

СОЦИОЛОГИЯ

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APPLYING THE RESILIENCE CONCEPT TO ANALYZING CRISIS OVERCOMING OPPORTUNITIES: THE CASE OF THE AMHARA REGION, ETHIOPIA

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Abstract. This study proposes and applies an integrative, multi-level resilience framework to analyze the protracted crisis in the Amhara Ethiopia Regional State of Ethiopia. Drawing on a synthesis of theories from various interdisciplinary fields, the framework suggests that resilience operates at three interrelated levels: recovery from individual trauma (personal resilience), institutional resilience, and socioeconomic dimensions at the regional level. Using a qualitative trend analysis method based on a comprehensive review scientific sources, the study traces how successive upheavals – from the Fascist Italian occupation and the Derg regime's "Red Terror" campaign to ethnic federalism and contemporary armed conflicts – have systematically eroded resilience in three stages, creating a vicious circle of vulnerability. The analysis demonstrates that imbalances at one level cascade to weaken the others, explaining the region's persistent instability. The study concludes that sustainable recovery is possible only through the implementation of a holistic, simultaneous intervention strategy aimed at creating synergistic opportunities at the personal, institutional and regional levels. Practical recommendations for policymakers and practitioners are offered.

Keywords: Adaptive governance, Amhara, Crisis management, Ethiopia, Ethnic federalism, Multistage model, Resilience.

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ПРИМЕНЕНИЕ КОНЦЕПЦИИ РЕЗИЛЬЕНТНОСТИ К АНАЛИЗУ ВОЗМОЖНОСТЕЙ ПРЕОДОЛЕНИЯ КРИЗИСА: НА ПРИМЕРЕ РЕГИОНА АМХАРА, ЭФИОПИЯ

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Аннотация. В данном исследовании предлагается и применяется интегративная многоуровневая концепция резильентности для анализа затянувшегося кризиса в регионе Амхара в Эфиопии. Опираясь на синтез теорий из различных междисциплинарных областей, эта концепция предполагает, что резильентность проявляется на трех взаимосвязанных уровнях: восстановление после индивидуальной травмы (личная резильентность), институциональная резильентность, а также социально-экономические аспекты

на региональном уровне. Используя метод качественного анализа тенденций, основанный на всестороннем обзоре научных источников, в исследовании прослеживается, как последовательные потрясения – от фашистской итальянской оккупации и кампании «Красного террора» режима Дерга до этнического федерализма и современных вооруженных конфликтов – систематически подрывали резильентность в три этапа, формируя замкнутый круг уязвимости. Анализ показывает, что дисбалансы на одном уровне вызывают цепную реакцию, ослабляющую другие уровни, что объясняет сохраняющуюся нестабильность в регионе. В заключении делается вывод о том, что устойчивое восстановление возможно только при реализации комплексной и одновременной стратегии вмешательства, направленной на создание синергетических возможностей на личном, институциональном и региональном уровнях. Автором предложены практические рекомендации для лиц, ответственных за разработку политики, и специалистов-практиков.

Ключевые слова: адаптивное управление, Амхара, управление кризисными ситуациями, Эфиопия, этнический федерализм, многоступенчатая модель, устойчивость.

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Introduction

The Amhara people are central to the historical and modern formation of Ethiopia as a nation, yet they have also been persistent victims of targeted political violence and deliberate marginalization [Teshale Tibebu, 1995; Bahiru et al., 2022]. This contradiction defines the complex reality of the Amhara Regional State, a state perennially caught between historical prominence and contemporary vulnerability.

From the occupation of Fascist Italy, which targeted the Amhara-led imperial elite to break national resistance, through the Derg regime's Red Terror that systematically executed transformative youths and intellectuals, to the current war under ethnic federalism¹, the Amhara community has endured sequential, compounding shocks [Quirin and Clapham, 1990; Tareke, 2008].

The 1995 EPDRF Constitution, concocted by the TPLF-led government, instituted ethnic federalism, creating an Amhara *Kilil* (regional state) while dispossessing millions of Amhara people living outside its arbitrary borders [Smith, 2008; Bélair, 2016]. Territories with a dominant Amhara population – such as Wolkait, Tegede, Shewa Dera, Metekel and Raya – were annexed into neighborhood regions, driving over 30 years of resentment and conflict. This political reorganization subjected Amhara communities in Benishangul-Gumuz, Oromia and other vulnerable regions to discrimination, violence and accusations of being “settlers” [Ayalew, 2024]. From 2018 onwards, the Amhara region faced the pandemic, a devastating war with TPLF, and the full-scale war between the Amhara Fano national movement and the federal government's ruling party. This resulted in communication network blackouts, mass displacement, infrastructure destruction, and the jailing of activists and journalists under anti-terrorism laws [Tazebew, 2025].

¹ Ethiopia's Ominous New War in Amhara. Crisis Group Africa Briefing N°194. Nairobi/Brussels. 16 November 2023. (2023). [Online]. *International Crisis Group* (Организация International Crisis Group (ICG) признана нежелательной на территории Российской Федерации). Available at: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/brf/africa/horn-africa/ethiopia/b194-ethiopias-ominous-new-war-amhara> (Accessed: 07 August 2026).

These cascading crises emphasize the failure of siloed approaches to crisis management. A synchronized framework is instantly needed, one that connects the psychological trauma of individuals, the collapse of local institutions, and the failure of regional governance [Bundy et al., 2017]. This study contends that the concept of resilience, when applied diagonally at the personal, organizational, and regional levels, provides such a rounded analytical lens [Luthar and Cicchetti, 2000].

Existing analyses of Amhara crises in Ethiopia are often fragmented along disciplinary lines. Historians detail political violence, sociologists examine ethnic conflict, economists study poverty, and psychologists documented trauma. Although rich in detail, this fragmentation obscures the systematic and interconnected nature of vulnerability. There is a serious gap in framework that explicitly link personal suffering, organizational failure, and regional collapse into a coherent model for understanding protracted crises and planning sustainable recovery. Furthermore, though resilience is an escalating concept across disciplines, the concepts remain disparate. In psychology, resilience is defined as the process, capacity and outcome of successful adaptation despite challenging or threatening circumstances [Southwick et al., 2014]. In regional studies, it concerns a system's ability to absorb turbulence and reshuffle while undergoing change [Baggio et al., 2015]. In the organizational view, it is defined as the ability of an organization to anticipate, lead up to, respond and adapt to incremental change and sudden disruptions [Duchek, 2020].

The contribution of this study will be both theoretical and practical, by proposing a concrete and multistage integrative model. It will help policymakers, humanitarian agencies, NGOs, community leaders and others apply an indicative tool to identify leverage points for intervention that break the cycle of integrated vulnerability. This study aims to develop and implement an integrated triple resilience framework to analyze the trend of contemporary crises in the Amhara Regional State of Ethiopia. It answers the question of how shocks can degrade resilience in the triple context of Amhara.

Contextual Justification of the Research

Ethiopia is a country located in the Horn of Africa with over 3000 years of recorded history and is home to numerous ethnic groups, each with distinct languages, customs and traditions. While this ethnic diversity has shaped the country's rich cultural heritage, it has also fueled domestic political tensions under the legacy of "divide and rule" policies perpetuated by successive regimes: Imperialism, the Derg (1974–1991), EPDRF (1991–2018), and PP (2018 to date). These tensions often escalate into conflicts, particularly when issues of political representation and resource distribution intersect with narratives of historical grievances. The subsequent unrest in Amhara State and the ongoing conflict between the federal government and the Amhara Fano militia have yet to receive sufficient scholarly attention in Russian academia and at large [Ключников, Шипилов, 2024]. This needs to address the research gap, because a regional shock requires urgent scientific solutions [Кораблева, Яковина, 2020; Денисова, Костелянец, 2025].

The Amhara Regional State is one of the most populous regions in the country and is home to Amhara people, which includes major historical and religious sites such as Lalibela, Gondar Palace, the ancient monasteries of Lake Tana, the Simien Mountains, and others. The region has experienced significant political, economical and security challenges in recent years, particularly conflict, war, displacement, and climate-related stress. The political trajectory of Ethiopia and its

Amhara Regional State since 1974 represents a succession of dramatic ruptures, each reshaping the country's governance structure and regional dynamics. The Amhara region bore the brunt of this turbulence, experiencing frequent leadership changes and escalating political crises driven by both the contradictions of ethnic federalism and weak regional administration. As a consequence, many individuals lost their family, resources, health and stable situations due to displacement (being refugees), war impacts or marginalization targeting. The education system, health sectors, infrastructures such as Awash-Woldia railway construction project, the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church's ancient schools, churches and monasteries, private and public manufacturing industries, hotels and other institutions are extensively damaged. The region as a whole has suffered devastating losses: 73% of water points, over half of health facilities, industries (2.5 billion ETB in damage), the agricultural sector (260 billion ETB), with factories looted and damaged, among others, and 1.2 to 2 million IDPs (internally displaced persons) [Berlie, 2023].

The consequence has brought personal disruption, institutional failure, organizational deformation, and regional devastation. Hence, finding effective means is directly related to the state and activation of social capital of the local community, which includes structural, cognitive and relational components [Popov, 2025].

Theoretical Overview of the Study

This portion forwards the provided scholarly sources to construct the tripartite resilience framework, which defines it at various levels and then integrates them into a cohesive model. Resilience is a boundary object or bridging concept that facilitates dialogue across fields but carries nuanced meanings [Baggio et al., 2015]. The three significant paradigms are engineering, ecological and adaptive resilience, which help with robustness, return to equilibrium, learning, transforming to a better state, or the capacity to absorb shock and reorganize [Folke et al., 2010; Medani, 2012; Sharifi, 2020]. This study adopts an adaptive resilience perspective, which is fundamental for contexts needing crucial transition, not mere recovery to a problematic status quo.

Micro level Perspective: Personal Resilience. Personal resilience is the basic level that defines psychological positive adaptation within the framework of significant adversity [Southwick et al., 2014]. Psychological capital is a developable state comprising hope, efficacy, resilience and optimism [Luthans et al., 2007]. Scholarly inquiry has evolved from studying "who is resilient" to understanding the process and what characteristics enabled resilience. Hence, resilience is not a fixed trait but a capacity nurtured through social cooperation, cultural practices, and positive learning environments [Luthar and Cicchetti, 2000; Ungar, 2018; Kern and Wehmeyer, 2021]. Empirical studies show that interventions can effectively form this capacity. Hence, in the Amhara case, personal resilience is deeply interwoven with collective historical trauma and the strength of community synergies [Liu et al., 2020].

Meso level: Organizational Resilience. Organizational resilience is the second stage – the resilience of institutions, businesses, administrative bureaus, NGOs, and civic associations to endure and adapt. According to Ducheck [2020], it provides a definitive dynamic capability comprised of three stages: anticipation, coping and adaptation. This conceptualization of framing and sensing risks, learning and transforming, and managing acute risks are identified as important. Sustaining these stages requires cognitive, behavioral, and contextual capabilities and aligns with crisis management theory that integrates pre-crisis, acute crisis and post-crisis learning phases

[Bundy et al., 2017]. When organizations become resilient, they can cultivate mindful practices and a culture of reliability. With respect to the Amhara region, the frequent destruction² of socioeconomic organizations like railways, industrial parks, and other mega-projects has crippled this vital layer of societal structure [Vogus and Sutcliffe, 2007; Birhan and Tesfaye, 2020].

Regional Resilience. Regional resilience applies the concept to socio-ecological and socio-political systems [Климанов и др., 2018]. It is “the ability of a region to anticipate, prepare for, respond to, and recover from a disturbance” [Pendall et al., 2010]. The key features include economic diversity, integrated social capital, robust infrastructure, and adaptive leadership [Sharifi, 2020]. Adaptive governance is especially critical, referring to inclusive, flexible and learning-oriented organizations capable of managing complexity and change [Folke et al., 2010]. Ethnic federalism like Ethiopia’s represents a rigid, exclusive governance structure that has systematically undermined regional resilience for groups like the Amhara by dividing and blocking adaptive pathways [Smith, 2008; Bélair, 2016].

Integrated Framework. The central argument of this view is that three levels are mutually constitutive and nested and interact through continuous feedback loops, including vicious circles, and bottom-up and top-down influences.

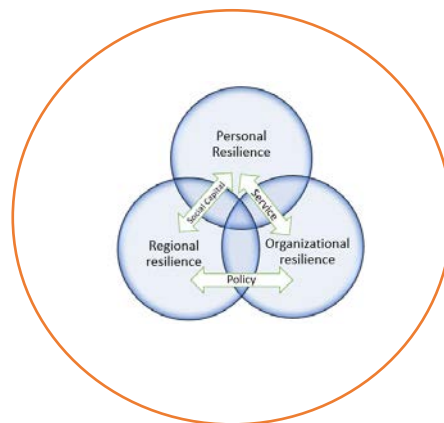


Fig. 1. Multistage vicious circle of resilience framework

The collapse of organizations destroys social services and livelihoods, which devastates personal resilience. A traumatized populace cannot hold institutions accountable, perpetuating regional fragility. This framework (Figure 1) moves beyond metaphor to provide a diagnostic map for complex crises like that of the Amhara Regional State. A people who have high personal resilience can demand better governance, participate in civic organizations, and drive community recovery, thereby strengthening organizational and regional resilience (see Fig. 2). Inclusive, effective regional leadership creates a secure environment where businesses thrive and citizens feel safety and bright future (hope). Conversely, regional leadership failures and discriminatory constitution based on ethnicity create insecurity that paralyzes institutions and business organizations.

² Mitiku, A. (2017). Determinants of Combined Factor Productivity of Ethiopian Manufacturing Firms. *Abyssinia Journal of Business and Social Sciences*. Vol. 2. No. 1. Pp. 19-29. <https://doi.org/10.20372/ajbs.2017.2.1.144> <https://iiste.org/Journals/index.php/IEL/article/view/22270/0>

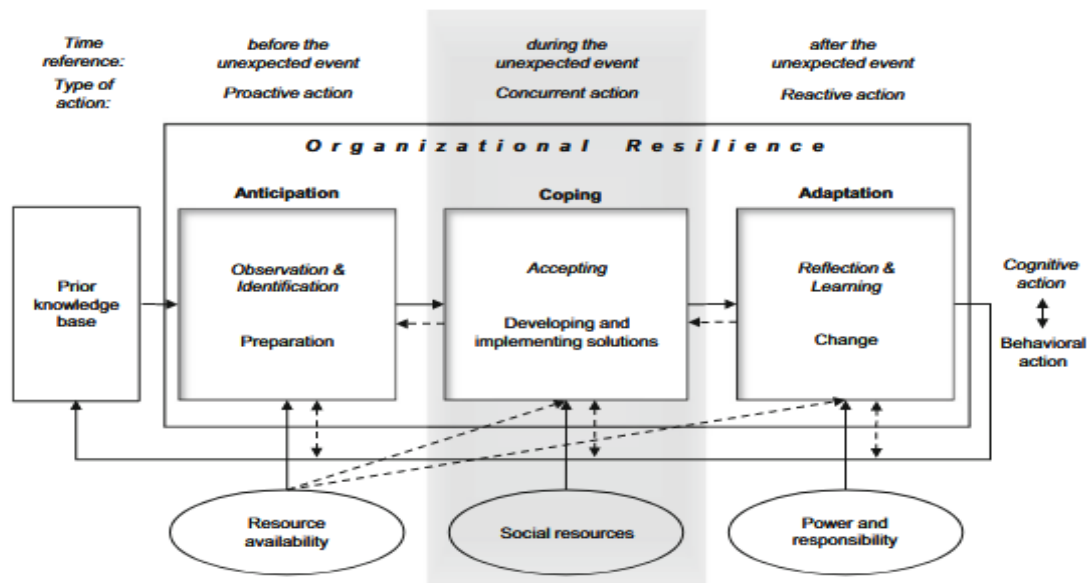


Fig. 2. A capability-based conceptualization of organizational resilience (Duchek, 2020)

Materials and Methods

This study followed a historical analysis research design method. Because of the qualitative, complex, and longitudinal nature of the phenomenon – the attrition of resilience over several decades – a trend approach is most appropriate for tracing processes, identifying turning points and understanding contexts [Teshale Tibebu, 1995; Bahru Zewde, 2002]. The methodology is based on the systematic application of the integrated theoretical framework to the documented historical and contemporary experience of the Amhara Regional State. Data were collected through 29 selected references focused on three main categories: resilience theoretical review on personal psychology, organizational science/management, regional studies, etc.; foundational history books of Ethiopia; and political analysis of contemporary political systems and ethnic federalism contexts. Additionally, sources on human rights, disaster management, Ethiopian crisis, and consecutive disruptions were recorded.

The analysis was conducted via the triple pillars of resilience – personal, organizational, and regional – as well as key attributes based on the synthesized literature. The historical periods were schematized into three political shift periods: Fascist Italian occupation to Derg collapse (1991), EPRDF Ethnic Federalism till 2018; and the crisis, war and turmoil period (2018-2026 G.C.). For each period, the framework application indications from the political history sources were analyzed via the lens of each resilience pillar. The emphasis was based on examining the nature of the primary shock, its impacts on each stage, and the emergent interactions between such levels.

Result and Discussion

Does the framework fits for the Amhara region?

The integrated framework shows how sequential political shocks have systematically tarnished resilience across all triple levels in Amhara, with each epoch compounding the vulnerabilities of the last.

The results establish the prevailing explanatory utility of the cohesive multilevel resilience framework. Hence, Amhara is not merely a political conflict at normal scenario but a systematic failure of resilience where vulnerabilities at all levels have reinforced each other over time. The analysis in *Table 1* confirms that tremors are seldom contained at the initial level, and the historical course shows a pattern of cascading failure.

A political shudder at personal level – i. e. war, Red Terror, ethnic-based constitution, etc. – redefines the rules of the system. It inadvertently weakens or completely avoids key organizations of the community like business organizations, land systems, civic associations and local NGOs. The loss of these organizations eradicates the barriers and support systems that protect individual well-being, leading to trauma, economic desperation, and eroded social capital. This cascade explains why recovery is so difficult even if a political agreement is reached: at the maximum level of resilience, the organizations needed to implement it are left weakened, and the population is also traumatized and suspicious of engagement.

Table 1

Cohesive Multilevel Resilience Framework

Era	Analysis	Sources
Pre-1991	Personal direct attack, particularly on the educated youth, with a systematic mass killing campaign called “Red terror” that inflicted profound collective trauma, destroying hope and severing social networks essential for psychological recovery.	[Tareke, 2008; Southwick et al., 2014]
	The Derg dismantled both traditional and modern organizations, abolished the tenure system, destroying peasant economic organizations, the church, aristocracy, and attacked independent civic associations, crippling meso-level structures.	[Shack, 1976]
	Regional structure and ideology was so radical and violent, especially during the transition between the imperial period and the Marxist Derg regime.	[Quirin and Clapham, 1990]
	Multiple interpretations across different fields demonstrate a top-down annihilation cascade. The Derg legitimized the destruction of existing organizations. Thus, in turn, it eliminated sources of social support and economic livelihood, directly crushing personal resilience through violence and famine. The loop was broken, there was no organization for those who need recovery.	[Birhanu et al., 2017]
1991-2018	Ethnic federalism was introduced by the EPRDF to deliberately reshuffle regional and national governance, redefining territory, identity, and power along ethnic lines. The TPLF-led system stifled the development of independent, resilient organizations. There was no political space for business and civic organizations. It constrained cognitive, behavioral as well as contextual capabilities needed for resilience. State-sanctioned narratives casting Amhara as colonial oppressors created a hostile environment for Amhara-led businesses and other NGOs.	[Smith, 2008; Lovise Aalen, 2011; Bélair, 2016; Duchek, 2020]
	Rigid and exclusivist governance was inherently anti-resilient for the Amhara. By surrendering Amhara territories – Wolkaite, Raya, Metekel, Dera, etc. – to other regions, it fragmented social and economic space, undermining social capital and economic networks. The institutional marginalization expanded into pervasive psychological insecurity. The perception of being politically targeted and physically vulnerable in neighboring areas eroded feelings of efficacy and optimism. Hence, prolonged trauma since the Fascist era was compounded by new, chronic stressors of discrimination and displacement.	[Luthans et al., 2007; Folke et al., 2010; Pendall et al., 2010; Ungar, 2018]
	The fundamentally flawed regional governance model constrained organizational life and created a discriminatory context. This choked economic opportunities and civic agency, which directly depressed personal PsyCap and well-being. Such communal resentment and fear, however, began to foster networks of resistance – an emerging bottom-up response that would later manifest as movements like Fano.	

Table 2
To be continued

Cohesive Multilevel Resilience Framework

Era	Analysis	Sources
2018-todate	Acceleration of tremors: political transition, war between the TPLF and the entire region in Amhara, the Fano and federal government ruling party full-scale war, pandemic, economic collapse and social destruction. The Amhara Regional State is at an adaptive governance catastrophe. Communication blackouts, securitized feedback, breakdown of federal and regional dialogue, blockage of transport or frequent blockades on public lines – learning-oriented adaptation is non-existent. Infrastructure is overwhelmed, economic activity has ceased, indicating a near-total loss of robustness.	[Folke et al., 2010; Sharifi, 2020; Ayalew, 2024; Tazebew, 2025]
	The organizational crisis management cycle is frozen in unending acute response. Every worda and kebele administration bureau and government office cannot function; businesses are shuttered, and NGOs are completely blocked. Hence, the organizational coating of society has effectively dissolved.	[Bundy et al., 2017; Duchek, 2020]
	Obstruction of personal resilience: the Amhara population experiences direct violence, displacement, starvation, and the re-traumatization witnessing renewed atrocity. The ample absence of support systems and protection pushes personal resilience to its absolute limit. The war between the ruling party and the region itself, however, has mobilized a form of defensive resilience through the Fano organizational movement – a survival-driven but militarized collective response.	[Liu et al., 2020]
	Complete manifestation of vicious cycle of compound vulnerability: the entire regional governance collapse has annihilated the operating environment of any formal institution. Such collapse implies no food, no service, no livelihood, etc., and causes an immediate existential threat destroys any remaining individual sense of safety and a bright future, leading to mass trauma, desperation, militarized survival. This desperate populace cannot engage in constructive civic renewal, securing the entire system into a downward spiral of conflict.	

A significant outcome is the emergence of what can be termed negative or defensive resilience. The Amhara Fano movement indicates that when formal organizational and regional resilience collapses, communities may mobilize alternative, usually militarized, structures of survival and resistance [Ungar, 2018]. This is one category of resilience – an adaptive response to extreme threat but oriented toward conflict perpetuation rather than system building. It denotes a disastrous adaptation for a failed system, further obscuring peace building.



Fig. 3. Cause effect analysis

The frameworks (Fig. 1, Fig. 2, Fig. 3) have key practical values in direct involvement. Such independent interventions are useless. Building personal resilience must be integrated with the other levels as well. Whereas an official peace agreement will fail in the absence of implementing institutions to deliver reconciliation and sustainable development, and a critically traumatized populace will hinder progress. Regional $\longleftrightarrow$ Organizational $\longleftrightarrow$ Personal. It implies sustainable recovery requires integrated, multilevel programming [Könings et al., 2021].

Summery and Theoretical Forward. Multistage involvement must be concurrent and synergistic together. A peace building process should be designed with respect to rebuilding local business organizations, civic society and initiating widespread psycho-social support. Hence, when reinforcing community-based organizations alongside livelihoods, it can leverage personal resilience and create platforms for civic engagement and open discussion. It needs to be careful not to bounce back to the previous unstable and unjust governance like the Fascist, Derg, EPRDF, and PP status quo [Folke et al., 2010]. The goal must be transformative toward a more inclusive, adaptive governance model that values all three pillars of resilience. Therefore, this study emphasized with [Baggio et al., 2015] applying resilience as an accurate bridging concept and operationalizing the connection between psychology (personal resilience), organizational theory (organizational resilience), and political geography – which demonstrates that an ability to absorb resistance in a social system will be contingent on the interlinked potentials of its individual, institutional, and regional leadership structures [Baggio et al., 2015].

Conclusion and Recommendations

This study has developed a synergistic and integrated three-level resilience framework for the crisis in the Amhara Regional State of Ethiopia. The analysis shows that the region's profound suffering and instability are the result of sequential political tremors that have systematically tarnished adaptive capacities at all level of the society – from personal to regional resiliencies. These pillars are integrated: deficits cascade and compound, creating a vicious cycle of vulnerability that makes conventional, single-focus interventions ineffective. This requires a critical rethinking of recovery as a holistic, multiple-systems process of building adaptive resilience.

Food processing and distribution, education institutions, and mini- to mega-infrastructure projects should have a component that builds psychological capital [Liu et al., 2020; Kern and Wehmeyer, 2021]. Community awareness creation related to trauma-informed care, facilitating safe spaces for inter-generational and people-to-people dialogue platforms to process historical trauma and build a shared, forward-looking identity, countering divisive state narratives [Ungar, 2018]. Prioritize funding and technical support for available organizations – i. e., farmers' unions, women's saving groups, SMEs – not just for service delivery but also to reinforce adaptive potential. This includes informing anticipation, contingency planning, and participatory adaptive learning [Duchek, 2020]. When in the positioning of fear and restrictions, there can never be resilient organizations. Promoters should help implement legal and policy reforms that assure the operational freedom of independent media, NGOs and professional links [Bundy et al., 2017].

Provision for political dialogue aimed at reforming the constitutional order: the goal could be a system based on adaptive governance ideologies such as flexibility, inclusivity, subsidiarity, and mechanisms for sustainable learning and conflict resolution [Folke et al., 2010; Bélair, 2016]. This includes a just resolution of cross-border territorial claims. Design development strategies

which consciously rebuild economic ties and infrastructure networks between regions – particularly Tigray, Oromia, Benishangul-Gumuz, and Sudan. This will strengthen economic revival and social capital, key pillars of regional resilience [Pendall et al., 2010; Sharifi, 2020]. The chief of Amhara National Movement's press release on January 28, 2026, shows the effectiveness of dialogue with Benishangul militias.

Contributors to the country's well-being and sovereignty, and responsible individuals from the ruling party, should pilot programs that explicitly link activities across all levels of resilience. Trauma counseling, personal empowerment training, strengthening civic associations, and business organizations could foster organizational resilience, including the needs of woreda, zone, and kebele as well as regional councils. Creating a neutral, research-oriented body including scholars, community leaders, and technical experts to continuously monitor resilience indicators at three levels in Amhara region. It would provide adaptive policy-making guidance and warn of emerging vulnerabilities [Tadele and Bernard Manyena, 2009]. This disaster in the Amhara region is a stark lesson in what happens when resilience is undermined at every level of human organization. The solution lies not in a single peace deal or aid package, but in a committed, long-term strategy to nurture the seeds of resilience – via bright future (hope), efficacy, capable institutions, and just governance together in harmony. Mediation and peacekeeping intervention are highly needed from global organizations such as AU, BRICS and the UN.

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Appendix

A: Abbreviations and their decipherment

No	Abbreviations	Decipherment	Mentioned
1	PsyCap	Psychological capital is a positive psychological state that an individual can develop, made up of four key resources: hope, efficacy (confidence), resilience, and optimism.	2 times
2	AU	African Union, head quarter in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.	1 time
3	BRICS	A political and economic cooperation of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa, BRIC-originally coined in 2001 by economist Jim O'Neill, while by 2010 BRIC+S and other 6 BRICS + states including Ethiopia.	1 time
4	UN	United Nation, an international organization founded in 1945 after World War II to promote international peace, security, and cooperation among nations. It currently has 193 member states including Ethiopia as a founding.	1 time
5	Derg (ደርግ)	Provisional military administrative council, a military junta that ruled Ethiopia from 1974 to 1987. It came to power by overthrowing Emperor Haile Selassie I and pursued a Soviet-aligned socialist policy. Its rule was marked by civil war, mass repression, and famine.	7 times
6	Red Terror	A violent political repressive campaign.	5 times
7	TPLF	Tigray People's Liberation Front, it was founded in 1975 to fight the Derg regime and became Ethiopia's dominant political force from 1991 to 2018.	4 times
8	Kilil (ክልል)	It is the official term for the main administrative divisions of Ethiopia, commonly understood in English as a Region or Regional State.	1 time
9	SETTLER	Oromo ethnic nationalism political discourse to marginalize others & attack.	1 time
10	EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front May 1991-March 2018.	3 times
11	Fano (ፋኖ)	A voluntarily organized freedom fighters, historical term that became popular during the Italian occupation of Ethiopia (1935–1941). This tradition of collective resistance against external foes and oppression is deeply embedded in Amhara culture and now politically formed, militant against ethnic power.	5 times
12	NGOs	An independent non-governmental organizations that operate outside of government control, focused on humanitarian, development, environmental, or social issues like UNHCR, UNDP, WFP, OCHA, IOM, UNICEF etc.	6 times
13	PP	Political party of Ethiopia, formed in December 2019 and a part of the former Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) coalition.	1 time
14	Amhara	Federal administrative region in northern Ethiopia that serves as the homeland for the Amhara people, who speak Amharic and predominantly agricultural, with about 85 % of the population relying on farming.	40 times

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