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Ethiopia: Proliferation of Ethnic Federalism and Its Shadow on the Domestic Security

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Article

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Abstract

The aim of this article is to explore the implication of ethnic federalism on domestic security in Ethiopia. In doing this, the researcher utilized qualitative research approach, case study research design and content analysis method to analyze data obtained. Recognizing the equality of diversified ethnic groups is the prospect of federalism. In Ethiopia, however, ethnicity is excessively instrumentalized and politicians manipulated it to achieve their political goals. The political arrangement along the ethnic lines is encouraged and it is taken as a means for political entrepreneurs to get support easily. This article articulates how ethnic federalism in Ethiopia triggers inter-ethnic controversy and threatens internal security.

I. Background of the study

Ethiopia, the home to over 80 ethnic groups, is a culturally, linguistically, and religiously diverse African nation. The country was governed under an imperial system until the 1974 revolution, after which the military junta known as the Derg seized power (Tewfik, 2010). Under both the imperial monarchy and the Derg, the state governance remained highly centralized.

The "nationality question" or the issue of national identity has been central agenda to Ethiopian politics since the formation of the modern state, particularly under Emperor Menelik II (1889–1913). Menelik's southern territorial expansion met significant resistance, which some frame as an early struggle for self-determination among oppressed ethnic groups; this issue persisted as a primary political rallying point through the collapse of the military regime (Mulugeta and Feseha, 2020). Conversely, historians like Rubenson (1976) and Bahru (2001) argue that resistance to Menelik's expansion was driven primarily by power struggles among local elites seeking to maintain territorial control rather than identity claims. To address these power dynamics, Menelik II granted regional autonomy to local rulers who peacefully accepted imperial rule (Bahru, 2001).

As noted by Aalen (2011), most post-colonial African states historically shunned ethnic-based political organization and representation to preserve unity. In contrast, Ethiopia adopted ethnic federalism in 1991, granting its ethnic communities the right to self-determination up to secession. Aalen further highlighted that African identity is fundamentally interconnected and defined by shared heritage; consequently, weaponizing ethnicity in politics risks fracturing these social bonds and leading to national fragmentation.

Historically, many African governments hesitate to give formal recognition of ethnic diversity fearing that it would split citizen loyalties and weaken national cohesion; and aiming to build state legitimacy and unity through a single national identity. However, forcibly suppressing ethnic identity often backfired, fueling violent ethnic nationalism, political volatility, and prolonged civil strife. In response to these challenges, a small group of nations—including Nigeria, South Africa, Ethiopia, and more recently Kenya—attempted to accommodate their diverse populations through specific constitutional and structural frameworks (Semahagn, 2012).

Ethiopia introduced federalism in 1991 after the collapse of the Derg regime. The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), an alliance controlled by the ethno-nationalist Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), assumed control and granted nations, nationalities, and peoples the right to self-determination, including secession. Under Prime Minister Meles Zenawi, the EPRDF fundamentally restructured the state from a centralized system into a federal democratic republic, institutionalizing ethnicity as the basis for political organization, identity, and citizenship (International Crisis Group, 2009).

Although the ruling Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) was an alliance of four member parties—the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM), Oromo People Democratic Organization (OPDO), and Southern Ethiopian People's Democratic Front (SEPDF) —the TPLF retained primary control over the nation's political landscape, leading the drafting and adoption of the 1995 constitution. Consequently, political governance was concentrated within an exclusive inner circle dominated by the TPLF, which represented a minority interest within the broader coalition (Bekalu, 2017).

Scholars have conducted various researches regarding the inauguration of ethnic federalism and consequent political crisis in Ethiopia. To mention a few, Adegehe (2009), depicted that ethnic based federalism is the triggering factor for resource-based conflicts in different part of the state. Bekalu (2017), revealed that Ethiopia opted federalism to assure rights for diverse identity groups. But allowing and encouraging ethnic based politics in the state eroded national solidarity and fueled inter-ethnic dispute over land or resources. Another researcher, Semahagn (2012) deduced that adopting ethnic federalism brought political dilemma in Ethiopia. The above listed researcher devoted on the ethnic federalism and consequent resource-based conflict and political instability. However, they belittled the impact of ethnic federalism as resource claim conflicts and political instability. Therefore, this study aims to depict and align proliferation of ethnic federalism and protracted security crisis in Ethiopia. Furthermore, this study tries to indicate contemporary insecurity situations in Ethiopia and ethnic polarization between political elites.

II. Research Approach and Design

In this study, the researcher employed qualitative research approach. Qualitative research approach devotes on the nature of phenomena, which includes their quality, different manifestations, the context in which they appear, or the perspectives from which they can be perceived. The aim of qualitative research is to gain a comprehensive understanding of social phenomena in their natural environments (Eze and Ugwu, 2023). To generate an in-depth understanding on the issue or phenomenon, research employed case study research design. According to Coombs (2022), Case study research requires in-depth investigation on an individual, group, or event to gain an understanding of a real-life phenomenon. It is often used in the social sciences and humanities to explore complex issues and to provide insights into specific phenomena or situations. This study utilized secondary data obtained and available as published or unpublished, reports and other related documents. The researcher employed content

analysis method to analyze data obtained from different documented sources. Content analysis devotes on systematic examination of texts, media, or documents to identify themes.

1. The Logics for Launching Ethnic Federalism

Nations often adopt federal systems over centralized governance to curb central authoritarianism and accommodate regional interests that unitary models cannot entertain. However, federalism can also risk instability and secession, prompting several Sub-Saharan African countries to avoid or ban it, particularly given the complex, interwoven nature of their local identities, languages, and religions. In contrast, Nigeria, South Africa, and Ethiopia adopted federal structures to manage their ethnic diversity, though each distributes and manages political power differently: **Nigeria**: Prioritizes territorial geography over ethnicity by splitting major ethnic populations across multiple states, preventing ethnic identity from fully controlling specific geographic areas. **South Africa**: Rejects ethnic identity as a legal basis for self-governance or autonomous territories. **Ethiopia**: Explicitly structures its state around ethnic federalism, using ethnic groups as the core units for self-governing regional administration (Bekalu, 2017).

During the Imperial era, Ethiopian political discourse was defined by two powerful demands: agrarian reform, championed by university students under the iconic slogan *"Land to the Tiller,"* and the "nationality question," which demanded self-determination and recognition for the country's diverse ethnic groups. These twin pressures severely undermined the monarchy, culminating in the 1974 revolution that dismantled centuries of feudal rule. While the incoming Derg military regime immediately fulfilled the agrarian demand by nationalizing landlord estates and redistributing land to peasantry free of charge, the regime left the identity question unresolved. Despite formally acknowledging regional autonomy in the 1987 Constitution, the military government continued to deny genuine self-governance to Ethiopia's diverse communities (Solomon, 2013).

As noticed by Solomon (2013), the Derg refused to recognize and implement the right to self-determination of Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples of Ethiopia. This encouraged the establishment of various liberation fronts during the Derg Regime. For instance, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), the Tigray People's liberation front (TPLF), and the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) were considered the major liberation fronts in Ethiopia during the Derg era. After a disastrous civil war between these liberation fronts and the Central Government, the Derg regime collapsed completely in 1991.

Following the collapse of the Derg regime in 1991, the transitional government paved the way for the FDRE Constitution, which firmly institutionalized an ethnic-based federal structure. Central to this charter are the rights guaranteed to Ethiopia's "Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples." Most notably, Article 39(1) grants every ethnic group an unconditional right to self-determination, extending up to full secession.

Consequently, ethnic federalism was implemented as the primary political vehicle to resolve long-standing historical grievances regarding national identity and regional autonomy. However, framing ethnic federalism as the ideal remedy for self-rule rests on a flawed premise. This approach overlooks

Ethiopia's deeply interconnected social fabric and fails to account for the grave, long-term risks it poses to the country's unified nationhood.

2. Political Arrangement in Ethiopia since 1991

Departing sharply from Ethiopia’s authoritarian past, the 1995 Constitution formally embraced multiparty democracy. Under Emperor Haile Selassie, political parties were strictly banned, while the subsequent military regime enforced a rigid one-party dictatorship—recognizing the Workers’ Party of Ethiopia (WPE) as the sole legal political entity (Leake, 2017).

The post-Cold War era ushered in a global wave of politicized ethnic nationalism, hitting Eastern Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa particularly hard. In Ethiopia, this shift was rooted in the student movements of the 1960s and 1970s, which were heavily shaped by radical Marxist-Leninist ideology, specifically the doctrine that championed self-determination, including secession, as the remedy for nationality grievances (Getnet, 2020).

Following the downfall of the socialist Derg regime, Ethiopia formally institutionalized ethnicity in 1991. The 1995 FDRE Constitution cemented this vision, re-engineering the country’s regional borders and political parties along explicit ethnic lines. However, as Bekalu (2017) noted, this hyper-focus on ethnic politics has stoked hostility among diverse communities, fracturing cross-group interaction and triggering persistent ethnic conflict.

The post-1991 political transformation marked a dramatic shift in Ethiopia's political landscape, sparking a proliferation of ethnic-based political parties. This stood in stark contrast to the Derg era, which enforced a rigid one-party system grounded in the Leninist concept of a vanguard party that outlawed all political competition (Beza, 2018).

In breaking with this autocratic past, the EPRDF introduced a new governance paradigm that placed ethnicity at the center of political life, ostensibly to expand democratic space. In practice, however, this ethnic federation institutionalized representation strictly along identity lines at both state and federal levels. As Beza (2018) illustrated, seat allocation in the House of Peoples' Representatives became strictly localized, for instance, Oromo representatives exclusively representing Oromia, and Benishangul-Gumuz selecting delegates solely from its recognized indigenous communities.

Although the EPRDF framed itself as a broad coalition championing the collective voice of Ethiopia's "nations, nationalities, and peoples," it was primarily the creation of the TPLF, which acted as its chief political architect (Bekalu, 2017). To solidify control, the TPLF assembled the Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM), the Oromo People’s Democratic Organization (OPDO), and the Southern Ethiopian People’s Democratic Movement (SEPDM) into a central front, while establishing subordinate regional allies across the country.

Despite claiming to represent the entire nation, the EPRDF faced widespread backlash from communities who felt marginalized and unheard. This deep-seated disillusionment fueled aggressive ethnic mobilization and a rapid expansion of identity-based political movements. A prime example was the rejection of ANDM by Amhara political elites, who viewed the party not as a legitimate representative of the Amhara people, but merely as an executive instrument enforcing TPLF directives. Thus, alienation that ultimately sparked the emergence of numerous rival ethnic parties (Clapham, 2018).

Following the implementation of ethnic federalism by the TPLF-led EPRDF in Ethiopia, political actors increasingly weaponized ethnic identity for strategic advantage. Because identity dynamics are deeply sensitive, elites easily established themselves as influence brokers with strong communal backing (Getnet, 2020). However, framing politics through an ethnic lens has stoked fierce competition over jobs and resources, unraveling trust between local communities and the central government. This systemic division threatens national cohesion (Ethiopianism) and compromises long-term stability.

A resilient and an enduring democracy relies on effective and well-organized political parties. In Ethiopia, however, ethnically aligned political organizations encountered collaboration problem to support this democracy. Rather than fostering cooperation and political consensus, these parties operate on mutual suspicion, treating rivals as existential threats to their survival. This elite-level hostility trickles down to the general populace, deepening inter-group divisions. As the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (2007) highlights, opposition parties remain heavily tied to specific regions and ethnic bases. These localized agendas deny the formation of broad national coalitions, leaving opposition groups fragmented and incapable of posing a unified challenge to the ruling regime.

3. Conflicts in Ethiopia: Ethnic Instrumentalism and Resource Claim Induced

Ethnic conflict cannot be resulted by the mere existence of ethnic differences, but rather the politicization of ethnic identity by self-seeking politicians. Domestic political structures & human agencies are seen as the intervening variables that activate & convert primordial identities into conflict relevant variables. Primordial factors can be manipulated or politicized by self-serving political elites. Violent conflicts are outcomes of the subjective choice of influential human agents who exploit objective primordial differences (Bekalu, 2017). As Siraw (2015) demonstrates, unaddressed disputes over political power, resource allocation, representation, citizenship, regional boundaries, and self-determination risk escalating into violent communal and ethnic conflicts. When these foundational grievances are left mismanaged, broader political struggles are easily reframed along identity lines, transforming systemic institutional challenges into deeply entrenched inter-group hostilities.

Ethnically driven federalism and the politicization of tribal identities have sparked severe inter-group tensions and campaigns of ethnic targeting across Ethiopia. Amhara populations residing in regions such as Western Hararghe, Western Arsi, Arbagugu, Jimma, Guraferda, Welega, Afar, Benishangul, and Western Shewa have faced systemic displacement, violence, and persecution based purely on their

inherited identity—a dynamic that drives ongoing forced evictions. As the East Africa Report (2019) noticed, this surge in violent conflict stems from escalating militant ethnic nationalism amid growing state and ruling-party fragility. Decades of exclusive, identity-focused governance have heightened ethnic consciousness while destabilizing national coherence and state institutions.

Adegehe (2009) outlines five primary drivers of ethnic conflict stemming from Ethiopia's post-1991 political framework:

- **Identity Recognition & Federal Restructuring**: Local political figures, or "ethnic entrepreneurs," mobilize communities to demand official state recognition for distinct ethnic identities.
- **Inter-Regional Boundary Disputes**: Mapping administrative lines along ethnic boundaries has created friction, sparking violent disputes between groups that historically coexisted peacefully, such as the Guji and Gedeo.
- **Resource Allocation Conflicts**: Resource competition among regional actors has triggered localized disputes across nearly every region of the country.
- **Titular vs. Non-Titular Group Tensions**: Assigning specific "homelands" to native (titular) populations has marginalized non-native (non-titular) residents, stripping minorities of equal political and civil rights outside their designated territories.
- **Secessionist Movements vs. The State**: Anti-state insurgencies seeking self-determination, which historically dominated Ethiopia's political violence prior to 1991, persist alongside contemporary federal-local frictions.

The other major recurring causes of the conflict are disagreements on the possession or use of land, grazing land or water resources, settlements, regional hegemony, access to State resources (funds, jobs, investments) and language policy in education and administration. Contradictions were happened in Ethiopia due to the claim for resource, typically the claim for land. This conflict for land is common in a society where the people's livelihood is limited on animal farming or pastoralism and it is prevalent in a community where their boundary is at controversial condition. For instance, the Afar–Somali territorial conflict, the conflict between Oromia (Borena People) with Somali pastoralist, the conflict between Gumuz with Amhara people, the conflict between Gumuz with Awi people and other conflicts in the country are sparking (Bekalu, 2017).

The institutionalization of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia restructured politico-administrative boundaries to align directly with ethnic identities, effectively "ethnicizing" the national territory and establishing designated ethnic "landlords" over distinct regions. This territorial redefinition fundamentally altered regional dynamics, converting traditional local disputes—such as competition over land and resources among lowland pastoralist communities into formalized inter-regional boundary conflicts (Adegehe, 2009).

As Adgehe (2009) noticed, domestic insecurity prevailed in the country since Ethiopian federalism is reconstituted on the basis of asymmetrical relationships. He suggested that ethnic federalism created

the dichotomy of regions, mainly highland/central' and 'lowland/peripheral' regions. Accordingly, the highland regions where the large majority of the population of the country which include Tigray, Amhara, Oromia and SNNPR. These regions are relatively better in terms of social and physical infrastructure as compared to the lowland regions – Somali, Afar, Benishangul-Gumuz and Gambella. This dichotomic stratification and the blind treatment offered by the central government brought underdevelopment of the regions. Thus, asymmetric relation backlashes for grievance and chaos deterring security situation in the country.

The implementation of ethnic federalism prompted various regional states to make competing territorial and resource claims, typically over land against their neighbors. Most notably, the Oromia and Somali regional states entered a long-standing dispute over ill-defined boundaries, a friction that severely impacted pastoralist communities whose mobility and access to grazing land are crucial to their livelihoods (Hagmann & Mulugeta, 2008). Similar territorial tensions have flared along the shared border of the Amhara and Oromia regions in North Shewa, as well as between the Amhara and Tigray regions over the high-stakes areas of Wolkite and Raya. These recurring border disputes and resource struggles across nearly all regions highlight a major structural backlash of Ethiopia's ethnic federal model.

4. Ethnic Militias and Civil War

Since the period of modern state formation, civil war and insurgency were the distinguishing features of Ethiopian political history. Furthermore, following the implementation of ethnic federalism in the country, the modality of insurgency took ethnic identity as a leverage of struggle and began to act as ethnic militias. In fact, Tigray People Liberation Front (TPLF) and Oromo People Liberation Front (OPL) were ethnically organized groups prior to the introduction of ethnic federalism. These groups, predominantly TPLF, demonstrated insurgency against the Derg regime.

The ascension of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's administration in 2018 exposed sharp ideological and methodological rifts within Ethiopia's ruling coalition, creating antagonistic political blocs, particularly between the central government and the TPLF. As Berihu (2021) highlighted, the post-2018 political transition was accompanied by hostile rhetoric aimed at the TPLF, with official briefings employing inflammatory language that heightened societal animosity toward Tigrayan communities. This escalating rhetoric widened the political gap between Addis Ababa and Mekelle, fostering deep mutual suspicion. The political breakdown clearly manifested in November 2020, when the TPLF launched a pre-emptive strike on the Ethiopian National Defense Force's Northern Command viewing federal military presence as an existential threat and this prompted the federal government to launch a military offensive termed a "law enforcement operation."

As highlighted by the Institute for Peace and Security Studies (2020), rising nationalist sentiment accelerated inter-regional power struggles across Ethiopia, while simultaneously intensifying friction between regional administrations and the central government. This dangerous dynamic manifested in a rapid security race between the federal government and the Tigray regional state, marked by the

extensive proliferation, expansion, and heavy militarization of regional special forces and local militias on both sides.

Beyond the TPLF, various ethnically organized armed groups are actively fighting the Ethiopian federal government. Most notably, the Fano militia in the Amhara region—formerly a key federal ally during the Tigray conflict—has turned against the administration. The 2022 Pretoria Peace Agreement halted hostilities with Tigray but fractured Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's wartime coalition, alienating Eritrean leadership and Amhara political elites who felt excluded despite heavy sacrifices (International Crisis Group, 2024). Many Amhara perceived the deal as a betrayal, suspecting plans to return disputed territories claimed by Amhara during the war back to Tigrayan administration (Asylum Research Center, 2024). Tensions escalated sharply when the federal government announced the dissolution and integration of regional special forces. Fano fighters and regional allies viewed this disarming policy as a critical security threat that would leave Amhara vulnerable to neighboring adversaries. The resulting armed resistance between federal forces and Fano militias has drastically intensified the regional security dilemma and further destabilized the Ethiopian state.

The Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) has maintained a prolonged struggle against successive Ethiopian administrations since 1973. Forced into exile under the EPRDF regime, the group operated primarily out of Eritrea until 2018, when it returned to Ethiopia under a peace agreement committing to non-violent political advocacy. However, growing discontent over federal centralization, alongside the ruling party's consolidation of power in Oromia, sparked widespread opposition among the regional populace. This political rift led to the breakaway of the Oromo Liberation Army (OLA), which currently conducts an armed insurgency against the federal government across parts of Oromia (Landinfo, 2023).

The proliferation of ethnic militias in Ethiopia has intensified both vertical and horizontal conflicts, creating a profound national security threat. While these groups primarily engage in vertical struggles against the federal government, they also clash horizontally with opposing ethnic militias in specific territorial contexts. As Timothy (2022) noticed, deep ethnic cleavages introduce immense complexity to civil conflict, often producing unexpected strategic alignments. For instance, despite historical animosities, the Oromo Liberation Army formed a tactical alliance with the TPLF to oppose Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's administration. Conversely, Amhara paramilitary groups and Fano militias initially partnered with federal forces to combat TPLF troops, highlighting how fluid ethnic coalitions shape the dynamics of the broader conflict.

5. The Adverse Impact of Ethnic Federalism on Domestic Security

Ethiopia's domestic security environment has long been undermined by authoritarian governance, chronic food insecurity, resource competition, and unresolved structural issues, including land tenure, economic disparities, weak institutions, and constitutional disputes. In recent years, however, ethnic federalism and identity politics have emerged as the primary catalysts of national instability. The historical cohesion forged through centuries of inter-ethnic integration has been severely eroded by

administrative structures that divide the population along identity lines. By politicizing ethnic belonging, the current federal framework has transformed social diversity into systemic rivalry, placing various groups in direct opposition to one another.

Ethnic federalism presents a profound threat to Ethiopia's domestic security by driving severe social polarization and widening the division between identity groups. This structural division undermines national integration and fosters persistent inter-ethnic hostility, threatening not only internal peace but the long-term territorial integrity of the state. Scholars and political observers argue that institutionalizing ethnic identity impedes national consensus and heightens the risk of state fragmentation. Under this framework, identity-based politics breeds pervasive mutual suspicion, communal violence, and forced displacement, leaving citizens fearful of residing outside their designated ethnic territories. Moreover, political elites frequently act as "ethnic entrepreneurs," stoking grievance narratives by framing their respective communities as systemic victims of political and economic marginalization (Siraw, 2015).

The constitutional structuring of Ethiopia's regional states along ethnic lines remains a major driving force for domestic insecurity by undermining equal rights and inclusive citizenship. By defining regional ownership strictly through designated native populations, regional constitutions marginalize non-titular residents. For example, while the constitution of the Benishangul-Gumuz Regional State explicitly recognizes only the Berta, Gumuz, Komo, Mao, and Shinasha as constituent peoples, significant Amhara, Oromo, and other communities also reside there. Denying these residents official constitutional recognition strips them of their sense of belonging and equal political status. Consequently, this exclusionary framework weakens long-standing social bonds while institutionalizing deep-seated fear and mutual suspicion among communities.

6. Conclusions

While federalism is widely regarded as an effective governance model for managing diversity in multilingual, multicultural, and multi-ethnic societies by providing self-governance and political representation, however, its ethnic-based execution presents distinct challenges. Scholars like Bekalu (2017) illustrated that ethnic federalism often generates conflict by politicizing cultural identities. Since its official implementation in Ethiopia in 1991, the framework has incentivized political actors to organize along identity lines, accelerating the rise of "ethnic entrepreneurs" who leverage communal grievances to achieve political objectives. Consequently, this dynamic has undermined national consensus, weakened inter-group cooperation, and eroded the collective solidarity which vital to maintain a unified state.

Ethnic federalism poses a fundamental threat to Ethiopia's domestic peace and security, serving as a primary catalyst for widespread regional instability. While localized conflicts across the country often originate from competition over natural resources or administrative power, official reluctance to address underlying grievances which are combined with the opportunistic behavior of political entrepreneurs—frequently reframes these disputes along ethnic lines. By institutionalizing identity politics, the federal

model incentivizes the formation of factional political groups, eroding the foundation of broad-based, citizenship-centered politics. The resulting political polarization fosters pervasive mutual fear and suspicion among political actors, destabilizing the state and exacerbating national insecurity.

To resolve this profound political crisis, the federal government must actively reject and dismantle the politicization of social fault lines. The current ethnic federal arrangement requires urgent structural reform to prevent further political fragility and safeguard the nation's long-term stability. Transitioning to a geographic or territorial federal system—one that upholds multi-cultural, multi-lingual, and multi-ethnic equality while anchoring rights in shared citizenship rather than ethnic identity—offers a viable framework to restore national cohesion and address the root causes of domestic insecurity.

Declarations

Data Availability Statement

As I indicated in the research approach and design of the manuscript, the study utilized secondary data i.e. both published documents and unpublished reports. Therefore, data supporting the findings of this study were derived from publicly available published documents and reports cited in the Reference section. The specific datasets and publication references used, along with their access URLs, are detailed in the references section.

The author assures that the article embraces the original work. In accordance with international accepted standards, the author acknowledged and refereed all materials used in this article. The author is conscious about non-adherence to the principles of academic honesty and integrity will invalidate my work.

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Ethical Approval

The researcher didn’t employ human participants in the research, instead the researcher utilized various documented data as source to support the entire paper. In any how, the researcher kept ethical norms of the institutional and/or national research committee.

Informed Consent

This article didn’t involve human participants and it exclusively employed different documented sources.

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Author Contribution

The manuscript is a single authored work; and the author of the manuscript is Workineh. The author (Workineh) tried to assess, explore and gather different literatures related to the issue and finally made an analysis. the author also tried to write and make final edition on the manuscript.

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