



UK Research
and Innovation

Centre of Excellence in Good Governance (CoE), Addis Ababa University

Brief Project Progress (2021)

Progress against Each Outcome and Output

As per the annual plan for the second year, the following were identified as outcomes

1. Revising MA and PhD programs at the CoE
2. Finalizing the research component
3. Joint research and capacity building at the CoE
4. Conducting two regional capacity building trainings based on the research outputs
5. Conducting safeguard training
6. Staff and student research exchange

Accordingly, the following have been achieved

I. Revising the existing programs

The CoE established a committee of experts from the host University to assess the existing MA and PhD programs in April 2021. The task force met regularly to review and discuss progress made and submitted its findings and suggestions for improvement towards the end of July 2021.

The following are the key suggestions made and that await College and University level approval:

Program is renamed as **MA program in 'Governance and Regional Integration'** (its former name was MA in Federalism and Governance. The main justifications are indicated below:

1. As a result of the centres engagement in regional and countrywide programs short term trainings, there is a growing interest from institutions and students from the Horn of Africa (Ethiopia, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan). Besides the federal system in Ethiopia does not operate outside of the political and regional context in the Horn. Ethiopia is a major actor and continues to impact as well as gets impacted by political developments in the region. Understanding political and devolved systems in the region remains critical for local and regional actors
2. Regional integration remains critical among the people and governments of the Horn. It is vital to look into such efforts and conduct research on how to improve such efforts. An on-going research in the book mentioned above shows that. How do the devolved and federal systems also link with the regional integration issues

3. Making the program up to date and relevant given the current political developments in Ethiopia and the region is thus critical
4. Federal and devolved systems are strongly linked with democracy and democratization. It is critical to discuss issues related to challenges of democracy both within Ethiopia and the region that was missing in the existing program

Based on the above recommendations, the MA program is adjusted as follows:

Course Title	Course code	ECTS
Comparative Constitutional Systems	FS 600	7
Democracy and Multi national Federations (new)	FS 601	7
Federalism and the Management of Diversity	FS 611	7
Federalism and Devolution in the Horn (new)	FS 621	7
Research methodology	FS 631	7
Introduction to Interdisciplinary Study (new)	Pass/fail	
Semester Total		35
Course Title	Course code	ECTS
Fiscal Federalism and Resource Management in Federations	FS 602	7
Human and Minority Rights (adjusted from a related course new)	FS 642	7
State Constitutions and Local Governance	FS 652	7
Federalism and Development (adjusted)	FS 662	7
Regional Integration in the Horn of Africa (new)	FS 612	7
Intergovernmental Relations (new)	FS 622	5
Semester Total		40

Teaching materials for two modules have also been prepared by experts

- **Regional Integration in the Horn of Africa**
- **Human and Minority Rights**

II. Finalizing the research component

A book manuscript with 10 chapters contributed by leading experts entitled

‘**Contemporary Governance Challenges in the Horn of Africa**’ with the following contents have been submitted to the publisher **Routledge** early January 2022. **Editors: Charles Fombad, Assefa Fiseha, Nico Steytler**

Table of contents

Chapter 1: Introduction

John Markakis

Chapter 2: The State of Governance in Africa

Charles Fombad

Chapter 3: Federal Systems of Governance in Africa: Patterns and Pitfalls

Nico Steytler

Chapter 4: Federalism, Devolution and Territorially-Based Cleavages in Africa: Does Institutional Design Matter?

Assefa Fiseha

Chapter 5: Regional Organisations in the Horn of Africa: From State-Centred to People-Centred Integration?

Harry Verhoeven and Zeray Yihdego

Chapter 6: Kenya's Ethno-Politics and Devolved Governance: The Complexities and Dilemmas of Diversity and Inclusion

Conrad Bosire and Assefa Fiseha

Chapter 7: South Sudan: Devolution by Presidential Decree versus Constitutional Federalism

Alfred Sebit Lokuji

Chapter 8: Federalism in Somalia: Derailed or on Track?

Ibrahim Harun

Chapter 9: Lessons in Fiscal Federalism for Somalia: Building Fiscal Sustainability and National Cohesion

Solomon Negussie

Chapter 10: Constitutional Adjudication and Constitutional Governance in the Horn: Ethiopia, Somalia and South Sudan

Assefa Fiseha and Zemelak Ayele

III. Joint Research and Capacity Building at the CoE

Together with partners, the CoE continues to conduct the existing MA and PhD programs. There has already been an established link with partners in terms of joint teaching, research and supervision of thesis. Given the pandemic, the CoE resorted to online training. Partner institutions continue to supervise and examine PhD thesis.

On June 15 and 16, the CoE organized two day training for PhD candidates on qualitative research and ethical issues in research. UKRI requires its projects protect researchers, those that participate in the research and those that provide data. The two day training provided by two experts (one based in Aberdeen and another in Ethiopia) combined qualitative research methodology and the safeguard training required by UKRI. Fifteen PhD candidates from the CoE attended the two day training.

IV. Capacity Building Trainings

Brief Seminar Report 'Tackling Crisis of Governance through Multi-level Governance in the Horn'

Organized by Center of Excellence in Good Governance, Centre for Federalism and Governance Studies, Addis Ababa University

April 5-6, 2021, Addis Ababa, JUPITOR HOTEL Kazanchis





Opening Remarks: The Dean of College of Law and Governance Dr. Solomon Niguse made an opening remarks that welcomed delegates and highlighting the need for capacity building on devolution and federalism as a means to narrow down gap between promise and reality in the region. The speech included ‘We live in the Horn of Africa region where serious challenges of governance both within each country and at regional level continue to affect the lives of millions of people. Suffice to mention that two new states (Eritrea and South Sudan) have emerged as new actors after the Cold War. At the same time, it is also a very strategic region (Red Sea, Gulf of Aden, Nile etc) that connects Africa with the Middle East, Europe and Asia and is a region that is the center of the global maritime business, a factor that attracts regional and global actors attention. How do we change this vital region to our own advantage and bring a loose political and economic integration among the countries and peoples of the region and ensure peace and stability?’

It is in this context that Addis Ababa University designed a project on governance that aims to address the above challenges. The project has four major sub themes that address the root causes of governance challenges in the region, the finding of which will serve as a basis for building the capacity of major stake holders from the three countries through short term training. The research outputs inform the capacity building and training activities. The policy briefs that follow the research outputs also inform the direction of reform to stake holders. The results of the research and the findings are disseminated through the capacity building, the training to stake holders and publication expected at the end of the project.

As part of ensuring gender equality in the project, the project has included one major theme that aims to investigate the link between devolved systems and gender. Federalism often assumes territorially based regional groups and sub units where they find a space to contest centralized power and demand self-rule alongside representation in national institutions. While such non-centralized forms of governance in principle enhance levels of participation in governance, the relationship between such non-centralized forms of governance and the participation of women has rarely been explored in mainstream governance research. Do federalism and devolved systems enhance or limit the role and participation of women in governance? The outputs of this particular research, though a work in progress, you will hear it in the seminar and based on the research output provide policy inputs to political actors

The logic of the project is that inclusive political systems that take the form of federalism, power sharing or devolution lead to a more just political and economic order and thus reduce tension and conflict. Among the widely claimed benefits of non-centralized governance models is bringing government closer to the people, ensure local development and inclusive political institutions at national level. Designing and strengthening such inclusive political institutions assists in bringing in more actors at various levels of government. The researches build on institutional design issues covering different issues of governance and serve as a basis for capacity building of major stake holders and policy briefs that inform the direction of reform. Built capacity is in itself a step forward in improving governance but the project also provides policy briefs to stake holders to assist them in introducing possible reforms.

The project is financed by UKRI, GCRF, ARUA and the host institution-Addis Ababa University. On this occasion, I would like to thank the donors and the team who have worked hard to make this event a reality. I hope that you will use your stay here as a platform for sharing experiences and to build network for future collaborations.

I wish you all success and pleasant stay and I hope that you will enjoy the training

I thank you'

2. Participants

The seminar attracted delegates from three countries: Ethiopia, Somalia and South Sudan

The size of participants remained limited as a result of the regulation issued by the Ministry of Health that required a maximum of 50 participants given the COVID-19 pandemic

The delegation from all three countries consisted of very high profile figures including Ministers, honorable members of the legislature and representatives of Civil Society groups. Below, front right side is Minister of Federal and Local Government of South Sudan Lusubu



	Total	Male	Female
South Sudan	13	9	4
Somalia	9	8	1
Ethiopia	27	24	3
Total	49	41	8



3. Contents of the training: 10 scientific presentations were made



1. Role of Legislature and Systems of checks and balances

The presentation focused on the system of checks and balances in parliamentary and presidential systems. Beyond explaining each system, its strengths and weaknesses, it also analyzed the concept of separation of powers as applied to both systems. Applied to the Ethiopian case, it identifies factors that have contributed to

executive domination of an apparently sovereign parliament, after which it recommends that a number of legal and institutional reforms be made in order to swing the balance in favour of parliament. Ethiopia is characterized by cabinet supremacy rather than parliamentary sovereignty, but the presentation went beyond this obvious conclusion by finding that legislative-executive relations cannot be understood fully without taking into account intra-party politics and their impact on democratic institutions. Some comparative insights were drawn from selected parliamentary systems to explain gaps and controversies to specific issues under discussion. Constitutional principles, policies issued by the government, laws, internal regulations of the House of Peoples' Representatives (HoPR), focus group discussions, author's decade old observation and trends observed in the parliamentary practice are some of the useful resources employed in the presentation. The judiciary remains critical in the system of checks and balances but its role is very much limited by the mandate and constitutional position defined in the constitution as well as political reality in most developing countries. The presentation nevertheless highlights its bare minimum roles and proposes areas for reform to enhance the system of checks and balances.



2. Federalism, Devolution and Territorially Based Cleavages in Africa: Does Institutional Design Matter?

Federalism and Territoriality: federalism and devolution allocate competences between two or more levels of governments. Yet the purpose for which such systems are designed vary from one country to another. Whether it is possible to ensure stability, peace and social cohesion in countries with deep societal divisions where identity prevails over other bases of mobilization and if so through what type

of institutional options is one of the central political questions of our time. The presentation aims to deal with this crucial issue in Africa. It discussed the different institutional approaches adopted in federations in Africa and examines whether institutional design matters while addressing demands from politically mobilized groups. Should such cleavages be considered as building blocks for political engagement and institutions built around them or should they be diffused and deliberately divided into several subunits? What factors determine and explain the choice of institutional design? A key entry point is understanding the nature of the cleavage that has continued to challenge the nation-state and occupied political and expert attention on a new form of accommodation. It focuses on three of the well-known approaches: integration, power sharing and federal accommodation. Behind the three options however is the nature of the cleavage and how to manage it. Given the complicated nature of the territorial cleavage, the level of political mobilization, the nature of the elite that frames the issues and state response (accommodative, integrative or repressive), schools of thought vary on whether the 'cleavage and difference be recognized, emphasized, institutionalized and empowered or should it be diffused, blurred, transcended' and disempowered. Yet, although little explored in the comparative literature in Africa, at least from the institutional design perspective, there seem to be implicitly two options. The first, usually called the integrationist or centripetal system, is associated with Donald Horowitz with its ideological roots in the USA, and is reflected in the constitutions of Nigeria, South Africa and Kenya. The second is largely a European and has partly leftist origins, and is known by different names as pluri-national, multinational or ethno national based federations with its core feature of accommodation policy towards territorially based politically mobilized cleavages. The presentation developed the three options: power sharing, integration and accommodation and their links with cleavages. The presentation concluded that cleavages and level of political mobilization indeed impact institutional design issues. The more politically mobilized the cleavages are the more the tendency to demand self-government for such groups.

3. Does Federalism/Devolution Enhance or Limit Political Empowerment of Women?

The gender expert presented theoretical and empirical evidence showing how federal and devolved systems impact the right of women in political participation. The focus is while federalism and devolution are in themselves neither good or bad to women, electoral systems, quota, leadership vision and quality, socio cultural foundation in society, determine whether women are empowered in political affairs or not. Global experience and the experiences of federations indicates, plurality electoral system particularly FPTP has inherent features that limits gender parity while types of PR electoral system and adoption of legislative gender quota contributes for political empowerment of women

In Ethiopia, the failure of the electoral system to provide representation made women's representation symbolic and limited political empowerment of women in the country. Yet ruling party's quota system and determination to enhance the role of women in the legislature and executive has made progress in this regard. Yet illiberal practices within

states continue to impact right of women



4. Devolution and Nation Building in South Sudan

The presentation showed the issues with devolution and nation building in South Sudan. Except the 2011 referendum, the process has largely been top-down showing the limited role of public participation. There is lack of clarity as well on whether South Sudan wants to be federal or unitary which is creating confusion even at the elite level. One major point thus is enhance governance through grass root participation and reduce the role of the elite. Despite promises for devolution, national government has mandate to dismiss governors and elected councils that makes devolution arbitrary. The need for institutional safeguards against central/national government intervention is thus critical. Since the crisis in 2015, elections have been postponed and the fact that national government keeps on appointing governors and legislatures is antithesis to devolution and separation of

powers. Dr. Alred, the author explaining issues to audience:



5. Constitutionalism: The Missing Element in South Sudan

The focus of this presentation builds on number 4 above. The only moments where South Sudan has gained relative peace was when there are promises for inclusion and devolution and there are plenty of thus kinds of arrangements starting from the Addis Abeba agreement all the way to current revitalized peace agreements. However, all promises have been betrayed and one solution is to create institutional safeguards that enhance the implementation of the power sharing and devolution arrangements. Kenya had an institution that reviews progress made in the implementation of the constitution. Supreme Courts also play vital role in this regards

- 6. Federalism in Somalia: derailed or on Track?** The presentation highlights how Somalia evolved from a unitary system to federalism and discussed the different phases in the federalization process including the 2012 constitution. The aim is to use federalism to bring Somalia back to order. Although there is little consensus on the choice of federalism in Somalia, given the regional and clan based fragmentation, it seems federalism will remain as means to restore order in the country. There are visible member states that see the capital with suspicion and the only way to keep them within is through federalism. Nevertheless, relationships between federal government and member states, electoral impasse, corruption, ambiguities in the constitution on division of powers and fiscal resources have made federalism difficult in Somalia. Regional and international actors play a key role in Somalia and aggravate the problem. The crisis in the Gulf has affected relationships between federal government and member states even if foreign relations remain federal mandate. Federal governments limited control over security is also a major concern

of stability in Somalia



Abdi Hussien, delegate from Somalia responds to the presentation by Dr. Harun

7. The fiscal federalism presentation builds on number 6 by focusing the point that lack of clarity in the allocation of resources between the two levels of governments has created tension and thus both levels of governments need an agreement on the matter for federalism to move to the next steps. Resource management is contested matter in countries like Somalia and without clear negotiated agreement on the matter, the federation cannot move forward.
8. **Constitutionalism and Rule of Law in Africa:** the presentation showed the challenges associated in institutionalizing constitutionalism and rule of law in Africa (both the Anglophone and Francophone). Despite progress after the end of the Cold War, the ambition and promise to build political power founded on constitutionalism and rule of law has a mixed result within the African continent. Political power remains far from institutionalized, term limits on the executive continue to be violated. Professor Charles Fombad from Pretoria presenting on line

9. **Federal and Devolved Systems in Africa-** This was the most comprehensive presentation of federal and devolved systems in Africa also explaining the limits of the centralized nation state that resulted in imperial executive unable to deliver services and violence across the continent. The presentation explained why the wave on federalism and devolution mainly related to political inclusion, the need to ensure peace, bring government close to the people and local development as a response to skewed development. The presentation dealt with issues of design and assessed the federal and devolved systems against the promises. The conclusion being despite promises, role of sub units has remained limited due to national governments extensive role and limited resources. The will and commitment to implement constitutional principles on federalism and devolution and strong institutions that enforce the constitutional pact can make progress in the realization

of constitutional promises.



10. **European experiences in Federalism:** the presentation focused on Swiss and Belgian federations both of which have territorial based cleavages highlighting how inclusive political systems that take the form of power sharing at federal level combined with federalism and multiparty democracy as well as constitutionalism and rule of law have ensured peace and harmony in an other wise divided society



Minister Hon. Losuba Wango from South Sudan giving note of thanks and concluding remarks

Political party leader and academician Sultan Kassim from Ethiopia giving note of thanks (below)



Evaluation

At the end of the training, evaluation form was distributed to delegates. The evaluation form assesses the quality of the presentation, their engagement and what they find as a take away as well as things to improve. On a scale of 1-5, one being least and five the best, the average shows 4, that is high in the scale. Trainees indicated time was not enough to have a more participation. There was power and internet interruption given that some of the presentations were done on line. Stand by generator was used by the hotel but some minutes were lost in between.

COVID-19 was a big challenge. Delegates had to undertake medical checkup before arrival and before departure. There was one suspect case from South Sudan who had to spend a few more days in Addis Ababa for medical screening but in the end he was free and left to Juba. That caused some additional costs and inconvenience to the delegate. Participants and presenters would have ideally preferred a face to face discussion but that remains a challenge given the COVID-19 pandemic.

Key findings from the presentations

This key findings of the papers demonstrated that a leading cause of the political instability in the Horn of Africa is a crisis of governance, caused by extreme centralization of power, exclusive political systems, weak institutions, and the failure to institutionalize the responsible use of authority. The presentations further showed that the refusal to accept mobilised regional and other groups as a reality and accord them political recognition and accommodate them in appropriate institutions is the root cause of the prevailing instability in the Horn.

The contributors explored the different federal and devolved systems adopted in the Horn after the Cold War, assessed each against the promises made in the respective constitutions, and suggested ways to improve them.

Federalism and devolution's track record in the attempt to resolve communal or identity conflicts over the past 30 years has not been good. Federalism and devolution cannot be said to have failed, but the hoped-for benefits have not materialised; moreover, where federal and devolved systems have been tried, they have been highly centralised, with power and resources concentrated in the centre, and often superficially and reluctantly implemented. Besides, the success of federalism and devolution depends on a broader embrace of constitutionalism, democracy, separation of powers, limited government, and the rule of law that makes these elements part of the political or legal culture of a country.

In recent years, many attempts have been made to resolve the ongoing conflicts in Somalia and South Sudan, but problems remain, and in 2019 the instability spread to Ethiopia. The papers examined how some of the governance problems in the region can be addressed through institutional design. The central argument is that an inclusive system of

governance through federalism, devolution and inclusive political institutions as well as ensuring the institutionalization of power through strengthening the rule of law has the potential to make governments more accountable, inclusive and able to deliver critical services. The importance of institutions such as Supreme Courts or constitutional courts that aim to limit and institutionalize power (be it federal or regional state) was also highlighted. Federalism or devolution without such institutions is prone to political manipulation and is likely to fail. Thus progress needs to be made towards institutional recognition of cleavages, more inclusive political system based on the rule of law and checks and balances and genuine implementation of federal and devolved systems as enshrined in the respective constitutions. Such systems ensure relative stability and peace and reduce the risks of state fragmentation – a major concern in the region.

Overall the message is that the threats of further fragmentation and conflict due to the crisis of governance are likely to continue unless serious steps are taken to deal with the challenges.

Capacity Building Training in Juba, November 10, Dembesh Hotel, 2021

1	participants	
2	Male	38
3	Female	18
	total	56



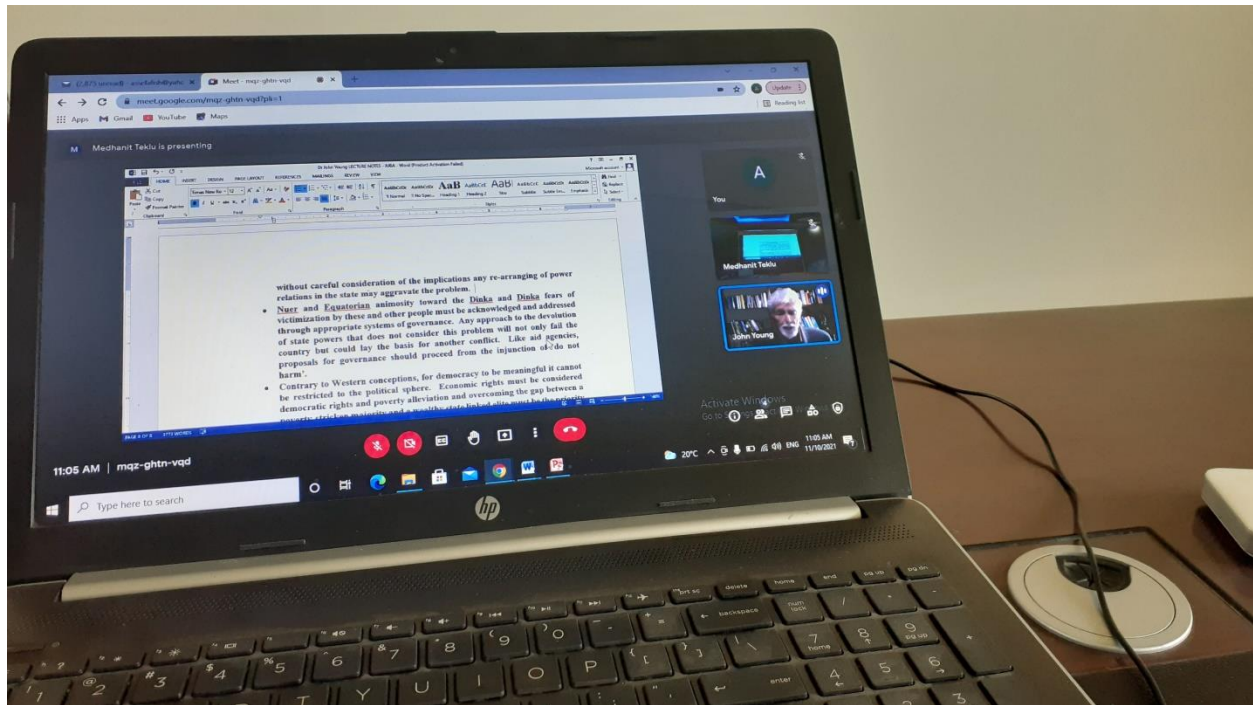
Representative of the CoE making opening remarks. The director of the CoE, prof Assefa Fiseha making online presentation from Addis Ababa, Ethiopia on 'Devolution: Principles, Justifications and conditions for its success'



Hon. Losuba Wango, Minister, Ministry of Federal Affairs, South Sudan (first row, left)



Clemency, Undersecretary of the Ministry of Federal Affairs, Juba, making remarks and welcoming participants during the opening ceremony



Prof John Young (above), a leading expert on the political context in South Sudan making an online presentation on November 10, 2021

Key findings from the four presentations

1. Federalism and devolution has chequered history in South Sudan. Both in 1956 and 1972 as well as post 2011, it often faced broken promise. The failure to implement the promise has in all three periods resulted in violence. Those who think they are marginalized from the political process have threatened the system. Thus adhering to agreed upon political arrangements and inclusive political system has the potential to break the cycle of violence that is fragmenting South Sudan
2. In the post 2011 South Sudan, SPLM monopoly and its association with the Dinka elite has created sense of alienation to Nuer and Equatoria groups in South Sudan. Thus a more inclusive national government can tame the on-going political crisis in South Sudan
3. State power and resources need to be used to improve the welfare of South Sudan's society. The current arrangement fits well into the neo-patrimonial system with patron client informal networks that continue to challenge the formal institutional arrangements. The army, security sector and the elite in power have control over resources with little left for improving the welfare of society. Basic services including security, access to education and health, roads, schools etc remain scarce commodities. The state needs to build its capacity and spend resources to deliver basic services.
4. Political power remains personal and not institutionalized. Presidential decree continues to obstruct devolution promises in South Sudan. National and state legislative bodies need exercise check and balance against the executive and ensure transparency and accountability to the system.
5. The country's Supreme Court needs to be autonomous and impartial to exercise judicial review over the acts and decisions of the political branches. Without that it is hardly possible to limit and institutionalise political power and ensure rule of law. Devolution of

power without adequate system of checks and balances and the rule of law fails to limit central power making devolution a farce. This is currently the reality in South Sudan where presidential decree continues to be used to remove state governors, state legislative bodies and make and unmake constituent unit boundaries. States and local governments need to have autonomy and much needed resources to exercise power as outlined in the constitution. Their autonomy needs to be guarded by the supreme court when the national government violates its mandate.

6. Empowering the people and taking politics beyond the elite. The post 2011 political developments in South Sudan is dominated by factional politics within the SPLM. The wider public is left as a bystander. It is critical to engage the people in the political, economic and social issues of South Sudan. Traditional authorities, elders, religious leaders, peasants, women and the youth need to be actively engaged in their country's affairs. South Sudan today must begin with giving citizens, and not just elites, a voice in their own governance. Thus inclusive politics goes beyond including the political elite.

V. Staff and Student Research Exchange Programs

As part of building the capacity building component of the CoE, the project has an exchange program for a few staff and student exchange. Two major obstacles hindered the implementation of this aspect of the project.

Covid-19 still remains a big challenge. We have tried to overcome this challenge using online platforms. The second challenge related to project budget cuts in 2021 as donor slashed part of the promised sum owing to Covid-19 effect on the economy. While other aspects of the project remained less affected, staff and student exchange element had to be withheld until resources are obtained in 2022.