

THE NECESSITY OF NATIONAL DIALOGUE TO BUILD SUSTAINABLE PEACE FOR FUTURE ETHIOPIA: IT'S CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

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Research Article

THE NECESSITY OF NATIONAL DIALOGUE TO BUILD SUSTAINABLE PEACE FOR FUTURE ETHIOPIA: IT'S CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

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Abstract

This study investigates about the necessity of national dialogue, the way how to conduct effective national dialogues to build sustainable peace for future Ethiopia: its challenges and prospects in Ethiopia. Ethiopia is undergoing a new political reform since 2018. However, the sustainability of this political reform and transition is depending on to what extent the reform is capable of addressing major national issues through national dialogues. Ethiopia's political transition has exposed a range of political and security uncertainties throughout the country. National dialogues are an essential tool to “resolve the national problems, to reconcile the disputes and conflicts, territorial claims, to address the challenges of political transition and to build sustainable peace” for future Ethiopia. Although, national dialogue recognizes with its vital role to manage and utilize the socio-political transition, economic liberalization, to achieve national consensus and also to build sustainable peace for future Ethiopia; it is not successful in Ethiopia due to some fundamental challenges such as suspension and antagonistic approach among political parties, exclusionary political system, Ethnic tensions and violence, Absences of well arranged roadmap for the transition and national dialogues, Counterrevolutionary Forces and partiality of the participants on national dialogues. Methodologically, the research was employed through qualitative research approach method with descriptive and exploratory research design. Accordingly, the researcher has used both primary and secondary sources of data. The collected data was analyzed and interpreted through qualitative data analysis techniques and also conceptualized related with the topics. The general purpose of this research is to analysis the necessity of national dialogues to build sustainable peace for future Ethiopia. Therefore, the study confirms that national dialogues play an essential role to address the above national problems such as to achieve national consensus and also to ensure sustainable peace for future Ethiopia. As the finding indicted, national dialogues should be inclusive to whole section of the community with having of well arranged guidelines.

Key Words: National Dialogues, National Consensus, peace building and sustainable peace.

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CHAPTER - ONE

1. Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

❖ Definitions of National Dialogues

Throughout world's history and in most societies, bringing people together to overcome differences and solve problems has been a particularly prestigious assignment usually given to the experienced individuals, elders or people respected for their good judgment and wisdom. Hence, dialogues have been continued with exercised in traditional societies, based on indigenous procedures and customs such as in village councils (International IDEA 2008b).

Before the current political reform, Ethiopia was in the situation of unrest state. There were mass demonstrations against the government and unstoppable public grievances. Thus government police forces were killing, torturing, and intimidating civilians in order to stop the unstoppable public grievances. The questions of the protesters have political, economic and legal aspects. Consequently, the grand protests were able to bring new changes in Ethiopia, among others, the change in the top political leadership. So, protests which held throughout the country were able to bring Abiy Ahmed (Ph.D.) into the premiership position (Jiregna, 2020). In fact, since PM Abiy Ahmed (Ph.D.) comes to power, Ethiopia is undergoing a massive political and economic reform. There are several structural and leadership changes as well as the shift of economic policies in to economic liberalization. Despite an ambitious political and economic reform, the national controversies and national problems and conflicts are continued which excitedly needs major national issues should be given priority to succeed the current political reform and to ensure sustainable peace in the country (Jiregna, 2020). In this study, the research focused on exploring the necessity of national dialogues to resolve the major legal, political, economic problems, to succeed the current political reform and to ensure sustainable peace in the country.

In fact, the concept of national dialogue is a new phenomenon in Ethiopia politics and political system. Hence, there are few studies on the issue of national dialogue practices in Ethiopia. Therefore, the study would fill the thematic and knowledge gap through empirical investigation and data analysis on the necessity of national dialogue to build sustainable peace for future Ethiopia: its challenges and prospects through qualitative research approach with explanatory research design.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Ethiopia is Africa's second-most populous country and which is a home of more than 80 ethnic groups. Ethiopia is an important player in Africa as well as Horn of Africa with exerting considerable political and economic influence, regionally and continent-wide. Ethiopia's highly praised political transition and economic is contending with long-standing state-building deficits which are fuelling tensions and conflict in the country (Dawit and Meressa Kahsu Dessu, 2020).

National dialogue plays central role in mediation, to resolve national problems, manage political and economic reform, and to achieve national consensus (Cindy Helfer and Zachariassen, 2017). In addition to this, national dialogues have been used as an instrument to resolve political crises and pave the way for political transitions and to build sustainable peace. When national dialogues genuinely implemented the political transitions and economic reform utilizes fruitfully and there would be valuable national consensus among elites (Cindy Helfer and Zachariassen, 2017). Broadly, exposed national dialogues are experiences in several parts of the world that

brought national dialogues is forefront as a tool for breaking political deadlock and to resolve complex conflicts (Stigant and Murray, 2015). Hence, national dialogues can be served as a means to ease political transitions in diverse community, to manage economic reform and to manage the political dynamics of the country (Cindy Helfer and Zachariassen, 2017).

Now, Ethiopia is exist in political dynamics which means the middle of a political transition and economic reform with a new prime minister, Abiy Ahmed (Ph.D.), who has been pursuing reforms at an unprecedented pace and scope (ASG, 2018). The new Prime Minister has initiates some forum of national dialogues with deferent sections of the society to resolve the happening situations and national problems in the country such as with political elites, Artists, Military Arms and dialogues with Isayias Afewrki who is Eritrea's president(Weber, 2018).

In the context of this study which is entitled on “the necessity of national dialogues to build sustainable peace for future Ethiopia: its challenges and prospects” is aimed to explore the necessity of national dialogues for effective national consensus which seeks to be successful resolve the current national crisis, political transition and to build sustainable peace in the country.

Hence, studying the necessity of national dialogues is a crucial tool for the state like Ethiopia to resolve scientifically the challenges of political and economic reforms and national crisis and to succeed national consensus and it is pathways to build sustainable peace is essential at this time. In fact, in the last couple of years those little studies have been published on national dialogues globally and continentally. These publications were emerged to react on the questions and uncertainties regarding to the concept of national dialogues and to aware and provide guidance and practical support for those who are exploring national dialogues but did not relays on the procedures, inclusiveness and effectiveness of the national dialogues (Blunck et al., 2017).

Various researchers did research work in the Horn of Africa political dynamics. Among the notable research works were; Thania Paffenholz, Anne Zachariassen, and Cindy Helfer. (2017). What Makes or Breaks National Dialogues? Inclusive peace and transition initiative, Susan Stigant and Elizabeth Murray. (2015). National Dialogues: A Tool for Conflict Transformation? ASG. (2018). Ethiopia: new dawn? Albright Stonebridge Group, Jiregna Tadese Terfa, (2020). National Consensus and Major National issues: It's Implication for Sustainable Peace in Ethiopia: Journal of conflict Resolution and Weber, A. (2018). Abiy Super star- Reformer or Revolutionary? Hope for Transformation in Ethiopia. However, there have been little studies which were conducted on national dialogues in Ethiopia and its importance for the country. The presences of inadequate studies and literature about the area, the issue of national crisis and the political and economic reform did not address and sustainable peace in Ethiopia.

As a result, the purpose of this research was to provide critical and analytical analysis of the necessity of national dialogues to build sustainable peace for future Ethiopia: its challenges and prospects. Consequently, this study was investigated the roles and challenges of national dialogue. Therefore, the current study fills the research and thematic area also knowledge gap on “the necessity of national dialogues to build sustainable peace for future Ethiopia: its challenges and prospects” through empirical investigation through qualitative research under broader framework of explanatory research design.

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1.3. Research Objectives

This research has both general and specific objectives.

1.3.1. General Research Objective

The general objective of this study is to explore the necessity of national dialogues to build sustainable peace for future Ethiopia: its challenges and prospects.

1.3.2. Specific Research Objectives

The specific objectives of the study are the following ones:

- ✚ To explore the necessity and roles of national dialogues to build sustainable peace for future Ethiopia.
- ✚ To address the mechanisms of national dialogues implementation.
- ✚ To analyze the challenges and prospects of national dialogue practices in Ethiopia.

1.4. Research Questions

This research has both general and specific research questions which were addressed the intended and targeted objectives of the study in the studying area. Therefore, this study gave answers for the following research questions.

1.4.1. General Research Question

The general research question of this study is to investigate to what extent the necessity of national dialogues to build sustainable peace for future Ethiopia: its challenges and prospects?

1.4.2. Specific Research Questions

The specific objectives of the study have been attempted to answer the following specific research questions;

- Why national dialogues are necessary to build sustainable peace for future Ethiopia?
- How effective national dialogue could be held?
- What are the major challenges and prospects of national dialogues practices in Ethiopia?

1.5. Significance of the Study

The main purpose of this study to fill the knowledge and thematic area gap in the study are and also to create understanding about the necessity of national dialogues to build sustainable Peace for future Ethiopia: its challenges and prospects. Furthermore, the other importance of this study could be used to create awareness about the roles of national dialogues for national unity and also serve as a preliminary input for other researchers and academics to conduct further investigation on the study area. In addition to this, the study helps to utilize the opportunities of conducting national dialogues and minimizing the challenges to employ it.

1.6. Scope of the Study

Ethiopia is the most diversified county in the Horn of Africa. This study was delimited both thematically and geographically. Thematically, the study has been confined on the necessity of national dialogues to build sustainable peace for future Ethiopia. In addition to this, the geographical magnitude of this study has been bounded on the independent state Ethiopia.

1.7. Delimitation of the Study

While dealing this study, the researcher was faced some constraints such as absences willingness of the key informants side and dynamism of the politics and instability, low awareness about the area. As a result, this could be some of the constraints which were faced when the researcher conducts this study. However, the researcher was striving to minimize and use with alternative solutions for the limitations of the research. Regarding with the key informants interest and willingness, the researcher was attempt to rapport the key respondents through informed and

pursuing about the aims and relevance of the study; if it is necessary confidentiality of the key informant's personality with their information also keep secret.

1.8. Organization of the Study

The study is organized with five chapters. The first chapter has been focuses on an introduction part which includes background of the study, statement of the problem, research questions, objective of the study, and significance of the study, scope of the study, limitation of the study and organization of the study as well. The second chapter attempts to cover literature review on the importance of national dialogues to build sustainable peace for future Ethiopia, the emergence and historical development of national dialogues, actors of national dialogues, factors affecting national dialogues, national dialogues in Ethiopia context and also theoretical frameworks which helps to explain the studying area. The third chapter was concerns on research methodology which included research approach, research design, sources of data, methods of data collection and tools, sampling techniques and sample size, data analysis procedures and ethical considerations.

The fourth chapter comes up with data analysis and interpretation which implies result and discussion on the findings of the research. This chapter covers the necessity of national dialogues to build sustainable peace, mechanisms to exercise effective national dialogues in the Ethiopia, challenges and prospects of national dialogues. Finally, in chapter five the researcher has been drawn up the conclusion and recommendation of the study.

1.9. Operational Terms

National Consensus- it is the general agreement (common sense) on the national issues of a state. National Consensus implies harmony relationship and unity of the community in on state.

National dialogues -are” nationally owned negotiation and discussion aimed at generating national consensus among a broad range of national stakeholders in times of deep political crisis, conflicts, political transition, in post-war situations or during far-reaching political transitions”. In political sciences and International relations “transition” illustrates the process of changes from one political regime to another political regime. Political Transition implies the change when there is a change of political leadership, ideology change and peaceful transfer of power in one country is political transition. Democratization is an example of political transition.

The word “**Peace**” is complex and vague word which has different interpretations and reactions. For some, peace means the absence of conflict. For others it means the end of violence or the formal cessation of hostilities; and also for others peace implies the return to resolving conflict (Snodderly, 2011). “**Sustaining Peace**” as enshrined in the Security Council resolutions on peace building, offers a new approach to enhance the capacity of societies not only to address the immediate consequences of conflict but also to prevent the outbreak of violence using peaceful means (Mechoulan et al., 2016).

Peace Building is an umbrella concept that encompasses not only long-term transformative efforts, but also peacemaking and peacekeeping. On the other hand, Peace building is a program designed to address the causes of conflict, the grievances of the past and to promote long-term stability, justice and peace (Schilling, 2012). Peace building has become an overarching term for an entire range of actions designed to contribute to building a culture of peace (OECD, 2008).

CHAPTER -TWO

2.1. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1.1. Definitions and Concepts of National Dialogues

Before going to conceptualize the necessity and role of national dialogues it is better to discuss the definitions of dialogue itself. Dialogue is not a modern invention or new phenomenon. Dialogues implies a discussion or serious of discussion among two or more segments o f the society that aimed to give an end for the existing disagreement or conflict (Miller, etal. 2015).

Dialogue is an exchange of ideas, opinions, thought or dreams between the participants which aimed resolutions for the conflicts, disagreement or violence or to manage the changes and transformation. Dialogues are very useful tools any story of the word. Dialogues make the story advance, bring and manage the dynamics, provide the realism (which shows what is happening in reality instead of telling it) and provide information. Dialogue has several different meanings depending on the way in which it is used. Dialogue is used as a synonym for formal negotiations between two or more parties to a conflict as well as to describe either the more informal process of communication among opposing parties leading up to negotiations or to processes that aim at avoiding an escalation of conflict, without any concrete ambition to reach a negotiation phase. The term “National dialogue” is ambiguous concepts that have different meanings, depending on the context in which it is used. Whereas, the definition of national dialogues considered the context in which it emerged. As stated by Blunck etal. 2017 national dialogue is neither a new phenomenon, nor one a new phenomenon in international political dynamism and historical political transformations. Moreover, national dialogue is widely spread at the time of Third wave democratization process (Jiregna, 2020).

2.2. Emergence of National Dialogues in the World

National dialogues have been used in one form or another before several centuries in the world community, but recently there has been a profusion of public consultations or political dialogues that held with the name of national dialogues in several parts of the world such as such as Kenya, Sudan, and South Sudan in Yemen (2013–2014, Egypt in 2011, Togo 1991 and 2006 and Yemen in 2013–2014 (International labour organization report, 2017. Hence, several forms of national dialogue have developed from political change / presence of dynamics.

National dialogues are” nationally owned political processes aimed at generating national consensus among a broad range of national stakeholders in times of deep political crisis, conflicts, political transformation, in post-war situations or during far-reaching political transitions” (Blunck et al., 2017, 21).

National dialogues are usually encompasses broader societal consultations, variety actors, involving all sectors of society (Blunck et al., 2017, 21). National dialogues are increasingly regarded as a promising avenue for managing political crises and transitions, conflicts and political dynamics. Accordingly, national dialogues provide an inclusive, broad, participatory official negotiation framework, which can resolve political crises and lead countries into political transitions. The main visions and aims of national dialogue include political reform, de-escalation of disagreements and conflicts, managing and monitoring political transition, peace building and address major national issues (Cindy Helfer, 2017).

National dialogues focuses on the processes that: 1) are convened to address a broad set of issues or problems (not single-issue), 2) operate and regulated outside of the permanent institutions of governance and under their own rules and procedures, and 3) inclusion of multi dimensional stakeholders. The national dialogue processes will be initiated through political actors, civil society activism and internationally-brokered peace agreements which aimed to address a wide variety of issues (Blunck et al., 2017, 21). All in all national dialogues were characterized with a concept of inclusiveness and should follow holistic approach national conversation.

2.3. Historical overview of National Dialogues

National Dialogue: What does it mean national dialogues?

National dialogues have been held throughout modern history across the world community under different names in various contexts. National dialogue also plays central role to facilitate the political reforms, new constitution making and the amendment process, for the spread out of democracy, to achieve national dialogues and to build sustainable peace (Rassidutou, 2017). Most of the world states are familiar with national dialogues through formal or indigenous way to resolve their own national problems and crisis.

In the early 1990s, national dialogues were the crucial instrument for the political process in parts of the world. In fact, over the past few decades particularly in the 21th century, national dialogues has been viewed as a crucial tool for the national crisis, national reforms, to achieve national consensus and to build sustainable peace across the globe. It is highly witnessed in Europe, Middle East, Latin American and Africa (Rassidutou, 2017). According to International labour organization report in 2017 National dialogue emerged due to first, in order to grapple with the major political upheavals caused by the breakdown of communism in Eastern and Central Europe in 1989 such as Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Bulgaria which held a series of roundtables, opening democratic politics to newly emerging actors and agendas. Second, widely felt dissatisfaction with the growing gap between citizens and the ruling elite in Africa, amid raised awareness connected with the bicentennial of the French Revolution, led a number of Francophone-African countries to hold National Conferences in the early 1990s.

Third, during the 1990s many countries across Latin America held consensus based constitutional making processes in an attempt to strengthen participatory governance and development. Fourth, the emergence of national dialogues today is mostly linked to the events of the Arab Spring (Marike Blunck, Luxshi Vimalarajah etal, 2017). For instance, national dialogue were conducted in Yemen (2013-2014), Benin 1990, Tunisia (2013-2015), Togo in 1991, Chad 1993 and Democratic Republic of Congo in 1992 (Rassidutou, 2017).

Furthermore, national dialogue is also common in Europe to resolve the national crisis such as in Belgium, France, Germany Czech Republic and Italy. National dialogues also experienced in the Arab countries such as Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Oman and Yemen. The dialogues in Central American included Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama. National dialogue is also familiar in some parts of African states such as Senegal Sierra Leone, Uganda Tanzania, Ghana and Sudan (International labour organization Report, 2017). In fact, Ethiopia also initiated to practice national dialogues since 2017; when the new Prime Minister takes power.

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2.4. Theories Regarding on National Dialogues

Why use theory?

Theory is a litmus paper or an experiment for particularly social sciences field of study. Scholars, academician, researcher even policy makers crucially rely on theory in order to link the abstract world to the real world (on the ground world). For this reason, it is an important to find out working theories which will help to order the blizzard of information why and how national dialogue could be conduct and to utilize the fruit of national dialogue for sustainable peace building . The following are the theoretical framework which examines the necessity of national dialogues and the fruit of national dialogues to build sustainable peace in the country.

2.4.1. Democratic Peace Theory

In fact, there are various theoretical perspectives and arguments regarding to national dialogues and national consensus. As far as the study is emphasized on the soft power and peaceful resolution and management of the political transition and dynamics of politics; democratic peace theory is more appropriate theory. One of the main theoretical outlook in favor of promotion of liberal democracy all over the world is the belief in so-called democratic peace theories, which have their philosophical groundings in Immanuel Kant's 1795 essay Perpetual Peace: Kant lays out the formula for a peaceful world: the spread of republican values, a pacific union of democratic states and the spread of democracy is necessary for the spread of peace, as laid out in the democratic peace theory, which argues that democracies do not go to war (Ubong, 2012). According to Balco,F.(2011) explanation the reason why democratic peace theories is alert on the on the formation of peaceful world is that democratic states tend to avoid war.

There are two core explanations (arguments) regarding to democratic peace theory. The first explanation lies on the strength of democratic institution. Having of strong democratic institutions could be restrain the hands of decision-makers and empower the democratic structure of civil society. Moreover, the presences of democratic culture and enhancement of democratic institution means avoiding the potential of conflicts to escalate into war and regulating the political dynamics through it (Balco, F, 2011). The second explanation of why democracies are considered more appropriate for peaceful political transition is related to the understanding that democracies share cultural norms among themselves.

According to this argument, democratic political culture encourages peaceful means of internal conflict resolution, which "come to apply across national boundaries towards other democratic states"(Balco, F, 2011). There are two dominant strands of theoretical explanations of the alleged democratic peace theory is termed as institutional (structural) and normative theories. Institutional or structural theory argues that institutional traits in democracies such as free elections and a separation of powers work to constrain the political leaders' scope of action, thereby acting as a check on any adventurous foreign-policy endeavors by the leadership (Russett, 1993). But for the sake of this paper the researcher more emphasize on the normative approach of democratic peace theory, it has direct relation to the current domestic political dynamics are affect externally. The normative approach argues further that democratic states to the extent possible externalize the norms of behavior that are developed within and illustrate their domestic cultures, norms values and institutions (Russett, 1993).

2.5. National Dialogue to Achieve National Consensus and Sustainable Peace

In any political transition or political reform, fragile or failed state's leader need to find ways to bring different groups and actors together to forge a sense of common bond and purpose to

decide what kind of country they want and how this ambition can be achieved. One of the most crucial mechanisms to achieve this objective is national dialogue which is the successful pathway to achieve consensus and sustainable peace building. According to Kaplan & Freeman argued that this important mechanism of dealing with major national issues can bring representatives of key groups together and tackle sensitive and complex major national issues about the past and future of a particular state (Kaplan & Freeman, 2015).

National dialogue encompasses a broad and wide range of activities from high-level negotiations to community-level reconciliation which takes place in many forms across the national boundaries. Kaplan & Freeman argued that the main aim of this national dialogue is to achieve practical and peaceful solutions to national, regional, or local challenges during the democratic transition and political reform. On a wider and broader level, national dialogue or consensus seeks to address drivers of conflict including root causes of conflicts, foster national reconciliation and build greater consensus and social cohesion. The result of this national dialogue and consensus can be greater legitimacy for institutions, the state, and greater convergence across different groups around a common program to solve problems and a common vision of how to live together. It is also essential in building trust among rival groups, fashioning a new social covenant and contract, establishing a set of political rules to govern society and forging a shared national identity and vision (Kaplan & Freeman, 2015).

2.6. Actors of National Dialogues

Who is included in National Dialogues?

National Dialogues are inclusive throughout the entire negotiation process, meaning that participants are involved in discussions in all segments of the society. National dialogues typically includes national elites, academicians, researchers, government officials and armed military groups, opposition political parties; other segment of the society can participate such as civil society, elders, women, youth, business, and religious or traditional actors. When national dialogue is held there would be direct and indirect participants, while direct participant means the one whose they have direct stake and engagement on the national dialogue process whereas indirect participant implies the external actors. Hence, wider population of the society participates directly or indirectly in the national dialogue processes (Cindy Helfer, 2017).

Indirect actors in a dialogue process are “actors without direct participation in the dialogue, or a direct stake in the outcomes of the process” (Siebert, Kumar and Tasala 2014). Having no direct stake, however, does not mean having no interests and participations. Sometimes indirect participants play positive contribution on national dialogues such as by supporting one party over another or wanting to influence the outcome of a national dialogue so that their interests remain protected. Who are the external actors that impact on national dialogues? In broadly view indirect participants of national dialogue includes international and regional organizations, states, and non-governmental organizations. The indirect participants of national dialogue comprise religious leaders, development actors, diaspora groups, the business sector, and influential individuals.

In fact, development actors which includes financial institutions such as IMF and World Bank, national development funds and aid agencies as well as development NGOs whose contribution to national dialogue is often insufficiently acknowledged and understood, While traditionally reluctant to recognize the political nature of their work in fragile and conflict-affected contexts,

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development actors have shown an increased interest in political processes, including national dialogues (Cindy Helfer, 2017). They have also participated and emphasized conflict prevention, which is increasingly recognized as an important factor one's country development. However, the role of development actors in promoting peace building and conflict prevention was acknowledged in the 2015 review of the UN peace building architecture. In short, development actors' support of peace processes has become more significant and integrated.

2.7. Factors influencing the successfulness of National Dialogues

A number of constraints exert significant effect on the effectiveness of national dialogues. Among the most relevant identified were the support or resistance of national elites; the political interests of regional countries and international actors; public support for or frustration with the Dialogue; the existence of a culture of dialogue; past experiences and prior agreements; and violence.

2.7.1. Support and Resistance of the Elites

A country's elite constitutes a relatively exclusive group of powerful political or economic actors and networks. These tend to have a disproportionate amount of political, social, and economic power compared to the rest of the society. Their support for, or resistance to, a national dialogue is the most crucial element prior to and during national dialogues as well as in the implementation phase (Susan Stigant and Murray, 2015).

2.7.2. Public Support and Public Frustration

Public support or the lack thereof, is another key element that either enables or can be taken as constrains of on the outcome of national dialogues. The ways in which developments on the ground during a national dialogue can generate or weaken public support for the process are, of course, context-specific, but they need to be considered carefully in the planning stage, alongside the other context factors discussed here. In some cases, public support for a National Dialogue gradually eroded during the negotiations. This had a constraining effect on the outcome. For example, in Yemen, the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) agreement envisaged a two-year transition process; in practice, however, it took three years from the signing of the GCC agreement in November 2011 to reach the conclusion of the National Dialogue, which eventually provided a transition plan in January 2014.

A one year delay of such a massive process would have not been a major issue, if the responsible national actors would have adequately communicated both their progress and deficiencies to the population as well as the regional and international actors supportive to the national dialogues process (Susan Stigant and Murray, 2015). To sum up, public support during a national dialogue as well as the implementation phase is important for the sustainability of outcomes. However, this can also decline over time, if people become frustrated with the lack of progress, and should not be taken for granted. Good communication appears to be a key factor for maintaining support.

2.7.3. Role of Media in National Dialogues: A Potentially Powerful Force for peace building

The use of media for promoting key information messaging presents a powerful opportunity; "needs-based" information, for instance, aims to provide credible public interest information ranging from conflict resolution to mass health campaigns and disseminates specifically designed messaging using conventional journalism, advertising, or even mass entertainment,

such as soap operas or songs. Quality journalism, notably radio and television programs, such as the BBC's "New Home, New Life" in Afghanistan, have proved highly effective in keeping local populations informed. It has been used effectively in many other conflict or post-conflict situations around the world, such as Benin and Somalia. The national dialogue in Benin was broadcast live by radio as well as promoted through the print media with published images of the sessions. The coverage of the national dialogue reinforced the support it had from the public and civil society by adding a level of transparency to the debates and allowing the Beninese people even those living in rural areas to remain informed about the most important developments of the process. Opening media platforms to different opinions at the national dialogue also increased its perceived legitimacy.

2.7.4. Influence of External Actors

Regional and international actors also have the ability to constrain or enable the negotiation process and its outcomes. External actors are more likely to get involved if their own core interests are at stake. The political influence of regional actors has generally been found more important than that of non-regional international actors (Susan Stigant and Murray, 2015).

2.7.5. Existing Culture of National Dialogue in the World

A pre-existing culture of dialogue can also be an enabling factor. In the Papua New Guinea-Bougainville armed conflict; women played an important role in traditional dispute-settlement practices. This had already proved important in the locally-generated peace initiatives prior to the beginning of the formal process. Their strong involvement alongside local leaders of warring parties and the Councils of Elders/Chiefs proved critical from the ceasefire to the final peace agreement (Susan Stigant and Murray, 2015).

Moreover, in certain countries, the valorization of traditional mediation methods has emerged as a crucial enabling factor. In Somaliland, eight clan elders took a mediating role in the Conference. In the past few years, Somali society, conflicts are resolved through a social contract, where specific problems are deliberated by clan elders. Consequently, both their experience and mediation efforts were welcomed by clan members and contributed significantly toward successful consensus building.

2.8. National Dialogues in Ethiopia

In fact, the use of indigenous negotiations for resolving of dis-agreements, conflicts in the community is not a new phenomenon. Ethiopia is experienced with indigenous conflict resolution mechanism through negotiations which is directly linked with the concepts of national dialogues. Very recently, due to socio, economic transitions of country several national problems happens which obligated the use of national dialogues with new forms. Despite, several challenges national dialogue in Ethiopia is initiated to resolve the existing national problems.

2.8.1. The National Dialogues practices in Ethiopia

National dialogues have recently gained traction as vital instruments for peaceful political transformations and building sustainable peace in Ethiopia. The overriding goal of national dialogue processes is to promote unity, reconciliation conflict, to build sustainable peace and to construct shared sense of identity in Ethiopia. Ethiopia's political transition has unveiled a range of political and security uncertainties. National dialogues are increasingly deemed appropriate ways to 'resolve disputes over past abuses, power sharing, regional autonomy and territorial claims' and a vital tool for addressing the challenges of managing political transition and

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building sustainable peace in Ethiopia. Hence, participants in these national dialogues were the representatives from all communities will take part in the initiative to ensure inclusiveness in the national dialogue process.

The initiative will bring together all multi-stakeholders, including political parties, civic societies, experts as well as other sections of society from all segments of society. This illustrates the national dialogue implementation should start work in the coming years in Ethiopia.

2.8.2. Destiny Ethiopia's: an example of National Dialogue in Ethiopia

Destiny Ethiopia is not profit oriented organization which established by nine Ethiopians concerned about the future direction of their country, invited 50 prominent and highly influential individuals to build scenarios for Ethiopia's future.

Ethiopia has entered a new year with all its heavy political burdens with both hope and despairs and also without a shadow of doubt with the hoped-for democratic transition is probability of failing. The political "road map unilaterally drawn by the group in power should be immediately replaced by a commonly charted road map by all major stakeholder" and "the ruling party should start immediately genuine national dialogue to avert the coming national danger and to achieve national consensus for future Ethiopia". Destiny Ethiopia Initiative is an indigenous response to the current political circumstances and to build sustainable peace in Ethiopia. Initially, the initiative is organized with the Destiny Ethiopia Team comprising nine concerned Ethiopian nationals from different society, political perspectives, ethnic groups, faith, and professional backgrounds (www.destinyethiopia.com).

In fact, the initiative is neutral, non-partisan, inclusive and aims to build scenarios for Ethiopia through a collective iterative process involving influential and insightful individuals representing diverse political and apolitical groups. Destiny Ethiopia is aimed to search options to break the deadlock and national crisis in Ethiopia drawing on experiences from various countries. The participants of destiny Ethiopia were the political party representatives, academician, artist, civil society, media and also any interested individuals. Lastly, Destiny Ethiopia produced four possible futures for Ethiopia over the coming 20 years (www.destinyethiopia.com).

The four scenarios outline four possible ways Ethiopians could respond to the political reforms and structural challenges which the country is currently facing. The first scenario, **Broken Chair / ሠባራ ወንበር**, this scenario's response is "realistic," working cautiously within current capacity constraints, but inadequate to the challenges. The second scenario, **Hegemony / አፄ በጉልበቱ**, this scenario's response is authoritarian and controlling, based on the view that the country's tough challenges require a tough approach. The third scenario, **Divided House / የፋክክር ቤት**, this scenario's response is fragmented, as different groups each act with greater freedom and this produces greater division. The fourth scenario, **Dawn / ንጋት**, this scenario's response is to steadily build up institutional capacity so as to be able to effect a democratic transition.

CHAPTER - THREE

3. RESEARCH METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Research approach

The researcher for this study employed qualitative research approach. The reason behind the researcher used a qualitative approach; due to its relevance for social science research; in order to explore, investigate and understand events, theories and magnify attitudes, perceptions and ideas of peoples and develop comprehensive understanding about the problem of the study area (Creswell and Kothari, 2003). In addition, qualitative approach allows answering what, how and why questions in a research as well (Patton and Cochran, 2002).

3.2. Research Design

Depending up on the title and objective of this research, descriptive and exploratory research design has been employed in this study. The researcher employed this approach because of the scarcity of studies on the area and in order to explore more about the problem (Kothari, 2004).

3.3. Sources of Data

To achieve the objectives of the study the researcher utilized both primary and secondary data sources in the study. The primary data is firsthand information which is obtained through interview. On the other hand in order to conceptualized the concept and theoretical frame work of the study, secondary sources of data also employed in this research. Secondary data refers to any literature review which deal about the study such as available publications, books, journals articles and reports.

3.4. Data Collection Instruments

When the researcher conducted this research; the researcher employed the two ways of data collection instruments which are the primary and secondary data collection instruments. Therefore, for data triangulation, validity and trustworthiness on the study area the researcher employed both primary and secondary data collection instruments.

3.4.1. Primary Data Collection Tools

Accordingly, the researcher used the primary data collection tools which are interview to collect the required primary data. So, interview is the most appropriate tools to gather and enhance deep understanding on the study area and useful to collect data from the one who have knowledge knowhow and understanding and expert individuals on the study area.

3.4.1.1. Key Informant Interview

Singer H.W. and Shohamy (1989) pointed out that the use of interview as data collection tools which permit a level of in detail information and help to gather fresh data from informants/interviewees. The reason for employing an interview in this study is that the instrument is valuable to explore, develop and manipulate the perception and attitude of the key informants with guiding to discuss on the study area. Hence, the researcher interviewed different individuals through using of the interview guidelines to manipulate and triangulate the data from different directions. Hence, interview helps the researcher to have comprehensive understanding and creates option to manipulate the ideas and opinions of the Key informants through guiding them to discussion on the study area. So, the researcher has been conducted interview through key interview way (Kothari, 2004). The researcher is conducted interview through semi-

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structured and open ended questions. The Key informant interviewees of this study were, Academicians, Government officials, Human Rights watch office, Research institutes and Researcher, Minister of peace, legal expert and soon on.

3.5. Sampling Techniques and Sampling Size

According to Phrasisombath (2009), purposive sampling is preferable in qualitative research approach to select the participant (sample size) purposively on the study area which means selecting the key informants those who could understand the problem of the study and the research question. It means for this study, non-probability purposive sampling is employed. Specifically, the researcher adopted purposeful sampling. In purposive sampling, items for the sample are selected deliberately by the researcher; his/her choice concerning the items remains supreme (Kothari, 2004).

3.5.1. Sample Size

The sample size of this study has been selected purposively from the identified target population. The sample frame of the study which covers were Public Officials, Academicians, Government officials, Human Rights watch office, Research institutes and Researcher, Public opinion maker, legal expert, Artist and Opposition political. The total interviewed key informant interviewees in this study were 12. The selection of the key informant relied on their expertise, skill, knowledge on the subject matter and understanding capacity on the study area.

3.6. Data Analysis and Interpretation

The collected data was analyzed qualitatively; since qualitative analysis depends on the social context where the data is collected and analyzing with related to the existing reality and situation. In qualitative research approach, qualitative data analysis procedure is appropriate which involves with continual reflection and realization about the data, analyzing questions, and writing memos throughout the study (Creswell, 2003). So, the researcher attempts to understand the collected data to make an interpretation it. In this regard, firstly the researcher organized, arranged and prepared the data in different forms and categories depending up on the source for analysis.

The data collected from secondary sources had been analyzed qualitatively through a systematic review. The researcher systematically analyzed secondary data to identify, collate, and systematically summarize all empirical evidence on a specific research topic, using explicit, systematic, transparent, replicable methods that are designed to minimize bias (Polanin et al., 2016). The aim is to extract relevant information systematically from the publications and to identify all available and reliable publications regarding a specific problem, to evaluate their reliability and to compile available data in a qualitative manner (Crowther & Lim, 2010).

Then, the researchers continue to get the overall concepts of the information through deep reading of all gathered data from different sources. After comprehensively understanding the fundamental nature of the collected data the researcher began detail analysis with coding process; make lists of topics or categorization the data with linking their essence. Finally, the collected data has been analyzed through triangulation of data with different sources such as primary with secondary sources which means the interview's data with document analysis data to ensure the reliability and validity of finding and discussion.

3.7. Ethical Considerations

Ethical standard is one of the essential aspects in the process of conducting a research. In order to maintain the reliability of the research and the dignity of the interviewees, the researcher adopted ethical standards to avoid risks and to build trust between the researcher and the participant. The individual interviewees are informed about the purpose of the study and why they are included in the study and their consent to participate in the study was requested. Beside this, while conducting this study, the researcher is transparent and relying on the data which is collected, in time of interpretation, analysis, discussion and finding and when draws the conclusion to avoid researcher bias. Furthermore, during data analysis and interpretation the information provided by key informants is analyzed and interpret without any distortion and misinterpretation. In addition, all the materials that are cited or quoted in the study are acknowledged properly in the entire parts of the research. Therefore, this research is the original work of the researcher.

CHAPTER –FOUR

4. DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1. Background of Ethiopia (Profile of Ethiopia)

Ethiopia is the oldest independent country in Africa and one of the world's oldest state with exists at least 3,000 thousand years ago. Ethiopia is landlocked country which is located in the Horn of Africa and also the largest country in the region. Ethiopia is the second most populous state in Africa next to Nigeria. Ethiopia is bordered with Sudan on the West, South Sudan on the West East, Djibouti with East, Somalia on the South East, Eritrea on the North and Kenya on the South. Ethiopia's location gives its strategic dominance in the Horn of Africa; while Ethiopia is closed to the Middle East and Europe. The official name of the country is termed as Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE). Ethiopia has more than 80 nation nationalities and peoples. Regarding to language Amharic is the working language of the state, while Oromiffa is widely spoken. Topographically, Ethiopia has an elevated on central plateau varying in height from 2,000 to 3,000 meters above Sea level.



Figure 4.1 a Political Map of Ethiopia

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Sources: Terrence Lyons (2019).

4.2. Necessity of National Dialogue to build Sustainable Peace for Future Ethiopia

Why we necessitate national dialogue to build Sustainable Peace for future Ethiopia?

National dialogue plays a crucial role for sustainable building peace and national consensus. National dialogues could address national crisis; have repercussions for the whole of society, seek to de-escalate tensions, to reach political agreement or even to (re-)establish a (new) institutional framework, regulate the political transition, it is a tool for resolving civil war and to ensure sustainable peace. In fact, successful national dialogue has exerts variety significance on the socio political and economic aspects of the state. The following were the major importance of conducting national dialogues.

A. National Dialogues can serve as mechanisms for national crisis prevention and Management

National Dialogues can be use an instrument for proactive measurement to prevent the happening of national political crisis and also employed to manage the existing crisis in the particular country. Hence, National Dialogue plays a prominent role to resolve or prevent the outbreak of national crisis and occasion of armed violence (Interview with Academicians, 2020).

B. National Dialogues can serve as mechanisms for conflict Resolution

National Dialogues are nationally owned political processes which aimed to generate national consensus among a broad range of national stakeholders in times of deep political crisis, in post-war situations or during far-reaching political transitions. National dialogues also held to address political crises and violent conflicts (Interview with Public Official, 2020). In line with this National Dialogue handles the national processes, peace building processes, political transitions or to prevent or manage the political dynamics through incorporating different methods and mechanisms such as mediation and negotiation (Stigant and Murray, 2015).

In fact, very recently Ethiopia is characterized with a full of national problems and crisis. Particularly, since 2017 when PM Abiy Ahmed (Ph.D.) taken power Ethiopia is characterized with mass demonstrations and grievance, the demand for socio political change, political reforms, leadership crisis, presence of inter ethnic-conflicts, border and identity claims, difference on nomenclature of the country, disagreement national flag (Interview with Academician, 2020).

National dialogues used as a tool to manage complex change processes and to address major national issues, to deescalate conflicts and disagreements and also design a road map for political transition (Interview with Minister of Peace, 2020). National dialogues used as a tool to manage complex change processes and address major national issues, deescalating disagreements and also build common sense in the community (Interview with Human Rights Defender, 2020). National Dialogue is a crucial instrument to de-escalate tensions situations and design a road map for political transition (Interview with Academician, 2020). Generally, the demand of national dialogue is to achieve national consensus and to build sustainable peace for future Ethiopia.

The above national socio- economic and political discourse outputted major national problems which could be solved through effective national dialogues. Despite this, since 2018 national crisis escalated due to political transitions and security services reform which highly seeks

effective national dialogue to exist through peaceful coexistence and to build sustainable peace for future Ethiopia. Therefore, national dialogue is a crucial instrument to de-escalate tension situations and design a road map for political transition.

According to a senior government official, 2020, the government itself has called for dialogue on a number of occasions and now should give more emphasizes for soft approaches of conflict reconciliation which is national dialogues to reconcile the conflicts, to address tensions such as political violence and instability, of ensure successful political transition and to address the contestations on matters relating to constitutional amendment and federalism and building of sustainable peace and also many opposition political parties encourages the effectiveness of national dialogue to avoid political and constitutional crises in the country.

C. National Dialogues serves as a vital tools to build sustainable peace and to achieve national Consensus

National dialogue is the fundamental instrument to accommodate diversity and to build sustainable peace in the diversified society like Ethiopia and a come up in to common consensus on the national issues.

A. National Dialogues connect different layers of society

National dialogues are held with inclusive segment of the society. It implies that national dialogue plays a role to connect variety sections of the society. It will be attach the leaders, presidents, ministers and Artist and public figure individuals with the ordinary citizens (Vimalarajah, L & Lanz, M. etal, 2017).

4.3. Mechanisms for Realization Successful National Dialogues

The implementation of successful national dialogues would be undertaken with variety mechanisms. Hence, to undertake successive national dialogue which will be achieved its aims should be followed the preeminent mechanisms which is established for it. National dialogue should incorporate the following mechanisms of implementation in order to contribute meaningful political transition, to address the aims and to build sustainable peace in the country.

A. Inclusion/ inclusiveness -An effective national dialogue convenes a broad set of stakeholders in the discussion and negotiation process. To maximize the national dialogue's potential and to address the real drivers of major national problems; all segments of the society should be invited to participate including women, youth, political parties, civil society, NGOs, Academician, Artists, elders, religious leaders and other traditionally excluded groups. For genuine and successive national dialogue an inclusive and consultative participatory mechanism is necessary (Interview with Human Rights Defender, 2020). Therefore, an effective national dialogue convenes the whole set of stakeholders in the discussion and dialogue process.

B. Transparency-Transparency refers to openness the implementations of national dialogue for the whole society in the country. Beyond inclusiveness, national dialogue should follow the transparency principle. The transparency of dialogue could be achieved through public consultations, regular outreach and coverage in the media. To secure the participation of a wide variety of stakeholders and to avoid perceptions of bias and

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impartiality transparency and clear procedure of selection is necessary for genuine and effective national dialogues (Interview with Academician, 2020).

C. Having clear mandate and appropriately modified rules, and procedures- National dialogues should be take place outside of the existing institutions of government. In fact, national dialogues are often convened because the sitting government and existing institutions are unable to resolve the major national issues and in another hand, they are seen as neither legitimate nor credible, because they are unwilling to challenge the status quo. Hence, national dialogue should have its own set of procedures and rules for making decisions, which should be follow carefully modified set of principles to utilize the fruit of the dialogues (Interview with Minister of Peace, 2020).

D. Arranged mechanism to implement the outcomes of the national dialogues- National dialogues should have an agreed mechanism and plan to utilize the result of national dialogues through either a new constitution, law, policy, or other programs. Because, without having a clear implementation mechanism and plan; a national dialogue is held with risks of consuming extensive time and resources without producing any tangible results (Stigant and Murray, 2015)

4.4. Preconditions for successful National Dialogues

➤ Adequate Preparation for the national dialogue

To conduct an effective and successful national dialogue; we have to setup and follow specific preconditions and requirements. Among the noticeable preconditions the main is adequate preparations. It illustrates that effective and genuine national dialogue should have its arranged objective which strives to achieve, identifying interests of the community, learning from the past experience, design an appropriate strategies, clearly allocated and stated the roles of stakeholders and an arrangements of appropriate medium of communication.

4.5. Challenges of National Dialogues in Ethiopia

The implementations of national dialogue faced its own distinct set of challenges and opportunities.

Although, national dialogue recognizes with its vital role to manage and utilize the socio-political and economic transitions, to build sustainable peace and to achieve national consensus for future Ethiopia; national dialogues are not successful in Ethiopia due to the following fundamental barriers.

A. Ethnic tensions and conflicts

As stated by Badwaza, 2018, Ethnic conflicts are not new in Ethiopia, but the levels of violence being witnessed today are very disturbing and in escalating rate. Ethnic tensions: Ethnic-based clashes also threaten the pace and sustainability of the political transitions, as fear of the protracted violence and political instability persist. In fact, in the past three years several ethnic and identity based ethnic conflicts are turn out in Ethiopia. For instance, ethnic conflicts between

Somalias and Oromos, ethnic conflicts between Geodo's and Oromia's Guji, ethnic conflicts in other Oromia areas and ethnic conflict between Amhara's and Benshangul-Gumuz are few of them (Yohannes, 2018).

B. Absences of well arranged roadmap for the transition and National Dialogues

Instantly, Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed comes to power numerous reforms are taken specifically in major sectors and higher government officials the state which is seen as straightaway action with many peoples. These reforms faces divergent outlook from Ethiopian regarding with how the reform is taken and how it could be handled it and also luck of well arranged strategy how the reform would be managed. Hence, absences of well arranged roadmap results confusions, uncertainties, and absences of arranged strategies how to participate in the national dialogues, disagreements and mistrust on the reforms that could be taken as the challenges of successful and genuine national dialogues and also to build sustainable peace in the country(Interview with Academician, 2020).

C. Counterrevolutionary Forces

In fact, whenever we are taken national reforms and transition and also peace building process; there are counter revolutionary groups which allergy the sustainable peace building process. Truly speaking, there are some counterrevolutionary forces like the previous TPLF leaders and its supporters are the other challenges of national dialogues and peace building process in the country. The main of these counterrevolutionary forces is aim is to discontinue the transition, disintegrate Ethiopian, to assert the legacy of TPLF and obstructing the national dialogues and the hate peace in the county. Therefore, counterrevolutionary forces are the other barrier of the national dialogues and sustainable peace building in the country (Badwaza, 2018).

In addition to the above, low (infant) habits of national dialogues, presence of divergent interest in the political parties which develops suspension and antagonistic among the elites with magnifying the interest of elites than the community, absences of strong institutions and policy which encourages national dialogues, absences of open political system, exclusiveness of the participants which is given for the political parties, elites and Artists excluding the grass root society which is the ownership of the changes and crisis (Interview with Academician, 2020). In line with this, implementation of national dialogues often gives low emphasizes with transferred to small institutions and mechanisms, detached from the broad concentration, decision-making falls back to the usual decision makers, losing the consensual and inclusive nature of the national dialogue process and lack of sufficient resources and absence of strong national dialogue institutions and policy (Stigant and Murray, 2015).

4.6. Opportunities to conduct National Dialogue in Ethiopia

Eventhough, conducting national dialogue faces several challenges; there have also sufficient fertile grounds to conduct national dialogues in our country. In genuinely speaking, there are numerous rationalities to conduct national dialogues in Ethiopia such as having of various mass grievances and national problems which necessitate national dialogue , Presence of press media and freedom of opinions, currently there is better freedoms in perspective of press and opinions than ever, majority of the community deduced that the best methods to handle the existing national crisis and political transition is through national dialogues and also the government is voluntary and initiative to conduct national dialogues, having of ongoing political transitions that seeks national dialogues, democracy culture and upcoming of political liberalization in the country which implies relatively there are political liberalization than before, presence of legal grounds from national and international legal perspectives, presence of plenty political parties

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with divergent ideology and political views which means some political parties are propagates about particular ethnic groups and other for the state (Interview with Academician 2, 2020).

For instances, since 2015 Ethiopia is characterized with mass mobility, political reforms and political dynamism, ethnic conflicts such as Oromo with Somali conflicts, Amhara with Benshangul Gumz conflicts, identity and border claims in Wolikayit Tegedie, Gedio- Oromo conflict, lack of national consensus on major national issues, disagreement nomenclature of the country and capital city, disagreement on the historical narration such as national victory and national hero and disagreement on the constitution. This can be taken as an opportunity to conduct National Dialogues to handle those issues (Interview with Academicians, 2020).

In addition to the above, other opportunities to conduct national dialogues were the need of achieve national consensuses through national dialogues. Because, national consensus could be achieve through effective and inclusive national dialogues (Interview with Human Rights Defender, 2020). In another view, the new political structural change and political power-sharing arrangements could be effective through national dialogues and also National Dialogue is eagerly seeks for constitutional change; because national dialogue could be managing the constitutional changes through discussion with variety segment of the society. So, the utility of national dialogue can be relay on agreeing on a constitutional review and to adopt a new constitution which emanates from the consent of society (Interview with Human Rights Defender, 2020).

The main funding of the study was relays on national dialogues have been used as an instrument to resolve national political crises and pave the way for political transitions and a tool to build sustainable peace. Furthermore, National Dialogues have often been used by government and political parties as a tool to gain or reclaim political legitimacy, which has facilitate their resistance on power. In fact, rules and regulations or procedures for preparing, in particular selection and decision-making rules, conducting and implementing genuine and effective national dialogues play a decisive role in the successfulness of the national dialogue implementation.

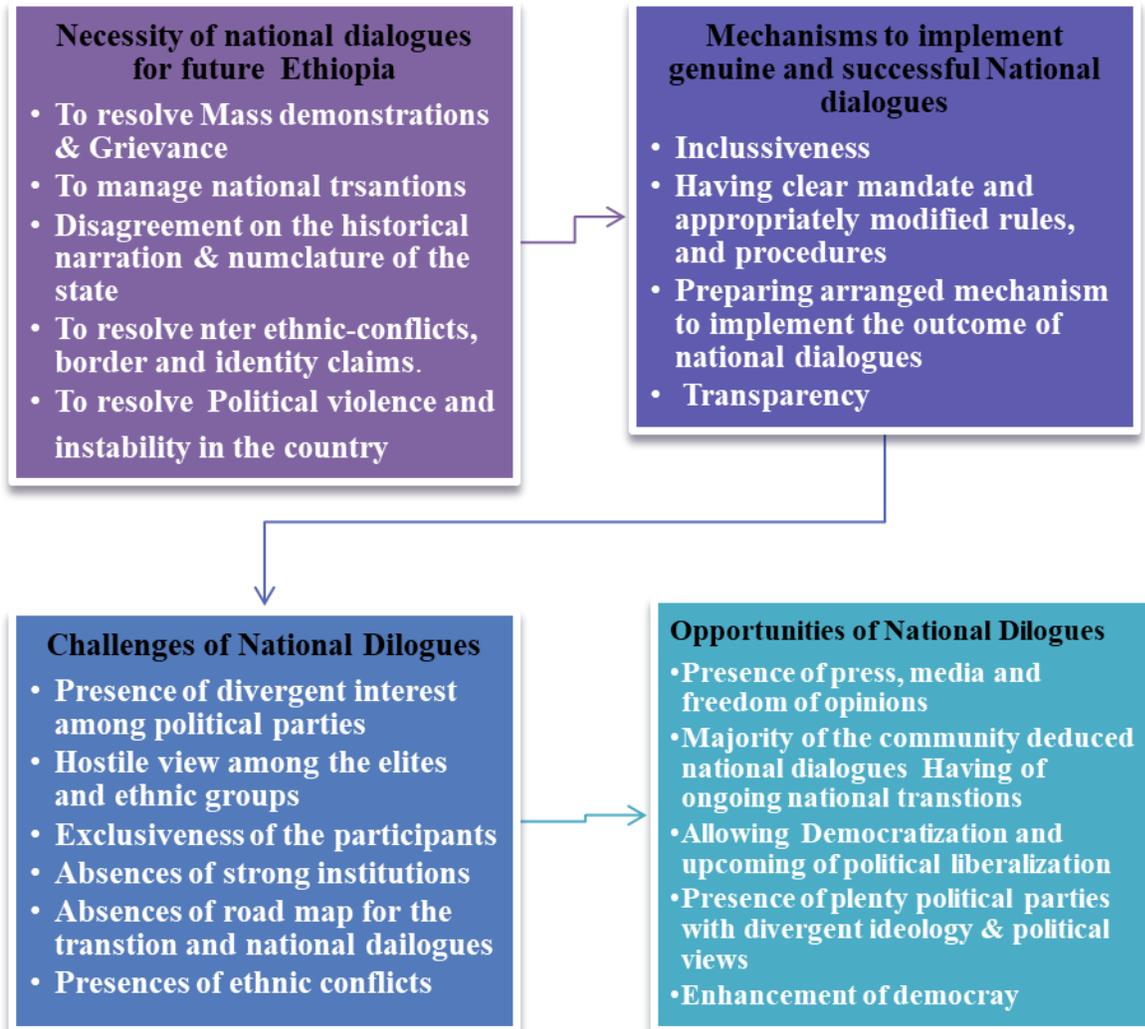


Diagram: 4.1. Conceptual framework for the Results and Discussion of the Study

Source: Author’s own Diagram, 2020

CHAPTER -FIVE

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Conclusions

National dialogue plays crucial role in the Socio-economic and political transitions of particular state, to build sustainable peace and National consensus. The utilization of national dialogue in world politics is not yet a new phenomenon rather than trace back in to the ancient (earlier) society through local councils. In contemporary politics national dialogue is the vital instrument to address tensions and to reconcile conflicts, to resolve disagreements in the society and to manage the socio-economic and political transitions of a given county.

Since, 2015 Ethiopia is characterized with a full of national problems such as happening of conflicts throughout the country, mass demonstrations, socio-economic and political transitions,

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presences of divergent views and stances on the national issues among political parties and their supporters, disagreements on the major national issues like that of the constitution, history of the country, national hero's, nomenclature of the country and capital city, national flag and leadership crisis. This implies that the above major national problems and transitions of the state eagerly needs the implementations of genuine and effective national dialogues.

In frankly speaking there are numerous fertile grounds highly initiates to conduct national dialogues in Ethiopia such as having of various mass grievances and national problems which necessitate national dialogue, Presence of press, media and freedom of opinions (views), having of ongoing political transitions, upcoming of political liberalization in the country and presence of legal grounds from national and international legal perspectives, presence of plenty political parties with divergent ideology and political views. Although, national dialogue recognizes with its vital role to manage and utilize the socio-political and economic transitions, to build sustainable peace and to achieve national consensus for future Ethiopia; national dialogues are not successful in Ethiopia due to the following fundamental barriers.

For instance, low (infant) habits of national dialogues, presence of divergent interest in the political parties and their supporters, absences of open political system and exclusionary. Generally, national dialogue is the crucial instrument to address the transitions of country.

5.2. Recommendations

Based on the finding of the study, the following recommendations are forwarded to address the major national problems, to indicate the necessity of national dialogue, to minimize the challenges and to utilize effectively the opportunity of national dialogue and to regulate the socio economic and political transitions of the country and also to improve the implementations of national dialogue for the future Ethiopia. As the finding indicated, there is several importance of applying national dialogues with corresponding challenges and opportunity and also to implement effectively national dialogues. Hence, accordingly the finding of the study, the researcher forwarded the following recommendations.

- ✚ National dialogues should be inclusive the whole section of the community. It is due to inclusiveness is the one and major mechanisms to implement national dialogues. Therefore, the facilitator or coordinated of the national dialogues should be follow inclusiveness principle.
- ✚ The practices of national dialogues needs rules, regulations and procedures which guided and use as a framework for conducting national dialogues. So, the policy makers should be formulated unique and supportive rules and regulations (procedures) for the genuine and successful implementation of national dialogues.
- ✚ To the finances minister, an appropriate and effective practices of national dialogues needs sufficient budget. Hence, the finance minister should support with budget allocation and distribution for successful national dialogues for future Ethiopia.
- ✚ The political parties should minimize their divergent point of views particularly on the national issues to achieve national consensus.
- ✚ As the finding shows mass media plays a central role on the effective and success national dialogues. For that reason, the mass media should advocates and promotes the necessity and implementation of national dialogues.

- ✚ As the finding indicted, the Government and Civil Society have to give more emphasize to construct opinion and thought of the community on sustainable peace and national consensus.
- ✚ The government should utilize the customary conflict resolution mechanism compatible with formal legal system and also the stakeholders should give more emphasize on the role of elder's and religious leaders to handle the conflict and to build sustainable peace.

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17. An interview with academician in (2020) at Addis Ababa
18. An interview with academician in (2020) at Bule Hora University

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22. An interview with academician in (2020) at Bahir Dar University
23. An interview with academician in (2020) at Hawassa University
24. An interview with public officials in 2020 at Addis Ababa
25. An Interview with Minister of Peace in 2020 at Addis Ababa
26. An interview with Human Rights Defender in 2020 at Addis Ababa

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APPENDIXES

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DEPARTMENT OF CIVICS AND ETHICAL STUDIES

Dear Respondents,

First of all, I would like to forward greeting and express sincere gratitude and appreciation in advance for taking your time to respond to this interview schedule. I am currently lecturer at Bule Hora University with specialization of Foreign Policy and Diplomacy and also researcher who conducting a research entitled on "the necessity of national dialogues for future Ethiopia: its

challenges and prospects”. Your participation in responding to the questions has crucial important for the success of this research work. Hence, for the completion of this study the researcher kindly requested the key informants willingness and cooperation to give accurate and credible answers for each interview question. The confidentiality of the answers that are given to the questions will be highly protected with kept for its purpose and they will not be used for any other purpose except for the objectives of the study. Hence, respondents should kindly understand this fact as a result should feel free to give any answer that they believe fit for the questions without any fear or alarm what so ever.

Thank You Very Much for your cooperation!!

During in-depth interview

- ✚ Name of the Key informant-----
- ✚ Position-----
- ✚ Place of Interview-----
- ✚ Date of Interview-----

Appendix I: Guiding Questions for the researcher’s Interview

1. Why and when national dialogue is necessary?
2. Is that really national dialogue is necessary and the best alternative for the current transition of Ethiopia?
3. How we explore and effectively apply the necessity of national dialogue to build sustainable peace for future Ethiopia?
4. What are the variety mechanisms to implement national dialogue in the study area?
5. What are the unique principles and rules (procedures) that could be apply in the implementations of genuine and effective national dialogues in the area?
6. What are the possible challenges that hinder the effective and successful implementations of national dialogues in the study area?
7. In what way (methods) could be addressed or resolve the challenges of national dialogues?
8. What are the existing fertile grounds which creates conducive environment to conduct national dialogues?
9. In what stance (level) we exercise national dialogue in our national transition and economic reform process?
10. Through which way we utilize the existing opportunities to conduct effective and genuine national dialogues to build sustainable peace?

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Appendix II: List of Key Informants which are interviewed for this Study

No	Name of Key informant	Occupation/ Position	Address	Place of Interview	Date of Interview
1	X (MA)	Public Official	Addis Ababa	A.A office	15/06/20120
2	XX (MA)	Human Rights Defender	Addis Ababa	A.A office	18/06/2020
3	XXX (PhD)	Academician (AAU)	Addis Ababa	AAU	21/06/2020
4	Y (PhD)	Minister of Peace	Addis Ababa	A.A office	05/07/2020
5	XY(PhD)	Academician (BHU)	Bule Hora	Bule Hora	16/07/2020
6	XYXY(PhD)	Academician (AAU)	Addis Ababa	AA university	03/06/2020
7	XYZ (MA)	Academician at BHU	Bule Hora	Bule Hora University	20/07/2020
8	AXY(PhD)	Academician at HW	Hawassa	Hawassa university	18/08/2020
9	AXYZ(MA)	MA student at PS &IR A.A.	Addis Ababa	A.A. 6 kilo	16/07/2020
10	ZX (MA)	MA student at PS &IR B/ Dar.	B/Dar University	Bahir Dar	16/03/2020
11	ZXY (MA)	MA student at PS &IR A.A.	A.A University	Addis Ababa	10/09/2020
12	ZY (MA)	MA student at Foreign Policy and Diplomacy at Hawassa University.	Hawassa University	Hawassa	25/08/2020
13	ABCE (MA)	Colleagues at BHU	Bule Hora University	Bule Hora	27/11/2020

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An example of Dialogue with Ethiopian Political Parties