutions, international development agencies, aid

organizations, governmental organizations, and non-governmental organizations. There are still more actors such as religious institutions and lobbyists who are benefiting by operationalizing the diaspora concept. With regards to homeland politics, numerous authors have identified diasporas as either staunch supporters or fierce opponents of governments in their homeland countries (Davies, 2012; Lyons, 2006; McGregor & Primorac, 2010; Roth, 2015). Whereas the Jewish diaspora is an example of the former, the Ethiopian diaspora is mostly mentioned for the later. The next topic will discuss themes and concepts pertinent to this research as they resulted from the literature review.

Literature Review: Related Concepts and Variables

This section starts with a detailed explanation of the specific features of ethnic federalism and continues to uncover what Ethiopian ethnic federalism looks like. In view of this, the experience of several countries with regards to ethnic federalism is presented. The reason why ethnic federalism has failed or succeeded is also explained. Then, a detailed overview of Ethiopian ethnic federalism including the advantages and disadvantages to the Ethiopian people inside and outside of the country follows. In addition, the Ethiopian diaspora in the US is conceptualized through the lens of Ethiopian ethnic federalism. Lastly, the relationship of the Ethiopian diaspora with its homeland is discussed.

The Features of Ethnic Federalism

In the previous section, ethnic federalism was described as a form of federalism composed of ethnically organized states. It is also noted that ethnic federalism shares some features with territorial or geographical federalism. For example, it tries to exercise

a self-rule and shared rule where the states and the central government participate in decision making through the electoral system (Balcha, 2007; Elazar, 1987). However, there are distinctive features of ethnic federalism that deserve proper analysis. This section will explain some of the key features of ethnic federalism.

Federalism as a system of governance is a global practice. It is exercised around the world. Hanley (2014) explained that federalist countries are found in all regions of the world and range from small to large as well as poor to wealthy. However, the underlying causes and the methodology followed to form the federations differ from country to country. Countries may take two different forms to establish a federal government system: *coming together* and *holding together.*

Coming together is the formation of a federal country by pooling independent states with the objective of attaining security or economic prosperity (The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2014). Coming together federalism is practiced by countries that were originally separate and then decided to join together without giving up their political powers. The main reason for their coming together to form federalism is to become powerful, protect themselves from common enemies, and to build an economically powerful country. Coming together federalism, which is practiced in US, Canada, and Australia is mainly arranged to prevent minorities from the domination of majorities (Hanley, 2014). With regards to the US, Hanley (2014) stated that the original 13 states started the coming together form of federalism and the rest were created by Congress under its power to create new states. Hanley (2014) added that the European Union is heading to a pure form of coming together federalism.

Holding together is the creation of federal political order in a unitary state by delegating power to territorially clustered groups (The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2014). This kind of federalism is formed as a means of conflict reduction in ethnically diversified countries by enabling each ethnic group to manage their own affairs without intervention from the central government. Holding together federalism, which is practiced by countries like India, Belgium, South Africa, and Spain, is designed to grant member states sovereignty based on language or ethnic lines (Hanley, 2014). According to Hanley (2014), India is a classic holding together Federation because many of its current states did not exist when the country became independent in 1947, but rather have been created over the years in efforts to resolve various conflicts. Based on such an explanation, it seems that ethnic federalism is more of a holding together than a coming together form of federalism.

In multi ethnic countries, assimilation is always a concern as dominant ethnic groups tend to promote a centralized form of government. Such a tendency creates ethnic conflicts in many countries. In view of this, Adegehe (2009) argued that the adoption of ethnic federalism can serve as an instrument to manage ethnically diverse countries (Adegehe, 2009). The expectation is, therefore, that the principle of ethnic federalism that recognizes cultural and ethnic pluralism shall minimize ethnic tensions and conflicts.

As the main foci of ethnic federalism are ethnicity and language, the best way to determine the nature of a country's federalism is to observe if state boundaries are designed in line with ethnic groups and the languages they speak. Many scholars have stated that the boundaries of member states in ethnic federalism are formed by following

the ethnic or language lines or both (De Villiers, 2012; Herther-Spiro, 2007). Ethnic federalism is therefore charged with identity rather than the nationality of individual citizenship. Supporters of ethnic federalism believe that federalism based on ethnicity and language is convenient to handle conflicting ethnic groups as political power is decentralized to each group in the country. In other words, the idea of identity-based federalism is taken as a fundamental solution to conflicts among groups in a country. Thus, federalism based on ethnicity is taken as an enabling factor in order to bring solution in governance systems by granting political rights based on ethnicity and language.

In ethnic federalism, what matters most is group rights, not individual rights. According to Frank (2009), ethnic federalism promotes group rights instead of individual rights. People surrender their individual rights to their ethnic rights and the agenda is the right of the ethnicity as a whole instead of an individual citizen. However, without the effective guarantee of the primacy of individual freedom, group equality is meaningless.

Ethnic grouping or formation of ethnic boundaries is one of the main features of ethnic federalism. This implies that countries governed by the system of ethnic federalism differ in terms of how ethnic groups are distributed throughout the country. In some countries, it is possible that ethnic groups are scattered all over the territories causing a challenge for the arrangement of ethnic federalism. In view of this, Dewiks (2010) argued that the more similar the ethnic groups concentrated in one state or boundary the more effective ethnic federalism becomes. Thus, the effectiveness of ethnic

federalism in a given country might depend on how densely ethnic groups are settled across the ethnic federal states.

The idea that ethnic identity cannot be avoided from political movements served as a foundation for ethnic federalism. When the concept of conflict resolution is added to such an idea, political scientists are tempted to endorse ethnic federalism to a multi-ethnic country. The main reason behind this thinking is that federalism enables political power sharing among ethnic groups through the principle of self-rule and shared-rule (Elazar, 1987). In view of this, the impact of ethnic federalism on multi-ethnic federalism is crucial and the formation of federal states in a country based on ethnicity is one key feature of ethnic federalism.

In ethnic federalism, each ethnic group has its own ethnic homelands that are named after each ethnic group and serve as the basis for administrative divisions or regions. As a result, political parties in ethnically federalized countries are formed along ethnic lines (Abbink, 2009; Balcha, 2007). However, ethnic politics or forming federations based on ethnic groups is a nightmare scenario for some African countries as they have passed through the pain of divide and rule policy by the colonialists. Thus, although some multi-ethnic countries such as Uganda, Rwanda, and South Africa, adopt federalism, their constitutions prohibit the formation of ethnic-based political parties (Gebreselassie, 2003). Those countries created laws that prohibit the formation of ethnic-based federalism not only because they fear that ethnic-based politics will undermine citizens' commitment to their respective countries, but also because they did not want to

remember past traumas of ethnic divisions that had been deliberately installed by colonialists.

Ethnic federalism provides ethnic groups the right to administer themselves, exercise a greater degree of command over their own resources, and maintain their own cultures and languages. As political power is decentralized to ethnic groups and the national economy is mostly distributed on the basis of an ethnic formula, ethnic federalism is believed to be an appropriate system of governance for multi-ethnic, multilingual, and multi-religious society. On the other hand, Dewiks (2010) argued that giving ethnic groups their own federal units provides them with resources that they can use to promote secessionist agendas. Frank (2009) added that once ethnic politics is allowed in a country, people may start playing ethnic identity cards in their political, social, and economic lives. Therefore, one can conclude that opening doors to secessionist agendas are a peculiar feature of ethnic federalism.

There are some preconditions for successful ethnic federalism. Democracy, genuine federalization, and economic strength are the main ones. Dewikc (2010) argued that most failed ethnic federalisms such as the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia were pseudo-federalisms that were forced to live together. In other words, democracy was absent in these ethnically federated countries. In the absence of democracy, there is no representation and dialogue, and ethnic groups are encouraged to take their own paths rather than working for the common interest of the central government. Thus, ethnic federalism is more likely to flourish if there is representation

and participation of different groups in the country or if democracy is being practiced within the federal government.

Several other attributes to ethnic federalism are found in the literature. Gebreselassie (2003) outlined that ethno-nationalism; the values of community and equality, and political legitimacy are the driving forces behind ethnic federalism. Gebreselassie (2003) explained that ethno-nationalism requires politics and ethnic boundaries to correspond, and calls for people of the same identity to exercise their right to self-rule. Thus, arranging ethnic and political powers in one boundary promotes the societal values attached to that particular community. Additionally, such an arrangement ensures an individual's loyalty to the ethnic group and improves the psychological well-being of members within respective ethnic communities.

Ethnic-based federalism, similar to geographic territory-based federalism is adopted with the objective of decentralization and distribution of power from the central government to the states, but without denying enough power to the central government to control its states. In addition, ethnic-based federalism allows each ethnic group self-determination in multi-ethnic countries within their own ethnic boundaries. In this context, self-determination refers to the right of ethnic federal states to establish institutions of government in its own territory and exercise self-rule without jeopardizing shared rule. On the other hand, some multi-ethnic federal countries such as South Africa have achieved self-rule and shared rule by fully recognizing the cultural and language rights of the ethnic groups (Gebreselassie, 2003). This illustrates that if adopted and managed democratically, ethnic-based federalism may work in the same way as

geographic territory based federalism, as it unites different ethnic groups within a political system that maintains national integrity.

Ethnic federalism mostly ignores other models than ethnicity when it comes to community organizing. There are, however, important organizing factors such as professionals, women, youth, elders, immigrants, etc. that do not necessarily follow ethnic lines. In support of such an assertion, Fraser (2000) argued that the status model of organizing is better than the identity or ethnic model, as the identity model complicates the struggles within social groups for authority and representation. Fraser (2000) further explained that the status model provides recognition based on the status of group members instead of group-specific identity, and also fosters economic equality across ethnic groups in a country.

In ethnic federalism, ethnicity is considered a fixed concept and associates political and economic resources with ethnic identity. Thus, ethnic federalism cares less for the creation of an overarching identity and trust that could bring a commitment to a common citizenship. As Frank (2009) articulated, the concept of ethnicities as fixed identities and its politicization leads to the creation of ethnic essentialism. Such developments in ethnically federated countries may create irregularities in their political systems.

Countries with Experience of Ethnic Federalism

There are numerous languages and ethnic groups in the world. Kymilicka (1995) documented that the 184 independent states in the world contain about 600 living languages and 5,000 ethnic groups. Such wide diversity needs to be handled properly if

respective leaders of each country want to see development and prosperity for the people they administer. There is a general agreement that considers federalism as a useful system for managing diversity in a better way. In view of this, some people believe that ethnic federalism is a more favorable form of federalism for handling ethnically diversified countries.

Federalism is a well-established system of governance used by many countries around the world. According to Hanley (2014), out of the world's close to 200 countries, there are about 25 countries that are administered by a federal system of governance, which amounts to only 13% of the countries but accounts for 40% in terms of the world's population. In literature, most federal countries are mentioned as democratic countries. Stephan (1999) observed that the six long-standing democracies that also show the highest score on an index of linguistic and ethnic diversity – India, Canada, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain, and the United States - are all led by the federal systems of governance. This shows that there is a strong association between democracy and federalism as these countries are the most successful federations as well as durable democracies.

The use of federalism as a system of governance emerged after the collapse of European colonialism and World War II, leading many Asian and African countries to adopt it (Watts, 1994). A number of those post-colonial federalisms failed during their earliest stage, except for India, Malaysia, and Nigeria. When the Cold War ended at the beginning of the 1990s, federalism reinvented itself as the preferred instrument for

handling problems in multi-ethnic countries, regardless of the disintegrations in the former eastern European countries such as Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

As several authoritarian regimes collapsed, right after the end of the Cold War, scholars and international powers continued to recommend federalism as a nation-building project for the failed states (Adegehe, 2009). In view of this, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Russia, and Ethiopia have reconstructed themselves as ethnic federal countries at the beginning of the 1990s, and Iraq followed in 2003. Additionally, there is an ongoing call for war-torn countries such as Somalia and Sri Lanka to adopt ethnic federalism as their system of governance.

As the acceptance of federalism has increased, there is a question of what type of federalism is appropriate for those countries affected by ethnic conflicts. In the literature, federal countries are classified into two main categories: national (mono-national), and multinational (ethnic) federations. The classification is mainly on the basis of the recognition of ethnic and linguistic diversity. Thus, federal countries that ensure territorial power sharing, but which do not recognize ethnic and linguistic identities are referred as national/mono federations. Those countries that not only recognize ethnic and linguistic diversity but which also reflect them in their ideology and structures are ethnic federations (Adegeh, 2009).

Most of the longstanding federations such as the US, Australia, and Germany that were formed through the coming together of states, and which previously existed as independent nations, are examples of national federalism. On the other hand, India, Switzerland, Canada, Belgium, Nigeria, and Ethiopia are multinational or ethnic

federations that hold their states together. A brief overview of multi-national or ethnic federal countries such as Nigeria, South Africa, Iraq, India, Canada, Switzerland, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union are presented in the next paragraphs.

Nigeria is the largest African nation located on the west side of Africa. With a total population of 120 million composed of 250 ethnic groups, it is a multi-ethnic country with a long history of multicultural federalism that committed itself to ethnic pluralism (Burgess, 2012). What started with three federally designed regions in 1960, has increased to thirty-six federal states in Nigeria in1996 (Burgess, 2012). Burgess underlined that the current federal system of Nigeria highly discourages the formation of federal states along ethnic lines and it makes sure that ethnic group and state demarcation does not correspond. In view of this, Nigeria's solution to the ethnic conflict was to reconfigure its 36 federal states in a way that prohibited ethnic, tribal, or religious dominance in each of these units.

South Africa had Apartheid rule until 1990 and established a multi ethnic federation after the collapse of Apartheid. It has 12 official languages with several ethnic tribes or groups. Fisseha (2010) argued that although post–Apartheid South Africa is a multicultural federation, the use of ethnicity to demarcate states and referring ethnicity for political use is not allowed. Because of its ability to overcome the apartheid legacy, the multi-ethnic federalism of South Africa is considered successful. Although it does not require ethnicity as a prime principle of organizing the nation's politics, the South African multicultural federalism is pragmatic and focuses on a preventive approach

toward ethnic diversity (Fisseha, 2010). It seems that the South African multi-ethnic federalism has created a new South Africa that belongs to all of its citizens.

Iraq was a non-federal unitary state until the second Gulf War which is also known as the American Invasion of Iraq. In 2005, after the war had ended, the country upheld a new constitution that significantly reduced the power of the central government and transferred more power to the regions (Herther-Spiro, 2010). It also guaranteed a democratic and parliamentarian form of government that created three main federal regions that were formed along ethnic and religious lines: Kurdish in the north, Arab Shi'a in the south, and Arab Sunni in the central part of the country (Herther-Spiro, 2010). Iraqi's ethnic federalism is complicated as religion is an added factor; although the Iraqi ethnic federalism is not guaranteeing secession to ethnic states.

India is a prime example of a successful ethnic federal state. In 1950, the Constitution of India established a multi ethnic federal union that constitutes 28 states and seven territories. Hanley (2014) stated that India is the classic example of a working federalism, a strategy of ethnic-based federalism that helps as a coping mechanism in the midst of ethnic division. Because of its massive overpopulation, poverty, illiteracy, and multi-ethnic makeup, some scholars did not expect India to survive in the early ages of implementing the federal system of governance in the country (Mirta, 2001). India's ethnic federal system is tilted to the center but is flexible in helping the country to cope with the modernization process and the ethnic nationalist mobilizations that have accompanied it.

Canada is one of the western developed countries that has been practicing ethnic or multi-ethnic federalism. Literature shows that federalism has been practiced in Canada since 1867 (De Villiers, 2012). Canada formally recognizes ethnic units and allocates political and economic power on the basis of an ethnic formula. Ethnic groups are integrated only in their mutual allegiance to a larger national government, and in the need to participate in a national economic system.

Switzerland is one of the oldest federal countries in the world. With four official languages, the country is known for its ethnic-based federalism that forms its states or cantons by following the ethnic languages spoken in the country. Swiss federalism started in1848 and was formed in the principle of holding together federalism (Mirta, 2001). According to Mirta (2001), the role of language is highly institutionalized in Switzerland and is perceived by its citizens as a cohesive factor instead of a threat to the identity and day-to-day lives of its citizens. Thus, Switzerland's ethnic federalism is praised by many as one of the most successful and long-lasting.

Yugoslavia as a country is now non-existent. The name Yugoslavia has been taken out of the list of world countries since 1992 when ethnic federalism in that country collapsed. When the communist regime collapsed during the early 1990s, Marshal Tito's arrangement to strengthen the country backfired and led to ethnic cleansing. Each ethnic federal state asserted their own ethnic territory and forced members of other ethnic groups to leave their territory. This situation led to a civil war that resulted in several war crimes and charges of genocide. Yugoslavia became five internationally recognized independent countries.

Similar to Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union had a constitution that allowed self-determination and secession. Many believed that the Soviet regime unconsciously encouraged ethnic nationalism that gradually transformed to state nationalism in each ethnically organized state (Adegeh, 2009). Soviet ethnic federalism was not a genuine federalism. One reason for this is the unity of ethnic-federal parts was maintained by the communist regime through coercion. This implies that there was no democracy in the union and both individual and group rights were not respected. When individual and group rights are not respected, a federal nation may not be able to provide the much needed overarching common values of the nation that fully recognizes its minorities. When the communist system collapsed in 1990, there was no responsible body to keep the federal system alive. Thus, the Soviet Union was disintegrated.

Reasons for Failure and Success for Ethnic Federalism

The brief analysis presented in the previous section displays that the performance of ethnic federalism varies from one country to another. Developed countries such as Canada and Switzerland are the best examples of successful ethnic federal countries. Among the developing nations, although India runs the most successful ethnic federalism, South Africa and Nigeria are praised for their uninterrupted and relatively stable ethnic federalism. The fate of the two newest ethnic federal countries – Ethiopia and Iraq – is not clearly known due to the fact that the former is repeatedly threatened by ethnic conflicts and the latter is currently entertaining religious and ethnic violence that has transformed itself into civil war.

On the other hand, it was observed that ethnic federalism has caused two giant countries, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, to disintegrate and be taken out of the list of countries. Most of the Eastern Europe countries are therefore the result of the disintegration of those two countries. Both Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union were communist countries and their ethnic federal constitutions granted self-determination and secession that eventually orchestrated their downfall. Rovny (2014) argued that communist ethnic federal states such as Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union had intended to create multinational states with a common socialist identity and had planned to control the politicization of ethnicity. However, the exercise did not succeed and ethnic federalism failed as the communist system collapsed.

Managing diversity by exercising ethnic federalism is a delicate matter. Mirta (2001) argued it should be understood that if a country decides to name its federal states by their respective ethnic names, that particular country is adding trouble to its menu of governance. Ethnic politics can sometimes engulf countries. Knowing the nature of ethnic politics, countries such as Nigeria banned the formation of political parties following ethnic lines (Burgess, 2012).

There may be several reasons that contribute to the success or failure of ethnic federalism. A closer look at the countries specified above reveals that democracy, the overall literacy rate of citizens, and economic status are the main determinant factors to the success or failure of ethnic federalism. Countries like Canada, Switzerland, and India enjoy successful multi ethnic or ethnic federalism because all three countries are among the best democracies with very high rates of literacy and strong economies. Whereas

communist ethnic federal countries such as Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union failed because they lacked democratic governance, had lower rates of literacy and suffered from weaker economies.

When countries lack democracy, their populations are not fully represented in their governments. If there was not full representation in the governments, it simply meant that members of various communities did not have the possibility of political discourse. For ethnically organized states like Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, the lack of such dialogue led to disintegration. Successful ethnic federal countries have the capacity to place law enforcement systems throughout the federal and state governments and also to install strong institutions such as the judiciary and electoral systems. Furthermore, competition for political supremacy among different ethnic groups, which is not visible in developed countries, is also a threatening factor for the stability and success of ethnic federalism in developing countries.

Overview of Ethiopia's Ethnic Federalism

Following the collapse of military rule in 1991, the new regime established a federal system by creating ethnic-based territorial states similar to the former Yugoslavia and USSR. The promoters of such a system justified that the main reason to implement ethnic federalism in Ethiopia was to defeat the Amhara hegemony, one of the ethnic groups that had played a key role in building the Ethiopian state under the banner of Pan-Ethiopian nationalism (Young, 2007). Such justification by the new regime disappointed millions as it was taken as an issue of tribalism instead of the real sense of federalism. The fact that the promoters of Ethiopia's ethnic federalism are political elites from the

Tigray region of Ethiopia, led the majority of the population to believe that the installation of the system was purposely made to satisfy the TPLF, the dominant party within EPRDF. It is also widely known by the Ethiopian people that TPLF had been aspiring for the secession of the Tigray region from Ethiopia.

The Ethiopian ethnic federal system is an extreme form of ethnic or multicultural federalism as it allows secession of ethnic states. According to article 39 of the 1995 Ethiopian Constitution, every ethnic state shall have the unrestricted right to self-determination up to secession. The inclusion of secession in the country's constitution has become the main source of controversy within the Ethiopian people both inside and abroad (Lyons, 2008). The controversy is even deeper within the Ethiopian diaspora communities residing in the US and other countries.

Ethiopia has changed politically since ethnic federalism was implemented. Ethnic federalism in Ethiopia was responsible for: partitioning of the unitary state of Ethiopia into nine ethnic-based territorial units, encouraging political parties to be organized along ethnic lines and imposing ethnic nationality or affiliation on each and every citizen regardless of their interest (Aalen, 2006; Habtu, 2003). As ethnic federalism became a way of life in Ethiopian politics, several ethnic groups that had not organized themselves based on ethnicity were forced to do so in order to fit into the new system. This led to a complete merger of ethnicity and politics where citizens were no longer allowed to support political movements promoted by members of an ethnic group different from their own. Ethiopians are now required to affirm their ethnic affiliation with one of the 84 ethnic groups existing in the country through their everyday interactions with

government offices and many other institutions. Categorization of citizens who were born

from parents of different ethnic groups was not clearly addressed in the system of

Ethiopian ethnic federalism. The issue of categorization brought instability to a large

number of Ethiopians as they fear disintegration of their country similar to Yugoslavia

and the USSR.

Pseudo-Federalism

Ethiopia's ethnic-based federalism has sustained criticisms from many directions.

For example, scholars such as Tiba (2011) argued that Ethiopian ethnic federalism is not

federalism at heart as the constitution on paper is much different from its implementation

on the ground (Tiba, 2011). Although they were created by the Constitution to exercise

self-rule and shared rule, the ethnically organized states in Ethiopia do not have the

power to do so. It has been indicated that high officials within the TPLF made political

decisions behind the scenes turning the role of state officials into a puppet government

(Tiba, 2011). Some scholars have argued that the Ethiopian government represents

federalism in appearance and centralized authoritarianism in substance (Aalen, 2006;

Mengistab, 2001). Specifically, Tiba (2011) argued that the current Ethiopian federal

system of government is a matter of form but not substance as it is a mere reversal of a

unitary system of governance which took hold during the previous two governments.

Furthermore, Tiba (2011) underlined that the commitment to federalism has to be

pursued full-heartedly or else it becomes highly questionable. Tiba challenged that the

Ethiopian Constitution is not like other constitutions in that it laid the foundation for a

stronger system but the framers believed that if the system did not work the ethnically

organized states could establish their own independent countries. Such an assertion from Tiba (2011) is supported by Article 39 of the Ethiopian Constitution that explicitly allowed self-determination up to and including secession.

On the other hand, there is a doubt that the current leaders of Ethiopia are actually implementers of Ethnic federalism. Mengisteab (2001) stated that ethno-federal states in Ethiopia are simply satellites of one powerful ethnic political party, TPLF, which authored Ethiopia's ethnic federalism. TPLF officials, who represent only one ethnic category, dominated key decision-making positions both at the federal and state levels. Such domination is very direct at the federal level and systematic and indirect at the state level. Mengisteab (2001) argued that the disproportionate political influence of the TPLF has made the government neither neutral nor representative of all ethnic groups in the country. Furthermore, Aberra (2016) argued that there is excessive control of administrative units by the central government and political parties governing the states have no freedom to decide on behalf of their own states. He added that ethnic federal states are highly dependent on the central government and there is a lack of legal protection at the state and central level as the house of Federation does not have enough power to do so. If there is no true representation of various ethnic groups or ethnically organized states, and excessive control of the federal body over its states, the country is being led by pseudo-federalism and the key players are not true federalists.

Following the introduction of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia, a new ruling ethnic elite has been created. There is a common perception in the country that Tigrayans are now the ruling elites as they are monopolizing federal political power and accumulating

resources for their own ethnic state of Tigray (Aalen, 2006). Such practice is contrary to the principle of democracy and genuine federalism and explains why one political party has ruled the country for the past 25 years. As explained earlier in this chapter, although the Ethiopian government justified the implementation of ethnic federalism as a way to handle ethnic conflicts in the country, the majority of the population now interprets it differently (Aalen, 2006). In view of this, the general agreement among the people is that Ethiopia's ethnic federalism is rather a divide and rule policy of the current minority regime originating from the Tigray region in the northern part of the country.

Although its structure takes the nature of federalism, Ethiopia's ethnic federalism is largely perceived to be Pseudo-Federalism. Aalen (2006) argued that although the Constitution allows for the decentralization of power to ethnic states, the central government controls the overall political situation throughout the country. Aalen (2006) added that the current political leadership in Ethiopia is authoritarian and lacks democracy regardless of its continuous claim of accommodating all ethnic groups in the country by way of ethnic federalism. The goals of the new constitution that championed ethnic federalism as a system of governance have not been realized in Ethiopian politics (Herther-Spiro, 2007). Herther-Spiro stated that regional and local autonomy is undermined and the movement and participation of opposition political parties, as well as activists, are restricted.

Ethiopia's constitution grants greater power to states so that they can run their own affairs, however, the central government controls key power and finances. Such behavior of the government was exposed in the aftermath of the 2005 national election

when the opposition won the election but its leaders were sent to jail accused of treason (Lyons, 2008). The military dominance of TPLF in the ruling coalition of EPRDF has contributed to many of the irregularities in the political, justice, and overall governance practices of the country (Aalen, 2006). Herther-Spiro (2007) added that due to a lack of administrative capacity of states, and systematic but indirect control of TPLF throughout the ethnic federal states, decentralization and power sharing could not materialize in Ethiopia. Thus, due to the military dominance of one ethnic group, Tigriyan, over the others in the ruling coalition party of EPRDF from the outset, Ethiopia's ethnic federalism lacks democracy and the distribution of true power among the ethnically organized states.

As explained in the above overview, Ethiopia's ethnic federalism is a controversial arrangement. The controversy is emancipated from the inclusion of the secession clause as indicated in Article 39 of the Constitution. On the other hand, scholars have tried to evaluate the merits and demerits of Ethiopian ethnic federalism at different levels since its establishment in 1991 (see Abbink, 2011; Habtu, 2003; Mehiretu, 2012, Tiba, 2011). The result of the evaluation showed that ethnic federalism in Ethiopia has both advantages and disadvantages. The following section explains the advantages and disadvantages of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia.

Advantages of Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia

Leaving the controversy aside, there is no doubt that ethnic federalism has brought some advantages to the people of Ethiopia. For example, ethnic federalism has helped Ethiopians to speak their own language in education and administration units. In

view of this, Habtu (2003) argued that ethnic federalism in Ethiopia has created

conditions favorable to ethnic and regional autonomy in language and culture as

evidenced by its application in administrative, fiscal, and judicial systems. Habtu (2003)

emphasized a major advantage of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia is that when people take a

case to the court they are able to follow the procedures in their own language whereas

previously the courts used one national language. In previous regimes, the country tried

to follow one official language in pursuit of the French model of governance, which was

not accepted by some sections of the country. Thus, the language and cultural policies of

ethnic federalism have helped various ethnic groups of Ethiopia to develop, promote, and

preserve its language and culture. Thus, all languages in Ethiopia are given equal state

recognition.

Ethnic federalism has changed the political system of Ethiopia. Desta (2015)

mentioned that ethnic federalism in Ethiopia has enhanced citizens' participation in

politics. Although democracy and free speech are not fully realized, the participation of

various ethnic groups in the country's political system has shown substantial

development. The overall benefit of wide political participation is not yet investigated in

Ethiopia; however, citizen participation in the political system is generally seen as a

positive thing.

Ethnic federalism has helped recognize and bring respect to the rights of

minorities in Ethiopia. Habtu (2003) stated that previously neglected and oppressed

minorities have gained confidence in themselves and have built their own administrative

units. Some ethnic groups who felt marginalized by the popular culture exercised during

the previous regimes have shown a sense of pride and equality. The pre-1991 regimes of

Ethiopia tried to adopt the French model and attempted to apply cultural homogenization

and the one-language policy. The centralization policy had been practiced during the 20th

century and collapsed in 1991. Ethnic federalism has helped Ethiopia to provide

sufficient comfort and confidence for minority groups in the country. Thus, minorities are

entitled to exercise self-government including their own institutions within their

territories, and representation in regional and federal governments to some extent.

Disadvantages of Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia

Ethiopian ethnic federalism continues to be a focus for researchers. The fact that it

is the only post-communist ethnic federalism that still exists, even though the

Constitution allows ethnically organized states to secede and become independent nations

any time they want, makes it a subject of interest to researchers Some eastern European

countries such as Yugoslavia and the USSR tried this arrangement but ended up

disintegrated. As a result, Ethiopia's ethnic federalism has been under scrutiny from

scholars and the general public. Many of these researchers concluded that although

Ethiopia realized improvements during the last two decades, such positive developments

have been overshadowed by the negatives (Aalen, 2006; ICG, 2009; Lyons, 2009). The

common reason given for such an assertion is the divisive ethnic hegemony created by

ethnic federalism. Ethiopia's ethnic federalism has been imposed by the TPLF, a militant

group that toppled the previous regime after 17 years of continuous civil war. Due to their

upper hand in the military, TPLF people did not allow much participation from other

ethnic groups, especially from the Amharas. In fact, the purpose of implementing ethnic

federalism was to weaken the Amharas, who in the past played a major role in building Ethiopia as a nation (Young, 1998). Thus, Ethiopian ethnic federalism is largely seen as divisive.

As discussed in the previous sections, the main reason for introducing ethnic-based federalism in ethnically divided countries such as Ethiopia is a strategy for conflict prevention and resolution. Apparently, the result of such a strategy in Ethiopia seemed not to work as several new ethnic conflicts have been brewing for the past two decades. For example, Balcha (2007) studied how ethnic conflicts are hurting the people in the west and southern part of the country. Some of those ethnic conflicts are new since the introduction of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia. Many observers commented that if such conflict continues unresolved it jeopardizes the country's unity and future developments.

Ethnic politics was legally established in Ethiopia since 1991. Following such institutionalization, ethnically organized federal states formed and political parties were highly encouraged to organize themselves along ethnic lines. Many scholars argued that such developments severely damaged national unity and common values of the Ethiopian people (Habtu, 2003; Tiba, 2011). It seems that the whole exercise of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia was grooming ethnic states for independent statehood (Tiba, 2011). In other words, the ethnic arrangement is increasing the risks of secession in Ethiopia as each ethnic group has its own latent state that may explode any time in the future. This is particularly true for those regional states that are large and resource rich.

Following the implementation of ethnic federalism, what one currently sees in Ethiopia is a kind of ethnic entrepreneurship where everyone is championing his or her

own ethnic enclave. Instead of building one country that respects diversity for all, what we see in Ethiopia is ethnic identity reimagined, ethnic conflicts increased, and economic and political benefits aligned to ethnic lines. Such reconstruction of ethnic identities in Ethiopia has created intergroup polarization (Debelo, 2012). Consensus among citizens has become hard to achieve and love for the common nation has greatly deteriorated. Ethnic groups are becoming increasingly attached to their own ethnic state where group ownership such as possession of constitutionally defined territory is developed. In view of this, some Ethiopians have experienced unfriendly treatment and even forceful eviction from ethnic states that they do not belong to. If a member of one ethnic group happened to reside in a federal state belonging to another ethnic group, he or she were considered an alien and severely restricted in participating in the economic and political affairs of the state. Therefore, ethnic federalism as the new political order of the country is driving most Ethiopians to glorify their own ethnicity, which is nurturing a toxic relationship among ethnic groups.

The establishment of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia has produced complex problems. Some of the problems include: unstable and fragmented ethnic federations that are surrounded by tribal conflicts, a seceded country called Eritrea which is now better known by many as an economically collapsed country with a one man dictatorship, a border conflict with Eritrea that consumed the lives over 100,000 people, erratic liberation fronts fighting for secession, jihadist insurgency in neighboring Somalia that brought military intervention at the expense of thousands of Ethiopian lives, and creation of military zones along the entire border between Ethiopia and many of its neighboring

countries (Mehiretu, 2012). Moreover, Abbink (2006) argued that Ethiopian ethnic federalism that created nine ethnic states or territories pushed the country into unknown waters with alarming consequences for all Ethiopians. Thus, ethnic federalism has seriously undermined Ethiopia as a country, its people as citizens, and damaged the integrity of the country's age-old collective identity.

Another disadvantage of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia is unequal economic development among the ethno-federal states. Since the federal arrangement was not genuine, equitable political power and revenue sharing among ethnic groups seem to be a challenge. Various studies have shown that because it restricted the movement of labor, capital, and knowledge; ethnic federalism is an obstacle to equitable growth and development in Ethiopia (Aalen, 2006; Mehiretu, 2012). If a person from one ethnic state wants to move to another ethnic state to establish a business or for employment that person will not be welcomed or able to do what he or she has to do to make a living. Speaking one's national language alone will not be helpful. Such a situation made the country's ethnic federal exercise highly fragile.

Social capital among Ethiopians has been severely compromised ever since ethnic federalism has been introduced. The Pan-Ethiopian identity that has been built over a thousand years has slowly evaporated as the new political system chose ethnicity over national identity. The overall perception is that one ethnic minority, the TPLF of Tigray, control the national government making it very difficult for the central government and its institutions to stay neutral and treat all citizens equally (Aalen, 2006). As the existing social capital among Ethiopian ethnic groups dismantled, many of the newly established

ethnic states issued orders of evictions against other ethnic groups who had been residing together for many years.

Ethnic cleansing is a product of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia. The regime that authored Ethiopian ethnic federalism promoted tribal or group rights but systematically marginalized national citizenship (Fiseha, 2006; ICG, 2009). Furthermore, Abbink (2006) stated that the new covenants tied to ethnic-based privilege paved the way for ethnic cleansing in Ethiopia. After the implementation of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia, ethnic Amharas who were living in various parts of the country have been deliberately marginalized and weakened (Mengistu, 2015). The Amharas were not only marginalized but also became a victim of ethnic cleansing as thousands of them were killed, looted, and forced to leave from some states such as Oromia, Southern Nation and Nationalities, Benishangul-Gumuz, and Gambella, although most of these people were born and raised in these regions (Shewakena, 2013). Such situations showed that Ethiopian ethnic federalism failed to bring its citizens together and created decentralized dictatorship throughout the country. Thus, ethnically organized states could not be inclusive of their fellow citizens for the mere reason of the difference in ethnic background.

Overview of the Ethiopian Diaspora in the US

The United States is home to several diasporas who resettled in the country throughout history. Diaspora studies, particularly the African diaspora, have gained increased attention in the US recently (Baser & Swain, 2011). Baser and Swain commented that the reason for the growing interest in diaspora studies is generally academic. Since ethnic federalism has been adopted as a system of governance in

Ethiopia, which is 25 years ago, the political, social, and economic life of Ethiopian diaspora has changed. A number of studies have been made focusing on the Ethiopian diaspora in the US (Chako, 2003; Lyons, 2011; Getahun, 2007). However, this study is the first to address and conceptualize the relationship between Ethiopian ethnic federalism and its relationship to the Ethiopian diaspora in the US, as far as the knowledge of the researcher is concerned.

Some studies of the Ethiopian diaspora in the US are highly informative. For example, Chako (2003) studied the identity of the Ethiopian diaspora, the remittances they send to their homeland, their social positions in the community, and the jobs and educational opportunities acquired in the US. Paul and Paul (2009) explained how the Ethiopian diaspora along with other diaspora groups have contributed to the well-being of US communities. Hailegebriel (2012) studied the interactions of the Ethiopian diaspora with the US policy makers and its attempt to influence the US foreign policy towards Ethiopia. Furthermore, DeWind and Segura (2014) described various efforts of the Ethiopian diaspora communities to inform the US foreign policy in relation to their homeland country.

The Ethiopian diaspora community is generally characterized as latecomers to the US. The record shows that the Ethiopian diaspora community started to settle in the US beginning in the early 1930s (Getahun, 2007; Hailegebriel, 2012). Getahun and Hailegebriel reported that the majority of the Ethiopian immigrants settled in the US in the 1970s and later. The main reason for coming to the US during that time was education. Although most of the visiting students returned to their country as planned,

some chose to stay behind and took the road to legal residency in the US. The choice of permanently settling in the US became popular among many students until now.

Living as immigrants in the US, Ethiopians are known for maintaining their unique culture both in group and individually. At the same time, they established continuous interaction with other immigrant groups and societies. Ethiopian immigrants are present in many large cities around the US but reside in large numbers in the following cities: the Washington DC metro area, Los Angeles, Seattle, Minneapolis, Boston, Atlanta, Dallas, and New York. Almost all large cities in the US have one or more Ethiopian restaurants that serve all Americans. Similarly, the Ethiopian Orthodox church has become part of the US religious community with increasing membership (Engidayehu, 2012). Thus, the Ethiopian diaspora has had a significant influence on Ethiopians residing in the US through their political, economic, social, and religious lives.

In summary, the recent and better-studied settlement history of the Ethiopian diaspora in the US dates back to the early 1970s. Such resettlement of Ethiopians to the US continued in large numbers after the passage of the Refugee Act of 1980, and the diversity visa lottery program extended to Ethiopia along with other third world countries. It is also interesting that the migration of Ethiopians to the US increases whenever there is a regime change in Ethiopia. This occurred at the downfall of the imperial regime in 1974, as well as the collapse of the military regime in 1991.

With regard to the size of the Ethiopian diaspora in the US, there are different estimates given by different members. It is believed that there are about one million

Ethiopians residing in the US. Despite the lack of information, one study estimated that around half a million Ethiopian diasporas call the US home (Haile, 2007). It is important to note that this estimate was made eight years ago. In contrast, the Migration Policy Institute (2014) stated that Ethiopian-born immigrants were the second largest diaspora group in the US next to Nigeria and that an estimated 251,000 Ethiopians and their children reside in the United States. It is not clear if the children were included or not in this estimate. Getahun (2007) estimated that the Ethiopian diaspora resettled in the US between the 1950s and 1990s to reach up to 350,000. Lyons (2011) commented the number could go up to 460,000 with particular concentrations in Washington, DC; Los Angeles; and New York.

Formation and Development of the Ethiopian Diaspora in the US

Similar to other immigrants, political and economic problems are the main reasons for migrating to the US. It, however, started in a friendly environment where US universities were accepting Ethiopian students all over the country. Ethiopia and the US have had a long-standing mutual relationship that dates back to 1903 (Getahun, 2007) and that served as a facilitator to educational and official visits between the people of the two countries. In view of this, several Ethiopians had pursued their education in US universities across the country.

A closer look into the immigration of Ethiopians revealed that the Ethiopian diaspora was formed from immigrants who have arrived to the US in different patterns of durations. According to Lyons (2011), the Ethiopian immigrants to the US arrived in the following three waves. The first wave of arrival was in the mid-1970s and composed of

people who were associated with Emperor Haile Selassie and his imperial regime. The

second wave was in the late 1970s and majorities were those who escaped the atrocities

of the military regime which is commonly known as the Era of Red Terror. The third

wave was in 1991 and comprised of Ethiopians who fled the country following the

implementation of ethnic federalism. Similarly, members of the Ethiopian diaspora can

be further classified as those who arrived before 1974 during the imperial regime, those

who arrived between 1974 and 1991 during the communist military regime from, and

those who arrived after 1991 following the coming of the ethno-federal regime. In order

to better understand the resettlement and composition of the members of the diaspora in

the US, these three eras of governance need to be taken into account. Whereas the first

and second waves of arrivals were mostly refugees and asylees, the last wave of arrival

included Ethiopians who arrived through the US government's diversity visa program, a

program of the US Department of States that distributes visas by lottery to

underrepresented countries. Those who arrived through the diversity visa program also

known as D.V. lottery are not necessarily political in their orientations.

Prior to 1974 or the Emperor's time, Ethiopians who came to attend US

universities used to return home right after completion of their education was complete.

As the political system of Ethiopia changed, the practice of students returning to Ethiopia

changed. The period between 1974 and 1991 was the military regime that caused most

members of the Ethiopian diaspora to come to the US (Getahun, 2007). Although some of

them wanted to return to their homeland following the regime change in 1991, their hope

did not materialize due to the aggressive ethnic federalism system of governance in

Ethiopia that promoted ethnicity over national unity. Since ethnic federalism came into effect in 1991, Ethiopians continued to enter the US in large numbers forming one of the largest diasporas in the area of Washington DC. Thus, the Ethiopian diaspora is largely composed of political asylum seekers who were forced to leave their country for political reasons. At the same time, the number of Ethiopians who evacuated from their home country due to economic problems has increased over time.

There were several compelling reasons for Ethiopians to flee their country. After the downfall of the imperial regime in Ethiopia, there was not much choice for Ethiopians except migration. This was particularly true for Ethiopian farmers as they took the option of fleeing to neighboring countries such as Sudan and ended up in the US for permanent resettlement through the United Nation (Keneally, 2011). Although economic problems driven by drought and famine was the main reason for Ethiopian farmers to migrate, political problems forced middle-class Ethiopians to migrate. As mentioned earlier, young Ethiopians who were sent abroad for education decided not to return against the hope of their government for them to contribute to the political and economic development of the country. The oppressive political system forced Ethiopian students to seek asylum in the US.

During the past 40 years alone, a large number of Ethiopians have left their country and resettled in the US. This trend has continued as thousands of Ethiopians arrive in the U.S every year. One can observe a number of factors as reasons for the displacement of Ethiopians from their country. Many of the migrating Ethiopians cited political and economic problems as the main reasons for their migration. In addition to

economic and political factors, education and the diversity visa lottery are reasons

Ethiopians migrated to the US (Teklemariam, 2005). For example, in fiscal year 2007

alone, 6,871 Ethiopians were admitted to the US through the Diversity Visa program

(Metaferia, 2009). Metaferia further indicated that few Ethiopians were granted the

special occupation workers H-1B visa to enter the US in the 1990s and never returned

home.

Activities of the Ethiopian Diaspora in the US

Literature assessing the activities of Ethiopian diaspora in the US is rare. Over the

last 20 to 30 years the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the US has been involved in

different forms of activities including political, economic and business, culture and

sports, and religion. Each of the activities will be explained in the following sections of

this chapter.

Politics. The first activity of the Ethiopian diaspora to be analyzed is politics. The

Ethiopian diaspora, similar to other diaspora groups in the US, has been engaged in two

main political activities: securing a proper position in the American system and

supporting political activities back home. In the political arena, members of the Ethiopian

diaspora have been performing different activities with the objective of informing and

influencing US foreign policy towards Ethiopia. In view of this, the diasporas tried to

promote issues related to humanitarian, financial, and political support from the US in

order to benefit their homeland. In addition to influencing the US foreign policy towards

their homeland country, the Ethiopian diaspora has been consistently criticizing the

current political system in Ethiopia. In doing so they used several websites such as

Ethiomedia, ECADF, Aiga forum, Ethiopian Review, Ethio-forum, and others to promote their ideas and heavily post political articles. In such political messages, the majority of the Ethiopian diasporas have consistently opposed the implementation of ethnic federalism in the homeland. Furthermore, Ethiopian diasporas in the US are highly involved in seasonal political activities back home such as elections and other current affairs. They prepare various publications and organize public debates that are conducted in major cities across the US. Through such activities, the Ethiopian diaspora has been trying to bring democratic change in the Ethiopian political arena. However, there are no tangible results so far (Hailegebriel, 2012). Many people agree that the main reason the desired change has not occurred is the fragmentation of the Ethiopian diaspora along ethnic lines following the implementation of ethnic federalism in their homeland.

Ethiopia is a strategic partner to the US in fighting terrorism in East Africa. For this and other reasons, the US government provides aid money directly to the Ethiopian government. According to some sources, the Ethiopian government is the third largest recipient of aid from the US government, next to Israel and Egypt (Paul & Paul, 2009). As the Ethiopian government continues killing and torturing its political dissidents, especially during national elections (Abbink, 2006), the Ethiopian diaspora has pressured the US government to revise its policy towards Ethiopia.

The Ethiopian diasporas have focused on issues related to human rights abuses of the current ruling regime and lobbied the US government to follow a strict approach against their homeland. Although some writers such as Paul and Paul (2009) applauded such activities of the Ethiopian diaspora as a good example of the role of ethnic groups

attempting to influence the host country towards their homeland, the US government never responded to the pressure in a meaningful manner. On the other hand, some humanitarian and international organizations such as the International Crisis Group (ICG), the Institute of Policy Studies (IPS), and Human Rights Watch (HRW), have given wide coverage to the issues raised through their publications and newspapers (ICG, 2009; HRW, 2010).

Economy and business. The second activity of the Ethiopian diaspora members in the US is related to employment and business. Compared to other non-English speaking diasporas in the US, members of the Ethiopian diaspora have an advantage in acculturating faster into the American workforce due to their relative competence in the English language that they acquired in Ethiopian schools before they resettled here (Chacko, 2003). English language is a medium of instruction in Ethiopian high schools and colleges. As it was mentioned earlier in this chapter, members of the Ethiopian diaspora are scattered around major cities in the US. They mainly reside in metropolitan areas of the US and make their living predominantly through their involvement in the service sector. A large number of the Ethiopian diaspora drives taxis, attend parking lots and gas stations, work in hotels and hospitals as maintenance personnel, work in health centers and are employed in government offices (Chacko, 2003). Chacko added that a lot of Ethiopian diaspora members are successfully running their own small businesses such as restaurants, liquor and convenience stores, gas stations, taxi cabs, and insurance and real estate agencies. Lyons (2011) commented that publications such as the Ethiopian Yellow Pages owned by a member of the Ethiopian diaspora are also helping Ethiopian-

owned businesses and professionals support one another. Furthermore, the Ethiopian diaspora in the US has created several non-profit and for-profit organizations and newspapers, websites, and blogs that are influential within the community and also broadcast a number of regular radio and two satellite television stations, namely Ethiopian Satellite Television (ESAT) and Oromo Media Network (OMN).

With regards to the restaurant business, one can observe that there is no single major city in the US that does not have an Ethiopian restaurant. In addition to being seen as a type of small business activity, Ethiopian restaurants in the US play a significant role in introducing and promoting Ethiopian culture for Americans and other members of ethnic diasporas. Ethiopian food is unique as its main ingredients are unique to Ethiopia. Dietarians promote it as a gluten free food which is perceived by many as a healthy option. Ethiopian food is authentic, aromatic, and artful with rich content of spicy stews and a variety of tastes. The communal type of dining experience has been influential in the US restaurant business. It has simply become the flagship of Ethiopian culture in the US.

Culture and sports. The third activity of the Ethiopian diaspora is cultural and social. The Ethiopian diaspora in the US has a strong organization that promotes Ethiopian cultural activities and provides an opportunity for Americans to interact with the culture. The name of the organization is called the Ethiopian Sports Federation in North America (ESFNA). It is a non-profit, tax-exempt organization established in 1984 in Houston, Texas with the vision of promoting amateur soccer and cultural events within the Ethiopian community in North America (ESFNA, 2012). Its goals include providing

positive role models for youth, promoting goodwill between the Ethiopian communities in North America, and creating a bridge where people from Ethiopia and North America can interact in a mutually beneficial manner (ESFNA, 2012). Sports, especially soccer, is the main activity used by this organization in order to achieve its goals.

The federation brings all Ethiopians across North America to one selected venue that rotates every year. It is a federation because it incorporates independently formed soccer teams in each major city in Canada and the US. Every year in the first week of July, the association selects a host city in the US and attracts more than 20,000 Ethiopian-Americans and other Americans to a week-long event generating millions of dollars in each host city. The association is non-political and non-religious. In addition, it plays an advocacy role for the respect of human rights, freedom of speech, and other democratic rights in Ethiopia.

ESFNA has been successfully entertaining all Ethiopians regardless of their religion and ethnic background for the past 30 years. Its role in the social and cultural life of the Ethiopian diaspora is priceless. It is sentimental, romantic, poetic, sportive, and community oriented. The annual tournament ESFNA includes about 30 soccer teams and attracts tens of thousands of Ethiopian diaspora who eagerly use the opportunity to renew old friendships, build solidarity, and listen to the speeches of selected public speakers and musicians (Getahun, 2007). The days of the first week of July are circled on the calendar of most Ethiopians who live in the diaspora. Ethiopians come from all over the world to celebrate the week of July Fourth in a selected city in North America to participate in the

grand event of ESFNA. There they watch soccer and celebrate their rich cultural heritage through music, dance, food, and costumes.

     Religion. The fourth and last activity of the Ethiopian diaspora to be discussed is religion. Generally speaking, Ethiopians are religious people. They are predominantly Christian, out of which the majority are Orthodox Christians. A good number of them are Protestant, and a few are Catholic. Islam is the second largest religion in the country. Such composition remains true both inside and outside of the country, which means the Ethiopian diaspora members are similar to their homeland when it comes to religion. A number of Ethiopian Orthodox churches have been established across the US. According to Engidayehu (2012), there are 28 Orthodox Christian churches across the US. He stated that these churches are reporting to the Holy Synod exiled in the US, and there are other churches that are affiliated and reporting to the Holy Synod in the homeland. Thus, it is not uncommon to find two worship centers or churches in almost all US cities where the Ethiopian diaspora communities worship. Such division among members of the Ethiopian diaspora community religious institutions indicates that not only politics but also religion is affected by ethnic-based federalism.

Ethnic Federalism and the Ethiopian Diaspora in the US

     In the previous sections of this chapter, it was indicated how Ethiopia is a nation that is highly diversified. There are 80 ethnic groups in the country that have developed common national, religious, and historical characteristics regardless of their ethnic background and the languages they speak. Such a Pan-Ethiopian notion, however, has been highly discouraged by the current government that chooses to implement ethnic

federalism as a system of governing the country (Habtu, 2003). Ethnicity and politics were forced to merge and the common national interest has been deteriorating over time.

The Ethiopian diaspora used to be known for its unified voice for their homeland. This has changed and Ethiopians now have a polarized view towards their political activities back home (Lyons, 2008). There are several Ethiopian political organizations that aggravate the fragmentation of Ethiopian diaspora members. Such political organizations are formed based on their ethnicity, leaving no room for national unity (Gebremariam, 2015). Its members strictly follow their ethnic lines in order to support their respective ethnic political groups. Observers agree that this is the result of ethnic federalism that has been in effect for the past 25 years in Ethiopia.

Ethnic federalism has affected every Ethiopian diaspora regardless of their common cultures and religious backgrounds. As ethnic federalism redefined Ethiopian politics and forced political organizations to be formed based on ethnic lines, Ethiopian religious organizations are affected accordingly. As a result, followers of Christianity and Islam have been fragmented according to their ethnic lines across the US wherever Ethiopians are residing. For example, Engidayehu (2012) stated that the Ethiopian Orthodox Church was officially split into two since 1991 when the ethno-federal regime came to power. Similarly, the heat of ethnic federalism and ethnic politics in the homeland country was felt by ESFNA and spilled over to the US diaspora in 2011 (Ethiopian Review, 2011). As a result, this association is now torn into two groups: one supporting the ethno-federal regime and the other critical to the regime. The two groups duplicate the same activity every year at the same time, dividing Ethiopians by political

orientation and ethnic background. Thus, ESFNA, once known to be the greatest unifier has now become a symbol of division.

Prior to the current Ethiopian regime, or before the implementation of ethnic federalism, there was no visible ethnic division among Ethiopians. Regional governments were demarcated geographically in the way that many ethnic groups coexist in one region or state (Mehiretu, 2012). Such governance, although it was not democratic, did not divide the country across ethnic lines or national interests. The situation changed as ethnic federalism came into play in Ethiopia. Hailegebriel (2012) noted that before the implementation of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia, members of the Ethiopian diaspora used to organize their events and perform their activities on the basis of a common national interest as citizens of Ethiopia. He added that the situation has changed now as almost all activities are organized along ethnic lines. Thus, one can say that ethnic politics has crawled to the Ethiopian diaspora in the US, forcing them to abandon their common interests of Ethiopianism.

The concept of organizing under one flag is becoming very difficult for the members of the Ethiopian diaspora in the US. Boiko-Weyrauch (2011) stated that ethnic politics has split members of the Ethiopian diaspora in Seattle, Washington where around 40,000 Ethiopians are estimated to reside. The writer commented that members of the Ethiopian diaspora in Seattle are negatively affected by the ethnic politics in their homeland although they live thousands of miles away. Furthermore, McGill (2008, p.1) stated that "as Ethiopia boils, members of its diaspora in Minnesota feel the heat." McGill

wrote that this is how ethnic federalism and ethnic politics have divided the one-time unified Ethiopian diaspora in that city.

The fact that the Ethiopian diaspora in the US is unable to come together under one national flag means the group cannot speak in one voice and exert meaningful pressure on policy and politics in the host country and homeland countries respectively. In situations like these, the Ethiopian diaspora cannot influence public opinion and frame issues through the use of public media. In view of this, Gebremariam (2015) argued that the common identity developed over the past hundreds if not thousands of years is now compromised due to the implementation of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia since 1991. The writer added that as ethnic federalism partitioned the nation of Ethiopia along ethnic lines, the diaspora in the US has been affected negatively. Such a situation is highly frustrating for the Ethiopian diaspora that is already facing the day to day challenge of acculturating in the host country. All in all, literature has shown that the political, social, economic, and religious activities of the Ethiopian diaspora have been negatively affected following the implementation of ethnic federalism in the homeland. As a result, members of the Ethiopian diaspora have developed their own perceptions towards ethnic-based federalism.

The Relationship between the Ethiopian Diaspora and its Homeland Country

The relationship between diaspora communities to their respective homeland is a key factor in diaspora studies. It is also one key criterion for a group to be categorized as a diaspora while living in a host country (Safran, 1991). While living far away from home in their host land, diaspora groups are trying to maintain their relationship to their

homeland. They come together under their common values, making every effort to acculturate in the host land and influence the political, social, and economic system of their host land (Paul & Paul, 2009). The strength of relationships may vary from one diaspora group to another. For example, Jewish diasporas are famous for the strong relationship they have to their homeland as they have shown unwavering support ever since the nation of Israel was created (Hailegebriel, 2012). Similarly, the Ethiopian diaspora in the US is intimately linked to its homeland and culture but has little affection for the government, especially to the current regime that imposed ethnic federalism (Lyons, 2011).

A closer look at the Ethiopian diaspora in the US revealed that assimilating to the US culture did not change their interest to participate in the political, economic, and social aspects of their homeland. Put differently, while acculturating to US society, members of the Ethiopian diaspora have maintained strong feelings toward their homeland. In view of this, members of the Ethiopian diaspora are seen forming political parties and organizing support groups and are able to extend their supports to the success of political parties in the homeland diplomatically, politically, and financially (Hailegebriel, 2012; Lyons, 2011). Lyons (2011) underlined how the participation of the Ethiopian diaspora was so great during the past two national elections in 2005 and 2010. During these two elections, most members of the Ethiopian diaspora had hoped to bring changes in the overall political system of the country, but their hopes have not materialized.

At an individual level, members of the Ethiopian diaspora are always in contact with their respective families. They do this by sending money from time to time. The remittance funds they send to family members also help the country in terms of earning foreign currency. For example, in 2012, the Ethiopian diaspora in the US transferred about $181 million and became the largest source of remittance for Ethiopia (Migration Policy Institute, 2014). According to Newman (2010), most diaspora groups are playing a key role in the economic development of their home country by their involvement in different business activities such as sending remittances and forming investment ventures. Such activities help the diasporas to further strengthen their ties to their respective homeland countries.

As a group, Ethiopian diasporas in the US have been trying to maintain their relationship with their homeland by organizing themselves under different associations such as humanitarian, political, and cultural groups aimed to promote cohesion among themselves. Groups such as the Ethiopian North American Health Professionals Association (ENAHPA) are responding to the poor health situation facing the Ethiopian people. According to Lyons (2011), ENAHPA is performing this by conducting distance education, opening training centers in the homeland, dispatching visiting surgical teams, and the collection of medical books and equipment. On the other hand, organizations like ESFNA brings renowned Ethiopians such as athletes and senior individuals from the homeland to make speeches so that a sense of originality and pride is cultivated in the minds and hearts of Ethiopians who are born in the US (Getahun, 2007).

In this era of modern communication systems such as cell phones and the internet, it is not difficult for diaspora members to stay on top of politics and other issues in their homeland. The Ethiopian diasporas are actively campaigning against the government whenever they perceive that the Ethiopian people are at risk of human rights abuses as well as poor governance. For example, most of the protests staged by the Ethiopian diaspora around the State Department and the White House has received media coverage (Lyons & Mandaville, 2008). Occasionally, supporters of the current Ethiopian government express their views in online media outlets such as websites and social media. Although not in an organized manner, government-opposing members of the diaspora actively use social media to advance their cause.

Although it is becoming more intense and highly involved due to globalization, the involvement of diasporas in their homeland's politics is not new. Lyons (2011) stated that while involved in their homeland's politics, diasporas can promote wars or peace, send remittances to political groups, and lobby for good relations with other nations and organize protests to focus attention on problems. As an example, Lyons (2011) mentioned how the Irish peace agreement was dealt as well as how some Asian and African rebel groups were organized in the past. In view of this, Lyons (2011) documented how Ethiopian politics was shaped through the involvement of its diaspora in the US as they effectively connected political activities, public media, strategies, and financing through fund raising especially during the 2005 election. For this reason, the Ethiopian diaspora in the US is considered as a key source of resources, ideas, and leadership; by the public, opposition politicians, and the government.

Summary of Chapter Two

This chapter presented literature that identified the main concepts which will serve as the foundation for this study. The identified concepts are features of ethnic federalism, the past and present experience of selected countries with regards to ethnic federalism, the reason for the failure and success of ethnic federalism, and advantages and disadvantages of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia. The literature review attempted to conceptualize the relationship between Ethiopian ethnic federalism and its diaspora who resides in the US. Such conceptualization was identified as a research gap. The reaction of the Ethiopian diaspora towards the implementation of ethnic federalism in its homeland and its attempt to influence politics in both the host land and homeland countries was discussed in detail. The methodology and procedures to be used in this research are discussed in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3: Research Method

Introduction

I used an ethnographic qualitative approach as the methodology for this study exploring the impact of Ethiopia's ethnic-based federalism on its diaspora community residing in the Washington DC metropolitan area. I interviewed 15 individuals and described the nature of the Ethiopian diaspora community group in relation to Ethiopian ethnic federalism through their experiences. Previous researchers who studied Ethiopia's ethnic federalism have not analyzed the impact of ethnic federalism on the perceptions of Ethiopian diaspora community members in the US or anywhere else in the world. In this study, I addressed this research gap in connection to Ethiopian ethnic-based federalism and its diaspora in the Washington DC metropolitan area. Furthermore, I investigated socioeconomic and political situations experienced by members of the Ethiopian diaspora that arrived in the US before and after the implementation of ethnic-based federalism in the homeland starting from 1991 to the time this study was conducted.

The chapter addresses the rationale for choosing this methodology, the operationalization of the theoretical frameworks, the data collection process, data analysis, data coding, and explanations about other philosophical assumptions that were considered for this study. Typical of qualitative research, the discussion starts with philosophical assumptions and interpretive frameworks in reference to qualitative methodology and the ethnographic approach. The explanation of excluded philosophical assumptions helps to illustrate why the chosen methodology is the most logical to advance this study. The research design is presented. I also outlined the data collection

process, which mainly included face-to-face interviews. In the end, I presented data analysis that helped to transfer the raw data through the process of coding, analysis, interpretation, and conclusions.

Research Design and Rationale

This research addressed the following central research question: What are the perceptions regarding social, political, and economic development within the Ethiopian diaspora community in the Washington DC metro area as a result of ethnic-based federalism in Ethiopia?

The central concept of this study involved the ability of immigrants to acculturate into US culture while continuing interaction with their homeland. The research was conducted through the theoretical lenses of theory of ethnic federalism (see Elazar, 1987; Herther-Spiro, 2007) and theory of diaspora (see Harutyunyan, 2012; Safran, 1991). It reflected dynamics that can address the relationship between the Ethiopian diaspora residing in Washington DC metropolitan area and ethnic federalism system of governance back in their homeland.

I used an ethnographic qualitative approach to conduct my study. Through this method, I explored the complex problems that surround the Ethiopian diaspora community as it continues to interact with both the host land and homeland. By using this methodology, I was able to grasp the contextual setting of my research participants and gain flexibility in writing and presenting research results (Creswell, 2013; Janesick, 2011; Miles & Huberman,1994). Since my research topic has not been researched enough in the past, qualitative methods helped me to provide a deeper understanding which is

particularly important to investigate concepts that are not researched enough. I wanted to

know when and why interviewees or participants made decisions based along tribal lines,

as opposed to in the Ethiopian national interest. According to Patton (2002), to

understand their perceptions on these matters, qualitative research such as

phenomenological or ethnographic interviews is recommended.

An ethnographic approach was the most relevant qualitative approach to support

the conceptual framework of the study of Ethiopian ethnic federalism in relation to its

diaspora residing in the Washington DC metropolitan area. I focused on the various

cultural backgrounds of the members of the Ethiopian diaspora as well as values, beliefs,

and languages of a group that shares languages and a certain culture. I wanted to study

the meaning of interaction and patterns in the Ethiopian diaspora community.

Ethnographic study enabled an understanding of the behavior and reaction of the

Ethiopian diaspora in the US with regards to ethnic-based federalism in the homeland.

Philosophical Assumptions

Qualitative research generally starts with assumptions, worldviews, and meanings

associated with human challenges. The main principle behind participatory worldview

and advocacy is the research must promote the well-being of the public, participants, and

researchers themselves (Creswell, 2013). This study, therefore, assumed that the

Ethiopian diaspora community living in Washington DC metropolitan area is fractured

due to the implementation of ethnic-based federalism in the homeland. The agenda of this

research may help to promote unity and social welfare in the Ethiopian community in the

US.

Selection of appropriate philosophical assumptions is important to a qualitative study as it reinforces the chosen approach to the research. For qualitative research, Creswell (2013) identified the following four philosophical assumptions: ontology, epistemology, axiology, and methodology. I have considered the applicability of each of those philosophical assumptions for this study. Each of the four philosophical assumptions are presented in the following paragraphs.

The first philosophical assumption is ontology. This philosophical assumption is based on certainties that are happening in the real world (Gerring, 2007). It portrays the world in actual terms that mirror the underlying reality (Stanley, 2012). Creswell (2013) argued that multiple realities are created when the views, beliefs, and perspectives of individuals are examined via several sources. For Patton (2002), ontology is the endeavor to answer questions such as "what do we believe about the nature of reality?" (p. 134). Thus, while ethnic federalism is a reality in Ethiopia, individual members of the Ethiopian diaspora in the US may have developed their own worldview or reality which might be different from each other.

The second philosophical assumption is epistemology. An epistemological assumption is an activity to reveal the connection between the research topic and participants' knowledge. This philosophical assumption is created when researchers observe and interact with their research subjects on a daily basis (Creswell, 2013). This assumption answers a key question, which is: How do we know what we know (Patton, 2002)? The epistemological approach goes deeper to examine participants' perceptions in reference to various cultures and languages available in Ethiopia.

The third philosophical assumption with a different approach is axiology. Axiology as an approach focusing on studying values. This assumption helps to detect the researcher's values and takes them into consideration while handling the participant's values (Creswell, 2013). Values, in this case, are referring to esteemed actions that are fundamentally worthy of human engagement.

The fourth and last assumption is methodology. This assumption is associated with the system the researcher uses in conducting the research (Creswell, 2013). Furthermore, Patton (2002) described a methodology to be the how of the study. I created a system to collect data for my study, organized the collected data, and analyzed accordingly. I also explained the overall procedure of my research so that participants and the audience had a better understanding of the study at all times. In view of this, I explained how I conducted my study that focused on documenting the perceptions of some Ethiopian diaspora community members residing in the Washington DC metro area on ethnic federalism.

This research study was based on the philosophical assumptions of the methodology, which means a qualitative methodology that depends on ethnography. I chose this methodology as a philosophical assumption because I anticipated identifying and evaluating the impact of Ethiopian ethnic federalism on the perceptions of its diaspora residing in the Washington DC metropolitan area. In line with the principle of qualitative study, my role as a researcher was to serve as a research instrument. The data collected through interviews was enriched by analyzing the entire process of data

collection along with observations and perspectives. In analyzing the data and drawing conclusions, I brought what the participants said and my observations together.

For the purpose of triangulation as well as minimizing bias, I collected data from various sources in addition to the interviews. This was done by examining public reports from the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that explained the relation between the Ethiopian diaspora in the US and the Ethiopian Government. I found such a report from the websites of the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ethiopian Embassy in Washington DC.

Interpretive Frameworks

Philosophical assumptions and interpretive frameworks are related to each other. The two concepts can be taken as part of the research design as they form the foundation for qualitative research. I considered the four interpretive frameworks: post-positivism, social constructivism, postmodern perspectives, and pragmatism for this research. It is known that each framework might lead to different findings for the study which may or may not have been consistent with the possible dynamics that define Ethiopian ethnic federalism and diaspora.

From the above mentioned four frameworks, I used pragmatism as the interpretive framework for my research. Pragmatism is a framework that involves the practical realities of research with much emphasis on the results of the research process (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Furthermore, Patton (2002) described pragmatism as a tool to determine the quality of the research based on the overall context such as the purpose of the research, resource availability, procedures followed, and results obtained. Thus,

pragmatism is all about practical application of a particular theory or research results. Patton (2002) added that pragmatic approach to a research design is very helpful for the researcher to pick the appropriate design for the issue to be examined. In view of this, pragmatism is the appropriate type of interpretive framework as it helped to explore the dynamics that define the perceived impacts of Ethiopian ethnic federalism on its diaspora in the US.

Rationale for Choice of Design: Qualitative Ethnographic Design

The previous sections detailed the philosophical approach and interpretive framework that was used for this study. In this section, I present the rationale for selecting qualitative methodology in general and the ethnography approach in particular as a research method for this study. Ethnographic research is dedicated to giving descriptions of shared values and patterns of a cultural group (Creswell, 2013). According to Hogan, Dolan, and Donnelly (2009), the ethnographic approach is characterized by the collection of relatively unstructured empirical materials, a small number of cases, and a style of analysis and reporting that are primarily interpretive, involving descriptions of phenomena. Hogan et al (2009) further stated that the prime purpose of ethnography is to describe culture. It is a way of studying a culture-sharing group that lived together for a prolonged period of time. In ethnographic research, the researcher largely depends on the participants' views and perspectives and reports them in verbatim quotes.

Ethnographic research is the most logical to answer my research question. The choice of a qualitative ethnographic research to report the perceived impact of ethnic

federalism towards its diaspora residing in the Washington DC metropolitan area is supported by the unique features of ethnographic research which are described as follows: appropriateness to describe how a culture group works and to explore issues facing the group, capacity to help the researcher to look for social organization such as social networks, and enables the researcher to observe how individuals in the culture-sharing group behave and talk (Creswell, 2013). Creswell argued that theory plays an important role in focusing the researcher's attention when conducting ethnography. Therefore, I guided my research through the lenses of the two theories I introduced earlier: theory of ethnic federalism (Elazar, 1987; Herther-Spiro, 2007) and theory of diaspora (Harutyunyan, 2012; Safran, 1991). The fact that ethnographic study gives a key place for theory means that it was very helpful for me as a researcher to conceptualize or operationalize by bringing the two theories together. By bringing the two theories together, I described the life of the Ethiopian diaspora in the Washington DC area in addition to documenting their perceptions towards the ongoing ethnic federalism in Ethiopia

Focusing on studying a group that shares the same culture, ethnographic research design uses interview and observation as a primary data collection tools and other research as secondary sources. As advised by Janesick (2011), I kept a reflective journal detailing my observation and other activities of the participants such as body language throughout the interview process. At the end, I produced a report describing how a culture-sharing group works. In the final analysis, I created a linkage between the Ethiopian system of ethnic federalism and the Ethiopian diaspora. Thus, through the use

of the ethnographic approach, I described how the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the

Washington DC area operate their day to day lives in reference to the implementation of

ethnic federalism in their homeland.

Similar to other qualitative approaches, ethnography comes with some challenges.

Creswell (2013) stated that some of the challenges of ethnographic research are the time

intensive nature and also the storytelling writing style that is often difficult for authors

accustomed to traditional approaches to scientific writing. Creswell (2013) also indicated

that storytelling type of narratives may limit the audience for the research. Limitations of

the ethnographic approach, however, can be avoided through practice by the researcher,

educating the public, and promoting the research results. Another limitation of the

ethnographic approach is that the findings cannot be generalized to a wider population

due to the relatively small sample size (Hogan et al, 2009). However, such limitation is

again shared by all other approaches of qualitative study and scholars have successfully

defended smaller sample sizes in qualitative research that are compensated by the

richness and depth of the findings. Furthermore, Hogan et al (2009) mentioned that bias

can be considered as a limitation to ethnographic research as the ethnographer may be

completely taken away by the culture group studied and lose his/her objectivity. In order

to curve such limitation, Hogan et al (2009) advised ethnographic researchers to

emphasize the importance of documenting the researchers' perceptions during the course

of the interview or observation.

All in all, a qualitative ethnographic design was the best method to employ for my

dissertation that investigated the impact of the Ethiopian ethnic federalism on its diaspora

residing in the Washington DC area. The reason is that it facilitated my understanding of the Ethiopian diaspora in the Washington DC area as a sub-category of the immigrants that had been under-studied in the past. In using interview transcripts, field notes, and observations, I built up a comprehensive picture of who the Ethiopian diaspora is and what their current social and political situation looked like.

<div align="center">**Role of the Researcher**</div>

The role of the researcher in qualitative research is critically important. As stated by Fink (2000) the most significant instrument in the entire qualitative research is the researcher him or herself. As a qualitative researcher conducts several interactions with the research subjects, the researcher's understanding of the phenomenon being studied is highly critical. Such understanding can have a significant effect on the analysis of the data collected. Observations, descriptions, and interpretations in qualitative research are carried out by having the researcher as a medium of communication (Maxwell, 2013). Furthermore, Stake (2010) noted that the role of the researcher in qualitative research will be integral to the process from the data collection stage through the interpretation, analysis, and presentation of the findings.

For this research, I developed the interview protocol along with open ended questions. I then selected participants, conducted the interviews based on prior arrangements, coded the interview transcripts, interpreted and analyzed the data, and compiled the report based on the findings. I used a recording device to record the interviews. After the interview was completed, I transcribed the data by transferring the data from the recording device to a paper document. Then, I performed coding based on

repeatedly mentioned words and phrases or emerging themes. In doing so, I made sure

that the data are collected, analyzed, and presented objectively. Due to the personal role I

had in this qualitative research, it was very important for me as a researcher to explain

my biases that might arise in the process of interpreting the views and experiences of the

interview participants. Explaining my personal biases helped me to control subjectivity

and ensured the integrity of my study. In view of this, I conducted interviews with the

members of the Ethiopian diaspora in the Washington Metropolitan area.

Researcher Bias

Researcher bias is considered as a significant issue in qualitative studies because

the qualitative researcher is part of the qualitative research process and all researchers are

different. As indicated by Shenton (2004) a biased researcher jeopardizes the entire

credibility of the study and trustworthiness of the researchers. Therefore, minimizing bias

in a qualitative research is critically important. I made the effort to minimize bias in my

research.

As a method of minimizing bias, I avoided selection bias by defining my

population clearly; making sure that it is accessible and reliable, and made disclosures

appropriately. As recommended by Guba (1981), I used these mechanisms of minimizing

bias: I addressed credibility issues and demonstrated that I have presented a true picture

of the phenomenon being studied, I provided enough details about the field work so that

my readers would have full knowledge of the research environment, and I addressed

likely confirmability issues by demonstrating that my research findings developed from

the research data. All in all, I took steps to recognize my own personal opinions through

disclosure. As is common among qualitative researchers, I was doing this study with some prior knowledge of the topic within the Ethiopian diaspora in which I am a member. I minimized such bias as I made self-disclosure to participants with regards to some of the personal views I hold on the relationship between the Ethiopian diaspora and the Ethiopian government in a timely manner. For example, I disclosed my wish to see a united Ethiopian diaspora in the US. In view of this, it is important to note that I had an interest in the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the US. As a member of the Ethiopian diaspora, I have done my best to put aside my own perspectives on the issue at hand while conducting the interview and focused on listening to and learning from the participants. In order to do this effectively, I used the method of bracketing. Bracketing is a way of creating distance from previously held opinions for the purpose of purely understanding other peoples' experiences (Bertelsen, 2005; Simon, 2011).

Methodology

Once the type of research method and the design is selected, the next logical step is to outline the research methodology. Under the research methodology, the research population, research site, role of the researcher, and sampling were discussed. Selection of appropriate methodology is critically important for the success of any research study. There is a strong interrelationship between the research question and data collection strategies (Maxwell, 2013). Therefore, the choice of research methodology must be related to the research question. This study used a qualitative ethnographic design to describe the Ethiopian diaspora group residing in the Washington DC area in relation to the Ethiopian ethnic-based federalism. Ethnographic study is the most appropriate

approach to describe how a culture group works and to explore issues facing the group and enable the researcher to observe how individuals in the culture-sharing group behave and talk (Creswell, 2013).

Research population. The target population for this research was adult Ethiopians between the age of 18 and 60 years who resettled in the US at different times in the past and who resided in the Washington DC area. It is obvious that there are people who immigrated to the US. before and after the implementation of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia but this research considered them as one population. Such consideration is important because Ethiopian immigrants are all equally exposed by ethnic-based federalism regardless of their arrival to the US. As the focus of the research was to document the overall perceptions of Ethiopian diaspora as a whole, it gave a better sense to interview them as one population and see the result. Selecting Washington DC as a research site was the most logical thing to do because this area houses the majority of the Ethiopian diaspora and serves as the political, social, and economic center for them. Most organizations related to the Ethiopian diaspora as well as the Ethiopian Embassy are located in this area. Furthermore, the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the selected area is known for its diversity in terms of ethnic background and professional makeup, which also gave me advantages of time and cost effectiveness.

Sampling strategy. Since the quality of a research is highly dependent on the quality of sampling, it was critically important to establish the correct sampling strategy and sample size. In sharp contrast to quantitative researchers, qualitative researchers are known to work with smaller sample sizes (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Furthermore,

Patton (2002) argued that the difference between qualitative and quantitative sampling is a matter of focus either on breadth or depth. In other words, while qualitative researchers use smaller samples and investigate with context and depth, quantitative researchers establish large sample sizes and look for statistical significance instead of depth and context.

I located participants by sending open invitations in the form of public announcements through offices of Ethiopian community organizations and religious organizations located in Washington DC area. The contact details for these organizations were available online. I made sure that flyers were posted in some of the facilities of these organizations. Once potential participants expressed their interest, I asked them to give me their e-mail and telephone contacts. Such a strategy enabled me to find enough participants who want to be interviewed for the research. Since purposeful sampling is a strategy of selecting information-rich participants who enlighten the study, it is often seen as the appropriate strategy for qualitative research, and it was the approach used in my study.

Sample size. Researchers agree that sample size for qualitative study should be neither very small nor very big. Although very small sample sizes do not allow broad generalization, very large sample sizes fail to make an in-depth analysis. As advised by Patton (2002), I determined a sample size that captured the perceptions of the Ethiopian diaspora community on ethnic federalism in a sufficient manner. Since qualitative research is concerned with meaning instead of making a generalization, samples are generally much smaller than quantitative studies.

In general, qualitative samples should be large enough to assure that most or all of the perceptions that might be important are uncovered. Having a small number of participants gives the advantage of obtaining extensive information from each subject (Creswell, 2013). As stated by Mason (2010) I continued to collect data until I reached saturation or no longer saw or heard new information from the participants on the subject that was under investigation. As soon as I experienced data saturation, I stopped my data collection efforts.

After evaluating the position of various researchers, I have decided to select a minimum sample size of 15 participants from the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the Washington DC metro area. This sample size was appropriate in an ethnographic study, which is usually known for employing fewer participants. Creswell (2013) argued that well-defined studies of single culture-sharing groups, with numerous artifacts, interviews, and observation collected until the working of the group is clear. Those participants were composed of activists, politicians, community, and religious leaders, as well as professionals residing in the Washington DC metro area.

Since the focus of the study was ethnic federalism, I made sure that informants are selected from the major ethnic groups within the Ethiopian diaspora community residing in the Washington DC metropolitan area. According to Habtu (2003), the two largest ethnic groups, Amhara and Oromo, represent 62% and the three largest ethnic groups, Amhara, Oromo, and Tigray represent 70% of the Ethiopian population. The remaining 30% is composed of about 77 ethnic groups. Ethiopian population is composed of more than 80 ethnic groups. The composition of my informants was roughly selected

based on such percentages of demographics. Thus, representation of participants looked like this: 5 Amharas, 5 Oromos, and 2 Tigray, and 3 others. Table 1 summarizes the representation given the sample size for my research.

Table 1

Sample Size Determination

Ethnic groups	Expected number of participants
Amhara	5
Oromo	5
Tigray	2
Others	3
Total	15

The interview data collected through open-ended responses to questions from these 15 informants enabled me to create a wider perception of the issue under study and to make an in-depth data analysis. Both males and females were invited equally and an effort was made to reflect the voices of both genders. The gender composition in Ethiopia is almost 50% each. The interview data was supplemented by reports gathered from the public sources. Through such arrangements, I tried to maximize the generalizability of the research.

Procedures for Recruitment

I followed a clear procedure for the recruitment of participants. Interested participants obtained my contact information from a flyer (Appendix A) on the places mentioned above. Some of them contacted me by e-mail but for some others, I had sent a recruitment email through the people I knew in the process. I also received assistance from two well-known individuals by the community. They referred people they know to my research. When a participant confirmed that he/she is going to become a research participant, I described the overall agenda of my study. At this point, I received the email address of the potential participant and forward the consent form to each of them. The main purpose of sending the informed consent form was to document that participation to the study is voluntary.

As soon as I received the signed copy of the informed consent from the participant, I called and asked the participant in order to make sure that he/she fulfilled the criteria for the study. The criteria looked like these: Are you between the age of 18 and 60 years? When did you resettle to the US? and Are you a resident of Washington DC metro area? As I determined that the participant is suitable, I had sent the demographic survey to the prospective participant via email. Once I received the completed demographic survey (Appendix B) from the prospective participant, I e-mailed the participant and provided a meeting schedule. I made sure that the participant is provided with different meeting places, dates, and times so that he/she can choose the most suitable one according to his or her availability for the interview. I also had sent the

introduction letter (Appendix C), which gave thorough information about the study, as an email attachment.

The interview took approximately 90 minutes per participant. I asked my participants semi-structured and open-ended interview questions that captured a deeper understanding of the perceived impact of Ethiopian ethnic federalism on the Ethiopian diaspora in the Washington DC area. In order to ensure confidentiality of participants, data collection was conducted anonymously. For the purpose of testing and reviewing the interview questions, I interviewed 3 individuals who met the criteria but excluded from the sample. Such pilot study helped me to see the understandability and clarity of the questions as well as the duration it took per participant. The interview protocol that consisted of the interview questions was mainly crafted to better understand how the perceptions of Ethiopian diaspora were affected by the Ethiopian ethnic federalism. I secured Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval before I started interviewing research participants. I used email communication for follow up purposes and made sure that the identity of the participants remained confidential. I made sure that any information given to me through email is password protected at all times.

Data Collection and Analysis

The study focused on identifying the themes and trends within the Ethiopian diaspora in Washington DC in relation to the Ethiopian ethnic federalism in Ethiopia. The instrument selected helped in answering the research questions in a proper manner. In view of this, I have selected interviews to be the main data collection tool. In order to capture the participants' perceptions, I conducted face-to-face interviews. The interview

questions were semi-structured and the interview session was audio-recorded. I explained

to the participants' their right to confidentiality before the interviews is conducted. As I

assured them that only my committee members and I are going to listen to the records, no

single participant showed a concern and therefore allowed the voice recording. I also

informed them that I am the only one to have physical access to the recorded voice. I

explained to each of them that the entire recording will be destroyed after 5 years. Before

conducting the actual interview, I reminded participants that participation is completely

voluntary, advised them not to give out personal information including telephone number

and physical address as a strategy to protect their identity, and asked them to answer each

interview questions to the best of their knowledge. I assigned fake names to participants

whenever quoting their statements and reporting the result. For the purpose of protecting

participants' privacy, I did not give permission for others to enter the interview room.

I gave a window of 6 weeks in order to finalize the interviews but finished it

earlier than planned. I asked the same questions in all interview sessions to make sure

that similar data is obtained from each participant. I transcribed the data in the voice

recorder carefully without losing its context and sent transcripts of the interview to each

participant and asked them to double check their transcripts for accuracy. All of them

confirmed that what they have said in the interview is correctly transcribed on paper. This

process was very helpful and taken as a cross reference mechanism because each

participant got a chance to verify and validate their statements

Instrumentation

Interview was the main data collection instrument for my research. Thus, I had developed an interview protocol (Appendix D). The protocol contained 11 (eleven) open-ended interview questions. The use of open ended questions as an instrument for data collection is very helpful in understanding the situations of the Ethiopian diaspora in the Washington DC area in connection to the Ethiopian ethnic federalism. Open-ended interviews brought flexibility and allow participants to give answers from various perspectives. It also helped me for the creation of the themes from the discussion. All in all, my open-ended questions helped me to discover some unexpected findings and to follow the thinking patterns of the interviewee and put the interviewee at ease (Kendall & Kendall, 2013).

I tested the interview protocol before it is presented to the samples of the study. If interview is selected as a data collection tool, Janesick (2011) recommends the tool to be tested prior to administering it to the research participants. In view of this, I tested the tool with three participants who were similar to the research participants prior to administering it to the sample. This helped me not only to know the duration of the interview per participant but also to receive feedback and modify some of the questions for more clarity and get better focus towards the purpose of the research. As part of the testing process, I made sure that all recording devices are available and functional and also prepared backup devices in case the first one fails to work. As required by IRB, I secured the participants' written permission prior to the interview. Before the interview date, I contacted the interviewee and reconfirmed the appointment details. I dressed

properly and arrived a few minutes early for the interview appointment. When I met

participants, I greeted them in a firm handshake followed by the introduction of myself

and the research topic with a pleasant and enthusiastic conversation. I began the interview

with my recording set and also took notes as a mechanism to recall important questions

and interview prompts as well as to keep alert and show my interest in the interview and

show my preparedness (Kendall & Kendall, 2013). I closed the interview session

pleasantly each time.

Interview Questions

1. Why did you leave your home country Ethiopia?

2. What contributions do you think the Ethiopian diaspora can have to Ethiopia?

3. What contributions do you think the Ethiopian diaspora can have to the US?

4. How are you participating in your home affairs while residing in the US as part of the diaspora?

5. What are the barriers, if any, to you contributing positively towards the economic, social, and political goals of Ethiopia?

6. How does the implementation of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia affect your personal life here in the Washington DC metro area?

7. Please explain what you think the barriers are to the Ethiopian diaspora in the Washington DC metro area coming together to make their voices heard?

8. What is your perception on the effect of ethnic federalism towards the overall activities of the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the Washington DC metro area?

9. Describe the main economic, social and political developments within the Ethiopian diaspora since ethnic federalism was exercised in Ethiopia?

10. In your opinion, how do you describe the existing relationship among the Ethiopian diaspora residing in Washington DC metro area?

11. How do you describe the role of social media on Ethiopian ethnic federalism as well as the activities of the Ethiopian diaspora?

Data Analysis Plan

In qualitative research, researchers are required to analyze the data in an honest and practical manner. Qualitative data analysis is a process and procedure to be applied in moving qualitative data collected from the field into some form of explanation, understanding, or interpretation of the people and situations being investigated (Zaki, 2012). The primary technique to achieve such a process is coding. Coding is a systematic preparation of research data for analysis where the meaning of the data is created by assigning labels (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Coding is, therefore, a process that is designed to capture the essence or the features of qualitative research data, for example, interview transcripts, documents, artifacts, and field notes.

Once data are collected, I used thematic coding as a strategy for data analysis. Thus, my data analysis plan was as follows: I took the interview data, transcribed, and coded or labeled segments of the data for the purposes of categorizing, looked for themes and identified the patterns that may be developing in the data collected. In order to make it more useful, I organized the data by assigning labels or codes to groups of data that

seem to fall under common themes, patterns, or relationships. I then summarized the key emerging themes across the interview transcripts and synthesized them.

I used a qualitative data analysis software program for the purpose of data analysis. The software I used was Dedoose. Dedoose is a web-based program that is designed to assist qualitative researchers in the process of data analysis (Dedoose, 2013). I looked into the emerging codes or themes from the transcribed interview data and then uploaded the data on Dedoose software. Although the analysis was assisted by the software, I have done the task of coding and assigning excerpts to the respective codes. Dedoose software produced highlighted excerpts and I carefully assigned those highlighted excerpts to the appropriate codes or themes that were created earlier. The software presented highlighted excerpts and codes in different colors making it easier for me to trace and export it to a word document. Finally, the transcripts that contained the voices of research participants and notes taken from the researcher's observations were reviewed and compared with the text for each code. The data were analyzed with hermeneutical and thematic approaches to uncover participants' meanings and themes within their responses.

Preliminary Coding Framework

The research was coded for the theory of ethnic federalism and theory of diaspora as the theories related to the Ethiopian diaspora and Ethiopian ethnic-based federalism. In qualitative research, examining and analyzing coding patterns is an important thing to do (Saldana, 2012). I utilized those coding patterns for the purpose of identifying the meaning of the data by way of comparison and also looking into similarities and

differences in the interview questions and their respective responses. Miles and Huberman (1994) argued because late coding weakens the analysis, reserving coding for the end of data collection is a serious mistake. Furthermore, Saldana (2012) and Creswell (1998) described open coding as the first thing to do in qualitative research and helps the researcher to summarize data by putting the information into categories. Such categorization of data helped me to see a set of themes emerge. I created a pre-coding system that relies on the theories used in this study and shaped by the interview questions for the research. The pre-coding detail is presented in table 2. Emerging codes will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Table 2

Pre-Coding Table

Preliminary Code	Secondary Code	Tertiary Code	Applicable interview questions as related to the theories
Diaspora politics	Government policy on ethnicity	Diaspora perception on Ethnic federalism	1
Social cohesion	Diaspora unity	Relationship among the Ethiopian diaspora	10
Causes of conflict	Ethnicity	Barriers to diaspora unity	7
Assimilation, cultural identity	Migration	Diaspora contribution to the US	3
Economy	Money transfer (remittance)	Diaspora contribution to Ethiopian economy	2, 5
Politics, Political identity	Knowledge transfer, democracy	Diaspora participation in Ethiopian politics	4
National unity	Discourages national sentiments	Effects of ethnic federalism	6, 8
Social media	Various perspectives	Fast and emotional exchange of information	11

Trustworthiness

Validity and reliability of the research results are the two key factors that determine the trustworthiness of research. Since the qualitative researcher is the main instrument in data collection and analysis, many believe that the research results may be influenced by personal biases. In order to manage such threats to trustworthiness, the research findings must be authentically represented (Creswell, 2013). The validity of a qualitative research study can be determined by way of audit trails, triangulation, and researcher reflexivity. By way of reflexivity, the researcher can easily understand the research subject along with the research process (Watt, 2007). Taking notes and documenting each step of the research are elements of the audit trail that I performed. Triangulation helped me to establish and verify the validity of my research (Guion, Diehl, & McDonald, 2011). Member-checking is one method of triangulation used by qualitative researchers to increase trustworthiness. Thus, in order to increase the trustworthiness of my study, I performed triangulation via member-checking by emailing the written transcriptions to the interviewee and asking if his/her ideas were transcribed accurately.

The challenge of how a qualitative research study could be accepted as trustworthy and credible has been satisfactorily defended by several authors (Guba, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Shenton, 2004). In order to address the issue of trustworthiness of my research, I made sure that these four criteria developed by Guba (1981), namely, credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability were properly addressed.

Credibility

  Credibility refers to the internal validity. In order to establish the credibility of my research, I used appropriate strategies such as triangulation, prolonged contact, member checking, saturation, and reflexivity. As stated by Shenton (2004), I achieved credibility by making sure that the research findings are consistent with reality. Building trust with participants will establish credibility. For the purpose of building trust, I created rapport by making myself very friendly, empathetic, and by showing the appropriate body language.

Transferability

  Transferability is concerned with external validity. According to Bruchett and Dobrow (2011), transferability of a research study is the possibility of the research findings to be taken and reused in another setting. It is more commonly used when placing emphasis on concepts that need to be investigated more deeply. In order to establish transferability, I gave a detailed explanation of the field experience so that it becomes possible for other researchers to assess the extent to which the conclusion drawn is transferable to other research settings. For the sake of transferability, I also made sure that the knowledge and experience of research participants were emphasized.

Dependability

  Dependability is all about the reliability of qualitative research. Dependability can be boosted if a researcher follows the protocol that has been set previously (Yin, 2003). I used audit trials and triangulations as a strategy to establish the dependability of my research. As part of the audit trail, I took field notes and documented every step

of the data collection process. When it comes to triangulation, I followed the research protocol strictly. Thus, I tape-recorded in-depth interviews and made sure that they are transcribed accurately. As recommended by Anney (2014), I allowed peer examination where I discussed my research findings with neutral colleagues that assisted me in being honest about the study, helped me to identify uncovered categories of my study, or helped to identify any negative cases that may exist in the data.

Confirmability

Confirmability deals with the objectivity of qualitative research. The conformability of a qualitative research study refers to the extent to which other researchers would agree with the findings of the study and not treat them as a mere creation of the researcher's imagination (Anney, 2014). Researcher reflexivity is a great strategy to achieve confirmability. Thus, I made sure that I recognized the thoughts and feelings of the participants. I also promoted transparency in the dialogue between the participants and myself.

<div align="center">

Ethical Procedures

</div>

Ethical issues are expected in any form and type of qualitative research. The study of the Ethiopian ethnic-based federalism and its perceived impacts on the Ethiopian diaspora residing in Washington DC area is subject to such ethical concerns. Most of the ethical issues are observed at the data collection stage, analyzing the data, and distribution of research results (Creswell, 2013). Stevens (2013), explained that ethical principles need to be maintained in qualitative studies include respect for persons, honesty, compassion, justice, and to do no harm to human subjects. In view of

this, I secured Walden University's IRB approval and the approval number for this study was **03-09-17-0282966.** I made sure that those ethical principles were practiced in my study. I ensured that the participants are well informed about the research they are being asked to participate in along with the associated risks and benefits. I also informed participants that they have the right to withdraw from the process at any time whenever they wished to do so.

Protection of Human Participants

A consent form that details the whole research procedure will be provided to each participant. Researchers are required to obtain informed consent from their subjects as an indication of how the research subjects are treated (Halai, 2006). I made sure that the participant signs and return the consent forms so that permission is secured and rapport created right from the beginning. The informed consent explained that no one is forced to participate and that involvement with the study is purely voluntary. According to Creswell (2002), study participants should clearly understand their rights to participate in all studies. Their participation was completely voluntary and they had the right to withdraw at any time. Creswell (2003) explained that it is important not to harm the study participants in any way. I made sure that participants have signed the Informed Consent and also Walden University's IRB protocol is followed. For this reason, I did not start data collection before I received IRB approval.

I assured the research participants that their identity will be kept confidential and the information they give is going to be used exclusively for this research. In addition, I explained the motive and purpose of the study to each participant. As advised by Halai

(2006), I used anonymity or pseudonyms instead of revealing the identity of each participant involved in the study. In my effort of collecting data within the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the Washington DC area, I assessed sensitive people who were highly critical of the current government of Ethiopia which is known for its intolerant behavior towards its critics. Thus, keeping the identity of my research participants confidential is highly important. All in all, obtaining informed consent and confidentiality helped me to protect my participants.

Summary of Chapter Three

Chapter 3 presented the methodology for the study of the Ethiopian diaspora in the Washington DC area in reference to Ethiopian ethnic federalism in its homeland. The research design, approach, and rationale for using a qualitative ethnographic method have been explained. Other key elements of the research methodology such as the role of the researcher and research bias, recruitment procedures, data collection and analysis, and protection of human participants were also discussed. The benefit of securing informed consent from each participant and other ethical issues have been articulated. Finally, this chapter explained the necessity of handling data in strict confidentiality so as to protect the participants' identity. The findings of the research will be presented in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to describe the perceived impacts of Ethiopia's ethnic-based federalism on its diaspora residents in the Washington, DC metropolitan area. The research question focused on the interactions of the Ethiopian diaspora community members residing in the Washington DC metro area towards the implementation of ethnic-based federalism in Ethiopia. In view of this purpose, interview questions were developed and participants were asked to describe their perceptions of the impact of ethnic-based federalism on their community, personal lives, relationships, and overall activities. In addition, participants were also asked to explain why they left their home country, how they are connected to their homeland country while residing in the US, and their opinions with regards to the socioeconomic and political developments which emerged after the implementation of ethnic-based federalism within Ethiopia.

This chapter explains the data collection process such as the settings for the interviews and the interview participants. In addition, a comprehensive description of the data gathering process and subsequent data transcription, as well as coding, is presented. The chapter will also explain how the themes were developed from the coded data. Emerging codes and infrequent codes that were discovered during the coding process are also explored in this chapter. The chapter further considers how the trustworthiness of the data was ensured in view of what was outlined in the proposal. The chapter concludes with a results section, detailing the answers provided by the participants for each of the interview questions presented during the interview sessions.

Pilot Study

For the purpose of testing and reviewing the interview questions, I ran a pilot study. I interviewed three people who met the criteria to be participants of the main study. The three individuals were later excluded from the sample. In the pilot interview, I was able to determine the understandability and clarity of the interview questions as well as the duration it took for each participant to respond to the questions. In this pilot study, I followed the same procedures as the full study, including assurance of privacy, maintenance of data, and formal consent. The pilot study had no effect on the main study and therefore no changes in instrumentation or data analysis strategies were required or made.

Setting

I conducted all my interviews as planned, but there were some adjustments that needed to be presented here. The first adjustment was that one of the qualified participants contacted me a few hours before his scheduled interview as he had to travel out of state to attend a significant family event. I was able to replace him with another participant who met the criteria for the study. The second important adjustment was the venue of the interviews. The original plan was to conduct all interviews in a public library, expecting that such places are quiet and safe. However, only four of the interviewees were able to travel to the library I chose. The remaining participants sought alternative places which they thought were more convenient for them in terms of driving, parking, and public transportation. Thus, personal offices and homes of the interviewees were utilized as needed. One of the participants preferred to be interviewed inside of his

car and it went very well. None of the changes influenced the interpretation of the study results.

Demographics

I interviewed 15 participants who are residing in the Washington, DC metropolitan area that encompasses District of Columbia and some parts of Virginia and Maryland as specified in the research proposal. Participants were from varied educational and professional backgrounds. In terms of representations there were three journalists, two lawyers, two engineers, one social worker, one taxi driver, two business people, one homemaker, one nurse, one accountant, and one university lecturer. Two of them are female and 13 are male. Since the information delivered by participants did not reflect any gender differences, data analysis by gender was not included in this study. The participants' length of stay in the US ranged from two to 30 years. As for ethnic composition, five were Oromos, five Amharas, two Tigres, and three were from other ethnic groups from the southern part of Ethiopia which is known for housing more than half of the country's ethnic groups but in very small numbers comparatively. Further details about the responses of different ethnic groups are presented later in this chapter.

Data Collection

All 15 participants understood the 11 interview questions that were presented to them. The interviews were conducted in different places such as a public library, in offices, and in private settings. Each interview lasted an average of 50 minutes. I spent 1 ½ hours with each participant, but this included time to create rapport, review the purpose of the research project and the consent form, and to answer any questions before and after

the interview. Following the interview, I answered any additional questions that were not related to data collection.

Each interview was recorded from beginning to end as each participant answered all 11 questions. Each participant was interviewed once and it was not necessary to conduct any follow-up interviews. The information provided during the 15 interviews was sufficient to answer the research questions of this study. The data were recorded on a recording device after receiving their permission. As soon as an interview was complete, I uploaded the recording to my computer so that the interview data was stored in a secure place. I also copied the recordings to a USB drive.

There were some anomalies in the data collection. There was an interruption in two of the interviews: One participant had to answer a telephone call from his family in Ethiopia and another participant had to forward personal items to his wife who was on her way to a shopping center. In such circumstances, I stopped the recording and resumed it as soon as the participants were ready once again. Such interruptions did not have any impact on the research as the participants were able to regain their focus on the interview questions with no difficulties.

Six of the interviewees answered the questions in the English language, but the rest preferred to answer in the Amharic language, which is spoken by most Ethiopians, including me. I accessed all of the recordings that were saved to my computer and took the time to personally transcribe each interview one by one. There were no variations in data collection based on the plan presented in Chapter 3.

Data Analysis

In this section, the process I used to move inductively from coded units to larger representations is presented. I also describe the specific codes, categories, and themes that emerged from the data using quotations as needed to emphasize their importance. Moreover, I describe discrepant and infrequent cases as they appeared in this research.

Coded Units to Larger Representations

In Chapter 3, preliminary coding was presented in view of the theories of ethnic federalism and diaspora as they relate to Ethiopia. The interview questions were presented without putting influence on the participants. I allowed maximum possible flexibility so that the appearance of new codes was possible. For the purpose of easier reference, the preliminary codes are presented in Table 3.

I utilized the preliminary coding patterns in Table 3 for identifying the meaning of the data by way of comparison and considering similarities and differences within the interview questions and their respective responses. I also used those coding patterns to summarize the interview data by putting the information into categories. I was able to see more codes and a set of themes emerged as I left it open so that new ones would emerge. As a result, more codes were discovered.

Table 3

Preliminary Coding Table

Preliminary Code	Secondary Code	Tertiary Code
Diaspora politics (DP)	Government policy on ethnicity (GOE)	Diaspora perception on ethnic federalism (DEF)
Social cohesion (SC)	Diaspora unity (DU)	Relationship among the Ethiopian diaspora (RED)
Causes of conflict (CC)	Ethnicity (Eth)	Barriers to diaspora unity (BDU)
Assimilation, cultural identity (A/CI)	Migration (M)	Diaspora work ethics (DWE)
Economy (€)	Money transfer - remittance ($T)	Diaspora contribution to Ethiopian economy (DEE)
Politics, political identity (P/PI)	Knowledge transfer, democracy (KTD)	Diaspora participation in Ethiopian politics (DPEP)
National unity (NU)	Discourages national sentiments (DNS)	Effects of ethnic federalism (EEF)
Social media (SM)	Various perspectives (VP)	Fast and emotional exchange of information (FEEI)

The new codes are presented in Table 4 below as well as in Appendix E.

Otherwise the expectation of the preliminary codes to remain as before were met. Thus, I

was able to move and categorize a large number of codes into fewer numbers of themes.

In doing so, I organized the answers to each question in Dedoose and was able to see and compare the answers given to each question by the participants.

Although the analysis is assisted by Dedoose software, I manually performed the task of coding and assigning excerpts to the respective codes and themes. I carefully assigned highlighted excerpts into the appropriate codes or themes that were created earlier. The software presented highlighted excerpts and codes in different colors making it easier for me to trace and export it to a word document. Finally, the transcripts that contain the voices of research participants and notes taken from my observation were reviewed and compared with the text for each code.

The coding process resulted in a comprehensive code book that reflects the themes along with their associated codes, the frequency of codes by ethnic group, and over all aggregate frequency that shows how many times a certain code appeared. This comprehensive code book can be found in Appendix E. However, a condensed form of the comprehensive table that summarizes the frequency of themes is presented in Table 4. In line with the IRB approval I obtained for this study, I divided the themes by ethnic group.

Table 4

Summary of Code Themes

Code Themes	Ethnic Oromo (n = 5)	Ethnic Amhara (n = 5)	Ethnic Tigray (n =2)	Others / South (n = 3)	Frequency Aggregate (n = 15)
Role of social media	290	290	102	174	856
Relationship among the Ethiopian diaspora	256	267	76	152	751
Diaspora's perceptions on ethnic-based federalism	235	238	65	142	674
Developments after the implementation of ethnic-based federalism (***Emerging***)	205	226	64	128	623
Effect of ethnic based federalism at an individual level	201	241	48	126	616
Barriers to diaspora unity	207	219	57	125	608
Barriers to contribute to Ethiopia positively (***Emerging***)	184	198	32	100	514
Participation to home affairs	100	126	16	55	297
Contribution to home country	82	91	23	53	249
Contribution to host country	77	91	24	41	233
Reason for leaving (***Emerging***)	52	68	3	24	147

In summary, the following eleven themes were extracted based on the interview questions as well as the answers given by the participants.

1. Reason for leaving Ethiopia

2. Contribution of the Ethiopian diaspora to its home country (Ethiopia)

3. Contribution of the Ethiopian diaspora to the US

4. Participation in home affairs

5. Barriers to contribute to Ethiopia positively

6. Effect of ethnic based federalism at an individual level

7. Barriers to diaspora unity

8. Diaspora's perceptions on ethnic-based federalism

9. Developments after the implementation of ethnic-based federalism

10. Relationship among the Ethiopian diaspora, and

11. The role of social media.

Each theme will be discussed later in the chapter. Those themes were entered into Dedoose and therefore data were systematically prepared for further analysis.

Emerging Codes

The flexible approach I followed towards data collection, data analysis, and coding allowed the emergence of new themes in the research. As it can be seen from Table 4 presented above and in the comprehensive code book in Appendix E, three new themes emerged in this study. A description of each emerging theme is presented in the following sections.

Developments after the implementation of ethnic federalism *(f=623)*. The most important theme code to emerge from the interviews was developments after the implementation of ethnic-based federalism. This was coded using new developments after ethnic-based federalism and was noted 623 times throughout the data and by all participants (*f*=623). This theme describes the main social, economic, and political developments perceived by participants within the Ethiopian diaspora since the implementation of ethnic-based federalism in Ethiopia.

For example, Participant 4 said, "you see before ethnic federalism, I never heard about the division of churches here in the Washington DC metro area based on their political differences, but after ethnic-based federalism, political belief has merged to ethnic lines and caused churches to be divided along ethnic lines." He added that before ethnic federalism, Ethiopians were aligned based on their ideological beliefs such as either communism or capitalism, but now, due to ethnic federalism, political or ideological belief has become all about the identity of the individuals. Ethnic identity has clearly become a political identity.

Participant 1 indicated that because of the political system of arrangements back home, community members here are following their ethnic lines to support economic activities of only their ethnic groups. He stated, "the problem is that the Ethiopian embassy in Washington DC, which was supposed to represent all ethnic groups in the country, is now organizing events to support economic developments only for the Tigrians ethnic group." According to participant 1, this impartiality is happening because of the dominance of the ethnic group he mentioned over the others in Ethiopia.

Barriers to contribute to Ethiopia positively *(f=514)*. Another important theme code in descending order of frequency was barriers to contribute to Ethiopia positively, which detailed all the possible causes that impede participants to contribute positively towards the economic, social, and political goals of Ethiopia and was noted 514 times throughout the data and by all participants *(f=514)*. For example, participant 8 indicated "the brutality of the current regime – the government there is a great barrier." He further explained that members of the diaspora are not able to mobilize the people back home and invest in knowledge or economy since people are always under the oppression of the current government.

Participant 12 claimed, "the ruling power is the primary barrier as the whole country is literally owned by the regime dominated by the minority ethnic Tigrians party – Tigray People Liberation Front." Participant 15 specified "growing animosity between the current government in Ethiopia and the Ethiopian diaspora" is a barrier to contribute positively. He added that the government in power is in favor of a certain ethnic group and there are risks of arrest and confiscation of properties; if one is not under that category of favored ethnic group. All the participants stated that directly or indirectly the ethnic-based government system in Ethiopia is a big barrier that stopped members of the diaspora to contribute positively towards the socio-economic and political goals of Ethiopia.

Reason for leaving Ethiopia *(f=147)*. The final emerging theme code was the reason for leaving Ethiopia. This relates to top reasons participants left their country Ethiopia to come to the US and was noted 147 times throughout the data and by all

participants *(f=147)*. All participants except two stated political reasons as the main

reason for leaving Ethiopia. One participant mentioned that he was lucky to win a

Diversity Visa lottery to come to the US. Another participant said he came to the US to

improve his personal life.

For example, Participant 2 who used to be a journalist stated, "I was harassed, lost

my job, and forced to leave my country." Participant 3 who used to be a lawyer in

Ethiopia revealed, "there was no security and legal protection for human rights and

professions." Participant 4 conveyed, "I left my country to the US for education but later

I decided not to go back and filed asylum because the political situation there was not

good." All of them presented history of harassment because of their political opinions as

a reason for leaving Ethiopia. Reasons outlined by the remaining participants for leaving

their country will be discussed later in this chapter.

Discrepant Cases

There were no discrepant cases in this research. Discrepant cases are those

irregularities created during the data collection process to the extent that data are

excluded from the analysis (Anderson, 2010). Although there were no discrepant cases to

be excluded in this study, there were cases with infrequent codes that were relevant to

answer the research questions but emerged infrequently. Such cases are still important

because they shed light on the dynamics evolving around the Ethiopian diaspora and

Ethiopia's ethnic-based federalism. Therefore, they were documented as infrequent

codes.

In view of the above, participant 4 reflected a different view with regards to the current ethnic politics in Ethiopia. He stated, "it created self-awareness to me and as a member of ethnic Amhara, I am closely working with other colleagues towards the formation of a strong Amhara organization that can protect the Amharas from the current brutal government." According to this participant, the current ethnic politics helped him and other members of the Amhara diaspora to revisit the great contribution of the Amhara people towards the unity of the Ethiopian nation in the past. This resulted in an infrequent code of ethnic Amhara movement, a new concept that is explored further in the discussion section of Chapter 5.

Evidence of Trustworthiness

In general, the validity and relevance of the data collected in answering the research question is essential and the factors used to measure it are considered as evidence of trustworthiness. There are four components of trustworthiness: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

Credibility

The first component is credibility. Credibility refers to the internal validity of a research study (Shenton, 2004). It is about the steps I have taken to document participants responses in an accurate manner. In chapter 3, I explained my plan to achieve credibility by making sure that the research findings are consistent with reality. I was able to build trust with participants as I took enough time to create rapport by making myself very friendly, empathetic, and by showing the appropriate body language. In addition, I remained flexible and open to new information that developed from participants during

the interview with regards to both the Ethiopian diaspora and ethnic-based federalism. Such flexibility helped the emergence of new codes as explained above.

Transferability

The second component is transferability. According to Bruchett and Dobrow (2011), transferability is concerned with external validity and the possibility of the research findings to be taken and reused in another setting. Patton (2005) stated that transferability cares about the generalizability of the data collected to a larger population over and above the initial participants. I established transferability as I have explained the field experience here so that it becomes possible for other researchers to assess the extent to which the conclusions drawn are transferable to other research settings. For the sake of transferability, I have also made sure that the knowledge and experience of research participants are outlined above. It appeared that most of the interviewees identified similar concerns across ethnic groups. Such experience adds value to the transferability of this research.

Dependability

The third component is dependability. Dependability refers to obtaining different types of data from several sources (Creswell, 2013; Patton, 2005). I secured dependability of this research by using audit trials as the main strategy. As part of the audit trail, I took field notes and documented every step of the data collection process. I also followed the research protocol strictly. Thus, I personally transcribed the interview data and made sure those additional observations I noted during the interview were added as reinforcement for the main data.

Confirmability

The fourth component is confirmability. Confirmability refers to the process of making sure the data collected are accurate from the view point of those who answered the interview questions (Creswell, 2013; Patton, 2005). I achieved confirmability as I promoted full transparency during the interview and allowed dialogues between the participants and myself. I also asked clarifying and follow-up questions when the information participants provided was not clear enough to me or just to reconfirm what they said. Most importantly, I forwarded the interview transcript to the respective participants through e-mail. All of them responded that what they read in the transcript was the same as what they told me during the interview.

<div align="center">

Results

</div>

This section presents the data through each of the questions posed during the interviews with 15 members of the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the Washington DC metropolitan area. The 15 participants were representative of these ethnic groups: Oromo, Amhara, Tigray, and others. As justified in chapters three, the number of participants per ethnic group was determined based on the population size of the country as well as that of the population size of the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the Washington DC metro area. Thus, five Oromos, five Amharas, two Tigrays, and three others participated in this study. The answers enabled a comprehensive series of codes as presented in Appendix E.

The discussion in chapter five is therefore informed by those themes and their linked codes as indicated in Appendix E. In this section, the opinions of the participants are linked to the coded data, which were transferred to more generalized themes. Such

arrangement makes it easier for answering the research question for this research. In view of this, the 11 themes that were stated earlier in this chapter will now be presented in this section along with the analysis of corresponding results. In other words, the data were analyzed with thematic approaches to reveal the meaning of data captured from participants.

Reason for Leaving Ethiopia *(f=147)*

This theme describes participants top reasons for leaving Ethiopia to come to the US and was noted 147 times throughout the data and by all participants *(f=147)*. All participants were asked to explain the circumstances that led to their resettlement in the US, regardless of their period of arrival.

Participant 9 conveyed "the government security forces put me under surveillance to limit my free movement and silence my political view." This participant added that he left his country because he could not exercise his political rights to oppose the government agenda in a peaceful manner and believed that the current government is ethnically racist. Participant 12 stated, "it was not safe for me so I left the country." He further explained that the political power in Ethiopia is controlled by a minority ethnic group that severely restricted his effort to exercise and apply his God given talent and knowledge that he acquired through education and trainings.

Participant 11 revealed, "I won election to join one of the state's councils in Ethiopia but shortly after the government security forces launched an organized attack on me and my family and jailed my political party leaders." She said her husband was also jailed many times on different occasions due to his political stance and for this reason,

they decided to leave Ethiopia along with their children. Participant 3 stated that he initially left his country after winning a higher education opportunity in the US but later decided not to return and filed political asylum because the political environment was not good for him as he had a history of past political persecution. His asylum case was approved shortly after he applied.

All participants except two indicated their main reason for leaving their country was political persecution and harassment coming from the government. One participant mentioned he came to the US because he won a diversity visa lottery that was offered by the State Department. The remaining participant reasoned that he came to the US to improve his own personal life.

Contribution of the Ethiopian Diaspora to its Home Country *(f=249)*

This theme describes the contribution the Ethiopian diaspora can make to its birth country Ethiopia while residing in the US and was noted 249 times throughout the data and by all participants *(f=249)*. Participants were asked to discuss any possible contributions the Ethiopian diaspora can make to its home country under any circumstances.

Participant 1 underlined that the Ethiopian diaspora is continuously sending money to families in Ethiopia and this helps the individual families to thrive as well as the country to collect foreign currency. He added, "there are many successful Ethiopians in the US with better educational achievement who can help Ethiopia to grow in every aspect if they are presented the opportunity."

Participant 14 assured that the Ethiopian diaspora can contribute a lot to Ethiopia in many ways such as money transfer or remittance and knowledge transfer. He mentioned remittance is adding millions of dollars every year to Ethiopia's foreign currency account as members of the diaspora continue sending US dollars in support of their families. In terms of knowledge transfer, this participant said, "the diaspora can be part of the solutions to the many problems the country is facing now."

On the other hand, participant 5 explained how Ethiopia is currently suffering from dictatorship and a lack of good governance and believes the diaspora can play a huge role towards this end. In his own words, "because the diaspora can organize itself and express opinions freely, it can serve as the voice for the people back home by exposing human rights violations committed by the dictatorial regime to the international community."

Participant 6 commented, there is a role the diaspora can play in Ethiopia where poverty and a totalitarian regime are challenging people's lives daily. In view of this, this participant said, "the diaspora can send money to families, build schools and health centers, and introduce a democratic system of governance." Participant 4 acknowledged the diaspora's immense potential to contribute to Ethiopia but doesn't believe that can go well with the current government that typically views the diaspora as its political adversary.

All participants agreed that the diaspora can have a great deal of contribution to its home country Ethiopia through various ways such as money transfer, knowledge transfer, supporting the struggle for freedom and democracy, introducing democracy and

good governance, transferring human rights and diversity concepts, and bringing positive

social change. They added that the diaspora can support the national economy through

investment and help to shape policy by informing policy makers. Participants said that

the diaspora can draw international lessons and teach the Ethiopian people back home

about tolerance and how to live together with other people with different views and

cultures.

Contribution of the Ethiopian Diaspora to the US *(f=233)*

This theme describes participants explanations with regards to the unique

contributions of the Ethiopian diaspora to its country of residence, the United States of

America and was noted 233 times throughout the data and by all participants *(f=233)*.

Participants were asked to explain what contributions they think the Ethiopian diaspora

can make in the US.

Participant 5 explained, "to the US, honestly speaking, the Ethiopian diaspora can

contribute a lot economically as this particular group is a hardworking people with a

strong work ethics." This participant reasoned that the Ethiopian diaspora is made up of

highly educated people who left their country because of bad government back home.

According to this participant, Ethiopians are mostly with good character, mostly free

from drugs and any other substance abuse, bringing strength to the workforce.

Participant 14 stated, "the Ethiopian diaspora is already making a lot of

contributions to the US as there are professors, medical doctors, engineers; which I am

one of them, who have been working hard and paying taxes." He added that the Ethiopian

diaspora is introducing an African culture and increasing the black diaspora in number and activities and therefore positively impacting the US.

Participant 4 elaborated the democratic values of the US and indicated how the Ethiopian diaspora appreciates them. He opined that the Ethiopian diaspora loves the US democratic ideals because they were missing in its own country, Ethiopia, and therefore can serve as a gatekeeper for these great political ideals here in the US. Participant 12 articulated that the Ethiopian diaspora is a hardworking, disciplined, humble, and very loyal to the United States who appreciates the US as much as, some even more than that, their country of origin. For this reason, this participant mentioned, "the Ethiopian diaspora considers the US as a second home and every Sunday during mass, priests never skip praying to God to protect and bless the USA more and more!"

All participants agreed that the Ethiopian diaspora can make contributions to the US in many aspects such as politically, economically, and socially. Thus, with the hard work, the diaspora helps to boost the US economy; with the loyalty, they defend the US constitution and are ready to die for the land. Additionally, Ethiopians possess a unique culture which is useful to the US. Participants mentioned that Ethiopia is one of the few, if not the only, country of the whole world in which Muslims, Christians, and other religious groups have lived in harmony for years. Therefore, the Ethiopian diaspora can contribute by promoting good behavior and teaching skills on how to live in peace with a very diverse society for neighborhoods wherever they reside.

Participation in Home Country Affairs *(f=297)*

This theme outlines methods and ways the Ethiopian Diaspora is making participations in the affairs of its country of birth, Ethiopia and was noted 297 times throughout the data and by all participants *(f=297)*. Participants were asked to discuss how they are participating in their home affairs while residing in the US as part of the diaspora.

Participant 10 explained due to a background experience in politics and social affairs, she is always interested to know what is going on in Ethiopia and everywhere else. In this context, this participant stated joining Ethiopian related public demonstrations in the Washington DC metro area and attendance in town hall meetings as organized by Ethiopian activists as the main ways of participating in home affairs. Participant 1 revealed, "the dictatorial government in Ethiopia is committing several atrocities and I participate in the meetings and rallies being organized by the activists here in the Washington, DC area." In addition, this participant mentioned participating in social and mainstream medias that are broadcasting about Ethiopia as some of the many methods of participation in home affairs.

Participant 5 passionately explained, "although I am far from my country physically, I am still attached to it emotionally." This participant asserted that he participates in all affairs of his home country by actively involving himself in public and social media, raising funds, and supporting the people's peaceful struggle back home so that the current undemocratic government can step down in a peaceful manner through democratic elections. This participant underlined that he is part of a team who is actively

working to establish a strong civic organization with a mission to defend ethnic Amharas which he believed is the current regime in Ethiopia is oppressing them in an exceptional and alarming way.

All participants mentioned that they are participating in their home country affairs in one way or another. The following are some of the common ways indicated by the participants of this study: keeping abreast of family members back home, community involvement here in the US, talking to new arrivals, Facebook and other social media, close communication to existing diaspora organizations in the US, attending discussion forums, and playing advocacy roles. Additional ways of participation that were indicated by the participants were secret communication to activists and politicians back home, leadership in a political support group, participating in fundraising in support of political prisoners, joining professional organizations, and providing social services to Ethiopian immigrants and refugees.

Barriers to Contribute to Ethiopia Positively *(f=514)*

This theme describes any barriers, hindering participants to contribute to Ethiopia positively and was noted 514 times throughout the data and by all participants *(f=514)*. Participants were asked to explain the barriers to them contributing positively towards the economic, social, and political goals of their country of origin.

Participant 4 said, "one barrier is the government in power in Ethiopia that discourages free speech and free press by blocking the internet and Satellite Television and Radio stations that are being broadcasted from the US." This participant cited the "undemocratic political culture" shared by most Ethiopians as the major obstacle to

contributing to Ethiopia and its people positively. Participant 7 explained, political differences, ethnic division, disunited diaspora have become barriers to contribute positively to the political, economic, and social goals of Ethiopia. This participant complained, "it seems that the diaspora failed to catch up the democratic culture which is largely exercised here in the US as we don't see respect for other people's opinions within ourselves."

Participant 1 acknowledged that many diaspora organizations are trying to organize members and help their country economically, politically, and socially; but he mentioned: "there is no clarity of goals within these organizations." This participant added that people are frustrated with those organizations because they did not bring any tangible result so far. Participant 6 highlighted that members of the Ethiopian diaspora are afraid of the government back home and therefore do not want to be involved in anything. This participant said the government has installed a lot of spies within the Ethiopian diaspora here in the Washington DC metro area and no one is willing to fall into that trap.

Participant 10 articulated that she doesn't have a personal barrier but it is all about the unfavorable political situations and government activities back home. This participant believes that the current government favored members of a specific ethnic group and she has seen with her own eyes that whatever good things other people wanted to do to the people there, they had been discouraged and blocked. This participant underlined that the main barrier is the negative perception the current government reflects towards the

Ethiopian diaspora. "They don't trust us but they always put us on their radar and work hard to make sure that opinion leaders are trapped and fallen apart," participant 10 added.

Participant 9 mentioned, "the greatest barrier of all is the system of ethnic-based federalism by itself as it is promoting ethnic racism and discrimination among the Ethiopian diaspora here as well as in the overall Ethiopian population." This participant opined that ethnic-based federalism "torn apart the country'' to the extent that citizens cannot stand together for any nonpartisan positive causes. Participant 15 echoed that animosity between the government and the diaspora is a barrier. This participant added that there is extreme favoritism and ethnic discrimination and the government left it to grow deliberately. According to this participant, any effort to contribute to Ethiopia positively is not welcomed if that person is not a member of the ruling party's ethnic community.

All participants agreed that lack of trust, lack of focus by the diaspora members, ethnic division, personal life schedules, and political differences are hindering their efforts to positively contribute to their country of origin. All participants except two agreed that threat from the government, unfavorable political system, fear and suspicion, government spying, the brutality of the current government, domination by the ethnic minority government, and ethnic discrimination are top barriers to the diaspora members to positively contribute to Ethiopia. One participant cited time constraints in his own personal life as a barrier and another mentioned the problem of the telephone network connection hindering his individual effort to contribute to his family.

Effects of Ethnic Based Federalism at an Individual Level *(f=616)*

This theme describes the impact of ethnic-based federalism on the personal life of the members of Ethiopian diaspora personally as they reside in the Washington DC metro area and was noted 616 times throughout the data and by all participants *(f=616)*. Participants were asked to discuss how the implementation of ethnic based federalism in their home country is affecting their personal life.

Participant 4 stated that ethnic federalism prohibits him to openly discuss his issues or ideas about the common country Ethiopia with any member of the diaspora because everyone cares only about his/her own ethnic group. He further explained that the sense of Ethiopian nationalism is highly damaged and every one of us here in the diaspora is highly fractured. He added, "ethnic-based federalism created a wall of separation among Ethiopians of different ethnic backgrounds and this is creating a sense of alienation and loneliness."

Participant 5 echoed, "honestly speaking ethnic-based federalism is a very bad system; it is uncivilized and divisive as well as an unfair political system for Ethiopia." He said that Ethiopians used to be highly connected and unified people with lots of commonalities but all that is forgotten ever since ethnic federalism has started and everyone is now consumed by the love of their own ethnic groups. He complained that he lost good friends from other ethnic groups and is unable to make new ones across ethnic groups. This participant mentioned, "I lost good friends especially from the Tigray ethnic group because I saw them blindly appreciating their own ethnic group regardless of the atrocities their ethnic political party is committing against other Ethiopians."

Participant 6 said he is not against ethnic-based federalism but admitted that it is affecting his life because the system is not being implemented properly. He added that if there was a true and equal representation of all ethnic groups at the federal level, most of us could have been happy. This participant further explained, "I am a neutral person with no political affiliation but I can see how this system of ethnic federalism can make people angry." Participant 7 said the current system of ethnic federalism aggravated ethnic division and has sewn a bad seed as it has now become very difficult to trust each other and discuss ideas freely. He commented that if he wanted to talk to anyone from the diaspora, first he has to know which ethnic group that person belongs to so that he will not disappoint anyone in his free discussion about politics and other issues back home."

Participant 10 explained that the negative impact of ethnic-based federalism in the life of any individual diaspora is reflected daily in the Washington DC area. She emphasized that the community is deeply divided across ethnic lines even in churches, where people expect unity the most. She stated, "Ethiopians in the DC area do not even say hello to each other whenever they meet in public places." This participant opined that making friends and supporting one another is not easy anymore and it is getting worst from time to time.

Participant 12 expressed his feeling how the introduction of ethnic-based federalism has affected his life. He stated,

It affects me negatively. Growing up as an Amhara, I had no experience of hating or discriminating someone based on his or her ethnic background. I grew up loving every human being equally. Back in 1992, I saw bodies of children,

pregnant women, mothers, and fathers slaughtered, dragged out from a deep well using cranes. Those were bodies of innocent Amhara murdered by Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), as it was reported on the state television. The video is still available on YouTube. Ever since I saw that video, my perception towards ethnicity and ethnic politics changed. I lost all the trust, to other ethnic groups that I had developed growing up as an Amhara child. I was innocent. Not anymore. I hate to get to this state of mind. But I have no choice. I did not look for it. It was implanted in my head by the current government.

All participants underlined that the implementation of ethnic-based federalism is affecting their lives in the diaspora negatively. They believed that it destroyed their common interest as a nation and has become very difficult to create friendships with members of other ethnic groups. All participants witnessed that all sorts of gatherings amongst the diaspora including but not limited to weddings, political and humanitarian fundraisers, baptismal ceremonies, and funerals are based on ethnic affiliations. Participants stated that members of the Ethiopian diaspora fear each other and don't feel comfortable meeting face to face. They feel that they are spying on each other. All of them described it as sad and painful.

Barriers to Diaspora Unity *(f=608)*

This theme describes the barriers impeding the Ethiopian diaspora for coming together and make their voices heard and was noted 608 times throughout the data and by all participants *(f=608)*. Participants were asked to explain the barriers they are facing for them to come together and advocate for their home country and its people.

Participant 1 reasoned that lack of common interest among the diaspora has become a barrier to unity. He said especially those who try to play leadership roles are engulfed by their own self-interest rather than the people's interest and no one is interested in being a follower of such leaders. This participant analyzed that the Ethiopian diaspora did not learn from other diaspora communities that are doing very well to get their voices heard in the US as well as the international community by hiring lobbyists. He criticized, "we always tend to have political protests through rally, demonstrations, and meetings but without any follow-up." Participant 4 identified these three obstacles for diaspora unity: ethnic-based federalism that created a "we and others" scenario in the country, lack of democratic culture among the Ethiopians who usually do not take criticism easily, and a lack of common vision and direction among the diaspora. He added that the diaspora community is full of people who are talking but cannot listen to each other yet.

Participant 8 believed that the Ethiopian diaspora activists and community leaders do not have the right knowledge, skill, and commitment required to bring positive changes in people's lives. He said, "most of them are led by their own irrational or emotional behaviors" and therefore cannot show tolerance and persistence to achieve unity and fulfill common goals. Participant 9 commented that the agents of the government are working very hard in disseminating false information that triggers hate and division among the Ethiopian diaspora and such actions prohibit the Ethiopian diaspora to come together and make their voice heard in support of the Ethiopian people's struggle for freedom and respect for human rights.

According to participant 11, the biggest barrier to achieve diaspora unity and to speak with one voice is the current government that has been in power for the past 26 years by setting one ethnic group against the other through continuous teachings false history and ethnic hatred. He mentioned that the implementers of ethnic federalism are always busy of teaching unsubstantiated history to the new generation by emphasizing differences and portraying a false account of history as if one ethnic group was the oppressor and the other oppressed. This participant believed that such an approach destroyed the national feeling and common interest of the people and has become a barrier for the diaspora to come together and speak in one voice. Participant 12 explained that ethnic politics from back home has created this clustering of the Washington DC area Ethiopian diaspora based on ethnic affiliations, which resulted in the creation of holes in the integrity and unity of the diaspora community in general. He further analyzed that the current government created this "new Ethiopia" where people of the same country or even people of the same religion cannot stand together and make their voices heard.

All participants agreed that the heat of the political situation back home is creating sharp divisions among the diaspora that manifests itself in many ways such as verbal and physical fighting as well as defamation and characterizations. Because of this, participants said, ethnic hatred has surfaced and the diaspora could not stand in unity. Additional barriers identified by participants include lack of strong and inclusive organizations, lack of common purpose, ethnically biased community associations, highly politicized diaspora, lack of followership and leadership, lack of systematic networking and communication, and unable to think outside the ethnic box. Most of them described

ethnic-based federalism as the mother of all divisions for the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the Washington DC metro area.

Diaspora's Perceptions on Ethnic-based Federalism *(f=674)*

This theme describes the diaspora's perceptions about the effect of ethnic-based federalism and was noted 674 times throughout the data and by all participants *(f=674)*. Participants were asked to provide their perceptions about the effect of ethnic-based federalism towards the overall activities of the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the Washington DC metro area.

Participant 3 said, "you will be surprised to see restaurants and cafes are being opened to serve only their ethnic group members; yes, we do have such kind of things here in the Washington, DC metropolitan area." For this reason, this participant believed that ethnic-federalism is a disaster for Ethiopia and its people. He indicated that almost all members of the diaspora in the US were against ethnic politics, the government is always finding ways and means to divide the diaspora. He assumed that the government is working hard to divide the community further by sending spies.

Participant 4 commented that in addition to politics, ethnic-based federalism is negatively affecting the social and economic situation of the Ethiopian diaspora. It prohibited diaspora members to come together, discuss, and search for solutions for their problems. He believes that the system of ethnic-based federalism does not allow politicians to promote their ideas among the Ethiopian diaspora because the society is highly divided and unwilling to listen to political rhetoric from a different ethnic group than their own. He added that because the diaspora is disunited and segregated into its

own ethnic group, people could not come together and open small and big businesses to help themselves and the people at home as they used to do before the start of ethnic-based federalism.

Participant 5 perceived that the impact of ethnic-based federalism on the Ethiopian diaspora here in the Washington DC metro area is big. He believed, "the lack of trust within the Ethiopian diaspora is actually creating psychological and identity crises, and has become a source of social distress." He added that it has become so ugly because one ethnic group is trashing the culture of another ethnic group continuously.

Participant 7 believed ethnic-based federalism divided the Ethiopian diaspora community and introduced doubt instead of trust and separation instead of togetherness. This participant explained how ethnic politics, the main thesis of ethnic-based federalism, has dismantled institutions like churches and sports clubs. He underlined,

As you know Ethiopia is a country of more than 80 ethnic groups and here in the Washington DC metro area, we have the main ones such as Oromo, Amhara, Tigray, and some of the Southern Ethiopia ethnic groups. Most of them went to the same schools back home and lived many years together. However, it is unfortunate to see that the relationship among these ethnic groups is becoming very rough from time to time. It is getting worse. The diaspora here is socially fractured. This is manifested in churches, social activities, cultural events, and sports groups. There are misunderstanding and separation everywhere in every institution.

Participant 14 explained that the government introduced ethnic-based federalism and the people do not want to embrace or understand it, but without proposing a proper alternative strategy. He added, "it is over 25 years now politicians, members of the diaspora, and the rest of Ethiopians are dancing on the fire of ethnic politics, which has now engulfed all of us." Participant 10 perceived that ethnic based federalism introduced separation and division among the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the Washington, DC Metropolitan area. She said, "look at the sports clubs and our churches, which are now fractioned across ethnic lines as no one is willing to operate out of its ethnic group."

All participants believed that ethnic-based federalism is divisive and also the main source for all sorts of ethnic bias among the Ethiopian diaspora. They further explained how ethnic resentment has surfaced among the diaspora by creating a *we versus them* mentality in every aspect of the diaspora such as religious institutions, sports clubs, and other areas of social life. All of them approved that the way ethnic-based federalism is being played in Ethiopia has broken the social bond the Ethiopian diaspora was enjoying in the past.

Developments after the Implementation of Ethnic-based Federalism *(f=623)*

This theme outlines some situations developed within the Ethiopian diaspora following the implementation of ethnic-based federalism and was noted 623 times throughout the data and by all participants *(f=623)*. Participants were asked to describe the main economic, social, and political developments within the Ethiopian diaspora since ethnic federalism was exercised in Ethiopia.

Participant 2 revealed, "one major development is that the Amhara ethnic group that has never tried to form ethnic organizations has now started organizing itself saying that the current government is attacking them." He confirmed that such development is creating a lot of movement within the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the Washington, DC metro area. This participant believes that this is the "end of Ethiopian nationalism" as the Amhara ethnic group was considered to be the gate-keeper of Ethiopianism and Ethiopian unity.

Participant 5 mentioned, "as a member of the diaspora who closely follows the situations in my country, I simply learned how ethnic federalism has destroyed the social capital of the Ethiopian people." He believes that such development brought communal sadness among the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the Washington, DC metro area as it has become very difficult to promote Ethiopianism among the community. Participant 8 revealed that he is observing new developments within the Ethiopian diaspora community as some members are performing self-evaluations and speaking out in public about the overall suffering we all have been passing through due to ethnic politics and trying to find a way out accordingly. This participant believes that such developments have the potential to lead to possible solutions.

All participants agreed that several developments have occurred within the Ethiopian diaspora after the implementations of ethnic-based federalism. They all discussed how the current Ethiopia is very different from the one that existed before ethnic-based federalism. They said that before 26 years ago Ethiopian immigrants were more or less in accord on most of the national issues as there was no such official

division and separation among ethnic groups. For example, participants commented, ethnically organized churches were unheard of before ethnic politics engulfed the country, but these are the new normal now.

Participants identified a long list of socio-economic and political developments within the Ethiopian diaspora community after the introduction of ethnic-based federalism in their home country. This includes: ethnic dominance, the merging of political beliefs with ethnicity, disagreement between different diaspora generations, blind love to one's own ethnic group, sense of Ethiopian national feeling wiped out, love for the national flag collapsed, growing sadness and social distress among the diaspora, and a highly doubtful community. Participants described those developments as scary and shocking.

Relationship among the Ethiopian Diaspora *(f=751)*

This theme describes the existing relationship among the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the Washington DC metro area and was noted 751 times throughout the data and by all participants *(f=751)*. Participants were asked to share their opinion with regards to the relationship among the Ethiopian diaspora in the aftermath of ethnic based federalism.

Participant 1 explained that both the government and the opposition parties have support bases and it is not uncommon to see the supporters of the two fighting each other from time to time. He added that they are not even talking to each other on other life issues. He witnessed that when the Ethiopian government officials coming to visit

Washington, DC area, supporters of the opposition parties organize a protest almost all the time and because of this any Ethiopian government official is afraid of coming here.

Participant 3 mentioned that although a large number of the Ethiopian diaspora resides in the Washington, DC area, the relationship is weak compared to the other countries diaspora communities residing in the area. He commented that people try to keep positive relationships informally at an individual level by contributing money if someone is in an acute need or when death occurs. Participant 4 elaborated that although the intra-ethnic relationships are growing positively; the inter-ethnic relationships are deteriorating. He said, "there is a lot of smoke that arises from ethnic politics and it is suffocating the Ethiopian diaspora in the Washington, DC metro area."

Participant 5 revealed that the current relationship among the Ethiopian diaspora is negatively impacted by the ongoing ethnic politics back home. He stated, "there is a growing tension, especially the relationship between the ethnic Tigray who blindly support their ethnic minority ruling party and the other ethnic groups is not pleasant". Additionally, this participant said, ethnic clusters are being formed within the larger Ethiopian diaspora and the relationship among them is not so good.

Participant 11 commented that the relationship among the Ethiopian diaspora is not good at all as ethnic separation and discrimination is seen in many aspects of the diaspora's daily life. She stated, "it is not only affecting people's social lives but it is affecting the mental health of our people as we continue losing lifelong friends and are unable to make new ones because of the impacts of ethnic-based politics. Participant 14 answered, "the saddest thing is we are building walls among us based on the colonial

style old 19th century politics which was shaped by ethnicity." He reminded that

Ethiopians were known for their unity and oneness in cases of foreign adversaries and

difficult national issues but now believes that all strength is gone because our fathers'

wisdom was dismantled by various ideologies such as the communist revolution of the

1970s as well as present day ethnic politics. This participant forecasts that the future is

going to be worse for the diaspora because no sense of Ethiopianism is left to be

transferred to the coming generation.

All participants admitted that the existing relationship among the Ethiopian

diaspora residing in the Washington, DC metro area is not good to the extent that people

of different ethnic groups do not exchange casual greetings, a norm that is highly valued

by all Ethiopians back home. Some of them described it as "a dormant volcano that can

erupt anytime." They believe that the current political system that is governed by the

principle of ethnic-based federalism has adversely impacted the relationship among the

Ethiopian diaspora. They mentioned that most of the diaspora conflicts are originating

from the ongoing situation back home.

Participants characterized the current relationship among the Ethiopian diaspora

in the Washington, DC area as unpleasant, shameful, sad, full of tension, unable to

celebrate holidays together, unjust and biased, unhealthy, doubtful and untruthful,

broken, and manipulated by government spies. They said the relationship among the

Ethiopian diaspora is shadowed by tribalism, mistrust, ethnic and political allegiance, and

eroded social capital. Some of the participants believed that the Ethiopian diaspora is

sharply divided to the extent that bringing back the unity, strength, and social bond might be impossible.

Role of Social Media *(f=856)*

This final theme describes the role of social media in relation to the Ethiopian ethnic-based federalism and activities of its diaspora residing in the Washington DC metro area and was noted 856 times throughout the data and by all participants *(f=856)*. Participants were asked to discuss what roles social media is playing within the dynamics of ethnic-based federalism and the Ethiopian diaspora.

Participant 13 believed that social media has a negative impact on the current situation of Ethiopia as extreme positions are being promoted with no one taking responsibility. He said that on one hand, the Ethiopian government releases fabrications over social media and feeds people wrong information just to confuse opposition groups and their supporters; and on the other hand, because of their hate for the government back home, opposition parties in the diaspora exaggerate some facts.

Participant 3 believed that people back home follow Facebook posts by the diaspora activists and highly dependent on them, listen to them, and sometimes organize protests based on political issues they listen and read. This participant stated that before the coming of social media, people used to hear only from politicians and public figures, but now every ordinary citizen is writing and speaking live, enriching information sources for the people and widening public participation.

Participant 9 believed that social media is helping promote free speech as is creating awareness among the larger Ethiopian population. He stated that several anti-

government demonstrations were shaped by social media and because of this the government is forced to announce a state of emergency at the beginning of 2017. Following this announcement, participant 9, noted that the government has been blocking and unblocking Facebook to silence the people. He added that the diaspora is playing a big role in circulating important information to the public to assist in its fight for democracy and justice in a very fast and coordinated manner.

Participant 6 liked social media because he believed that for countries such as Ethiopia where there is no free speech or assembly, social media is the only way to exercise freedom of speech and writing. He justified that social media can be used as a platform for debates if used in a positive way, but underlined the need to be rational rather than emotional. Participant 11 portrayed social media as a platform that plays both negative and positive roles in relation to diaspora activism and the ongoing socio-political situations back home. According to this participant although social media is helping to exchange information in a speedy manner, exposes the human right abuses and crimes committed by the government; it is also misused by irresponsible people to propagate hate among several ethnic groups of the Ethiopian people.

Participants presented mixed feelings about the role of social media. They said it is like a double-edged sword for the Ethiopian diaspora community as well as the people back home. They explained, on the good side, social media liberated information from the monopoly of the dictatorial government back home and became a great tool to promote the struggle for freedom, justice, and democracy. On the contrary, it has

damaged the quality of information being circulated due to fabrication from unreliable sources.

All of the participants agreed that social media greatly helped the Ethiopian diaspora community and others to challenge ethnic-based federalism and its undesirable consequences, which in the absence of social media, would have been a very difficult task. They explained how social media opens a way for scholars to reach out and teach history and politics to thousands of followers easily and at no cost. However, participants also admitted that the use of fake identities and fake accounts by social media activists is creating problems to identify the bad from the good.

Participants believed that social media is the only free and independent media in the case of Ethiopia as the main stream media is controlled by the government directly or indirectly. However, they pleaded for proper, balanced, and responsible usage by the diaspora activists and others for the benefit of the public. If social media is not used in a positive manner, participants said, it will lead to a full blown civil war among the Ethiopian people back home.

Summary of Chapter Four

All but two participants indicated that the main reason for leaving their country was political persecution and harassment coming from the government. All participants agreed that the diaspora can greatly contribute to its home country Ethiopia, as well as the host country - the USA through socio-economic and political discourse. Participants underlined that the Ethiopian diaspora is actively participating to its home country affairs through media, family relations, and other networks. All participants agreed that lack of

trust and focus by the diaspora members, ethnic division, personal life schedules, and political differences are hindering their efforts to positively contribute to their country of origin. Participants felt that the implementation of ethnic-based federalism in Ethiopia is negatively affecting diaspora life and described it as painful and sad. They described ethnic-based federalism as "the mother of all divisions in the diaspora community."

All participants admitted that the existing relationship among the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the Washington, DC metro area is deteriorating at an alarming rate. They believed that the current political system which is governed by the principle of ethnic-based federalism has adversely impacted the relationship among the Ethiopian diaspora. Lastly, all the participants agreed that social media has greatly helped the Ethiopian diaspora community to challenge ethnic-based federalism and its undesirable consequences. Participants also warned that the improper use of social media that propagates extreme hate among ethnic groups might lead to a civil war in Ethiopia.

Chapter 5 will present a discussion of the data and how the relations between the codes showed the connection between the Ethiopian diaspora and ethnic-based federalism in the current political situation of Ethiopia. Data accuracy and generalizability of the research will also be discussed. Chapter 5 concludes with recommendations for further research and implications for positive social change.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Recommendations, and Conclusions

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to describe the perceptions of the Ethiopian diaspora community in the US towards ethnic-based federalism in Ethiopia. The nature of this study was a qualitative ethnography that used face-to-face interviews as a data collection instrument. As previous studies did not document the perceived impacts of Ethiopia's ethnic-based federalism on its diaspora in the DC metro area, this study was able to address this gap by documenting the perceptions of some members of the Ethiopian diaspora community in the DC metro area towards the effect of ethnic-based federalism. Thus, this research was conducted to better understand the behavior and reactions of the Ethiopian diaspora community in the US with regards to ethnic-based federalism that is being exercised in their home country.

The study revealed that the participants were well educated and experienced, but came to the US to save their lives which were under threat from the government through continuous harassment and political persecution. Most of the participants managed to escape Ethiopia and arrived in the US directly in one stretch, but some had to stay many years in a third country until their refugee status visas were processed. Few of the participants arrived in the US through family reunification after the US authorities approved asylum applications of their spouses who happened to arrive before them. One participant came to the US after winning a diversity visa lottery that was offered by the US Department of State.

The study showed that members of the Ethiopian diaspora community who participated in the study make significant contributions to their homeland country through various ways such as money transfer, knowledge transfer, supporting the struggle for freedom and democracy, introducing democracy and good governance, promoting human rights and diversity concepts, and bringing about positive social change. Additionally, the study showed that participants can boost the national economy through investment, informing public policy makers, and teaching the Ethiopian people about tolerance and respect for diversity.

Findings in this research revealed that members of the Ethiopian diaspora community who participated in the study make positive contributions to the US socially, economically, and politically. Through hard work, these members of the Ethiopian diaspora became part of the main workforce in the Washington DC metro area and helped to boost the US economy; with loyalty, they defend the US Constitution. Participants possess a unique culture which is useful to the US. Additionally, participants of the study have established a spiritual pattern in their respective churches where priests and pastors are leading prayers for the safety and blessings of the US.

The findings showed that members of the Ethiopian diaspora community who participated in the study participate in their home affairs in various ways. The following are some of the common ways indicated by the participants of this study: keeping abreast of family members back home, community involvement in the US, talking to new arrivals, contributing to Facebook and other social media outlets, close communication with existing diaspora organizations in the US, attending discussion forums, and playing

advocacy roles. Additional ways of participations include secret communication with activists and politicians back home, leadership in a political support group, participating in fundraising in support of political prisoners, joining professional organizations, and providing social services to Ethiopian immigrants and refugees.

The findings also revealed several obstacles to the positive contributions of the members of Ethiopian diaspora community to their homeland. Those obstacles included an unfavorable political system in Ethiopia, perceived government spying over the diaspora, fear of the government, the brutality of the government, and domination of an ethnic minority group. Additional obstacles included ethnic discrimination and lack of visionary leaders in the diaspora. However, there was no barrier identified to contribute positively to the host country, the USA.

The study further revealed that the negative impact of ethnic-based federalism is being felt by the participants as well as individuals, family members, and the larger Ethiopian diaspora community members. Participants of the study lost good friends, were unable to make new ones across ethnic groups, and observed marriages disrupted because of ethnic politics. Members of the Ethiopian diaspora community who participated in the study lost trust and a sense of togetherness throughout the larger diaspora community.

The study showed that the relationship among the Ethiopian diaspora community is shadowed by tribalism, mistrust, ethnic and political allegiance, and eroded social capital. The relationship between the participants of the study and their diaspora community members is severely damaged because of ethnic politics and participants and their acquaintances within the diaspora community are sad and psychologically

distressed. The study showed that ethnic-based federalism has become a major cause of divisions and social fracturing exists within the lives of the Ethiopian diaspora community members who participated in the study. The *we versus them* mentality is now the way of life and each ethnic group has been forming its own exclusive religious institutions, sports clubs, and restaurants. Ethnically organized churches were unheard of before ethnic politics engulfed the country, but these are now the new normal.

Finally, the study revealed that social media is the only free media that members of the Ethiopian diaspora who participated in the study are depending on when it comes to the socioeconomic and political affairs of Ethiopia. Social media has helped members of the Ethiopian diaspora who participated in the study to challenge ethnic-based federalism and its undesirable consequences. It was underlined that although social media has helped many scholars to reach out and teach history and politics to thousands of followers very easily and at no cost, participants fear that the extreme hate propaganda may lead to civil war.

Some responses that were not expressed by all participants but that were relevant in answering the main research questions were also recognized. For instance, the ethnic Amhara movement that is currently emerging in the diaspora community was mentioned. Another example is network connectivity as a barrier to positively contribute to Ethiopia. Network connectivity is such a common issue in developing countries and further explanation on this may not be needed. However, the opinions of participants regarding of organizing the Amhara ethnic groups in the diaspora, will be discussed later in this chapter.

This chapter presents a discussion on the interpretation of the findings. The focus of the discussion will be some key themes of the research findings such as perceptions of diaspora, the effect of ethnic-based federalism, diaspora unity, diaspora contribution to the homeland and host country, inter diaspora relationship, and the role of social media. The discussion further incorporates viewpoints from the literature as presented in the proposal that is related to the findings of this research. Likewise, the theory of ethnic federalism and classical diaspora theory were applied to the findings as appropriate. There are sections for limitations, recommendations, and implications of the study. The chapter ends with a conclusion.

Interpretation of the Findings

The interpretation of the findings can best be explained in the answers to the research question. The central research question for this study was: What are the perceptions regarding the social, political, and economic development within the Ethiopian diaspora community in the Washington DC metro area as a result of ethnic-based federalism in Ethiopia?

I gathered primary data from 15 members of the Ethiopian diaspora in the DC metro area in a face-to-face interview format. The data provided a deeper understanding of Ethiopian diasporas in the US in terms of how they came here, how they are contributing to the homeland country as well as to the host country, and their overall perceptions of the impact of ethnic-based federalism regarding their socioeconomic and political activities. The study also explained the intra-diaspora relationship of the Ethiopian community in the Washington, DC metro area, the problems they are facing,

and how they view the role of social media as they struggle to stay in touch among themselves as well as with the affairs of their homeland country. I used two theories, the theory of ethnic federalism and the theory of diaspora, which helped me to capture the dynamics within the Ethiopian diaspora community residing in the Washington DC area and the ethnic-based federalism system of governance as it is being exercised in Ethiopia.

The Ethiopian diaspora community is mainly composed of people who were forced to leave their country through direct and systematic political persecution coming from the government. They are well educated and experienced people who secured a legal residency in the US through asylum, which is one of the legal avenues for resettlement in the US (United States Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2015). The US extends such legal relief for peoples of the world who are physically in its territory but unable to return their home country in fear of political persecution from any known dictatorial and authoritarian regimes. As indicated in the literature review part of this study, the current government of Ethiopia that has ruled the country since 1991 has been referred by many as dictatorial, totalitarian, authoritarian, and ethnocentric (see Aalen, 2006; Gudina, 2011; Lyons, 2011; Mehretu, 2012; Terfa, 2012).

Ethiopian immigrants have positively acculturated into the US and at the same time have maintained strong feelings toward their homeland country and continued significant interactions. This was discovered in this study as participants explained their efforts in forming groups and organizations to support the people of Ethiopia and their struggle for freedom through finance and diplomacy. Although the immigrants have been removed physically from their homeland country and resettled in the US, the study

proved that Ethiopian immigrants preserved a collective memory about their original homeland. The participants regard Ethiopia as their true and ultimate home where they want to return in the future; they feel collective responsibility and commitment to the restoration of their original homeland; and they continue to relate individually and collectively to it. These characteristics that are clearly exhibited by the Ethiopian community who resides in the US are in line with Safran's (1991) requirements for a group to be recognized as a diaspora community.

The study revealed that members of the Ethiopian diaspora use different methods to enable themselves to stay connected with their homeland affairs. As specifically stated by Safran (1991), the following features are being reflected among the Ethiopian diaspora community: involvement of diaspora community members in different affairs of the country of origin, interest to return to the home country, the presence of networking among ethnic groups or members of communities, and nonstop sentimentality to the homeland. Furthermore, they keep abreast of their family members back home, they involve themselves in community activities being conducted in the US, they participate in town hall meetings and public demonstrations, they talk to new immigrants as they arrive, and they actively participate in Facebook and social media related to current affairs. Other methods of connectivity include close communication with existing diaspora organizations in the US, attending discussion forums, playing advocacy roles, secret communication to activists and politicians in the country of origin, leadership in political support groups, participating in fundraising in support of political prisoners,

joining professional organizations, and providing social services to Ethiopian immigrants and refugees in the host country.

The findings of this study showed that the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the Washington, DC metro area is either already making or can potentially make significant contributions to its home country through various means such as money transfer, knowledge transfer, supporting the struggle for freedom and democracy, introducing democracy and good governance, transferring human rights and diversity concepts, and bringing social change. Other areas of contribution include supporting the national economy through investment and helping to shape policy by informing policy makers.

The study further revealed that the diaspora has a huge potential to draw international lessons and teach the Ethiopian people in the home country about tolerance and how to live together with people who hold different views and cultures. This finding shows that the Ethiopian diaspora regardless of the multifaceted challenges it faced is playing a critical role in many aspects of their homeland affairs as stated by Lyons (2009) and Davies (2012). Particularly Davies underlined that diasporas have become an integral part of their homeland country affairs as they bring changes in the cultural, social, and economic settings of their respective homelands but success differs from one region to another. What makes the diasporas assume this important role of developmental agent for their respective homeland is explained by the theory of diaspora (Safran, 1991). This holds true for the Ethiopian diaspora who were separated physically from the homeland but who remain emotionally, politically, and financially connected.

The effort of the Ethiopian diaspora to contribute positively to the socio-economic and political goals of its homeland country is mired by a lot of barriers. The findings of this study revealed that lack of trust, ethnic division, political differences, threat from the government, an unfavorable political system back home, fear and suspicion, government spying, brutality of the current government, domination by an ethnic minority government, and ethnic discriminations are among the top barriers to the diaspora members to positively contributing to Ethiopia. It seems that ethnic politics, which is the pillar of ethnic-based federalism, has affected the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the Washington DC metro area and has disrupted their common interests of Pan-Ethiopian ideology.

Such barriers have negatively affecting the effectiveness of the Ethiopian diaspora as a developmental agent for its homeland. According to Davies (2012), diasporas are not effective development agents in African settings as compared to other regions. Additionally, Berman (2010) discovered that ethnic conflict has impeded democracy and genuine federalism in Africa. Ethiopia as one of the 54 nations of Africa is no exception from these assertions. In fact, this study showed that ethnic-based federalism as a system of governance has negatively affected of the social, economic, and political lives of its people in the diaspora mainly due to excessive ethnic favoritism.

This study revealed that the Ethiopian diaspora community is either already making or can potentially make unique and significant contributions to the host country. The findings showed members of the Ethiopian diaspora are mostly with good character free from drugs and criminal activities, which is, therefore, adding to the strength of the

US workforce and serve as an additional tax base. It was also revealed that there are many Ethiopians serving as professors, medical doctors, engineers, and small business owners throughout the US. These findings are consistent with a study conducted in the Netherlands that found Ethiopians are not seen as a problematic community compared to other African migrant communities because few Ethiopians are cited in Dutch crime statistics (Abbink, 2011). Van Rijna (as cited in Abbink, 2011) discovered that children of Ethiopian immigrants are generally doing well in schools and appreciated as the most successful compared to all other immigrant communities, performing on par with native Dutch children. The study further discovered that in addition to their hard work and good behavior, Ethiopians are serving as the gatekeepers of democratic and diversity values in the US through their unique culture of tolerance and ability to live with diversified religions and cultures. The research also discovered that Ethiopians are very loyal to their host country as their priests lead prayers every Sunday during a mass for divine protection as well as more blessings to come to the USA.

The study revealed that the implementation of ethnic-based federalism is negatively affecting the diaspora life even at an individual level. The findings showed that individual diaspora members lost good friends from different ethnic groups because of ongoing ethnic political discourse and tension. Making new friends across ethnic groups has also become problematic. Ethnic background has become a criterion to establish a friendship. Moreover, participations in all sorts of gatherings among the diaspora including but not limited to weddings, political and humanitarian fundraisers, baptismal ceremonies, and funerals are heavily influenced by ethnic affiliations.

Members of the Ethiopian diaspora fear each other and feel that they are being spied upon by the other member of the community. For this reason, they do not feel comfortable meeting one another. The study discovered that most members of the diaspora community are experiencing a type of social pain and feel very sad about it. These findings are further vindicated in the literature review of this study as described by Balcha (2007) and Meheretu (2012). The two authors described that although there were occasional ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia before 1991, the situation has become worse since ethnic-based federalism was implemented as the people of Ethiopia are experiencing the pain of social fragmentation at home and abroad. It was further indicated that the Ethiopian diaspora community in the US has become a victim of ethnic-based federalism as worship centers, sports, community organizations, and other important social activities are forced to follow the ethnic line. This study clearly indicated that individual members of the Ethiopian diaspora are highly frustrated with the consequences of ethnic-based federalism over and above the day to day challenge they are facing in their journeys of acculturating into the host country.

The research showed that the efforts of the Ethiopian diaspora to come together and advocate for their home country and its people are facing multiple barriers. The tension of political and ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia is causing sharp divisions among the diaspora community and has persisted with no relief anticipated by the participants. This research has shown that verbal and physical fighting has erupted in public places in the Washington, DC area such as airports, cafes, and hotels especially when government representatives from the home country have visited. An example is the shootings that

sparked surrounding the Ethiopian Embassy in Washington, DC on September 29, 2014 (Dockins, 2014). This study confirmed that animosities, defamation and labeling, and ethnic hatred among the diaspora community is increasing in reaction to such events and threatens unity of the diaspora. This research clearly indicated that ethnic-based federalism has become the catalyst for dividing the Ethiopian diaspora community residing in the Washington DC metro area.

The perceptions of the Ethiopian diaspora community residing in the Washington, DC metro area on ethnic-based federalism was clearly stated in this study. The diaspora community believes that ethnic-based federalism is not only divisive, but also serves as the main source of ethnic bias among the Ethiopian diaspora. The findings revealed that ethnic resentment has surfaced among the diaspora and created a *we versus them* mentality that ripples through in every aspect of the diaspora's life activities such as worship, entertainments, and sports. According to the findings of this research, the diaspora perceives that the way ethnic-based federalism has been enacted in Ethiopia has broken the social bonds that the Ethiopian diaspora community has enjoyed in the past. Such perception was particularly confirmed in the literatures review of this study. According to Frank (2009), ethnic-based federalism cares less for the creation of an overarching identity and trust that could bring a commitment to a common citizenship than it does for the concept of ethnicities as fixed identities and its politicization leading to a series of irregularities in the political system.

This study discovered that the overall perception of the Ethiopian diaspora community on Ethiopia's ethnic-based federalism was negative. Most people in the

diaspora believed that this divisive system of governance was not the request of the

Ethiopian people and has never been endorsed by the people. They underlined that it was

imposed by the ethnic minority junta that came to power after winning a civil war.

Scholars supported this perception affirming that the root of the theory of ethnic

federalism in African countries is the infamous "divide and rule" policy of British

colonialism (Burgess, 2012; Fiseha, 2007). According to these authors, before British

colonialists arrived in Africa, people of various ethnic groups lived in harmony under one

nation, but later the colonialists quickly realized that unless they created a federal type of

policy that separates regions based on their ethnicity, their colony would not survive.

That was how they dismantled the indigenous, traditional, and unified administration

system and promoted political disintegration. The Ethiopian diaspora community in the

Washington DC metro area strongly believes that the old colonialist tactic is currently at

play in Ethiopia.

The study also revealed various socio-economic and political developments that

have been observed within the diaspora since ethnic-based federalism was implemented.

As political belief merged with ethnic identity, ethnic identity replaced Pan-Ethiopian

identity. Some other key developments identified in this study include the formation of

ethnic-based churches, ethnic-based sports clubs, ethnic-based political organizations,

and ethnic-based medias such as the Oromo Media Network and the Amhara Radio.

Furthermore, this research discovered that there is a clear disagreement between the old

and new generations who both became members of the diaspora community once

migrated to the US. As love for a single national flag has collapsed, excessively blind

love to ethnic identity has mounted. This shows that Ethiopia as a nation is at risk of disintegration as the common national interest for ethnic groups is almost nonexistent. Ethnic-based federalism was supposed to be a methodology that countries try to balance differences and address ethnic conflicts within their own people towards the final goal of avoiding violence and secession threats (Herther-Spiro, 2007). The reverse is happening in Ethiopia as its ethnic-based federalism is dividing its people instead of uniting together.

This research revealed that the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the Washington, DC metro area is in bad shape to the extent that people of different ethnic groups do not exchange casual greetings as they meet in public places. As was the case in the findings discussed above, ethnic-based federalism has negatively impacted diaspora relations. What has been experienced in Ethiopia is being replayed in the Washington, DC metro area in its worst fashion. The way participants described the relationship among the Ethiopian diaspora was full of tension, broken, and highly manipulated by government spies and sympathizers. Why the government is investing in this devastating social venture through spying or even why it allows it will remain unknown.

This research discovered that bringing the unity, strength, and social bond back to the Ethiopian diaspora is a daunting task. This is what has caused some researchers to caution that ethnic-based federalism is risky, as the mix of political belief and ethnicity is a recipe to destroy common values and love for a common nation (Balcha, 2007). Others also noted that ethnic-based federalism creates intergroup polarization and nurtures toxic relationships among ethnic groups of one nation (Debelo, 2012). Social capital among

Ethiopians was severely compromised ever since ethnic federalism has been introduced. The Pan-Ethiopian identity that has been built over a thousand years has slowly evaporated as the new political system chose ethnicity over national identity.

This research revealed that most Ethiopians in the diaspora, consider social media as the only independent media within the Ethiopian information world because almost all mainstream media is owned and controlled by the government and its affiliates. However, the Ethiopian diaspora community in the Washington, DC metro area views social media as a double-edged sword. On one side, it has liberated information from the state monopoly, and on the other; it is being used to circulate fabricated news and distortions. However, dishonest and fabricated news can be overcome through researching and validating the sources as well as the content of the message.

The fact of the matter is this research confirmed that social media greatly helped the Ethiopian diaspora community and others to challenge ethnic-based federalism and its consequences. For example, there was a wide range of public protest in the two largest ethnic states of the country where the diaspora community participated through social media. The protest has started in November 2015 and continued up until it was slowed by the government's announcement of the state of emergency in January 2017. During this prolonged period of protest, the government was forced to block Facebook and other forms of social media in the country aiming to stop public protests and silence activists. Amnesty International (2016) reported that apart from using security forces to crush protesters, the Ethiopian government has been blocking social media outlets such as Facebook, Twitter, and WhatsApp at the peaks of the protests. The report further

indicated that internet services were completely blocked in Amhara, Addis Ababa, and Oromia Regions during the first week of August 2016. During this protest period, the government admitted that 669 protesters were killed and more than 25,000 detained (Meseret, 2017). This research exposed that the Ethiopian diaspora community in the Washington DC area feels the pain of such massive loss of human lives and brutal acts in its home country. The government portrays protests in Ethiopia as anti-peace and anti-development.

All in all, this research confirmed all three initial assumptions made prior to the launch of the study. Those initial assumptions were: 1. that the Ethiopian diaspora community in the US is fragmented and disunited as its members brought their tradition of separation along ethnic lines from their home country to the host country; 2. the Ethiopian diaspora in the US is constantly involving itself in the economic, social, and political situation of the home country; and 3. ethnic federalism has exacerbated fragmentation in the diaspora community. The study clearly showed that obsession with one's own ethnic identity creates a fertile ground for intragroup racism that is damaging to peace and national unity.

The Amhara Movement in the Diaspora

Some participants in this research expressed that they are part of the Amhara movement in the diaspora. They mentioned that they are participating in the formation of Amhara affiliated ethnic organizations. For example, participant 5 conveyed.

Since I am from the Amhara ethnic group, I am participating in organizing the Amhara people who have been the main target of attack by the current

government which is run by an ethnic minority government. So, I am closely

working with other colleagues towards the formation of a very strong Amhara

Organization that can protect the Amharas from the atrocities being committed by

the government and its affiliates.

Participant 2 added,

One major development is that the Amhara ethnic group that has never tried to

form ethnic organizations in the past 26 years is now started organizing itself

saying that the current government is attacking them. Such development is

creating a lot of movement within the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the

Washington, DC metro area. I think that if this movement continues, Ethiopian

nationalism will end because Amharas have been pro unity throughout history.

I am therefore incorporating such voices in this section of the research.

The foundation of Ethiopia as an East African nation was engineered so carefully

that the country became increasingly strong and gained international prominence. An

evidence for this is that its people had resisted the era of colonialism successfully as they

defeated the Italian forces in March 1896 at the battle of Adwa (Jonas, 2011). This

victory marked Ethiopia as the only African country who demolished European

colonization and remained free and independent throughout history (African American

Registry, 2013). The Amhara ethnic group has played a key role in building and

protecting of Ethiopia as a country from the outset. According to Habtu (2003), the

Amharas are known by many as nation builders and also considered as the flag carriers of

Ethiopian nationalism.

Amhara is one of the largest ethnic groups in Ethiopia. The people of Amhara are densely populated in the North and North-West part of the country but also scattered around the country in all directions. Most cities in Ethiopia contain a large number of the Amhara people. For example, in the capital city Addis Ababa, about 60% of the 4 million people are believed to be from the Amhara ethnic group. For this reason, many people estimate that Amharas are about 40 million in number making it the largest in the country. Amharas are not only big in numbers but also the most inter-married ethnic group in the country. Their unique language Amharic is serving as a means of communications for this East Africa's oldest and largest nation, which is composed of 82 ethnic groups and about 100 million people. The official government figure, which is disputed by several groups and historians, showed that Amharas are the second largest in Ethiopia next to the Oromos.

This research revealed that members of the Amhara ethnic group have become the last Ethiopians to embrace the concept of organizing along ethnic lines. All other ethnic groups have their own ethnic organizations, some of which are as old as 60 years. There is one organization inside Ethiopia that carried the name Amhara but most Amharas kept distance from it saying that it never advocated for all Amharas and could not protect Amharas from attacks that have been coming from other ethnic groups and the government itself.

In the past 26 years, however, one Amhara organization named All Amhara People Organization (AAPO) was officially formed by the late Professor and Surgeon Asrat Woldeyes. This organization existed only for few years mainly because most

Amharas abhorred the concept of forming any organization along ethnic lines. Thus, the organization was forced to transform itself into a multi-ethnic political organization called All Ethiopian Unity Party (AEUP).

The Amhara people are generally pro unity and do not support ethnic-based federalism. Because of this opinion, they have been targeted and became the victims of ethnic-based federalism since 1991. There is some evidence that the current government has committed crimes of genocide and ethnic cleansing against the Amhara people. Research shows that about 3 million Amharas have been either killed or are missing since ethnic-based federalism was installed in the country (Abegaz, 2015). In addition, over 100,000 Amhara people have been evicted in several parts of the country with the knowledge and sponsorship of the federal and state governments (Shewakena, 2013; Tirfe, 2017). The main reason for the eviction was that ethnic-based federalism gave unlimited and exclusive rights to ethnically designed states to own everything in the land where they live or are assigned to live. In addition to the evictions out of other states, Amharas complained that their historical and fertile lands such as Wolkite, Tegede, Humera, Tselemete, Raya-Azebo, and Metekel were forcefully annexed by other states in the pretext of ethnic-based federalism (Tirfe, 2017).

As ethnic politics engrossed the nation, the new Amhara generation in the diaspora found a reason for forming Amhara organizations to advocate for the safety and respect of the Amhara people. Most Amharas saw this as a logical and legitimate move for self-protection, but others have criticized it fearing that it will serve for the demise of Ethiopia as a united and strong country. Those who support forming Amhara ethnic

organizations argue that the people of Amhara are at risk of extinction due to the active

ethnic cleansing and genocide being committed on the people of Amhara. They further

argue that due to the improper implementation of ethnic-based federalism, Ethiopia is fast

approaching a Yugoslavian type of disintegration and therefore it is time for the Amharas

to fully focus on saving themselves by forming their own organizations. They even fear

that if the Amharas cannot come together and form their own organizations; the growing

ethnic tension might eventually result in a Holocaust-like event making them the main

victims. Data collected from some of the participants of this research supported this

perception.

Limitations of the Study

This qualitative case study research involved 15 participants from the major

ethnic groups represented in the Ethiopia diaspora residing in the Washington, DC metro

area. The study did not include representation of all ethnic groups represented in the

Ethiopian diaspora residing in the US. Although the Ethiopian diaspora is dispersed

across various regions of the US, participants were drawn from the Washington DC

metropolitan area where the majority of the Ethiopian diaspora resides. The Washington

DC metropolitan area is home to more than half the Ethiopian diaspora. Thus, the

generalizability of this research should be viewed from the perspective of this limitation.

In view of this, it could be possible to see that most of the findings that were clearly

expressed by most of the participants are most likely applicable and therefore can be

generalized to other members of the diaspora residing in all the states and cities of the US

over and above the Washington, DC metropolitan area.

As the current ethnic-based federalism has introduced politics along the ethnic lines, it was expected that some participants would give opposing answers for some of the questions. I made sure that the major ethnic groups were included in the research and all voices were presented in reporting the results. However, the beliefs of most participants expressed in the interview were found to be consistent with what has previously been reported in the news stories. Such alignment indicates that most of the findings of this study could be relevant to a broader population.

It is important to note that because some of the interview participants were forced to leave their country by the government, they were not able to present their opinion in a balanced manner. Open-ended questions and any follow-up questions made were meant to enable the participants to narrate their experiences without any influence or leading on my part. I believe that the answers given by participants were relevant to address the issues surrounding the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the Washington, DC area and the ethnic-based federalism that has been in place in Ethiopia since 1991.

As I am a member of the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the US, there was a possibility for me to reflect my own views during and after the interview. However, I was fully aware of the potential influence of personal bias and took important steps to reduce or avoid such bias in the study. By knowing this limitation, I was able to uphold maximum objectivity when presenting the research findings. I utilized my past experiences interviewing and took maximum care to protect the data collection process from any form of potential bias. I made sure that my tone of voice, body language, and overall discourse during the interview process remained neutral. This was evidenced by

the level of comfort the interviewees displayed. In addition, it was a success for me to see that all of the participants were interviewed only once as the required data was obtained during the first attempt. In other words, there was no room for trial and error as well as disruption throughout the data collection process.

Given my positionality to the Ethiopian diaspora community, it is logical to expect that such it may affect the research process as well as the product. My expectation was that participants from a certain ethnic group would have different perceptions from the rest of the participants about the impact of ethnic-based federalism on the diaspora. This expectation was framed by my positionality. However, the result was not as I expected since almost all participants reflected similar perceptions towards the impact of ethnic-based federalism on the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the Washington, DC metro area. Additionally, it would be fair for me to contemplate that some aspects of data analysis such as the themes developed from the data were affected by my own voice and positionality. However, I proceeded carefully and tried to minimize or avoid the effect of positionality throughout the research process and in presenting the findings.

Recommendations

The recommendations presented here were guided by the research results explained in Chapter 4 as well as by the discussions in this chapter. In addition, key elements of the literature review were used to inform the recommendations. In view of this, the following two forms of recommendations are presented: recommendations for further research and for action.

Further Research

This research confirmed that the Ethiopian diaspora community in the US eastern cities or Washington, DC metro area is fragmented and disunited as its members brought their tradition of separation along ethnic lines from their home country to the host country; and obsession to one's own ethnic identity creates a fertile ground for intragroup racism that presents a barrier to national unity. Additionally, this research clearly showed that the Ethiopian diaspora community in the Washington, DC metro area is constantly involving itself in the economic, social, and political situation of the home country, and ethnic federalism has exacerbated fragmentation in the diaspora community.

A recommendation for further research would be to understand how members of the Ethiopian diaspora community residing in the other parts of US cities are reacting to ethnic-based federalism. More specifically, it would be helpful to know the perceptions of members of the diaspora communities residing in the western cities of the US as the way diaspora communities came to resettle may be different and geographical factors may have a role to play. Western cities with significant Ethiopian immigrant populations include Seattle, Los Angeles, San Diego, San Jose, and Las Vegas.

Another area for further research is to examine different countries of the world where Ethiopian diaspora communities are found. There is no doubt that such a study would bring a more comprehensive understanding of the Ethiopian diaspora communities and their overall perceptions on ethnic-based federalism. Some of those countries that host a significant number of Ethiopian diaspora communities include South Africa, Israel, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, United Kingdom, Germany, Netherlands, Italy,

Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland. It is common knowledge that Ethiopians are historically scattered around the world forming their own diaspora communities in various cities of those countries.

A third area for further research is exploring how other countries have successfully and unsuccessfully overcome ethnic-based federalism where similar atrocities such as genocide and military rule have taken place. This may provide strategies for a more suitable form of federalism for Ethiopia to move forward and provide knowledge to the diaspora communities how to advocate and act to affect positive change. For instance, the former eastern European countries of Yugoslavia and countries of the Soviet Union would be prime examples of useful case studies that could potentially help inform the current state in Ethiopia.

Action

In my journey to conclude this study, I have clearly learned that Ethiopia is in a critical situation engulfed by ethnic politics. I have learned that ethnic groups in Ethiopia are going back to 700 years of history in the country as a basis for the fighting. For the country to continue to exist, and for the sake of the spiritual, mental, socio-economic, and political health of its people; something must be done soon. Out of the burden of the findings I observed in conducting this study as well as my inborn responsibility, I recommend the formation of an Ethiopian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (ETRC). Members of the Ethiopian diaspora or anyone in the government can start the process that involves spiritual leaders, prominent individuals, and academicians who are residing in Ethiopia as well as in the diaspora.

South Africa used such a model to handle its apartheid crisis (The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 1995). Other examples include one southern city in the US that used it to address the conflict that involved the white supremacist better known as the Ku Klux Klan and the Communist Workers Party predominantly composed of the black Americans (Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2006). Canada used the same model to solve its problem that existed more than a hundred years that involved the Euro-Christian Canadian society and the Aboriginal society (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). Such efforts of reconciliation may be used as a model for Ethiopia. Reconciliation is not only to deal with the past but also to chart the future through respectful relationships.

Implications

Diaspora communities reflect positive social change because they envision the betterment of their members and the Ethiopian people in the homeland. The interviews in this research demonstrated that ethnic-based federalism as a system of governance in a homeland country affects the lives of its diaspora communities in the host country. This research adds further support for the theory of ethnic-based federalism as it suggested that failure to proper implementation leads to political and ethnic disintegrations of a country. Application of the theory of diaspora in this research assisted to operationalize the theory of ethnic-based federalism among the people of Ethiopia regardless of where they live that physical separation may not be taken as emotional separation.

The result of this research with its unique element of creating a linkage between the Ethiopian diaspora communities residing in the Washington, DC metro area and

Ethiopia's ethnic-based federalism has important implications for positive social change. The implications are organized under the following two themes: practice and policy.

Practice

Altogether, utilization of the results of this study has the potential to create positive social change at the individual, family, organizational, and societal levels. Knowing the overarching problems discovered in this research and working towards possible solutions may help avoid psychological distress at the individual, family and societal levels. By understanding the findings of this research, individual members of the diaspora community residing in the Washington DC metro area may put themselves, their family members, and the Ethiopian society as whole in a better position. It may help them to find solutions for their own challenges and work together towards common socio-economic and political goals of their fellow citizens. It may also help other diaspora communities of Ethiopian origin to develop an understanding that will lead to the reconciliation of their differences and facilitate social change within the social fabric of the Ethiopian people wherever they reside.

If the Ethiopian diaspora community in the Washington, DC area is somehow able to avoid the barriers of unity that were identified in this research, it could help with unification and help avoid reacting to the undemocratic and totalitarian nature of the current Ethiopian government so that democracy can flourish and social inequalities and human rights abuses can be minimized or avoided at least among the diaspora community.

There are different categories of diaspora. Taking in to consideration the reasons diasporas left their home country, Cohen (1997) identified five categories of diaspora: victim, labor, trade, imperial, and cultural. Based on the literature as well as the stories told through the interviews, this research determined that the Ethiopian diaspora is a victim diaspora. Thus, it is advisable for any institution in the home and host countries engaging the Ethiopian diaspora as a group or individually to have such an understanding so blaming the victim is avoided. Moreover, it is important to understand that the Ethiopian diaspora is always sandwiched between ongoing political crises in the home country and the challenge to form a strong union in the host country.

For those who want to practice the formation of Ethiopian diaspora associations, there are different models of organizing that can easily bypass ethnic lines. By its very nature, ethnic federalism mostly ignores other models than ethnicity when it comes to community organizing. There are, however, important organizing factors such as professionals, women, youth, elders, immigrants, sports, etc. that do not follow ethnic lines. Such models of organizing are supported by Fraser (2000) who eloquently argued the status model of organizing is better than the identity or ethnic model, as the identity model complicates the struggles within social groups for authority and representation. Fraser elaborated that the status model provides recognition based on the status of group members instead of group-specific identity fostering economic equality across ethnic groups within a country.

Policy

The growing of diaspora communities in host countries have become an area of focus for many. Turner and Kleist (2013) commented that in addition to its theoretical application, the emergence of diaspora as an independent category has helped policymakers in the host countries to better inform themselves and introduce better policies. This research revealed that the Ethiopian diaspora community in the Washington, DC metro area has untapped human capital. In addition to the US government; international organizations, religious organizations, and lobbyists may benefit if they incorporate this diaspora community in their policy issues. Another study revealed that the prominence of diasporas towards policy making in key areas such as political economy, global security, human rights, and democracy dramatically increased after the end of the Cold War as well as in the aftermath of 9/11 (World Bank, 2011). With such interaction with diaspora communities, developing and better governed countries such as the US can promote positive social change around the world.

This study confirmed that the members of the Ethiopian diaspora community residing in the Washington, DC metro area and participated in this study are well-rounded and informative. Similarly, Paul and Paul (2009) stated the Ethiopian diaspora along with other diaspora groups have contributed to the wellbeing of US communities. Incorporating such findings within the US policy making framework is highly beneficial for the Ethiopian diaspora community and US institutions such as human resource training and law enforcement agencies.

Managing diversity by exercising ethnic-based federalism is a delicate matter that has demonstrated negative consequences. Researchers such as Mirta (2001) have argued that if a country decides to name its federal states by their respective ethnic names, that country is adding trouble to its menu of governance as ethnic politics can sometimes engulf countries. This research confirmed that such trouble is already in full swing within the Ethiopian diaspora community members in the Washington, DC metro area. One immediate solution for this could be Ethiopian policy makers embracing democracy and learning from other countries such as Nigeria and India that are currently enjoying a better form of federalism that is multi-ethnic and multi-cultural (Burgess, 2012; Mirta, 2001).

This research confirmed that the Ethiopian government diaspora engagement strategy is not working in the minds and hearts of the members of the Ethiopian diaspora community in the Washington, DC metro area. What was observed and confirmed on the ground is the perception of a government's strategy of divide and rule through infiltration and spying on diaspora associations and groups. This perception has created animosity between the Ethiopian government and its diaspora residing in the Washington, DC metropolitan area. In this era of globalism and internationalism, political rivalry with a diaspora community is not wise as it has substantial socio-economic and political costs as described by the respondents.

If the government of Ethiopia wants to use its diaspora for the benefit of the country, changing that perception is essential. The government needs to send a positive and unifying message towards the diaspora community. Such a positive tone can be

learned from two sources mentioned in the literature review of this study. The first is the

African Union where Ethiopia is one of a number of prominent members. The African

Union has recognized African diasporas as the sixth region in Africa by adding it on top

of the existing five regions of the continent (African Union, 2005). The African Union

which is formed by 54 independent African nations has also constructed its own

definition of diaspora that views diasporas as people of African origin residing outside

the continent with the willingness to support ongoing development efforts of their

homeland.

Following the reframing and positive approach of the African Union, several

governmental and nongovernmental institutions have been formed by various member

states and the African Union itself, targeting the African diasporas around the world. The

second good example is the government of Mexico. In a speech on November 3, 2011,

the then President of Mexico, Vicente Fox Quesada, referred to the Mexican diaspora in

the US as "23 million beloved Mexican heroes, 23 million Mexicans living and working

in the US" (Kunz, 2012). Such a friendly tone has paved the way for Mexican emigrants

to become developmental agents and business entrepreneurs, as well as to be branded as

part of the solution rather than the problem in their homeland as well as their host country

(Kunz, 2012).

The approaches taken by the African Union (African Union,2015), as well as the

Mexican government (Kunz, 2012), have become instrumental in mobilizing diasporas

not only for remittance and investment but also ideas and knowledge transfer in relation

to democratic governance. There is no doubt that such an approach would change the

governance style of many countries around the world as the international prominence of diaspora increases over time. It is recommended for Ethiopia to embrace such a move.

Conclusion

This study confirmed that the Ethiopian diaspora community in the US is fragmented and disunited as its members brought their tradition of separation along ethnic lines from their home country to the host country. The study also confirmed that ethnic-based federalism has become the mother of all divisions for the Ethiopian diaspora community residing in the Washington, DC metro area. The study clearly showed that the Ethiopian diaspora in the US is constantly involving itself in the economic, social, and political situation of the home country; but ethnic federalism has exacerbated fragmentation in the diaspora community.

The perceptions of the Ethiopian diaspora community residing in the Washington, DC metro area on ethnic-based federalism was clearly stated in this study. The diaspora community believed that ethnic-based federalism is not only divisive but also serving as the main source for all sorts of ethnic bias among the Ethiopian diaspora. The findings revealed that ethnic resentment has surfaced among the diaspora and created a *we versus them* mentality in every aspect of the diaspora's life activities such as worship centers, restaurants, sport and recreation. The Ethiopian diaspora community strongly feels that the way ethnic-based federalism is being played in Ethiopia has broken the social bonds that the Ethiopian diaspora community has enjoyed in the past. The data collected for this research clearly showed that primacy to one's own ethnic identity creates a fertile ground for intragroup racism that may destroy national unity in the long run.

References

Aalen, L. (2006). Ethnic federalism and self-determination for nationalities in a semi-authoritarian state: The case of Ethiopia. *International Journal on Minority & Group Rights, 13*(2/3), 243-261. doi:10.1163/157181106777909849

Abate, T., & Alamirew, B. (2013). African diaspora for development. Retrieved from http://www.ethiomedia.com/addis/african_diaspora.pdf

Abbink, J. (2006). Discomfiture of democracy? The 2005 election crisis in Ethiopia and its aftermath. *African Affairs*, *105*, 419. doi:10.1093/afraf/adi122

Abbink, J. (2009). The Ethiopian second republic and the fragile "social contract." *Africa Spectrum, 44 (2)* 3-28. Retrieved from http://d-nb.info/999693549/34

Abbink, J. (2011). Ethnic-based federalism and ethnicity in Ethiopia: Reassessing the experiment after 20 years. *Journal of Eastern African Studies, 5(4),* 596-618. doi:10.1080/17531055.2011.642516

Abbink, G. J. (2011). Slow awakening? The Ethiopian diaspora in the Netherlands, 1977–2007. *Diaspora: A journal of Transitional Studies 15(2),* 361-380. Retrieved from https://muse.jhu.edu/article/422123/pdf

Aberra, W. (2016). The perils of ethnic federalism. Retrieved from http://www.ethiomedia.com/1010ideas/5023.html

African American Registry. (2013). Ethiopia wins battle of Adwa. Retrieved from http://www.aaregistry.org/historic_events/view/ethiopia-wins-battle-adwa

African Union. (2005). Report of the meeting of experts from member states on the definition of the African diaspora. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: Africa Union.

Amnesty International. (2016). Ethiopia offline: Evidence of social media blocking and

   internet censorship in Ethiopia. Retrieved from

   https://www.amnesty.ch/de/laender/afrika/aethiopien/dok/2016/webseiten-und-

   soziale-medien-waehrend-protesten-systematisch-blockiert/bericht-ethiopia-

   offline-evidence-of-social-media-blocking-and-internet-censorship-in-

   ethiopia.pdf

Anderson, C. (2010). Presenting and evaluating qualitative research. *American Journal*

   of Pharmaceutical Education, *74*(8), 141.

Anney, V. N. (2014). Ensuring the quality of the findings of qualitative research:

   Looking at trustworthiness criteria. *Journal of Emerging Trends in Educational*

   Research and Policy Studies (JETERAPS) 5(2): 272-281. Retrieved from

   http://jeteraps.scholarlinkresearch.com/articles/Ensuring%20the%20Quality%20o

   f%20the%20Findings%20of%20Qualitative%20Research%20NEW.pdf

Balcha, B. (2007). *Restructuring state and society: Ethnic federalism in Ethiopia.*

   Retrieved from www.vbn.aau.dk/files/50021793/spirit_phd_series_8.pdf

Balcha, B. G. (2009). Divide and rule: Ethnic federalism in Benishangul Gumuz of

   Ethiopia. Retrieved from

   http://www.ethiomedia.com/access/ethnic_federalism_in_ethiopia.html

Baser, B., & Swain, A. (2011). Diasporas as peace makers: Third party mediation in

   homeland conflicts. *International Journal on World Peace*, *25(3)*, 7-28

Berhanu, A. (2015). Three million Amara are missing: An analysis based on the 1994

and the 2007 Ethiopian population censuses. Retrieved from

https://amharacouncil.org/portfolio/census2007/

Berman, B. J. (2010). Ethnicity and democracy in Africa. Retrieved from

http://repository.ri.jica.go.jp/dspace/bitstream/10685/42/1/Ethnicity+and+Democr

acy+in+Africa+.pdf

Bertelsen, P. (2005). *Free will, consciousness, and self: anthropological perspectives on psychology.* Berghahn Books, New York.

Beyene, B.M. (2014). The grand Ethiopian renaissance dam and the Ethiopian diaspora. Retrieved from http://nazret.com/blog/index.php/2014/07/18/ethiopia-the-grand-ethiopian-renaissance

Boiko-Weyrauch, A. (2011). Ethnic politics split US Ethiopians. Retrieved from

http://m.voanews.com/a/ethnic-politics-split-us-ethiopians--

127312838/158627.html

Burchett, H. , Umoquit, M., & Dobrow, M. (2011). How do we know when research from one setting can be useful in another? A review of external validity, applicability, and transferability framework. *Journal of Health Services Research & Policy*, *16*(4), 238-244. http://dx.doi.org/10.1258/jhsrp.2011.010124.

Burgess, M. (2012). Federalism in Africa. An essay on the impacts of cultural diversity, development, and democracy. Retrieved from

http://ideefederale.ca/documents/Africa.pdf

Cameron, M., & Falleti, T. (2005). Federalism and the sub-national separation of powers.

Retrieved from

https://www.sas.upenn.edu/polisci/sites/www.sas.upenn.edu.polisci/files/17.Fallet

i(2005b)WithCameron_Publius_Federalism_Subnational_Separation_of_Powers.

pdf

Chacko, E. (2003). Identity and assimilation among young Ethiopian immigrants in

metropolitan Washington. *The Geographical Review,* 93, 4.

Cohen, R. (1997). *Global diasporas: An introduction*. University College London Press,

London.

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five

approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J.W. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods

approaches* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J.W. (2002). *Educational research: Planning, conducting and evaluating,

quantitative.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J.W. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods

approaches. (2nd ed).*14-15.Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five

traditions (2nd ed).* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Davies, R. (2012). African diasporas, development and the politics of context. *Third

world quarterly, 33(1), 91-108.* doi:10.1080/01436597.2012.627237

Debelo, A. R. (2012). Emerging ethnic identities and inter-ethnic conflict: The Guji–

Burji conflict in south Ethiopia. Stud Ethn Nation, 12: 517–533. doi:10.1111/sena.12007

Dedoose (2013). Mixed methods and qualitative research software. Retrieved from http://www.dedoose.com/blog/2013/09/tips-on-transcription-for-your-qualitative-data-analysis/

Deiwiks, C. (2010). The curse of ethno-federalism? Ethnic group regions, subnational boundaries and secessionist conflict. *Conference Papers -- International Studies Association, 1.*

De Regt, M. (2010). Ways to come, ways to leave: Gender, mobility, and il/legality among the Ethiopian domestic workers in Yemen. *Gender and Society, 24(2),* 237-260. doi: 10.1177/0891243209360358

Desta, A. (2015). Beyond the usual: Re-thinking Ethiopia's ethnic federalism for the 21st century. Retrieved from http://aigaforum.com/article1/Re-thinking-Ethiopia-Ethnic-Federalism.pdf

De Villiers, B. (2012). Secession – the last resort for minority protection. *Journal of Asian and African studies 48(1) 81–96.* doi: 10.1177/0021909612439684

DeWind, J., & Segura, R. (Eds.). (2014). *Diaspora lobbies and the US government: Convergence and divergence in making foreign policy.* NYU Press. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt155jkdt

Dockins, P. (2014). *DC Ethiopian embassy shooting sparks rival protests.* Retrieved from http://www.voanews.com/a/washington-ethiopian-embassy-shooting-sparks-rival-protests/2475540.html

Elazar, D. J. (1987). *Exploring federalism*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press.

Embassy of Ethiopia South Africa. (2013). *About Ethiopia.* Retrieved from

    http://ethiopianembassy.org.za/

Engedayehu, W. (2012). *The Ethiopian orthodox tewahedo church in the diaspora:*

    Expansion in the midst of politics, religion, and schism. Retrieved from:

    http://www.ethiomedia.com/assert/ethiopian_orthodox_tewahedo_church_in_the_

    diaspora.pdf

Erk, J., & Anderson, L. (2009). The paradox of federalism: Does self-rule accommodate

    or exacerbate ethnic divisions? *Regional & Federal Studies, 19:2*, 191-202

Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2011). *About Ethiopia.* Retrieved from

    http://www.mfa.gov.et/aboutethiopia.php?pg=2

Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2011). *Diaspora.* Retrieved from

    http://www.mfa.gov.et/diaspora/

Ethiopian Review. (2011). ESFANA falling apart. Retrieved from

    http://www.ethiopianreview.com/content/30939

Ethiopian Sports Federation in North America. (2011). *About ESFNA.* Retrieved from:

    http://www.esfna.net/view.php?category=1268100101

Fink, A. S. (2000). The role of the researcher in the qualitative research process: A

    potential barrier to archiving qualitative data. *Forum: Qualitative Social*

    Research. Volume 1, No. 3, Art. 4 – December 2000. Retrieved from

    http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1021/2201

Fiseha, A. (2007). *Federalism and the accommodation of diversity in Ethiopia: A*

comparative study. Addis Ababa: Artistic Printing Enterprise.

Follesdal, A. (2014). "Federalism," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Edward N.

Zalta (ed.). Retrieved from

http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2014/entries/federalism/

Frank, M. (2009). Effects of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia: Holding together or splitting

apart? Retrieved from

http://www.wiscnetwork.org/porto2011/papers/WISC_2011-774.pdf

Fraser, N. (2000). Rethinking recognition. Retrieved from

https://newleftreview.org/II/3/nancy-fraser-rethinking-recognition

Fritz, K. (2013). Ethical issues in ethical issues in qualitative research. Retrieved from

http://ocw.jhsph.edu/courses/QualitativeDataAnalysis/PDFs/Session12.pdf

Gebremariam, A. (2015). The Poison of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia's body politic.

Retrieved http://www.ethiomedia.com/10parts/4401

Gerring, J. (2007). *Case study research: Principles and practices*. New York:

Cambridge University Press.

Getahun, S. A. (2007). *The history of Ethiopian immigrants and refugees in America,*

1900 –2000: Patterns of migration, survival, and adjustment. New York: LFB

Scholarly Publishing.

Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission. (2006). Final report. Retrieved from

http://www.greensborotrc.org/

Guba, E. G. (1981). Criteria for assessing trustworthiness of naturalistic inquiries. *Educational Communication and Technology Journal, 29*. Retrieved from http://www.clemson.edu/ces/cedar/images/1/1a/3-Guba-Trustworthiness-1981.pdf

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1989). *Fourth Generation Evaluation.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Gudina, M. (2011). Elections and democratization in Ethiopia, 1991-2010. *Journal of Eastern African Studies, 5(4),* 664-680. doi: 10.1080/17531055.2011.642524

Guion, L. A. , Diehl, D. C. , & McDonald, D. (2011). *Triangulation: Establishing the validity of qualitative studies.* Department of Family, Youth and Community Sciences, Gainesville: University of Florida Extension Institute of Food and Agricultural Sciences.

Habtu, A. (2003). *Ethnic federalism in Ethiopia: Background, present conditions and future prospects.* Retrieved from http://homepages.wmich.edu/~asefa/Conference%20and%20Seminar/Papers/2003%20papers/Habtu,%20Alem.pdf

Haile, R. (2007). *Held at a distance: My rediscovery of Ethiopia*. Chicago, Academy Chicago, Publishers.

Hailegebriel, M. E. (2012). *The Ethiopian diaspora and US foreign policy towards Ethiopia.* (Doctoral Dissertation, Howard University). Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1027145809?accountid=14872.(1027145809)

Halai, A. (2006). Ethics in qualitative research. Retrieved from

http://www.edqual.org/publications/workingpaper/edqualwp4.pdf/at_download/fil

e.pdf

Harutyunyan, A. (2012). *Challenging the theory of diaspora from the field.* Retrieved

from http://edoc.hu-berlin.de/series/sfb-640-papers/2012-1/PDF/1.pdf

Hassan, S., & Negash, M. (2013). *Explaining the Ethiopian outmigration: Incentives or

constraints?* Retrieved from http://www.ethiomedia.com/14store/5375.html

Herther-Spiro, N. B. (2007). Can ethnic federalism prevent recourse to rebellion? A

comparative analysis of the Ethiopian and Iraqi constitutional structures. *Emory

International Law Review, 21 (1):* 321.

Hogan, J. , Dolan, P. , & Donnelly, P. (2009). *Approaches to qualitative research:

theory & its practical application – a guide for dissertation students.* Retrieved

from http://eprints.maynoothuniversity.ie/2143/1/MCH-Methodology.pdf

Human Rights Watch. (2015). *Ethiopia*. Retrieved from:

https://www.hrw.org/world- report/2015/country-chapters/ethiopia

International Crisis Group. (2009). *Ethiopia: Ethnic federalism and its discontents*.

Retrieved from http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/africa/horn-of-

africa/ethiopiaeritrea/Ethiopia%20Ethnic%20Federalism%20and%20Its%20Disco

ntents.ashx

Janesick, V. J. (2011). "*Stretching" exercises for qualitative researchers (3rd ed.).*

Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Jonas, R. (2011). The battle of Adwa; African victory in the age of empire. Retrieved

from: http://www.blackpast.org/perspectives/battle-adwa-adowa-1896

Keneally, T. (2011). *Three famines – starvation and politics.* New York: BBS Public

   Affairs.

Kendall, K. E., & Kendall, J. E. (2013). *Systems analysis and design (9th ed.).* Upper

   Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Kiersz, A. (2015). *The countries that love and hate America the most.* Retrieved from

   http://www.businessinsider.com/the-countries-that-love-and-hate-america-the-

   most-2015-6

Kunz, R. (2012). The discovery of the diaspora. *International Political Sociology, 6(1),*

   103-107. doi:10.1111/j.1749-5687.2011.00152_4.x

Kymlicka, W. (1995). *Multicultural citizenship: A liberal theory of minority rights.*

   Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Lyons, T. (2009). *The Ethiopian diaspora and homeland conflict.* Retrieved from

   http://portal.svt.ntnu.no/sites/ices16/Proceedings/Volume%202/Terrence%20Lyo

   ns-%20The%20Ethiopian%20Diaspora%20and%20Homeland%20Conflict.pdf

Lyons, T. (2011). *Ethiopia: Assessing risk to stability.* Retrieved from

   www.csis.org/files/publication/110623_Lyons_Ethiopia_Web.pdf

Lyons, T. (2006). Transnational politics in Ethiopia: Diasporas and the 2005 elections.

   Diaspora: A journal of transnational studies, 15(2/3), 265-284.

Lyons, T., & Mandaville, P. (2010). *Diasporas shape politics.* Retrieved from

   http://ethiomedia.com/augur/4146.html

Manners, A. (2012). *United States foreign policy in the horn of Africa*. Retrieved from

    http://www.futuredirections.org.au/publications/indian-ocean/567-united-states-

    foreign-policy-in-the-horn-of-africa-a-profile.html

Mason, M. (2010). Sample size and saturation in PhD studies using qualitative

    Interviews [63 paragraphs]. Forum qualitative sozialforschung / forum:

    qualitative social research, 11(3), Art. 8. Retrieved from http://nbn-

    resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs100387.

Maxwell, J. A. (2013). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach (3rd ed.).*

    Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Mazzone, J. (2001). *The social capital argument for federalism*. Retrieved from

    http://128.125.42.47/why/students/orgs/ilj/assets/docs/11-1%20Mazzone.pdf

McGregor, J., & Primorac, R. (2010). *Zimbabwe's new diaspora: Displacement and*

    the cultural politics of survival. Oxford: Berghan.

McGill, D. (2008). *As Ethiopia boils, Minnesota's Ethiopians feel the heat*. Retrieved

    from http://www.mcgillreport.org/minnethiopians.htm

Mehretu, A. (2012). Ethnic federalism and its potential to dismember the Ethiopian state.

    Progress in Development Studies, *12*(2/3), 113-133.

    doi:10.1177/146499341101200303

Mengisteab, K. (2001). Ethiopia's ethnic-based federalism:10 years after. *African Issues,*

    29, 25. DOI: 10.2307/1167105

Mengistu, M. M, (2015). Ethnic federalism: A means for managing or a triggering factor

    for ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia. *Social Sciences. 4(4),* 94-105. doi:

10.11648/j.ss.20150404.15

Meseret, E. (2017). *Ethiopia says 669 killed in months of violent protests.* Retrieved from https://apnews.com/8eb2bf98fd4d4fa19dfe668c5e7ca71c

Metaferia, G. (2009). *Ethiopia and the United States-history, diplomacy and analysis.* New York: Algora.

Migration Policy Institute. (2014). *The Ethiopian diaspora in the United States*. Retrieved from http://www.migrationpolicy.org/about/copyright-policy

Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldana, J. (2014). *Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook (3rd ed.).* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Mitra, S. K. (2001). Language and federalism: The multi-ethnic challenge. *International Social Science Journal, 53(167).*

Monger, R., & Yankay, J. (2013). *US legal permanent residents: 2012.* Retrieved from http://www.dhs.gov/publication/us-legal-permanent-residents-2012

Newland, K. (2010). Voice after exit: Diaspora advocacy. *Migration Policy Institute*: 18-19.

Odion, P. I. (2011). A critical assessment of Nigerian federalism: Path to a true federal system. Retrieved from http://community.vanguardngr.com/forum/topics/a-critical-assessment-on-nigerian-federalism-path-to-a-true

Panucci, C. J., & Wilkins, E. G. (2010). Identifying and avoiding bias in research. Retrieved from http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2917255/

Paul, D. M., & Paul, R. A. (2009). *Ethnic lobbies and US foreign policy.* Boulder, Lynne Rienner.

Pasura, D. (2012). A fractured transnational diaspora: The case of Zimbabweans in Britain. *International Migration, 50(1),* 143-161. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2435.2010.00675.x

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods (3rd ed.).* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Patton, M. Q. 2005. *Qualitative Research*. Encyclopedia of Statistics in Behavioral Science. DOI: 10.1002/0470013192.bsa514

Pew Research Center. (2015). *America's global image.* Retrieved from http://www.pewglobal.org/2015/06/23/1-americas-global-image/

Roth, A. (2015). The role of diasporas in conflict. *Journal of International Affairs, 68(2), 289-301.*

Rubin, E. L., & Feeley, M. (1994). *Federalism: Some notes on a national neurosis.* Retrieved from http://scholarship.law.berkeley.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3066&context=facpubs

Safran, W. (1991). Diasporas in modern societies: Myths of homeland and return. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies 1(1),* 83-99.

Schapiro, R. (2007). Federalism as intersystemic governance: Legitimacy in a post-westphalian world. Retrieved from http://www.law.emory.edu/fileadmin/journals/elj/57/57.1/Schapiro.pdf

Shenton, A. (2004). Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research

    projects. *Education for information, 22,* 63–75. Retrieved from

    www.crec.co.uk/docs/Trustworthypaper

Shewakena, F. (2013). *Behind the ethnic cleansing in Benishangul-Gumuz.* Retrieved

    from http://ecadforum.com/2013/04/17/behind-the-ethnic-cleansing-in-

    benishangul-gumuz/

Simon, M. K. (2011). *Dissertation and scholarly research: Recipes for success*.

    Retrieved from http://www.dissertationrecipes.com.

Stake, R. (2010). *Qualitative research: Studying how things work*. New York, NY:

    Guilford Press.

Stanley, L. (2012). Rethinking the definition and role of ontology in political science.

    Politics, *32*(2), 93-99. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9256.2012.01431.x

Stevens, M. (2013). Ethical issues in qualitative research. Retrieved from

    http://www.kcl.ac.uk/sspp/policy-

    institute/scwru/pubs/2013/conf/stevens14feb13.pdf

Synel, B. (2008). *Federalism and separation of powers.* Retrieved from

    http://socyberty.com/government/federalism-and-separation-of-power/

Teklemariam, A.A. (2005). Understanding Abyssinian immigrants in the US: Socio-

    cultural background and contemporary experiences. *The western journal of black*

    studies, 29, 2.

Terfa, S. (2012). The Federal democratic republic of Ethiopia: Liberal democratic or

authoritarian regime? *African Social Science Review, 5(1/10).* Retrieved from

http://digitalcommons.kennesaw.edu/assr/vol5/iss1/10

Terrazas, A. M. (2007). *Beyond regional circularity: The emergence of an Ethiopian*

diaspora. Retrieved from http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/beyond-

regional-circularity-emergence-ethiopian-diaspora

Teshome B., W., & Záhořík, J. (2008). Federalism in Africa: The case of ethnic-based

federalism in Ethiopia. *International Journal of Human Sciences 5:2.*

The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. (1995). *Promotion of National*

Unity and Reconciliation Act. Retrieved from http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/

Tiba, F.K. (2011). *Ethiopian ethnic federalism: Grooming regions for independent*

statehood or a genuine coming together? Retrieved from

http://www.ethiomedia.com/augur/ethiopian_ethnic_federalism.pdf

Tirfe, G.T. (2017). *Democracy under threat in Ethiopia.* Retrieved from

http://docs.house.gov/meetings/FA/FA16/20170309/105673/HHRG-115-FA16-

Wstate-TirfeT-20170309.pdf

Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. (2015). *Honoring the truth, reconciling*

for the future: Summary of the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation

Commission of Canada. Retrieved from

http://www.myrobust.com/websites/trcinstitution/File/Reports/Executive_Summa

ry_English_Web.pdf

Turner, S., & Kleist, N. (2013). Introduction: Agents of change? Staging and governing

diasporas and the African state. *African Studies, 72(2),* 192-206.

doi:10.1080/00020184.2013.812882

Turton, D. (2006). *Ethnic federalism: The Ethiopian experience in comparative*

perspective. Retrieved from

http://www.ohioswallow.com/book/Ethnic+Federalism

Young, C. (2007). Review of ethnic federalism: The Ethiopian experience in comparative

perspective. Africa: *Journal of the International African Institute*, *77*(2), 305–306.

Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/stable/40026725

United Nations Higher Commission for Refugees. (2015). *Refugees.* Retrieved from

http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c125.html

United States Immigration and Citizenship Services. (2015). *Asylee.* Retrieved from

http://www.uscis.gov/tools/glossary/asylee

United States Immigration and Citizenship Services. (2015). *Green card.* Retrieved from

http://www.uscis.gov/green-card/other-ways-get-green-card/

Watt, D. (2007). On becoming a qualitative researcher: The value of reflexivity.

Qualitative Report, 18(1), 82-101.

Watts, R. L. (1998). Federalism, federal political systems, and federations. *Annual*

Review of Political Science, 1:117–137.

World Bank. (2011). *Migration, remittances, and development in Africa.* Retrieved from

http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTLAC/Resources/Factbook2011-Ebook.pdf

World Bank. (2015). *World development indicators: Population dynamics*. Retrieved

from http://wdi.worldbank.org/table/2.1

Yin, R. K. (2014). *Case study research: Design and methods (5th ed.).* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Zaki, A. (2012). *Qualitative data analysis*. Retrieved from http://www.slideshare.net/amethyst212/data-analysis-qualitative-data-presentation 2?related=2

Appendix A: Research Announcement Flyer

Research Announcement

Attention: I am seeking participants for a research study. I am looking for any men and women members of the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the Washington DC Metropolitan area. Participants must be over the age of 18 years and be willing to be interviewed for about an hour.

The results of the study may be used to identify the impact of the Ethiopian ethnic federalism on the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the Washington DC Metropolitan area. There will be no payment for participation.

If you would like to participate or have any questions, please feel free to email me at Kassaw.merie@waldenu.edu

Thank you in advance for your interest.

Appendix B: Demographic Survey

THIS INFORMATION WILL BE USED SOLELY FOR TH PURPOSE OF

INFORMATION COLLECTION. THE INFORMATION WILL NOT BE USED IN

ANY WAY TO IDENTIFY YOU. IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS ABOUT THE

FORM EMAIL ME AT Kassaw.Merie@waldenu.edu

1. Age: 18-25____ 26-35 ____ 36-55____ 56-65 ____ over 65 _____

2. Gender: Male_____ Female_____

3. How many years has it been since you left Ethiopia?

    US Born _____

    1-5years_____

    6-10 years_____

    11-15 years _____

    16-20 years _____

    21-25 years _____

    Over 26 years _____

4. Are you affiliated with any Ethiopian political organization? Yes_____ No_____

5. Do you follow Ethiopian current affairs? Yes_____ No_____

6. Ethnicity _____

Appendix C: Introduction Letter

You are invited to take part in this research study if you are a member of the

Ethiopian diaspora residing in the Washington DC Metropolitan area. This study is being

conducted by Kassaw T. Merie, who is a doctoral student in the School of Public Policy

and Administration at Walden University.

Background Information

The purpose of this study is to describe the impact of Ethiopia's ethnic-

based federalism on its ever-growing diaspora residing in the Washington DC

Metropolitan area. I will ask about the socioeconomic and political situation experienced

by members of the Ethiopian diaspora that arrived to the US before and after the

implementation of ethnic-based federalism in Ethiopia since 1991.

Procedures

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to:

1. Review and sign the informed consent form

2. Answer six qualifying survey questions

3. Participate in a face to face, in-depth interview session

Voluntary Nature of the Study

Your participation in this study is voluntary. This means that you can discontinue

the interview at any time. You may skip any question that you feel is too personal.

Risks and Benefits

Potential risks include recalling memories and emotions from the past that may be

upsetting. A benefit is that your input could help understand how you interact with your

community. Your participation could help to inform US and Ethiopian authorities in their policy making process.

Compensation

There will be no compensation for your participation in this study.

Confidentiality

Any information that is obtained during this interview will be kept confidential. I will not use your information for any purposes outside this research project and will not reveal your name or any other information that could identify you. I appreciate you considering being a part of this study.

Kassaw T. Merie

Kassaw.Merie@waldenu.edu

602-710-3970

My faculty advisor is Dr. Anne Hacker. If you have any questions later, you may contact me at 678-667-3623 or Kassaw.Merie@waldenu.edu or the faculty advisor by email Anne.Hacker@waldenu.edu.

Appendix D: In-Depth Interview Questions

THIS INFORMATION WILL BE USED SOLELY FOR THE PURPOSE OF INFORMATION COLLECTION AND WILL NOT BE USED IN ANY WAY TO IDENTIFY YOU.

1. Why did you leave your home country Ethiopia?

2. What contributions do you think the Ethiopian diaspora can have to Ethiopia?

3. What contributions do you think the Ethiopian diaspora can have to the US?

4. How are you participating in your home affairs while residing in the US as part of the diaspora?

5. What are the barriers, if any, to you contributing positively towards the economic, social, and political goals of Ethiopia?

6. How does the implementation of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia affect your personal life here in the Washington DC metro area?

7. Please explain what you think the barriers are to the Ethiopian diaspora in the Washington DC metro area coming together to make their voices heard?

8. What is your perception of the effect of ethnic federalism towards the overall activities of the Ethiopian diaspora residing in the Washington DC metro area?

9. Describe the main economic, social and political developments within the Ethiopian diaspora since ethnic federalism was exercised in Ethiopia?

10. In your opinion, how do you describe the existing relationship among the Ethiopian diaspora residing in Washington DC metro area?

11. How do you describe the role of social media on Ethiopian ethnic federalism as well as the activities of the Ethiopian diaspora?

Appendix E: Comprehensive Coding - Aggregate Frequency Coding Table

Theme	Linked Codes	Frequency Ethnic Oromo (n = 5)	Frequency Ethnic Amhara (n = 5)	Frequency Ethnic Tigray (n =2)	Frequency Others/ South (n = 3)	Frequency Aggregate (n = 15)
Reason for Leaving *(Emerging)*		**52**	**68**	**3**	**24**	**147**
	Political Persecution	3	5	0	2	10
	Harassment by the Government	4	5	0	1	10
	Lack of freedom	5	5	0	2	12
	Insecurity	5	5	0	2	12
	Unable to pursue a dream	5	5	0	1	11
	Diversity Visa Lottery	1	0	0	0	1
	Unfriendly Government	3	5	0	1	9
	No justice Ethnically	2	3	0	2	7
	Racism - Discrimination	2	5	0	1	8
	Difference in political opinion	3	5	0	2	10
	Membership to Opposition political parties	3	3	0	2	8
	My ethnic group was targeted / To save life	3	5	0	1	9

Improve my personal life	1	0	2	1	4
Education opportunity	0	0	1	1	2
human rights abuse / abusive system	4	5	0	1	10
Ethnic-based federalism	0	4	0	0	4
Extreme Ethnic favoritism / Inequality	5	5	0	3	13
Opposition Party Leaders jailed	3	3	0	1	7
Contribution to Home Country	**82**	**91**	**23**	**53**	**249**
Remittance / Sending money to family	4	5	2	2	13
knowledge transfer / Training	5	5	2	3	15
Investment	2	2	2	2	8
Supportive force	5	5	0	3	13
Support the struggle for freedom	5	5	0	3	13
Social change	3	3	1	2	9
Lesson from other countries diaspora,	2	3	0	1	6
Bridging the gap,	2	2	0	1	5
Expose government atrocities to	4	5	0	3	12

the international community					
Information circulation	4	4	0	2	10
Passing resources	4	4	1	2	11
Transfer of human rights concepts and democratic values,	5	5	0	3	13
Key source of foreign currency,	5	5	2	3	15
Humanitarian work,	0	0	2	1	3
Be part of the solution	0	0	1	0	1
Animosity between the government and diaspora,	5	5	2	3	15
Shape Policies	5	5	2	3	15
Focus on positive things	0	0	2	0	2
Teach tolerance	2	3	2	3	10
Most educated Ethiopians	5	5	2	3	15
Platform for the future	5	5	0	3	13
Center of struggle / voice for the voiceless	5	5	0	3	13
International diplomacy	5	5	0	3	13

	Victims of ethnic federalism	0	5	0	1	6
Contribution to Host Country		**77**	**91**	**24**	**41**	**233**
	Medical practice	5	5	2	3	15
	Decent and Loyal community	5	5	2	3	15
	Unique culture and Food	5	5	2	3	15
	Economic and Social Strength	5	5	2	3	15
	Highly educated people	5	5	2	3	15
	Tax Contribution	2	3	1	2	8
	Language	0	3	0	0	3
	Not a burden for the country	2	2	0	1	5
	Small Business ownership and Entrepreneurship	2	3	1	1	7
	Valid education and experience	3	4	1	2	10
	Hard working and disciplined diaspora	4	4	1	2	11
	Professional contribution	4	4	1	2	11
	Academics/Health Care/Engineering /IT	4	4	1	2	11
	More African Culture,	3	3	1	1	8

Cultural diversity Non-violent people, Free from drugs and terrorist acts	3	5	0	0	8
Largest diaspora among the Africans	2	2	1	0	5
Strong work ethics , Hard working People	5	5	2	3	15
Policy making	3	4	0	1	8
Future Potential	2	2	0	1	5
Adds to diversity	5	5	2	3	15
Gatekeeper to democratic political ideals	1	3	0	1	5
Loyal and appreciative of the US	4	5	1	2	12
Diaspora Churches Pray for the US weekly	0	2	0	0	2
Harmonious and desirable culture	3	3	1	2	9
Participation to Home Affairs	**100**	**126**	**16**	**55**	**297**
Public Rallies and demonstrations	2	5	0	2	9
Communication through family	3	3	1	2	9

Community involvement	2	2	0	1	5
Social Media	5	5	2	3	15
Emotional attachment	3	4	1	3	11
Helping Family members	4	4	2	2	12
Networking with people back home	4	5	0	1	10
Leadership in political support group	1	2	0	0	3
Close communication to existing diaspora organizations	2	3	0	1	6
Attending Town Hall Meetings	5	5	0	3	13
Meeting community leaders,	1	2	0	2	5
Follow up and Participation in Public Media,	5	5	2	3	15
Family interaction	3	3	2	3	11
Sending money to families	0	0	2	1	3
Financial contribution	2	3	0	1	6
Interest in Politics	3	4	0	1	8
Human rights	4	4	0	2	10

Secrete channeling through journalists back home	1	2	0	0	3
Forming an Ethnic Amhara Organization for self-protection	0	4	0	0	4
Advocacy / Professional associations	2	4	0	2	8
Create platform for refining ideas	2	2	0	1	5
Promote free speech	1	1	0	0	2
creating tolerance	3	3	1	1	8
Address new issues among the diaspora	1	3	0	1	5
Conflict resolution	2	2	0	1	5
Atrocities	5	5	0	3	13
Social Change	3	4	0	1	8
Educating my family members about life in the US	0	0	1	0	1
Giving back to the people	3	4	0	1	8
Information Provision	5	5	0	3	13

Support the struggle for freedom	5	5	0	3	13
Public Speech	1	2	0	0	3
Advocacy and Lobbyist services	3	3	0	1	7
Do it from safe distance	1	1	0	0	2
Involve in Community Projects	1	3	0	1	5
Social Service to Immigrants and Refugees	2	2	0	0	4
Talking closely to new arrivals	3	3	0	1	7
Public Media	5	5	2	3	15
Discussion forums	2	4	0	1	7
Barriers to Contribute to Ethiopia Positively *(Emerging)*	**184**	**198**	**32**	**100**	**514**
Lack of Trust	5	5	1	3	14
Threat from the government	5	5	0	3	13
Personal life schedule	2	2	1	2	6
The government in power	5	5	0	3	13
Diaspora's un-organized involvement in their home affairs	4	4	0	2	10

Suspicion	5	5	0	3	13
Political differences	5	5	2	3	15
Brutality of the Current regime	5	5	0	2	12
Ethnic-based federalism	2	5	0	1	8
Ethnic division	5	5	2	3	15
The ruling party	5	5	0	3	13
Problem of Network Connection	0	0	1	0	1
Perception of people back home on Diaspora	3	3	1	1	8
Animosity between the government and diaspora	5	5	2	3	15
Dictatorial Government	5	5	0	3	13
Divisive Government	5	5	0	3	13
No clarity of socio-economic and political goals	5	5	1	2	13
Personal ego	0	0	1	0	1
Jailing of close family members back home	2	4	0	0	6
Attitude of the diaspora community	5	5	1	1	12

Lack of strong community	5	5	2	3	15
Political division	5	5	2	3	15
Ethnic problem	5	5	2	3	15
lack of free speech	5	5	0	2	12
Blocking Medias	5	5	0	1	11
Political culture of Ethiopia Rigid	5	5	2	3	15
Be with me or else enemy	5	5	0	3	13
Lack of engagement strategy	5	5	1	3	14
Lack of focus	3	3	0	1	13
Afraid of the government,	5	5	0	3	13
Government Spying	5	5	0	3	13
Lack of democratic culture among the Diaspora	5	5	2	3	15
Disunited Diaspora,	5	5	2	3	15
Hate and Extremism	5	5	2	3	15
Lack of respect to one another	5	5	2	3	15
Domination by Ethnic Minority	5	5	0	3	13
Ethnic racism and discrimination	5	5	0	3	13

Ethnic Cleansing on Amhara	0	5	0	0	5
False Propaganda	5	5	0	3	13
Time Constraints	3	2	0	1	6
Government Policy is discouraging	5	5	0	3	13
Government's covert actions	5	5	0	3	13
Ethnic-based politics	5	5	2	3	15
No freedom for Amhara ethnic group	0	5	0	0	0
Effect of ethnic based federalism at an individual level	**201**	**241**	**48**	**126**	**616**
Sadness	5	5	2	3	15
Reject ethnic federalism	1	5	0	2	8
Do not like ethnocentric politicians and the current government	1	4	0	3	8
Continuous conflict among ethnic groups	5	5	0	3	13
Do not want to follow ethnic lines	0	5	0	3	8
Ethnic identity first	5	5	2	3	15
No common interest	5	5	2	3	15

Unable to discuss openly to another fellow Ethiopians	5	5	2	3	15
Sense of Nationalism damaged	5	5	2	3	15
Wall of separation	5	5	0	3	13
Common National identity destroyed	5	5	1	3	14
Diminished productivity	5	5	0	3	13
Social fracturing,	5	5	2	3	15
Unbalanced political representation	5	5	0	3	13
Social polarization	5	5	2	3	15
Uncivilized and divisive	2	5	0	2	9
Unfair political system for Ethiopia	1	5	0	2	8
Damaged the country and the diaspora	4	5	0	3	12
Appreciation of one's own ethnic group blindly	5	5	2	3	15
Anti-Amhara Sentiments	0	5	0	0	5
Lost good friends from	2	4	0	0	6

other ethnic groups					
Mishandling of Ethnic Federalism, Ethiopia's Ethnic Federalism not genuine	5	5	0	3	13
	5	5	0	3	13
Lack of trust and common interest	5	5	2	3	15
Concern for own ethnicity only	5	5	2	3	15
Bad Seed	1	5	0	2	8
No free discussion	5	5	2	3	15
Unable to plan together	5	5	2	3	15
Feeling of being spied	5	5	0	3	13
Negative Impact in family and friends life	5	5	2	3	15
Sharp ethnic division	5	5	2	3	15
Threat for national unity	3	5	0	3	11
Lost trust	5	5	2	3	15
Unable to make friends from other ethnic groups	5	5	2	3	15
Loosing existing friends	2	5	0	0	7

Fear and doubt, Labeling and categorizing	5	5	0	3	13
Experiencing hate and discrimination based on ethnic background	5	5	2	3	15
My ethnic group was murdered grossly	5	5	1	2	13
Deeply divided community and church	3	5	0	0	8
Unable to open conversations	5	5	2	3	15
My social life is negatively affected	5	5	2	3	15
Unable to make friends	2	5	0	1	8
I am not comfortable meeting other ethnic people	5	5	2	2	14
My life affairs limited only to my own ethnic group	4	3	2	2	11
Affecting everyone's life	5	5	2	3	15
Divide and rule	5	5	2	3	15
Representation is not genuine	5	5	0	3	13
One ethnic group favored	5	5	0	3	13
	5	5	0	3	13

by the
government

Barriers to Diaspora Unity	207	219	57	125	608
Economic disparities of families back home	5	5	0	3	13
History of division and disagreement	5	5	2	3	15
Lack of strong and unified community	5	5	2	3	15
Diaspora politics	5	5	2	3	15
Activists not working together	1	5	0	3	9
No right knowledge and Commitment	3	3	2	2	10
Ethnic based-federalism as a root cause	3	5	0	2	10
False Federalism	5	5	0	3	13
Same government for long period of time	5	5	0	3	13
Ethnic clustering	5	5	2	3	15
Diaspora is not organized well	5	5	2	3	15
Ethnic hatred	5	5	2	3	15

Government working very hard to divide the diaspora further	5	5	0	3	13
Ethnic Discrimination	5	5	2	3	15
No visionary community Leader	5	5	2	3	15
We and the Others	5	5	0	2	12
Not having enough information	5	5	2	3	15
No International lobbyists	5	5	0	3	13
Emotionality	3	4	1	2	10
Government agents promote division among the diaspora	5	5	0	3	13
No national feeling and common interest	5	5	0	3	13
Divide and rule masterminded by the Ruling party	5	5	0	3	13
Diaspora conflicts	5	5	2	3	15
Government sees the Diaspora as a threat	5	5	1	3	14

No followership	5	5	2	3	15
Unable to listen to each other	5	5	2	3	15
Mass blaming	5	5	2	3	15
Double Standard of the super powers.	5	5	0	2	12
Lack of systematic networking and communication	5	5	2	3	15
Lack of tolerance and persistence	5	5	2	3	15
Thinking outside the ethnic box	2	5	1	2	10
Government promoting differences	5	5	0	3	13
False Propaganda about ethnic hostility	5	5	0	3	13
One church divided into three groups	5	5	2	3	15
Diaspora lacks logic	0	0	2	0	2
Unable to learn from other communities	3	4	0	0	7
No leadership	5	5	2	3	15
Do not care for the Society	2	3	2	2	9
No trust	5	5	2	3	15

Ethnically biased community associations	5	5	2	3	15
"New Ethiopia" created	5	5	2	3	15
Unable to handle criticism	5	5	2	3	15
Unable to listen the people	5	5	2	3	15
Harsh government treatment for oppositions	5	5	0	3	13
Highly politicalized Diaspora	5	5	2	3	15
Lack of common vision among diaspora	5	5	2	3	15
Diaspora's perceptions on ethnic-based federalism	**235**	**238**	**65**	**142**	**674**
Social Fracturing	5	5	2	3	15
Forcing people to follow their ethnic lines	5	5	2	3	15
Ethnic based Sport clubs	5	5	2	3	15
Diaspora discouraged to come together in unity	5	5	0	3	13
Pro-Ethnic Federalism - Problem of Implementation	4	0	2	2	8

Doubtful and Divided Community	5	5	2	3	15
People losing trust	5	5	2	3	15
Total separation among the Diaspora	5	5	2	3	15
Collective Diaspora power compromised	5	5	0	3	13
Unable to invest together	5	5	2	3	15
Lack of understanding on ethnic-based federalism	0	0	2	0	2
Tigray ethnic members as informers to the government about diaspora	5	5	0	3	13
Ethnic based Restaurant and Cafes	5	5	2	3	15
Ethnic based churches	5	5	2	3	15
Ethnic based public medias	5	5	2	3	15
Undeserved benefits to certain ethnicity	5	5	0	3	13
Negatively affecting the socio-economic and political life	5	5	0	3	13

Language barrier for young people	1	4	0	2	7
Divided Spiritual leadership	5	5	2	3	15
More and More Ethnic Organizations	5	5	2	3	15
Source of ethnic bias	5	5	0	3	13
Resentment among ethnic groups	5	5	2	3	15
Unable to exchange valuable information among the diaspora	5	5	2	3	15
Witnessed discrimination from ethnic members	5	5	2	3	15
Diaspora and politicians dancing in the fire of ethnic politics	0	0	1	0	1
Social division along ethnic lines	5	5	2	3	15
Ethnic interests only	5	5	2	3	15
Unable to establish business together	5	5	2	3	15
Lost social trust	5	5	2	3	15

Division and Separation in all the diaspora institutions	5	5	2	3	15
No Tolerance to Opposing idea	5	5	2	3	15
We versus them mentality	5	5	2	3	15
Small business owners do not hire out of their ethnic circles	2	4	0	2	8
Ethiopianism /national bond broken	5	5	0	3	13
One good thing could be respect of language and identity	5	5	2	3	15
Government spies working to divide the diaspora further	5	5	0	3	13
Social distress	5	5	2	3	15
Psychological crisis	4	5	0	2	11
No genuine representation	5	5	0	3	13
Disturbing and Alarming situation	5	5	2	3	15
Sad Diaspora	5	5	0	3	13
Diaspora is trapped by ethnic politics	5	5	0	3	13

	Shopping Transactions limited by ethnicity	5	5	2	3	15
	Cross ethnic marriage negatively affected	5	5	2	3	15
	Identity crisis	5	5	0	3	13
	Not genuine ethnic federalism	5	5	0	3	13
	Economic capacity compromised	5	5	2	3	15
	Ethnic background has come to be criteria to start marriage	5	5	2	3	15
	Lost important values of life	4	5	0	2	11
	Black mailing by the government	5	5	0	3	13
	Blaming each other	5	5	2	3	15
Developments after the implementation of ethnic-based federalism *(Emerging)*		**205**	**226**	**64**	**128**	**623**
	Ethnic lines	5	5	2	3	15
	Amhara ethnic group organized	0	5	0	0	5
	No More Diaspora unity	5	5	2	3	15

Division of churches	5	5	2	3	15
Awareness creation for Amhara - Blessing in disguise	0	5	0	0	5
Miss-information on Ethnic Conflicts	2	1	2	2	7
Different Ethiopia	5	5	2	3	15
Search for the Truth	3	5	0	1	9
Shocking for older members of the diaspora	4	5	0	3	12
People are forced to organized according to their ethnic background	5	5	2	3	15
Unable to invest together	5	5	2	3	15
Diaspora potential and experience untapped	5	5	2	3	15
Trend of more separation	5	5	2	3	15
Ethnic dominance	5	5	0	3	13
Oromos asking too much from the country	0	5	0	3	8
Political beliefs merged to ethnic lines	5	5	2	3	15

Ethiopia as a country is destroyed	5	5	2	3	15
No democracy	5	5	2	3	15
Disagreement between Different Diaspora generations	5	5	2	3	15
Ethnic-based Churches	5	5	2	3	15
Ethnic-based restaurants	5	5	2	3	15
Sense of Ethiopianism is wiped out	5	5	2	3	15
Unable to exchange valuable information among the diaspora	5	5	2	3	15
Blind love to one's own ethnic group	5	5	2	3	15
Ethiopian Embassy re aligned	5	5	0	3	13
Division among ethnic groups	5	5	2	3	15
Ethnic identity as a new ideology	5	5	2	3	15
Sadness	5	5	2	3	15
Diaspora perception	5	5	2	3	15
Obsolete vs Anti-unity	5	5	2	3	15

Beating the negative impact of ethnic-based federalism	5	5	0	3	13
More Ethnic organizations	5	5	2	3	15
No more one flag	5	5	2	3	15
Ethiopianism /national bond broken	5	5	2	3	15
Fund-raising activities by ethnicity	5	5	2	3	15
Conflict among ethnic groups	5	5	2	3	15
Government Sponsored Conflicts	5	5	0	3	13
Unable to promote Ethiopianism	5	5	2	3	15
Scary developments for many people	5	5	0	3	13
Dominance of one ethnic group	5	5	0	3	13
Cross ethnic marriage negatively affected	5	5	2	3	15
Forced to focus on Ethnic Federalism	5	5	0	3	13
Ethnic background has come to be	5	5	2	3	15

criteria to marriage					
Amhara Movement	1	5	0	2	8
Dominance by the minority ethnic group	5	5	0	3	13
Lost important values of life	5	5	2	3	15
Relationship among the Ethiopian diaspora	**256**	**267**	**76**	**152**	**751**
Supporters and Non-supporters	5	5	2	3	15
Intra ethnic marriage affected	5	5	2	3	15
Same ethnic groups supporting each other	5	5	2	3	15
Negatively affected by ethnic federalism	5	5	0	3	13
Diaspora affiliation to Politics,	5	5	2	3	15
Ethnic-based federalism puts Ethiopia last	5	5	0	3	13
Sharply divided diaspora	5	5	2	3	15
Weak Relationship	5	5	2	3	15
No truthful relationship	5	5	2	3	15
Bad relationship -	5	5	2	3	15

no greetings even					
See no hope in the near future	5	5	0	3	13
Wall of separation built due to ethnic politics	5	5	2	3	15
Not good relationship	5	5	2	3	15
Doing business together no more	5	5	2	3	15
Individual relationship affected	5	5	2	3	15
Bad relationship among ethnic groups	5	5	2	3	15
Growing tension	5	5	2	3	15
Ethnic-based churches	5	5	2	3	15
A minority ethnic group dominates in the country	5	5	0	3	13
Conflicts and Gossips originating back home	5	5	2	3	15
Negatively impacted because of ethnic-based federalism	5	5	0	3	13
Dormant volcano	4	5	0	1	10

Social life affected	5	5	2	3	15
Paid spies in the diaspora	5	5	0	3	13
Diaspora no more celebrating Ethiopian holidays together	5	5	2	3	15
Sadness	5	5	2	3	15
Opposition groups fighting each other	5	5	2	3	15
Different version of Ethiopianism	5	5	2	3	15
Broken relationship	5	5	2	3	15
Ethnic-based Sport Clubs	5	5	2	3	15
Unhealthy path of ethnic politics	5	5	2	3	15
Social bond damaged	5	5	2	3	15
Ethnic background as a criterion for relationship	5	5	2	3	15
Mental health affected	1	4	0	1	6
Active volcano in social media	5	5	2	3	15
Fear of retaliation to the family members back home	5	5	0	3	13

Common wisdom cut off	3	4	1	2	10
Ordinary community members unable to talk to each other	5	5	2	3	15
Raising funds for emergency	5	5	0	3	13
The feeling of Ethiopianism dying	5	5	0	3	13
Unjust and Selfish behavior of the government	5	5	0	3	13
No Peaceful co-existence	5	5	2	3	15
Lost friends	3	5	0	1	9
Shameful	5	5	0	1	11
People not comfortable to spend time with unfamiliar diaspora member	5	5	2	3	15
Politically active community	5	5	2	3	15
No respect for other people's ideas and opinions	5	5	2	3	15
Personal attacks	5	5	2	3	15
Trust among diaspora eroded	5	5	2	3	15

Unknown hands	2	4	1	2	9
Character assassinations	5	5	2	3	15
Ruined diaspora relationship due to ethnic based federalism	3	5	0	3	11
Suffocated relationship	5	5	2	3	15
Ethnic clusters	5	5	2	3	15
Role of Social Media	**290**	**290**	**102**	**174**	**856**
Fabrication – wrong Information, misleading	5	5	2	3	15
Informal and unprofessional, unethical	5	5	2	3	15
People are depending on it	5	5	2	3	15
Promotes free ideas	5	5	2	3	15
State Media Monopoly	5	5	0	3	13
Conflict between the Diaspora and the regime	5	5	2	3	15
A platform for free information exchange, creates awareness	5	5	2	3	15

Fast and emotional exchange of information	5	5	2	3	15
Equal access for everyone	5	5	2	3	15
Every day status about home country	5	5	2	3	15
Negatively affecting the diaspora	5	5	2	3	15
Information and knowledge to the public	5	5	2	3	15
Alternative media	5	5	2	3	15
Opened more room for participation	5	5	2	3	15
No need for capital or funding to promote ideas	5	5	2	3	15
Freedom of Speech and Expression	5	5	2	3	15
Diaspora initiated public protests	5	5	2	3	15
Truthfulness and quality of information questionable	5	5	2	3	15
Ethnic agendas are largely promoted	5	5	2	3	15
Exposes human rights abuses	5	5	0	3	13

Faster and wider flow of information	5	5	2	3	15
Fake accounts are problematic	5	5	2	3	15
Fundraising activities becoming easier	5	5	2	3	15
Dangerous ideas being framed	5	5	2	3	15
Ethnic bias	5	5	2	3	15
Exaggeration	5	5	2	3	15
Powerful media	5	5	2	3	15
Creating more polarization	5	5	2	3	15
Government using it to divide further	5	5	0	3	13
Quality of information damaged	5	5	2	3	15
Shapes public demonstrations	5	5	2	3	15
Toxic ethnic politics	5	5	2	3	15
Blocking of the Internet by Government	5	5	2	3	15
Hidden government agents releasing false information	5	5	0	3	13

Providing evidence to the public	5	5	2	3	15
More beneficial to the Diaspora	5	5	2	3	15
No accountability and Responsibility	5	5	2	3	15
Polarized views	5	5	2	3	15
Extreme ideas presented	5	5	2	3	15
Proper usage - Training on how to use social media properly	5	5	2	3	15
State of emergency announced	5	5	2	3	15
Complains about ethnic-based federalism	5	5	2	3	15
Platform for non-political issues	5	5	2	3	15
Ethnic-based federalism challenged	5	5	2	3	15
Infiltration by the ruling party	5	5	0	3	13
Not taken seriously	5	5	0	3	13
Harsh ethnic politics	5	5	2	3	15
Hate and immoral acts on Facebook	5	5	2	3	15

Government officials on Facebook	5	5	2	3	15
Teachings on history and politics	5	5	2	3	15
Great tool for the oppressed people	5	5	2	3	15
A double-edged sword	5	5	2	3	15
Be careful on the quality of information	5	5	2	3	15
Fight for democracy and social justice	5	5	2	3	15
Blocking of free medias (OMN and ESAT TV stations in the US)	5	5	0	3	13
Mobilize people for action, social change	5	5	2	3	15
Harsh criticism, denouncement, character assassination	5	5	2	3	15
Possible cause for civil war	5	5	2	3	15