

Ethiopia

Ethnicity in Ethiopia

Group selection

Ethiopia is an ethnically heterogeneous country, with some 70 to 80 different ethnic groups living within its borders. However, the majority of people belong to four groups: the **Oromo**, the **Amhara**, the **Tigry** and the **Somali**. The Oromo (also called Galla) are the largest group and constitute about 35% of the population. The Oromo were once concentrated in the southern highlands but have now spread to other regions. The Oromo category is not unified politically and there are important differences in the social organization, religion, and economy across the subgroups. The Amhara live in the western highlands and constitute approximately 30% of the population. The Amhara, along with the Tigry, trace their ancestry to a merging of Semitic and African peoples in the region several thousand years ago. The Amhara culture later became the center of the Aksum Kingdom and dominant in the 19th and part of the 20th centuries. The Tigry count about 2 million people (the majority of this group is located in Eritrea, where they make up to 50% of the population). The fourth largest group are the Somali settled in the southeast of the country. The majority of the Somali population belongs to the Ogaden clan (subdivision of the Darod) (¹⁶⁶⁹, 2). Amhara and Tigry are overwhelmingly Ethiopian Orthodox Christians, while the Somali are predominantly Muslim and the Oromos are equally made up of Muslims and Christians (¹⁶⁷⁰, 532-534; ¹⁶⁷¹, 131-133; ¹⁶⁷²; Email contact with Scarritt).

Fearon's list of ethnic groups (¹⁶⁷³) was used to determine other relevant groups, yet a number of groups have been dropped, since they have not appeared in the literature consulted and therefore do not seem to play a major political role in Ethiopia. We consider the following groups as politically relevant in addition to the four main groups: the **Afar**, the **Anuak**, the **Beni-Shugal-Gumez**, the **Christian Eritreans**, the **Muslim Eritreans**, the **Harari**, and **Other Southern Nations**.

Estimates for group sizes are drawn from the 1984 and 2007 Ethiopian census (¹⁶⁷⁴, ¹⁶⁷⁵). The 1984 estimates are applied for all periods in the dataset prior to 1993 (secession of Eritrea), while the 2007 census estimates are applied from 1993 onwards. For a number of groups (Beni-Shugal-Gumez, Other Southern People, Harari, Muslim and Christian Eritreans), estimates for the 1984 census are

¹⁶⁶⁹ [International Crisis Group, 2009]

¹⁶⁷⁰ [Young, 1996]

¹⁶⁷¹ [Levinson, 1998]

¹⁶⁷² [PolityIV, 2005]

¹⁶⁷³ [Fearon, 2003]

¹⁶⁷⁴ [Transitional Government, 1991]

¹⁶⁷⁵ [Ethiopian Central Statistical Agency, 2007]

not available. For the Beni-Shugal-Gumez, Other Southern People and Harari groups, the estimates from the 2007 census are used instead. For the two Eritrean groups, estimates were obtained from the total population for the province of Eritrea during the union with Ethiopia (about 6% of the population) divided equally between both religious groups. Finally, for the Tigry group, the 2007 population estimates are also used, because 1984 estimates pool together Eritrean Tigrinya and Ethiopian Tigry.

Power relations

Ethiopia's recent political history is marked by three general periods: 1930-1974, 1975-1991, 1992-2005. The Emperor Haile Selassie, an Amhara of the Solomonic Dynasty, ruled Ethiopia between 1930 and 1974, with a short break during the Italian occupation 1935-1941. Although the Amhara were closely allied to the Tigry in the 19th century, Selassie started to centralize power within his own ethnicity (¹⁶⁷⁶, 532-533). This era ended when Selassie was removed from power by a military coup led by Mengistu, also an Amhara and leader of the ruling military council, the "Derg". The period from 1975 and 1991 was not much different with regard to political access of ethnic groups. The Amhara remained the dominant group due to educational advantages and experience in running the state, which faced various secessionist movements during that period. The final period started as the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), a Marxist movement dominated by Tigrayans, took over power in 1991. They implemented a radical program of decentralization towards ethnic-based regional units. Since then, Ethiopia gradually transformed into a federal republic, with the 2005 elections being the first to be considered fair by international observers (¹⁶⁷⁷; ¹⁶⁷⁸).

¹⁶⁷⁶ [Young, 1996]

¹⁶⁷⁷ [Hess, 2005]

¹⁶⁷⁸ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2003-2016]

1946-1990

The Amhara were long the dominant ethnic group in Ethiopia. Their cultural hegemony was consolidated under Selassie, who declared Amharic the official Ethiopian language, and under his successor Mengistu, as non-Amhara were actively excluded from positions of political and economic power (¹⁶⁷⁹, ¹⁶⁸⁰, 24). As Young (¹⁶⁸¹, 533) writes for the Selassie era, there was little scope for the integration of other ethnic groups beyond the selective incorporation of individuals who accepted assimilation into the Amhara culture and society.

¹⁶⁷⁹ [PolityIV, 2005]

¹⁶⁸⁰ [International Crisis Group, 2009]

¹⁶⁸¹ [Young, 1996]

The coup 1974 was primarily triggered by the inability of the imperial regime to respond to demands for political reform, land reform and to come to terms with the Eritreans. The Derg then took over power and nationalized all land in order to destroy the material basis of the old regime, which was based on a feudal land system (¹⁶⁸², 3). The Derg also proclaimed the end of ethnic oppression, promoted the use of different languages and cultures and contemplated the idea of a federal state. However, the military regime did not display

¹⁶⁸² [International Crisis Group, 2009]

any real intention to weaken the power of the center, or to allow for more than tokenistic participation in the government. In fact, it intensified the policy of centralization and arbitrary rule typical for the previous regime. The Derg thus fought not only to maintain the integrity of the Ethiopian state against strong challenges by Eritrean, Somali, Oromo, Afar and other dissident ethnic groups. It also strove to forge a totally centralized state according to their Marxist-Leninist ideology and therefore refused to share power with either the politically conscious middle class or the emerging regional and ethnic elites, and ensured the state retained its predominantly Amhara character (¹⁶⁸³, 534).

¹⁶⁸³ [Young, 1996]

The Amhara are coded as Dominant and all other groups as Discriminated. The Amhara are not coded with Monopoly status since there were token members of other ethnicities in the government (more so during the Mengistu period), but they had not much power and accepted assimilation to the Amhara culture and language.

Note that the Christian and Muslim Eritreans only become relevant in 1952, which requires a new coding period in EPR. That year, the UN established Eritrea as an autonomous region within the Ethiopian federation after independence from Italian colonial control in 1941 and 10 years of British administrative control. Power relations are not affected by this and the Eritreans are coded as Discriminated in line with the other groups.

1991

The Christian and Muslim Eritreans became self-excluded, as Eritrean rebels defeated government forces in 1991, ending a violent 30-year struggle for independence. Two years later, Eritreans overwhelmingly approved independence in a referendum.

1992-1993

Torn by violent coups, uprisings, wide-scale drought, and massive refugee problems, the military regime was finally toppled in 1991 by a coalition of rebel forces from the TPLF, EPLF, and OLF, called the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). Meles Zenawi (a Tigry), the leader of the TPLF, became president of the transitional government. His cabinet was dominated by Tigry but included representatives of the OLF (Oromo) and other groups. However, relations soon deteriorated when the EPRDF sponsored a rival Oromo organization to the OLF, which proceeded to compete against the OLF in the elections in 1995. The OLF thereafter drifted into armed rebellion and was finally banned from Ethiopia.

During this transition period, the Tigry are coded as Senior Partners and the Oromo and Amhara as Junior Partners, while the other groups' status remains unchanged.

1994-1995

Due to Eritrea's secession in 1993, both Christian and Muslim Eritreans become irrelevant here as of 1994. This does not affect any other power relations.

1996-2003

In 1995, the first multi-party elections in Ethiopian history led to a sweeping victory of the EPRDF, basically a coalition of Tigry, Oromo, and Amhara but clearly Tigry dominated. Zenawi (Tigry) became Prime Minister, Gidada (Oromo) assumed the largely symbolic role of the state president, Layne (Amhara) became deputy Prime Minister and minister of defense. Other than the foreign minister, all other 17 ministers were from non-Tigry ethnicities, primarily Oromo and Amhara.

The next elections in 2000 did not change this power sharing arrangement between the Tigry, Oromo and Amhara. This primarily occurred since the Tigry constituted such a small proportion of the population that they were forced to maintain a coalition with elements of the numerically superior Oromo and the historically dominant Amhara people. To ensure the stability of this arrangement, ethno-linguistic federalism seemed to be the best strategy (¹⁶⁸⁴, 537-540). Since the Tigry held the prime ministry and dominated the coalition, they are coded as Senior Partner. The two other coalition partners are termed as Junior Partners. When it comes to the Oromo, one could possibly argue for other codings, since the OLF was clearly marginalized by the state and many Oromo people saw the Oromo Peoples Democratic Organization (member in the EPRDF) as a puppet of the Tigry dominated regime. However, following the coding of similar cases, Oromos are coded as Junior Partner. The Afar and the Somali people, which stood in large part behind the rebel groups fighting for their independence, are coded as Discriminated. The coding is justified since political wings of these groups were banned and they had no representatives in the cabinet. Both groups had no recognized political parties to participate in the two elections taking place during this period (¹⁶⁸⁵; ¹⁶⁸⁶).

Before 1996, Ethiopia was divided into 13 provinces, many derived from historical regions. Afterwards, a tiered system consisting of a federal government overseeing ethnically-based regional states, zones, districts (woredas), and neighborhoods (kebele) was established. The constitution assigned extensive power to regional states. Each region had its apex regional council where members were directly elected to represent the districts. The councils had legislative and executive power over their internal affairs. Article 39 of the Ethiopian Constitution further gave every regional state the right to secede from Ethiopia.

There is debate, however, as to how much of the power guaranteed in the constitution was actually exercised by the states (¹⁶⁸⁷, 539-541). In cultural matters, these entities seemed to enjoy the

¹⁶⁸⁴ [Young, 1996]

¹⁶⁸⁵ [Markakis, 1996]

¹⁶⁸⁶ [Hess, 2005]

¹⁶⁸⁷ [Young, 1996]

most autonomy, especially when it came to linguistic matters (¹⁶⁸⁸, 24). There were also variations between different regions. Rather than devolving power equally, an unofficial two-tier federal system that distinguished between highland and lowland states had developed. According to Young (¹⁶⁸⁹, 344) and the International Crisis Group (¹⁶⁹⁰, 17; ¹⁶⁹¹, 8), the lowland regions remained under close federal supervision and hence cannot be described as genuinely autonomous. Thus, only the Amhara, Oroma, Tigry, and the Other Southern Nations are given Regional Autonomy status, while the Somali, Afar, Beni-Shugal-Gumez, and Harari groups are not coded as autonomous.

2004-2012

The Anuak people become relevant in this period and are coded as Discriminated. They are settled in the Western lowland Gambela region bordering South Sudan. Originally the dominant ethnic group in the area, they became a minority following continuous Nuer migration from Sudan (massively increased by the civil war in Sudan) and resettlement of highlanders (including Amharas) under the Derg regime (¹⁶⁹², 6-7). Competition for resources and land led to several instances of communal conflict between Anuak and Nuer, as well as Anuak and highlanders (¹⁶⁹³, 8). As a consequence of a 2002 plan to redraw the Gambela state, conflict intensified and many Anuak lost their jobs with the regional government in the process (¹⁶⁹⁴, 40). Against this background, an ambush by armed ethnic Anuak against a group of highlanders working for the federal refugee agency led to a reprisal massacre of more than 400 Anuaks in Gambela, where the federal army openly sided with the highlanders, a departure from its previous neutral stance. The events and subsequent abuses and executions forced a large number of Anuak to seek refuge in Sudan, including the president of the regional state (¹⁶⁹⁵, 40; ¹⁶⁹⁶, 2, 48). An Anuak rebel group, the Gambela People Liberation Movement/Front (GPLM/F) was formed in 2005, and started a low-level insurgency (¹⁶⁹⁷, 41). Since the violence outbreak in 2004, Anuak remained marginalized and targeted by state-led discrimination (¹⁶⁹⁸, 2012; ¹⁶⁹⁹).

There is evidence to code the Anuak as relevant already prior to 2004, due to the activities of the Gambella People's Liberation Movement (GPLM), founded in 1979. However, the GPLM was generally weak and "unable to mobilise more than a negligible portion of the population" (¹⁷⁰⁰, 9). The GPLM hence does not seem significant enough to code the Anuak as relevant prior to 2004.

Ethiopia's ethnic power configuration did change in this period with regards to other groups. Parliamentary elections in 2005 saw opposition parties gain a sizeable share of the vote but the governing EPRDF was able to remain in power. While the office of the Prime Minister and additional important positions were held by Tigry, most of the cabinet posts were held by Oromos and Amharas.

¹⁶⁸⁸ [International Crisis Group, 2009]

¹⁶⁸⁹ [Young, 1999]

¹⁶⁹⁰ [International Crisis Group, 2009]

¹⁶⁹¹ [International Crisis Group, 2009]

¹⁶⁹² [Human Rights Watch, 2005]

¹⁶⁹³ [Human Rights Watch, 2005]

¹⁶⁹⁴ [Young, 2007]

¹⁶⁹⁵ [Young, 2007]

¹⁶⁹⁶ [Human Rights Watch, 2005]

¹⁷⁰⁰ [Tadesse, 2009]

Both Somali and Afar groups continued to suffer from political marginalization and discrimination. Both groups suffered from forced resettlement and villagisation policies, intended to free land for agricultural projects and oil and gas extraction (¹⁷⁰¹, 19-20, ¹⁷⁰², 2012: 21). Moreover, Somali and Afar regional states remained under close federal supervision and cannot be perceived as autonomous (¹⁷⁰³, 17; see also ¹⁷⁰⁴, 8).

¹⁷⁰¹ [Human Rights Watch, 2012]

¹⁷⁰² [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2003-2016]

¹⁷⁰³ [International Crisis Group, 2009]

¹⁷⁰⁴ [International Crisis Group, 2009]

2013-2017

The death of long-time Prime Minister Meles Zenawi in August 2012 led to the nomination of Deputy Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn for this office (¹⁷⁰⁵, 2014). This move came somewhat surprisingly as Desalegn hails from the South Ethiopian Peoples' Democratic Front, traditionally perceived as the least influential of the four factions of the EPRDF (¹⁷⁰⁶, 2012: 12-13). Although it appears that Desalegn was far from exerting the amount of power that Zenawi had concentrated and that high ranking-TPLF officials continued to control sensitive ministries and the security apparatus (¹⁷⁰⁷, 2014; see also ¹⁷⁰⁸), he had considerable executive policy-making power. Thus, his nomination as Prime Minister warrants for an upgrade of the Other Southern Nations group's status to Junior Partner.

¹⁷⁰⁵ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2003-2016]

¹⁷⁰⁶ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2003-2016]

¹⁷⁰⁷ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2003-2016]

¹⁷⁰⁸ [International Crisis Group, 2009]

The Oromo remain Junior Partner despite large-scale Oromo protests against the lack of socioeconomic opportunities, perceived discrimination, and the 'Integrated Master Plan', proposing to expand the territory of the Addis Ababa municipality into Oromia regional territory (¹⁷⁰⁹; ¹⁷¹⁰). The Oromo Peoples' Democratic Organization (OPDO) remained part of the ruling EPRDF and several Oromo held ministerial posts. In November 2016, amidst ongoing protest, Prime Minister Desalegn granted two additional ministerial posts to Oromo, increasing the number of ministers from the Oromia region to nine. The OPDO was sometimes seen as a puppet of the EPRDF and the TPLF in particular (Gaffey2016). However, with their large share of votes and all of the seats in the regional parliament of Oromia, the OPDO represented a significant political force.

¹⁷⁰⁹ [Amnesty International, 2016]

¹⁷¹⁰ [Human Rights Watch, 2016]

The situation of the Amhara is comparable to the sOromo. The Amhara also suffered from human rights violations (¹⁷¹¹). However, since the Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM) was part of the government the Junior Partner status of the Amhara is also retained.

¹⁷¹¹ [Minority Rights Group International, 2016]

Forced relocation and displacement of Anuak in western Gambella continued. The relocations were often accompanied by threats, assaults, rape, and arrests and jeopardized their access to basic services and infrastructure (¹⁷¹²; ¹⁷¹³). They are still coded as Discriminated.

¹⁷¹² [ICIJ, 2015]

¹⁷¹³ [Human Rights Watch, 2012]

Despite both the Afar National Democratic Party and the Somali People's Democratic Party having one ministerial post each (as in

the previous period), the Afar and the Somali are coded as Discriminated again. As in the case of the Anuak, forced relocation took place and led to the displacement of 500,000 Somali and 500,000 Afar (¹⁷¹⁴). According to Hagman (¹⁷¹⁵, 29), Somalis in Ethiopia “possess a precarious status in terms of their citizenship and political rights under the federal government and in relation to their Ethiopian compatriots”.

¹⁷¹⁴ [Human Rights Watch, 2012]

¹⁷¹⁵ [Hagmann, 2014]

The status of the Beni-Shangul-Gumuz and the Harari is unchanged. Note: There are continued tensions between the Benishangul (Bertha) and the Gumuz subgroups (¹⁷¹⁶). Further, the Benishangul are organized individually with the separatist Benishangul People’s Liberation Movement (BPLM) that was founded in 1995. However, on the national and regional level, the multi-ethnic Benishangul Gumuz People’s Democratic Unity Front/Party remains clearly dominant.

¹⁷¹⁶ [Adegehe, 2009]

The two-tier federal system that distinguishes between highland and lowland states remained in place. There was no evidence that the degree of self-determination in the lowland states increased significantly. According to Abebe (¹⁷¹⁷, 126), the regional governments in Afar, Ogaden, Benishangul-Gumuz, and Harari remained “closely monitored” by the EPRDF (although Harari is not considered a lowland state). After 2012, the central government further tightened federal supervision in Ogaden through the deployment of district-level experts and the ouster of the president of the Somali regional state in 2014 (¹⁷¹⁸; ¹⁷¹⁹, 2016: 27). The Somali, Afar, Benishangul-Gumuz, and Harari are hence coded as not autonomous. In the case of Benishangul-Gumuz, this coding is substantiated by Adegehe (¹⁷²⁰, 257), who states that Benishangul-Gumuz do “not exercise autonomy beyond that of language and culture.” The highland regions, on the other hand, are continued to be coded as regionally autonomous.

¹⁷¹⁷ [Abebe, 2016]

¹⁷¹⁸ [Hagmann, 2014]

¹⁷¹⁹ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2003-2016]

¹⁷²⁰ [Adegehe, 2009]

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Political status of ethnic groups in Ethiopia

From 1946 until 1951

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Oroma	0.2907	DISCRIMINATED
Amhara	0.2829	DOMINANT
Other Southern Nations	0.2024	IRRELEVANT
Tigry	0.0608	DISCRIMINATED
Beni-Shugal-Gumez	0.05	IRRELEVANT
Somali (Ogaden)	0.0379	DISCRIMINATED
Christian Eritreans	0.03	IRRELEVANT
Muslim Eritreans	0.03	IRRELEVANT
Afar	0.0137	DISCRIMINATED
Anuak	7.0×10^{-4}	IRRELEVANT
Harari	4.0×10^{-4}	IRRELEVANT

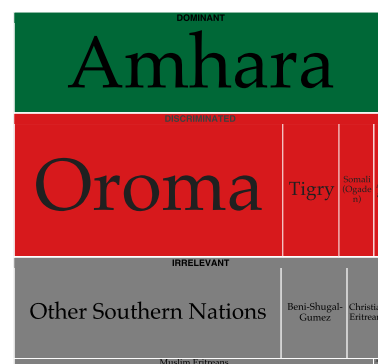


Figure 294: Political status of ethnic groups in Ethiopia during 1946-1951.

From 1952 until 1990

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Oroma	0.2907	DISCRIMINATED
Amhara	0.2829	DOMINANT
Other Southern Nations	0.2024	IRRELEVANT
Tigry	0.0608	DISCRIMINATED
Beni-Shugal-Gumez	0.05	IRRELEVANT
Somali (Ogaden)	0.0379	DISCRIMINATED
Muslim Eritreans	0.03	DISCRIMINATED
Christian Eritreans	0.03	DISCRIMINATED
Afar	0.0137	DISCRIMINATED
Anuak	7.0×10^{-4}	IRRELEVANT
Harari	4.0×10^{-4}	IRRELEVANT

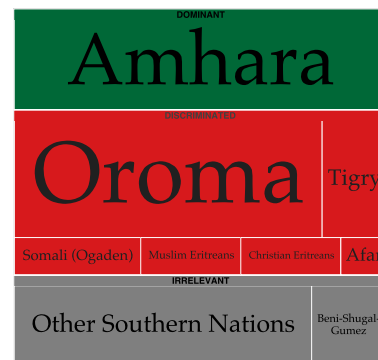


Figure 295: Political status of ethnic groups in Ethiopia during 1952-1990.

From 1991 until 1991

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Oroma	0.2907	DISCRIMINATED
Amhara	0.2829	DOMINANT
Other Southern Nations	0.2024	IRRELEVANT
Tigry	0.0608	DISCRIMINATED
Beni-Shugal-Gumez	0.05	IRRELEVANT
Somali (Ogaden)	0.0379	DISCRIMINATED
Muslim Eritreans	0.03	SELF-EXCLUSION
Christian Eritreans	0.03	SELF-EXCLUSION
Afar	0.0137	DISCRIMINATED
Anuak	7.0×10^{-4}	IRRELEVANT
Harari	4.0×10^{-4}	IRRELEVANT

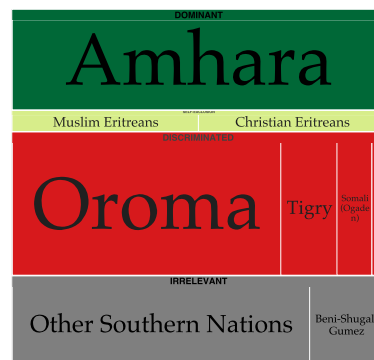


Figure 296: Political status of ethnic groups in Ethiopia during 1991-1991.

From 1992 until 1993

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Oroma	0.2907	JUNIOR PARTNER
Amhara	0.2829	JUNIOR PARTNER
Other Southern Nations	0.2024	IRRELEVANT
Tigry	0.0608	SENIOR PARTNER
Beni-Shugal-Gumez	0.05	IRRELEVANT
Somali (Ogaden)	0.0379	DISCRIMINATED
Muslim Eritreans	0.03	SELF-EXCLUSION
Christian Eritreans	0.03	SELF-EXCLUSION
Afar	0.0137	DISCRIMINATED
Anuak	7.0×10^{-4}	IRRELEVANT
Harari	4.0×10^{-4}	IRRELEVANT

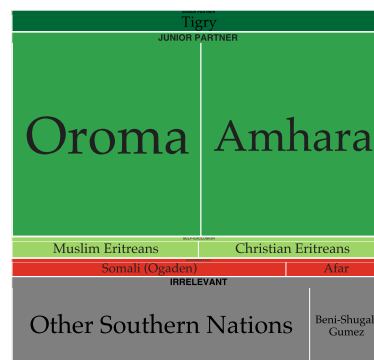


Figure 297: Political status of ethnic groups in Ethiopia during 1992-1993.

From 1994 until 1994

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Oroma	0.3439	JUNIOR PARTNER
Amhara	0.2695	JUNIOR PARTNER
Other Southern Nations	0.2024	IRRELEVANT
Somali (Ogaden)	0.0622	DISCRIMINATED
Tigry	0.0608	SENIOR PARTNER
Afar	0.0173	DISCRIMINATED
Beni-Shugal-Gumez	0.0106	IRRELEVANT
Anuak	0.0012	IRRELEVANT
Harari	4.0×10^{-4}	IRRELEVANT

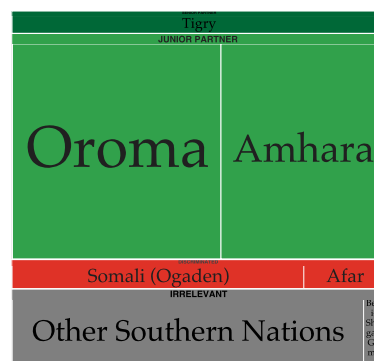


Figure 298: Political status of ethnic groups in Ethiopia during 1994-1994.

From 1995 until 1995

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Oroma	0.3439	JUNIOR PARTNER
Amhara	0.2695	JUNIOR PARTNER
Other Southern Nations	0.2024	IRRELEVANT
Somali (Ogaden)	0.0622	DISCRIMINATED
Tigry	0.0608	SENIOR PARTNER
Afar	0.0173	DISCRIMINATED
Beni-Shugal-Gumez	0.0106	IRRELEVANT
Anuak	0.0012	IRRELEVANT
Harari	4.0×10^{-4}	IRRELEVANT

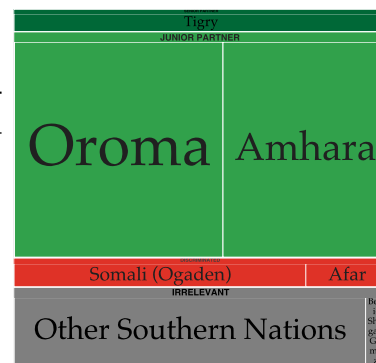


Figure 299: Political status of ethnic groups in Ethiopia during 1995-1995.

From 1996 until 2003

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Oroma	0.3439	JUNIOR PARTNER
Amhara	0.2695	JUNIOR PARTNER
Other Southern Nations	0.2024	POWERLESS
Somali (Ogaden)	0.0622	DISCRIMINATED
Tigry	0.0608	SENIOR PARTNER
Afar	0.0173	DISCRIMINATED
Beni-Shugal-Gumez	0.0106	POWERLESS
Anuak	0.0012	IRRELEVANT
Harari	4.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS

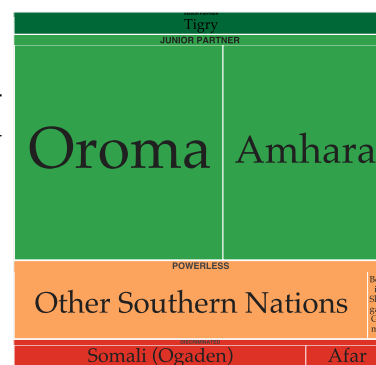


Figure 300: Political status of ethnic groups in Ethiopia during 1996-2003.

From 2004 until 2012

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Oroma	0.3439	JUNIOR PARTNER
Amhara	0.2695	JUNIOR PARTNER
Other Southern Nations	0.2024	POWERLESS
Somali (Ogaden)	0.0622	DISCRIMINATED
Tigry	0.0608	SENIOR PARTNER
Afar	0.0173	DISCRIMINATED
Beni-Shugal-Gumez	0.0106	POWERLESS
Anuak	0.0012	DISCRIMINATED
Harari	4.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS

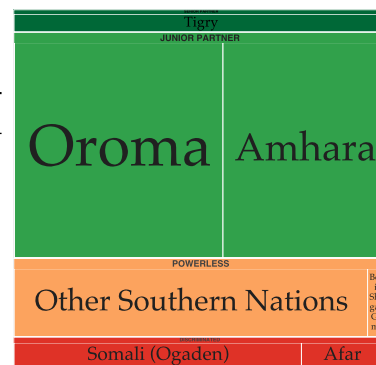


Figure 301: Political status of ethnic groups in Ethiopia during 2004-2012.

From 2013 until 2017

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Oroma	0.3439	JUNIOR PARTNER
Amhara	0.2695	JUNIOR PARTNER
Other Southern Nations	0.2024	JUNIOR PARTNER
Somali (Ogaden)	0.0622	DISCRIMINATED
Tigry	0.0608	SENIOR PARTNER
Afar	0.0173	DISCRIMINATED
Beni-Shugal-Gumez	0.0106	POWERLESS
Anuak	0.0012	DISCRIMINATED
Harari	4.0×10^{-4}	POWERLESS

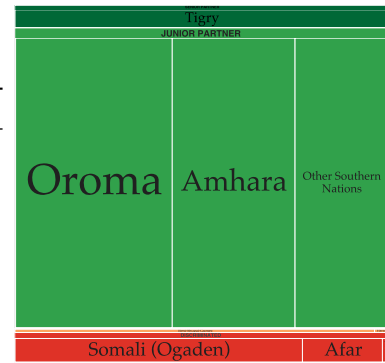


Figure 302: Political status of ethnic groups in Ethiopia during 2013-2017.

Geographical coverage of ethnic groups in Ethiopia

From 1946 until 1951

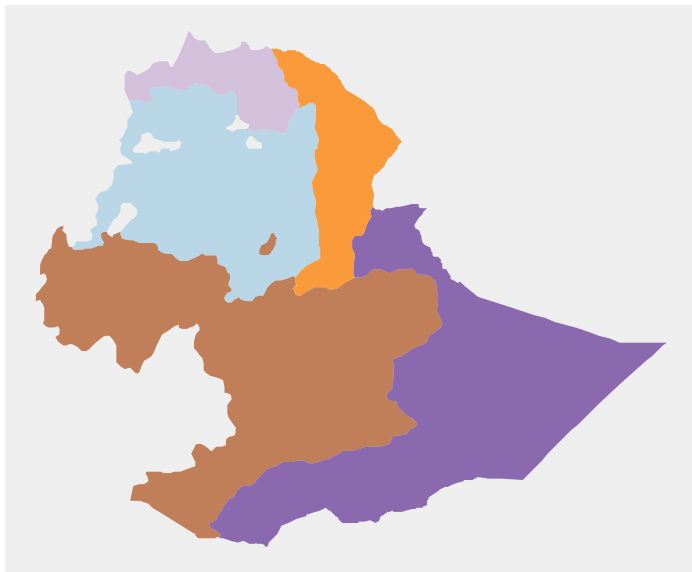


Figure 303: Map of ethnic groups in Ethiopia during 1946-1951.

Group name	Area in km ²	Type
■ Oroma	330 485	Regionally based
■ Somali (Ogaden)	283 702	Regionally based
■ Amhara	178 264	Regionally based
■ Afar	75 212	Regionally based
■ Tigry	44 960	Regionally based

Table 98: List of ethnic groups in Ethiopia during 1946-1951.

From 1952 until 1952

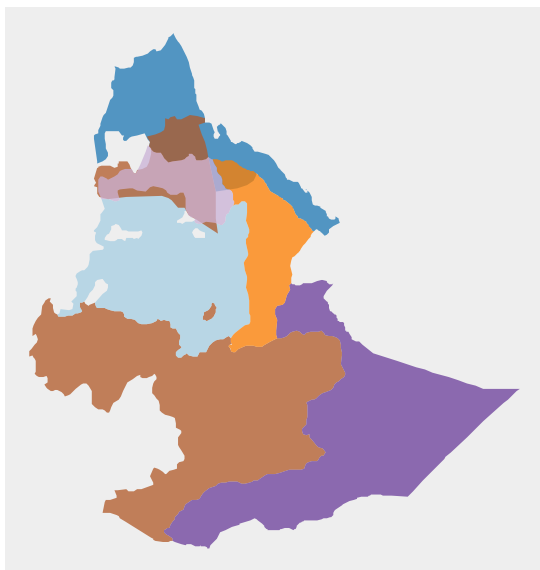


Figure 304: Map of ethnic groups in Ethiopia during 1952-1952.








Group name	Area in km ²	Type
 Oroma	330 485	Regionally based
 Somali (Ogaden)	283 702	Regionally based
 Amhara	178 264	Regionally based
 Muslim Eritreans	118 705	Regionally based
 Afar	75 213	Regionally based
 Christian Eritreans	63 733	Regionally based
 Tigry	44 960	Regionally based

Table 99: List of ethnic groups in Ethiopia during 1952-1952.

From 1953 until 1992

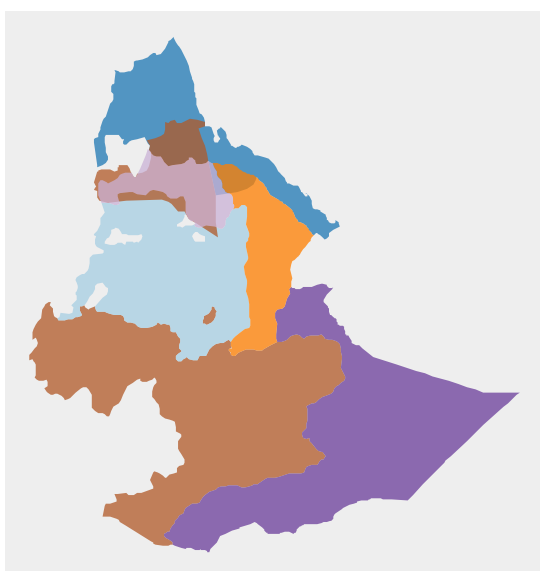


Figure 305: Map of ethnic groups in Ethiopia during 1953-1992.








Group name	Area in km ²	Type
 Oroma	330 485	Regionally based
 Somali (Ogaden)	283 702	Regionally based
 Amhara	178 264	Regionally based
 Muslim Eritreans	118 705	Regionally based
 Afar	75 213	Regionally based
 Christian Eritreans	63 733	Regionally based
 Tigry	44 960	Regionally based

Table 100: List of ethnic groups in Ethiopia during 1953-1992.

From 1993 until 1993

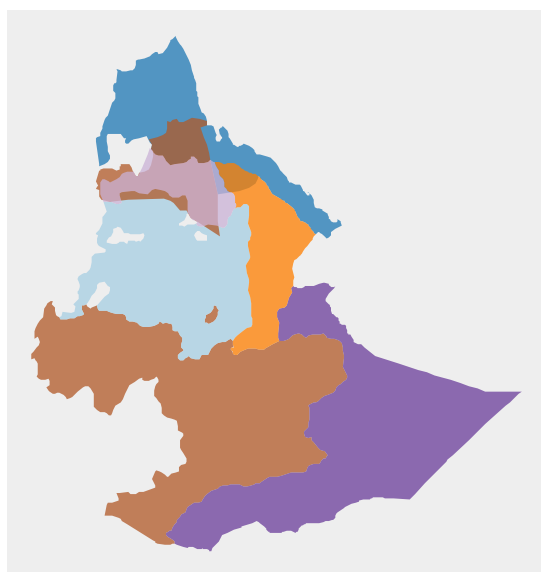


Figure 306: Map of ethnic groups in Ethiopia during 1993-1993.








Group name	Area in km ²	Type
 Oroma	330 485	Regionally based
 Somali (Ogaden)	283 702	Regionally based
 Amhara	178 264	Regionally based
 Muslim Eritreans	118 705	Regionally based
 Afar	75 213	Regionally based
 Christian Eritreans	63 733	Regionally based
 Tigry	44 960	Regionally based

Table 101: List of ethnic groups in Ethiopia during 1993-1993.

From 1994 until 1995

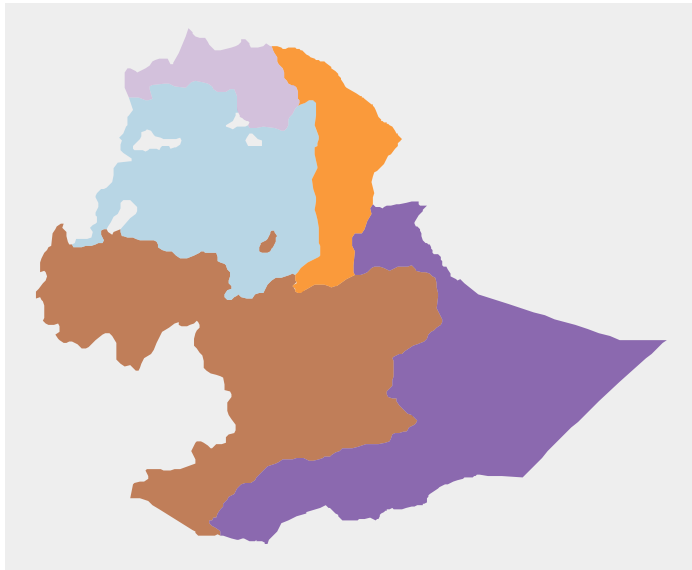


Figure 307: Map of ethnic groups in Ethiopia during 1994-1995.

Group name	Area in km ²	Type
Oroma	330 485	Regionally based
Somali (Ogaden)	283 702	Regionally based
Amhara	178 264	Regionally based
Afar	75 212	Regionally based
Tigry	44 960	Regionally based

Table 102: List of ethnic groups in Ethiopia during 1994-1995.

From 1996 until 2003

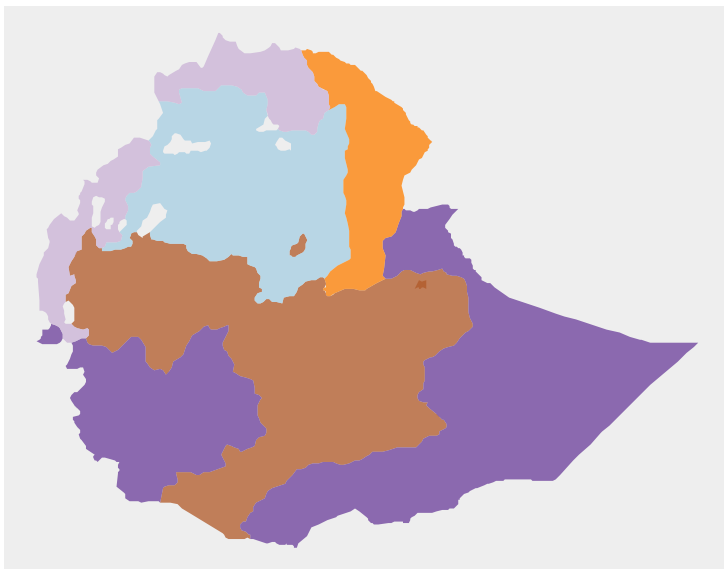


Figure 308: Map of ethnic groups in Ethiopia during 1996-2003.









Group name	Area in km ²	Type
 Oroma	330 485	Regionally based
 Somali (Ogaden)	283 702	Regionally based
 Amhara	178 264	Regionally based
 Other Southern Nations	129 072	Regionally based
 Afar	75 212	Regionally based
 Tigry	44 960	Regionally based
 Beni-Shugal-Gumez	42 613	Regionally based
 Harari	378	Regional & urban

Table 103: List of ethnic groups in Ethiopia during 1996-2003.

From 2004 until 2017

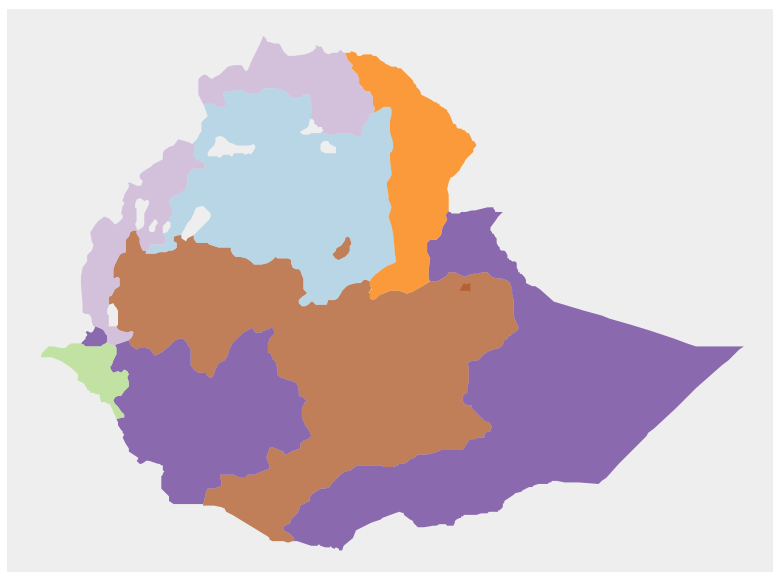


Figure 309: Map of ethnic groups in Ethiopia during 2004-2017.










Group name	Area in km ²	Type
 Oroma	330 485	Regionally based
 Somali (Ogaden)	283 702	Regionally based
 Amhara	178 264	Regionally based
 Other Southern Nations	129 072	Regionally based
 Afar	75 212	Regionally based
 Tigry	44 960	Regionally based
 Beni-Shugal-Gumez	42 613	Regionally based
 Anuak	15 831	Regionally based
 Harari	378	Regional & urban

Table 104: List of ethnic groups in Ethiopia during 2004-2017.

Conflicts in Ethiopia

Starting on 1960-12-16

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Ethiopia	Military faction (forces of Mengistu Neway)		1960-12-16			
Government of Ethiopia	TPLF	Tigry	1975-08-26	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Ethiopia	EPRP	Tigry	1975-12-30	No	Yes	No
Government of Ethiopia	EDU	Tigry	1977-01-30	No	Yes	No
Government of Ethiopia	EDU	Amhara	1977-01-30	No	No	No
Government of Ethiopia	EPDM	Amhara	1982-12-30	No	Yes, from EGIP	No
Government of Ethiopia	EPRDF	Tigry	1989-01-07	No	Yes	Yes
Government of Ethiopia	EPRDF	Amhara	1989-01-07	No	Yes	
Government of Ethiopia	EPRDF	Oroma	1989-01-07	No	Yes	
Government of Ethiopia	Military faction (forces of Amsha Desta and Merid Negusie)		1989-05-15			
Government of Ethiopia	Military faction (Harar garrison)		1991-05-29			

Starting on 1961-09-29

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Ethiopia	ELF	Muslim Eritreans	1961-09-29	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Ethiopia	EPLF	Muslim Eritreans	1973-09-29	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Ethiopia	EPLF	Christian Eritreans	1973-09-29	Explicit	Yes	Yes

Starting on 1964-01-10

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Ethiopia	Ogaden Liberation Front	Somali (Ogaden)	1964-01-10	Explicit	Yes	No
Government of Ethiopia	WSLF	Somali (Ogaden)	1976-01-03	Explicit	Yes	No
Government of Ethiopia	AIAI	Somali (Ogaden)	1993-10-12	Explicit	No	No
Government of Ethiopia	ONLF	Somali (Ogaden)	1994-02-25	Explicit	Yes	Yes

Starting on 1964-02-09

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Ethiopia	Government of Somalia		1964-02-09			

Starting on 1974-08-30

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Ethiopia	OLF	Oroma	1974-08-30	Explicit	Yes	No

Starting on 1975-06-29

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Ethiopia	ALF	Afar	1975-06-29	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Ethiopia	ARDUF	Afar	1996-12-30	Explicit	Yes	No

Starting on 1977-12-30

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Ethiopia	SALF	Somali (Ogaden)	1977-12-30	Presumed	Yes	No
Government of Ethiopia	SALF	Oroma	1977-12-30	No	Yes	No

Starting on 1982-12-30

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Ethiopia	SLM		1982-12-30			

Starting on 1991-10-09

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Ethiopia	IGLF	Somali (Ogaden)	1991-10-09	Explicit	Yes	

Starting on 1998-05-05

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Eritrea	Government of Ethiopia		1998-05-05			